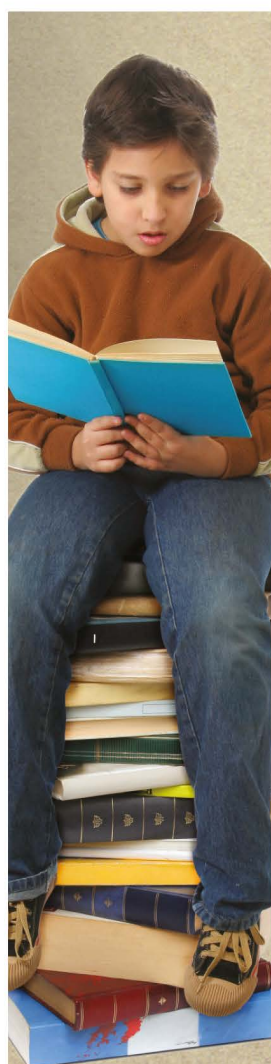


DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES

POLICY DEPARTMENT
STRUCTURAL AND COHESION POLICIES **B**



Agriculture and Rural Development

Culture and Education

Fisheries

Regional Development

Transport and Tourism

**Research for CULT
Committee - Teaching
Common Values in
Europe**

STUDY



DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES
Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Research for CULT Committee - Teaching Common Values in Europe

STUDY

This document was requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Culture and Education.

AUTHORS

University of Humanistic Studies Utrecht: Wiel Veugelers, Isolde de Groot, Vincent Stolk

Authors case studies

Antoine Bevort, Gert Biesta, Maria Rosa Buxarrais, Emilian Colceru, Isolde de Groot & Wiel Veugelers, Inken Heldt & Dirk Lange, Pavla Karba, Anastasia Kesidou, Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz & Jerzy Wiśniewski, Dana Moree, Heidi Paju, Kirsi Tirri

Research manager Michaela Franke

Project and publication assistance Lyna Pärt

Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, European Parliament

LINGUISTIC VERSIONS

Original: EN

ABOUT THE PUBLISHER

To contact the Policy Department or to subscribe to updates on our work for the CULT Committee please write to: Poldep-cohesion@ep.europa.eu

Manuscript completed in April 2017

© European Union, 2017

Print ISBN 978-92-846-0764-8 doi:10.2861/159922

QA-01-17-234-EN-C

PDF ISBN 978-92-846-0763-1 doi:10.2861/339926

QA-01-17-234-EN-N

This document is available on the internet at:

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/585918/IPOL_STU%282017%29585918_EN.pdf

Please use the following reference to cite this study:

Veugelers, W, de Groot, I & Stolk, V 2017, Research for CULT Committee – Teaching Common Values in Europe, European Parliament, Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, Brussels

Please use the following reference for in-text citations:

Veugelers, de Groot and Stolk (2017)

DISCLAIMER

The opinions expressed in this document are the sole responsibility of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position of the European Parliament.

Reproduction and translation for non-commercial purposes are authorized, provided the source is acknowledged and the publisher is given prior notice and sent a copy.

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES
Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Research for CULT Committee - Teaching Common Values in Europe

STUDY

Abstract

This study explores the teaching of common values in Europe, in particular democracy and tolerance—if and how they are addressed by EU Member States' official curricula for students in secondary education. The role of civil society and non-governmental organisations is also considered. Country chapters set out the situation in 12 EU Member States and show that in many cases, there are considerable gaps between general policy aims and concrete implementing measures, and between policy and practice.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	5
LIST OF TABLES	7
LIST OF FIGURES	8
LIST OF MAPS	8
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	9
1. INTRODUCTION	11
1.1. European Union Policy on Teaching Common Values	11
1.2. Outline of the study and report	13
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	15
2.1. Values and moral values	15
2.2. Teaching values	21
2.3. Curriculum research: policy and practice	23
2.4. Research on Teaching Values in the European Union	25
3. RESEARCH DESIGN	29
3.1. Curriculum policy analysis of 28 countries (policy study)	29
3.2. Participating experts	30
3.3. In-depth analysis of the curriculum (curriculum study)	31
4. THE IMPORTANCE OF TEACHING COMMON VALUES IN THE EDUCATION POLICY OF EU MEMBER STATES	33
4.1. The importance of Teaching Common Values in the curriculum	34
4.2. Policy instruments for Teaching Common Values	38
4.3. Teaching Common Values in the curriculum	41
4.4. Autonomy and evaluation in Teaching Common Values	44
4.5. Democracy in the curriculum	46
4.6. Tolerance in the curriculum	51
4.7. (Inter)national orientation in Teaching Common Values	56
4.8. School culture	60
4.9. Linking school and society	63
4.10. Conclusions and recommendations	64
5. CASE STUDIES	67
5.1. Czech Republic	67
5.2. Estonia	75
5.3. Finland	83
5.4. France	91

5.5. Germany	98
5.6. Greece	107
5.7. Netherlands	115
5.8. Poland	122
5.9. Romania	130
5.10. Slovenia	136
5.11. Spain	143
5.12. United Kingdom	150
6. TEACHING DEMOCRACY AND TOLERANCE: EDUCATION PRACTICES IN 12 EU MEMBER STATES	157
6.1. Education for democracy and tolerance at the level of the curriculum	158
6.2. Education for democracy and tolerance at the level of school culture	162
6.3. Conditions that restrain the practice of teaching democracy and tolerance	168
6.4. Recommendations	175
7. FROM THE PRACTICE OF TEACHING COMMON VALUES TO EDUCATION POLICY	181
7.1. Tensions at different levels of policy and education	182
7.2. Implementing education policy in practice: steering and autonomy	183
7.3. Monitoring the Teaching of Common Values	184
7.4. Equity and inclusion in education: reducing segregation	186
7.5. Teaching and learning 'controversial' values	187
7.6. Common values in the curriculum and in school	188
7.7. Value learning process: experiencing, critical reflection and attitude development	189
8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	193
8.1. Strengths and limitations of the research	195
8.2. Education policy	196
8.3. The common values of democracy and tolerance	197
8.4. Education policy steering and school autonomy	198
8.5. Teaching Common Values in schools and society	200
8.6. What can the European Union do to advance Teaching Common Values?	202
REFERENCES	203
ANNEX 1	209
ANNEX 2	212

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AT	Austria
BE	Belgium
BG	Bulgaria
HR	Croatia
CY	Cyprus
CZ	Czech Republic
DK	Denmark
EE	Estonia
FI	Finland
FR	France
DE	Germany
EL	Greece
HU	Hungary
IE	Ireland
IT	Italy
LV	Latvia
LT	Lithuania
LU	Luxembourg
MT	Malta
NL	Netherlands
PL	Poland
PT	Portugal
RO	Romania
SK	Slovakia
SI	Slovenia
ES	Spain
SE	Sweden
UK	United Kingdom

BpB	Federal Agency for Civic Education (Germany)
CE	Citizenship Education
CoE	Council of Europe
EARLI	European Association for Research on Learning and Instruction
EERA	European Educational Research Association
EU	European Union
FBV	Fundamental British Values (United Kingdom)
FNBE	Finnish National Board of Education
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Study
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
LGBT(Q)	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender(, Queer)
LOCE	Organic Law on the Quality of Education (Spain)
LOE	Organic Law of Education (Spain)
LOGSE	Organic Law of the Education System (Spain)
LOMCE	Organic Law for the Improvement of Educational Quality (Spain)
MCT	Moral and Civic Teaching (France)
NCCBE	National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (Finland)
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SIG	Special Interest Group
TCV	Teaching Common Values
TIMMS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 2.1	
Characteristics of the value democracy	18
TABLE 2.2	
Characteristics of the value tolerance	19
TABLE 2.3	
Characteristics of (inter)national orientation	21
TABLE 4.1	
Experts' scores for TCV importance in their country's education policy	35
TABLE 4.2	
TCV importance and formal policy aspects (policy instruments, value-oriented TCV subjects and the degree of autonomy and monitoring)	40
TABLE 4.3	
Experts' scores on the importance of participation, democratic politics and building a democratic society in their country's education policy	47
TABLE 4.4	
Experts' scores on the importance of interpersonal relations, tolerance towards others and an inclusive society in their country's education policy	52
TABLE 4.5	
Experts' scores on the importance of national and international orientation in the education policy	57
TABLE 5.1	
Study participants Czech Republic	70
TABLE 5.2	
Study participants Estonia	78
TABLE 5.3	
Study participants Finland	84
TABLE 5.4	
Study participants France	93
TABLE 5.5	
Study participants Germany	100
TABLE 5.6	
Study participants Greece	108
TABLE 5.7	
Study participants Netherlands	118
TABLE 5.8	
Study participants Poland	123
TABLE 5.9	
Study participants Romania	132
TABLE 5.10	
Study participants Slovenia	139
TABLE 5.11	
Study participants Spain	146

TABLE 5.12

Study participants United Kingdom	154
-----------------------------------	-----

TABLE 6.1

Overall relation between policy and practice	158
--	-----

TABLE 6.2

Education for democracy and tolerance in schools	160
--	-----

TABLE 6.3

Education for democracy and tolerance at the EU level	162
---	-----

TABLE 6.4

Democratic leadership culture in schools	163
--	-----

TABLE 6.5

Use of dialogical methods in schools	164
--------------------------------------	-----

TABLE 6.6

Student participation in school and society	165
---	-----

TABLE 6.7

NGO involvement in TCV policy and practice	167
--	-----

TABLE A1.8.1

Importance of TCV in policy	210
-----------------------------	-----

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 2.1

Theoretical framework for teaching common values	23
--	----

FIGURE 7.1

Tensions in education policy and curriculum practices	182
---	-----

LIST OF MAPS

MAP 3.1

Participating countries in curriculum study	32
---	----

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The European Union has always stressed the relevance of the values of democracy and tolerance for Europe as a community as well as for its Member States. This research focuses on the policy of teaching the common values of democracy and tolerance in secondary schools, and how this policy is implemented in practice. Further, it covers how teachers, local communities and NGOs influence the teaching of common values. Data on the formal education policies of all 28 European Union Member States has been collected by national academic experts, and in-depth curriculum studies have been performed in 12 Member States.

We distinguish three components of democracy: participation, democratic politics, and democratic society; and three components of tolerance: interpersonal relations, tolerance towards different social and cultural groups, and an inclusive society. Further, a distinction is made between a national and an international orientation.

A review of existing relevant studies shows some evidence that the value development of students is stimulated by a whole school approach that incorporates the teaching of values in four ways: a specific value-oriented subject; integration into related subjects; cross-curricular activities establishing links with the community; and a democratic school culture involving more dialogical methodologies of teaching and learning, and inclusive education bringing together different groups of students and teachers. In this research, we investigate if these elements are part of the education policies of the EU Member States, and if schools and teachers can realise them in practice.

Conclusions

Policy

- Greater attention to the teaching of values, including democracy and tolerance, is evident in the education policies of all EU Member States. Though Teaching Common Values (TCV) is fairly important in half of the EU Member States, compared to other topics and subject areas, attention given to TCV is still lacking.
- Analysis of the practice of TCV in 12 EU Member States shows that there are only a few Member States where the different components of teaching for democracy and tolerance receive systematic attention across schools.
- TCV is often not strongly implemented in education policy in terms of concrete curriculum instruments and supporting measures. This results in practices that do not always give real attention to TCV. Moreover, the EU Member States differ in the extent to which they steer TCV policy.
- In several EU Member States, there is a strong tendency to separate students into different groups based on different learning capacities. This reduces possibilities to learn about social and cultural differences. A second element that limits diversity amongst students is the prevalence of private or religious schools.

Curriculum

- In most EU Member States, there is a focus on political participation. However, attention should also be given to democracy as a process of deliberation and consensus-building, and to the creation of a democratic society that is just and

inclusive and values freedom of speech and equality. Strong education practices that relate to all these different components of democracy are scarce.

- Tolerance is mostly addressed in education at the interpersonal level and to a larger extent at the level of cultural groups, but very little at the level of an inclusive society.
- While national orientation gets abundant attention in education policy, attention given to the international dimension is not very strong, although it is growing. Teaching about own nations is often susceptible to an uncritical approach.

Recommendations

Policy

- Both the EU and each EU Member State has to take responsibility to support democracy and tolerance as common societal values and to support the sustainability of such a society. An intensive dialogue in society on what constitute the common values and the role of education in promoting them is an expression of a lively democracy, and is a challenge for tolerance. EU Member States and the EU should support such dialogues.
- Education policy steering should target aims, guidelines for content and subjects, as well as activities. Further, education policy should challenge schools to use their relative autonomy to demonstrate their own vision and practice of TCV.
- The EU can challenge its Member States to develop their own educational vision on Teaching Common Values like democracy and tolerance, stimulate the development of innovative practices, promote teacher and student exchange to help them experience different political and educational practices, and stimulate comparative research.

Curriculum

- Greater attention should be given in education policy and practice to all three components of democracy. TCV also has to address all three elements of value development, namely knowledge, skills and a democratic attitude.
- Besides tolerance, concepts with more positive attitudes such as appreciation, pluralism, and respectful engagement should be used. All three levels of tolerance (interpersonal relations, social and cultural groups, inclusive society) need more attention in education policy and practice.
- Learning democracy and tolerance can be strengthened by social and cultural diversity in schools and classrooms. Education policy should stimulate diversity in education (amongst both students and teachers).
- Each country has to find a good balance in education between national and international orientation, so as to strengthen democracy and tolerance both nationally and internationally and address both levels in a critical way.

1. INTRODUCTION

KEY FINDINGS

The European Union has always stressed the relevance of the **values of democracy and tolerance for Europe** as a community and for its Member States. In every society there is a permanent debate on which common values to adopt and promote. The Ministers of Education of the EU Member States formulated within the Paris Declaration of 17 March 2015 the 'Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education'. This research project was initiated by **the European Parliament's Committee on Culture and Education**. In addition to the analysis of existing research outcomes, new data on the formal **education policy of all 28 European Union Member States** has been collected and **in-depth curriculum studies** have been performed in **12 of these Member States**.

Democracy and tolerance are important values for Europe. Europe is not unique in this respect, but the European tradition and the very foundation of the European Union emphasise democracy and tolerance as the guiding principles for living together and organising society, public life and politics.

Living these values is, however, not self-evident; these values need to be cultivated and fostered amongst people, in particular amongst newcomers in society such as youngsters and immigrants. The education systems of European countries thus hold an important role in cultivating these common European values of democracy and tolerance.

1.1. European Union Policy on Teaching Common Values

The European Union has always stressed the relevance of the values of democracy and tolerance for Europe as a community and for its Member States. Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union, states that 'the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to all EU Member States seeking to offer a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality of the genders prevail' (Official Journal of the European Union, 2016, 17). All 28 Member States of the European Union have agreed on these values as being the foundation of the Union. However, the Member States can differ in the approach they take towards the teaching of common European values, and can also choose to emphasise different elements or articulations of these values depending on their history as well as current social, cultural and political situation.

In every society there is a permanent debate on which common values to adopt and promote. Common values like the ones mentioned above are discussed and promoted constantly in the European Union, but at certain historical moments these values are articulated in even stronger terms. For example, following the terrorist attacks in Paris the Ministers of Education of the EU Member States formulated within the Paris Declaration (2015) the 'Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education'. Eurydice (2016) published an overview of education policy developments in Europe following this declaration. The overview shows that in most countries, attention to social, civic and intercultural competences in education policy has been intensified, particularly at the level of secondary education.

The European Parliament also supports this education policy development. On 7 December 2015, the European Parliament adopted a resolution on the role of intercultural dialogue, cultural diversity and education in promoting EU fundamental values. The resolution refers not only to formal politics, but also to the role of civil society and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and in the international setting to UNESCO and the United Nations. In all these proposals, education, and in particular citizenship education and secondary schools, play a crucial role.

The attention to common values and the corresponding role of education is not new, but has been intensified in recent years. The European Union and the Council of Europe stimulated initiatives on citizenship education as early as the 1990s. The Council of Europe focused in particular on democracy and human rights (2010). The European Union meanwhile, focused on active citizenship, on the European dimension of citizenship, and on supporting democracy and other values in the education policies of its Member States (Keating, 2014).

The European Union currently follows the strategic framework Education & Training 2020 (ET 2020). ET 2020 is a forum for the exchange of best practices, mutual learning, gathering and dissemination of information and evidence of what works, as well as advice and support for policy reforms. This description clearly shows the role of the European Union in relation to its Member States: to stimulate dialogue in and between countries, mutual learning and comparative research.

In 2009, ET 2020 set four common EU-level objectives to address the challenges in education and training systems by 2020:

- making lifelong learning and mobility a reality;
- improving the quality and efficiency of education and training;
- promoting equity, social cohesion, and active citizenship; and
- enhancing creativity and innovation, including entrepreneurship, at all levels of education and training.

Thus, following ET 2020, stimulating citizenship and social cohesion through education became part of the EU education policy. Moreover, many initiatives and research activities were launched as part of different exchange and research programmes. Benchmarks for ET 2020 were set for different aspects of education, such as levels of participation, levels of reading, mathematics and science skills, rate of early leavers, percentage of students in higher education, percentage studying abroad, and percentage having attained various levels of education. Support was also provided to the EU Member States to participate in comparative studies like the International Civic and Citizenship education Study (ICCS).

Nevertheless, there was no benchmark set for social cohesion and active citizenship. The Paris Declaration of 2015, however, has stimulated substantial attention to these areas. The declaration calls for a mobilisation of the education sector to promote inclusion and fundamental values, and defines four overarching priorities for cooperation at the EU level:

- Ensuring young people acquire social, civic and intercultural competences by promoting democratic values and fundamental rights, social inclusion and non-discrimination, as well as active citizenship.
- Enhancing critical thinking and media literacy, particularly in the use of the Internet and social media, so as to develop resistance to discrimination and indoctrination.
- Fostering the education of disadvantaged children and young people by ensuring that our education and training systems address their needs.
- Promoting intercultural dialogue through all forms of learning in cooperation with other relevant policies and stakeholders.

A Working Group on Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education is established in the context of the Open Method of Coordination under the ET 2020 strategic framework for European cooperation on education and training. The primary focus of the Working Group is to benefit the Member States in their work of furthering policy development on Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education (follow-up to the Paris declaration) through mutual learning and the identification of good practices.

The policy of the EU in this field of common values and citizenship can be summarised as follows:

- stimulating attention,
- facilitating exchange of best practices (for example in Erasmus+),
- collecting information by research (for example participation in the ICCS study),
- providing advice and support.

Our research on teaching common values delivers input relevant to all these four elements. It paves the way for stimulating discussion about the importance of teaching common values, presents best practices, gathers systematic information about the policy of all EU Member States and particular education practices in 12 of them, and in our conclusions and recommendations we give advice and support for important future developments in this area.

1.2. Outline of the study and report

This research project was initiated by the European Parliament's Committee on Culture and Education. In addition to the analysis of existing research outcomes, new data on the formal education policy of all 28 European Union Member States has been collected and in-depth curriculum studies have been performed in 12 of these Member States. These in-depth studies not only cover the formal education policy in the Member States under study, but also the education practices prevalent in secondary schools as well as related NGO activities. The studies are thus a comprehensive combination of research on education policy and on educational curricula in the field of teaching common values.

The chapters comprising this report are presented below along with a brief description of their content:

1. Introduction
Introduction to the study and general background
2. Theoretical Framework
Theoretical analysis of teaching common values and the concepts of democracy and tolerance; analysis of policy and curriculum research and relevant comparative empirical research on teaching values; construction of a theoretical framework for analysing the teaching of common values
3. Research Design
Description of the research design of the policy study and the curriculum study; research questions; the developed instruments; and the participating experts
4. The Importance of Teaching Common Values in the Education Policy of EU Member States
Common trends; different facets; analyses of the education policy in all 28 EU Member States
5. Case Studies
Country reports on research conducted in 12 participating Member States

6. Teaching Democracy and Tolerance: Education Practices in 12 EU Member States
Strengths, weaknesses and constraints in education practice; analyses of the relation between policy and practice in the 12 Member States
7. From the Practice of Teaching Common Values to Education Policy
Analyses of central topics in policy and practice
8. Conclusions and Recommendations

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

KEY FINDINGS

The study focuses on the policy of teaching the common values of democracy and tolerance in schools, and how this is implemented in practice in terms of the curriculum, methodology, school culture, and teacher and student populations. Further, it covers how teachers, local communities as well as civil society organisations (NGOs) all influence the teaching of common values.

This theoretical orientation on **democracy** as a moral value makes clear that in researching democracy we should make distinctions in the way we use the concept of democracy. We therefore distinguish between three components of democracy: participation, democratic politics and democratic society.

We also distinguish between three components of **tolerance** characterising the interaction between people at different levels: interpersonal relations, tolerance towards different social and cultural groups, and tolerance in the form of an inclusive society.

The distinction between a **national and an international orientation** is about borders; about what lies in- and out, about one's own nation and its relation to a larger entity (such as the EU) or the whole world. Further, within international orientation, there is a difference between a European orientation and a global orientation.

In the **policy** study herein, the **idealised and formal curriculum** for democracy and tolerance will be investigated. The policy study addresses the **role of the government** in formulating its education policy on teaching values. It is about the governance of education, and in particular, the curriculum. The in-depth curriculum studies further on extend this research to cover the **school-level** and delve into what teachers think and how they speak about their practice.

This chapter introduces the main concepts and insights gained from theoretical and empirical studies on teaching common values. Democracy and tolerance are two crucial concepts in the theoretical framework of this study. Further, the perspective of curriculum research is useful in linking education policy to practices in schools. Figure 2.1 gives an overview of all the relevant concepts.

The study focuses on the policy of teaching the common values of democracy and tolerance in schools, and how this is implemented in practice in terms of the curriculum, methodology, school culture, and teacher and student populations. Further, it covers how teachers, local communities as well as civil society organisations (NGOs) all influence the teaching of common values. To gain in-depth insight into the policy of teaching common values, policy documents have been analysed for their impact on stimulating education, steering the curriculum, and providing autonomy to schools.

2.1. Values and moral values

The concept of values is often used in debates about human behaviour and politics. Values refer to what people find important. The adjective 'moral' is used to describe values when they concern what people find important in their own life, in their life with others, and in their life in the community and society. The values studied in this research project (namely, democracy and tolerance) are moral values, i.e. they are about living together. Moral values are part of everyday life, and all people have moral values, whether implicitly or explicitly (Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001; Veugelers & Vedder, 2003; Nucci, Narvaez & Krettenhauer, 2014).

Moral values are influenced by value-orientation systems like religions, world views and political theories. Institutions like churches, media and associations can foster values, but the influence of these institutions in modern society have become what Bauman (2003) calls more 'fluid'. People increasingly have to construct their own identity and develop their own values. In modern times, people increasingly choose their moral values independently of institutions and are also themselves responsible for the choice of their own moral values (Giddens, 1991).

In order to live together, people need to develop common values, and rules and norms that bind and organise the community, society and country (Putman, 2000). Common values are values that are agreed upon by a group. The agreement implies that these values can be considered as common to this specific group. Values are not always very explicitly formulated; they are a kind of lived culture. Common values can change over time and under different conditions. The commonality of values thus exists mostly on a very abstract level, and when it comes to making these common values more concrete, different articulations and even contradictions between them are possible.

Are moral values universal? Several people frequently speak of universal human moral values, i.e. values that count for all human beings, at all times, and in all places. In particular they refer then to human rights. Human rights are very important, particularly in democratic societies; but human rights are also the result of cultural and political processes and can change over time (Hopgood, 2013). Attention for human rights is, however, an important element of moral and citizenship education (Council of Europe, 2010; Osler & Starkey, 2010).

Morality and politics are linked, but not always in the same way. In the 1990s, it seemed that policy only needed good governance and not necessarily an ideology or values. The foundation of each policy, however, is morality. The last decade has therefore witnessed the emergence of a renewed link between the moral and political dimensions in practice, in politics, and in research. Politicians have started to increasingly speak about values, and academics too show a growing link between research on moral education and research on citizenship education (Haste, 2004; Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Oser & Veugelers, 2008; ICCS, 2016). In fact, morality and politics cannot be divided. To paraphrase the Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire (1972): the moral should be more political, and the political more moral. Democracy and tolerance are both political values with a strong moral component; they express ideas about living together. In the next two subparagraphs we therefore go into more detail on the central common values of democracy and tolerance, and venture into possibilities for further investigating them in our research.

2.1.1. The value democracy

The moral values of democracy and tolerance are part of broader ethical frameworks like human rights, and are linked to moral values like freedom, justice, respect and care. From this ethical viewpoint, democracy is not only a political system of voting and participation, but also a cultural way of life respecting minorities, freedom of speech, and individual rights (for the history of the concept of democracy see Held, 2006). Democracy is a concept that has a long tradition in the Western World. In ancient Greece, 'the demos of democracy was not much more than a men's club, free adults, some of whom owned slaves and in any event enjoyed civil rights in a certain city' (Brague, 2015, 47). The Enlightenment stressed the human capacity to make rational choices in life and the possibility of human beings to participate in societal decision-making. The French Revolution further enforced the values of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity'. All these concepts taken together can be considered as democracy (Bevort & Veugelers, 2016). Democracy is thus not a final state of governance, but a process that can be intensified and can take different shapes (Held, 2006).

Democracy has always played an important role in the European Union (Rifkin, 2004). The start of the European Union was initiated by a concern for peace, political involvement and democracy. Consequently, the cooperation between independent nations within the EU should contribute to democracy in the EU Member States. Within the European Union, the balance between national interests and common supranational EU-level interests is full of tensions, and these tensions get much attention in public debate. The relationship between the different European institutions is an expression of this very act of balancing. Political developments in the EU have been oriented in the direction of more democracy (Van Middelaar & Van Parijs, 2015). The European developments and political experiences show how democracy is a concept that can change over time, and is embedded in social, cultural and political power relations.

Abstract values can be conceptualised and articulated in different ways; this is also true for the concept of democracy. For example, within the concept of democracy one can articulate the more deliberative element stressed by Habermas (1994), or the consensus element that according to Lijphart (1999) is essential in many Western countries, particularly in North-West Europe. On the other hand, Mouffe (2005) argues for an agonistic democracy in which contradictions are not mystified but considered a normal aspect of democracy. In this view, politics should be more open to fundamental contradictions and tensions in society.

Barber (2004) further, distinguishes between 'light' and 'strong' democracy. According to Barber strong democracy is linked to political, as well as social and cultural life, and treats social justice as an important moral value. Tourraine (1997) argues for a democratisation of society, not only in politics but in all aspects of human life. This broadening of the concept of democracy is not new. The educationalist Dewey (1916) spoke about democracy as a 'way of life' a hundred years ago. Democracy as a lifestyle - and as a dynamic social and cultural practice - has also been expressed by European educationalists like Biesta (2011), De Winter (2012) and Lange (Print & Lange, 2012). Veugelers (2007) developed a critical-democratic perspective on citizenship that stresses the social and cultural aspects of democracy, the critical engagement of citizens and the linking of personal autonomy to the public good, social life, social justice, and democracy (for a review of critical approaches to citizenship education see Johnson & Morris, 2010).

A crucial aspect of citizenship is participation, involvement and engagement. This refers to attitudes and behaviours. Moreover, the EU policy on citizenship stresses active participation (Eurydice, 2012). Research shows that people can have different orientations towards participation and engagement (ICCS, 2010a; Hoskins, et al, 2012; De Groot, Goodson & Veugelers, 2014). Some research shows a dichotomy between certain groups, for example, voters and non-voters, those who trust and those who do not trust politics and democracy, 'cosmopolitans' and 'nationalists'. These divisions are often related to social class and ethnic groups. For the current research it is relevant whether such kinds of divisions are addressed in the curriculum, and if these topics are addressed in a different way in the curriculum of different levels of secondary education (for example, in pre-university tracks as opposed to more vocational tracks).

This theoretical orientation on democracy as a moral value makes clear that in researching democracy we should make distinctions in the way we use the concept of democracy. We therefore distinguish between three components of democracy: participation, democratic politics and democratic society.

Table 2.1: Characteristics of the value democracy

DEMOCRACY	
Political participation	Active participation; knowledge about politics and political institutions; knowledge about different levels of government; commitment to political involvement; active participation in the community
Democratic politics	Knowledge about democracy and democratic institutions; democratic attitude; knowledge about democracy versus an authoritarian regime; skills to critically analyse politics; skills to participate in debates; skills to participate in decision-making
Democratic society	Positive attitude towards freedom of speech; commitment towards consensus-building; skills to deal with civic issues; balancing between freedom and equality; commitment to make society more democratic, just, and inclusive

The distinction between the three components of democracy can be further explained as follows:

- Political participation is a rather neutral concept; it does not refer explicitly to democracy. Its focus is participation in the community, society and politics.
- Democratic politics refers to democracy as a political practice and is about engaging in democratic practices, in searching for dialogue and consensus. It puts participation explicitly within the democratic framework.
- Democratic society refers to making democracy stronger, i.e. to deepening democracy in politics and society. It is a form of critical engagement comprising an awareness of the tensions between politics and practice, but with the willingness to find a consensus.

2.1.2. The value tolerance

The second value that this research focuses on is tolerance. The concept of tolerance refers to living together as different people, in particular to accepting the otherness of people. It is linked to valuing differences and pluralism. Tolerance, however, sounds less positive than these other concepts. Tolerance is more an acceptance of otherness and less an appreciation of that otherness (see for example Laegraad, 2010 and Shady, 2010). The concept of tolerance is often used in politics and in society to emphasise that people should accept that other people differ from them, for example, differ in sexual behaviour such as in the case of homosexuality, or differ in religion or in cultural habits.

The growing diversity and therefore the need to live together with different people while being tolerant of others, becomes increasingly important because of globalisation. The process of globalisation stimulates the mobility of people, both actual and virtual. Consequently, societies are becoming more culturally mixed and hybrid, and people are facing a greater diversity in their society, community and often also in their personal lives (Bauman, 2000). An intercultural dialogue and 'bridging' between different cultural groups is therefore crucial for an inclusive society (Shady, 2010).

The concept 'inclusive' is often used nowadays. At first the term inclusive was used in particular to refer to the inclusion of handicapped people in society. Now the term inclusive encompasses all social and cultural groups. Compared to the concept of social integration, the concept of inclusivity is more about including rather than adapting; it is the task of society to include people, and not of the individual to adapt to society. In a democratic

society, tolerance is embedded in democratic political, social and cultural processes. Tolerance can make a society more inclusive (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2008), since it is a moral concept with a focus on living together as different people.

Tolerance as a value is relevant to the interaction with all social and cultural groups, such as the Roma (Moree, 2008; Council of Europe 2009), homosexuals and other LGBT groups, disabled people, followers of different kinds of world views and religions, and in a more abstract sense, to the human right to freedom of expression. It is important to consider tolerance as a dialogical concept involving interaction between different persons, groups, communities and societies. Tolerance as a moral concept is strongly linked to human rights. A pitfall when thinking about tolerance is that the focus is strongly on differences and less on commonalities between people (Leeman & Wardekker, 2013). The concern with differences can also be a hindrance to seeing what people have in common, as human beings and as members of specific groups. This balancing between commonalities and differences is crucial for a democratic and inclusive society.

In this research we will focus on the positive aspects of tolerance in creating an inclusive society. According to many policy and research documents, education should play an important role in creating multicultural contacts (Grover, 2007; Schuitema & Veugelers, 2011), and in stimulating intercultural dialogue (Council of Europe, 2010; Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016). As already mentioned in the introduction, tolerance is a central concept in the EU policy and recent developments have stressed this even more.

As with the concept of democracy earlier, we also distinguish between three components of tolerance characterising the interaction between people at different levels: interpersonal relations, tolerance towards different social and cultural groups, and tolerance in the form of an inclusive society.

Table 2.2: Characteristics of the value tolerance

TOLERANCE	
Interpersonal relations	Social competences; empathy; interpersonal contacts; respectful behaviour in public spaces
Tolerance towards different cultural groups	Tolerance towards other social and cultural groups; ethnic diversity, religious freedom, sexual differences/LGBT; respecting the rights of minorities; getting involved with other social and cultural groups; skills to contribute to decision-making in a diverse group/community; tolerance of differing points of view
Inclusive society	Knowledge about processes of inclusion and exclusion; knowledge about human rights; knowledge about (in)equality, discrimination, and social justice; commitment towards reducing inequality, discrimination, and social injustice; commitment towards making citizens more self-responsible; skills to critically analyse controversial issues in this regard

The distinction between the three components of tolerance can be further explained as follows:

- Interpersonal tolerance refers to living together with individual differences in daily life.
- Tolerance towards different cultural groups recognises differences in social and cultural backgrounds and focuses on living together with people from all these different groups with different identities.

- An inclusive society does not simply tolerate, but tries to overcome inequality, injustice, and exclusion; it focuses on integration, and on inclusion.

2.1.3. (Inter)national orientation

Democracy and tolerance are considered to be essential moral and political values in the European tradition. They are the constituting values of the European Union with its orientation towards building democracy in its Member States. The political developments concerning democracy and tolerance have been influenced by history and tradition ranging from the Greek philosophers such as Aristotle (Peonides, 2013), to the Enlightenment (Stolk, 2015), and the French revolution (Bevort & Veugelers, 2016). These values are thus fundamental to European moral and political tradition. However, these values are not unique to Europe. They are strongly linked to human rights that are accepted by most countries worldwide under the purview of the United Nations, and are strongly supported by organisations such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe.

These values can have an inward orientation within the nation state, or an international orientation. According to Spring (2004), all countries need a kind of national orientation for building the nation. Focussing on a country's own culture, history and mother tongue is necessary to build and (permanently) rebuild the nation. This national orientation is particularly at stake when countries face strong political developments like gaining independence (again), transitioning from a totalitarian regime to a democracy, or facing internal regional crises. History, including the concepts of democracy and tolerance, is then reinterpreted and these new perspectives are passed on to newer generations. Studying national history, however, does not only involve learning about the great heritage of a nation, but also about periods and events in its past bearing witness to less democracy and tolerance, like colonialism and authoritarianism. Studying controversial issues is part of learning about democracy (Hess, 2009). However, research shows that teachers often find it difficult to speak with students about controversial issues (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2009; Reilly & Niens, 2014; Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016).

Nations are not only inwardly-oriented, but also related to other nations. Historically, these international relations were often hierarchical, for instance, due to occupation or colonisation. It seems quite recent that nations relate to each other more horizontally, by freely choosing to collaborate through international organisations like the European Union and the United Nations. This international orientation is morally founded in concepts such as global citizenship (Nussbaum, 2002; Banks, 2008; Veugelers, 2011c). The concept of global citizenship is strongly supported by UNESCO.

However, tensions between national and international orientations can occur at different political levels, for example, between the EU and its Member States, or between the EU and the rest of the world. For this research, the relationship between the EU and its Member States is of particular relevance. Different orientations at this level can influence what will be considered as the common values.

Table 2.3: Characteristics of (inter)national orientation

(INTER)NATIONAL ORIENTATION	
National orientation	Knowledge about the history of one's own country; reflective attitude towards one's own nationality; knowledge about controversial issues in the history of one's own country, like colonialism or authoritarianism; skills to critically analyse controversial issues in history
International orientation	Knowledge about European history and the European Union; a reflective attitude towards political integration in Europe and towards the EU; knowledge about globalisation; knowledge about migration; knowledge about different cultures, religions/world views; cosmopolitan orientation; skills to analyse the effects of globalisation on different countries and social and cultural groups

The distinction between a national and an international orientation is about borders; about what lies in- and out, about one's own nation and its relation to a larger entity (such as the EU) or the whole world. Further, within international orientation, there is a difference between a European orientation and a global orientation.

2.2. Teaching values

How should values be treated in education? What are the possibilities within education for teaching values, the role of the teacher therein, and the influence of the school culture? Given the subjective quality of values as personal choices and expressions of one's personal view on the 'good life', teaching values is not easy. Values cannot be transferred in a mechanical way; students need to be able to understand and accept the values. Developing values thus requires active cognitive and affective activities engaging the students themselves, in which students enter into a dialogue with their teachers as well their fellow-students. Many review studies and comparative studies show that dialogical teaching and learning methodologies help students to develop moral values and citizenship attitudes (see in particular Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001; ICCS, 2010a; 2016; Hoskins, et al. 2012). A social-constructive dialogical teaching and learning *methodology* is desirable when teaching values. The concept of dialogical learning refers to more engaging and interactive learning processes in which students inquire about their environment and their own position in it (Illeris, 2009). Part of dialogical learning is a reflection on one's own moral values. Another strong element of dialogical learning is the open interactive search for meaning. From the perspective of democracy, dialogical learning should, therefore, also be complemented by democratic learning in which students learn to jointly develop common values and norms (Veugelers, 2011a).

Schools can give attention to democracy and tolerance in different activities as part of the *curriculum*. The content can be addressed in specific disciplines/subjects and in cross-curricular activities (projects). Teaching of common values can be concentrated in value-oriented subjects like civics or value education, or can be part of other subjects like history, social studies, geography, or religion and world view studies. It can also be part of subjects like languages, culture and arts, economy, biology, etc. Cross-curricular activities (or extra-curricular activities) are separate (or linked to) the school subjects, often in the form of projects. They can be partly arranged outside the school, for example, in the form of service learning, community work, excursions, or (external) research projects.

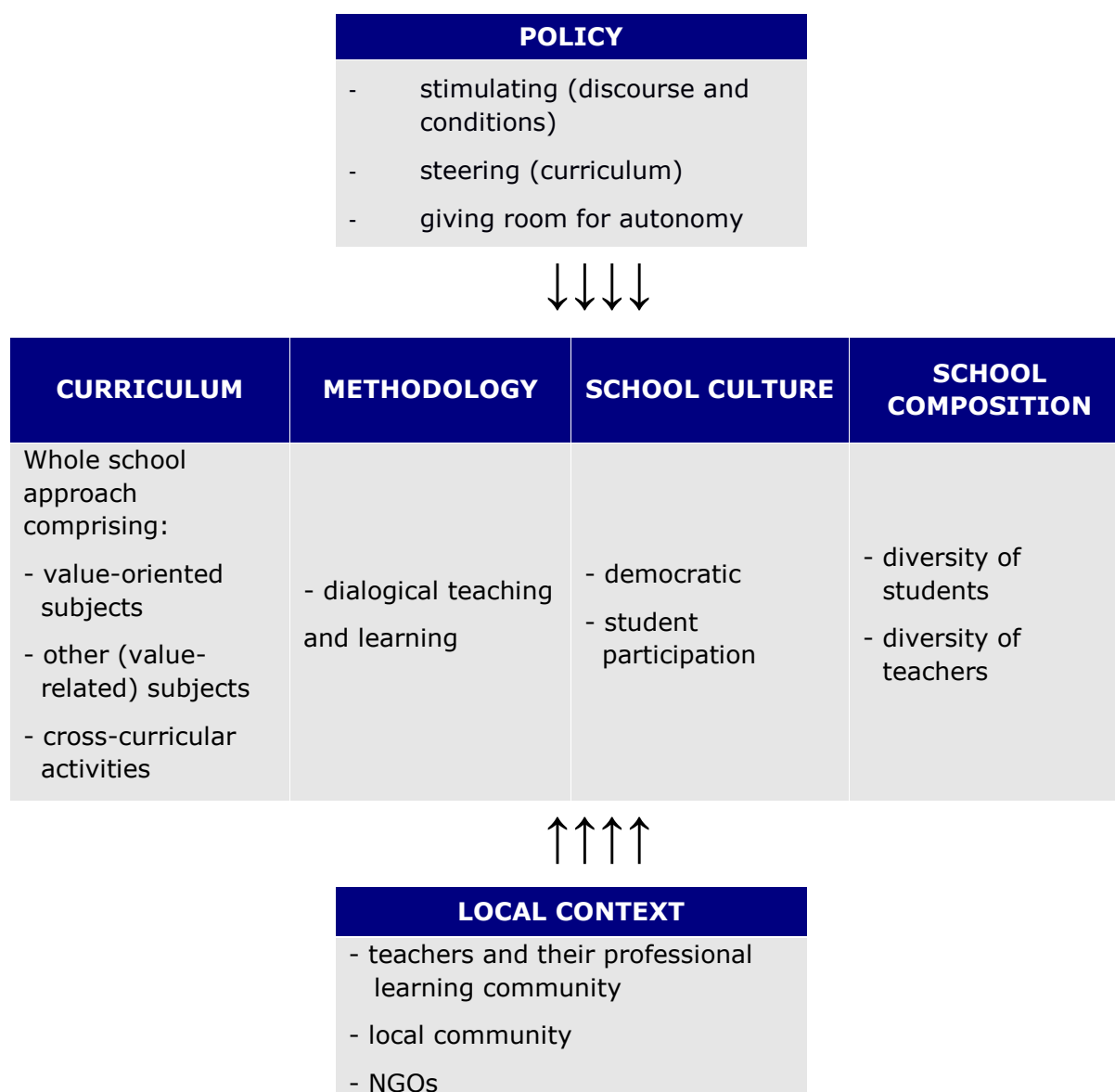
Studies like ICCS (2010a) and Eurydice (2016) show that the teaching of common values can be incorporated in the curriculum in different ways, and that, in fact, a combination of these different ways (i.e. a *whole school approach*) is desirable. These different ways of teaching common values comprise the following:

- as a separate subject, for example, moral or value education, or citizenship education;
- as part of other subjects, such as history, geography, social sciences and religion/world view studies, as well as arts, biology and languages; and
- in cross-curricular activities, like projects both in and out of school.

Schools not only prepare students for society, schools in themselves are micro-societies in which students are socialised into relationships and roles through the *school culture*. In traditional hierarchical education, adaptive and disciplinary values are stressed (Durkheim 1923; Brint, 1998). However, schools can also be organised more horizontally and democratically so that students can learn these values by actually practising them. Such experiences can serve as powerful modes of learning. For example, students as members of the school community can directly experience processes of democracy and tolerance (in the school) or the lack thereof. These experience-based learning processes are part of what is known in the sociology of education as the 'hidden curriculum' (Giroux, 1985). These implicit learning experiences provided by the school culture, however, can also be treated as objects of change and made more explicit. Often, the school culture is more adapting and authoritarian than democratic and does not stimulate the values of democracy and tolerance. The school culture can be challenged from a democracy-oriented pedagogical viewpoint and made more democratic. See for example the Kohlberg-inspired *Just Community Schools* (Power, Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989; Althof, 2003), in the tradition of Dewey's *democratic schools* (Apple & Beane, 1995) and the *Freinet schools* in France and Belgium. These studies, as well as the ICCS (2010), for example, show the positive effects of a more democratic school culture on moral values and citizenship. Student councils are one of the more formal elements of a democratic school culture, offering an open climate in which students and teachers can communicate and experience democracy and tolerance in a more 'lived way'.

A fourth element of teaching common values in schools, and in particular the values of democracy and tolerance, is the *composition* of teachers and students. This relates to inclusion in schools. Does a school have students with different abilities and different social and cultural backgrounds? And does a school have teachers with different social and cultural backgrounds, different genders, and different sexual orientations? These differences provide students with experiences and possibilities of practising a pluralist democracy characterised by tolerance. Substantial research work in social psychology on the 'contact-hypothesis' shows that in order to develop an appreciation for diversity, contact and cooperation between different groups is desirable, and that education holds the potential to organise such diverse learning settings (see also Schuitema & Veugelers, 2011; Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016).

This research, in particular the curriculum studies, will address these different forms of teaching common values, namely, curricular subjects (value-oriented, political-oriented as well as other subjects), cross-curricular activities, and school culture (student participation) (see figure 2.1). In this research we will investigate how these elements are part of the policy and practice of teaching the values of democracy and tolerance in the different EU Member States, and if we can detect certain trends in this domain.

Figure 2.1: Theoretical framework for teaching common values

2.3. Curriculum research: policy and practice

In the introductory chapter we mentioned that the European Union can support the national education policies of its Member States by stimulating good practices, mutual learning and comparative research. Now we will focus on the education policy of the individual EU Member States, more specifically, on the way their national governments stimulate the teaching of common values like democracy and tolerance. Education policy at the level of the nation states steers and controls schools in a stronger way than policy at the EU level. Education is part of the cultural policy of a country and strongly embedded in its national, cultural and political history. In this section we first consider research on different levels of the curriculum. Then we discuss the relation between the national and international trends. Finally, we review important research projects on the policy and teaching of values relevant to our study.

2.3.1. Curriculum level theory: steering and autonomy in governance

Goodlad's curriculum level theory is a valuable resource for studying the curriculum in a country (Goodlad, 1979). A curriculum can be formulated at different levels. The first level is that of the *idealised* curriculum in which policy leaders present their ideas and plans. At the second level is the *formal* curriculum, which consists of the official guidelines, textbooks and assessments; this is what the education policy expects the schools to teach. The next two levels, namely the *interpretive* curriculum and the *operationalised* curriculum, comprise formulations of the curriculum at the level of the school, i.e. what teachers think about the curriculum (their interpretation) and what teachers actually do in practice. The last two levels, i.e. the *experienced* curriculum and the *effected* curriculum, express the curriculum in relation to the students, about what they do in the classroom, what they experience, and what they learn. The *Goodlad model* gives the impression of a top-down model, but in effect, leaves space for action at different levels, including at the level of teachers as well as students. The Goodlad model is helpful in research to distinguish between the different formulations of the curriculum and to investigate the involvement of the stakeholders at these different levels.

In the policy study herein, the idealised and formal curriculum for democracy and tolerance will be investigated. The policy study addresses the role of the government in formulating its education policy on teaching values. It is about the governance of education, and in particular, the curriculum. The in-depth curriculum studies further on extend this research to cover the school-level and delve into what teachers think and how they speak about their practice.

The governance of education consists of different instruments; for example, legal regulations, curricula, financial support, assessments, monitoring, as well as the discourses politicians use to present their ideas and plans. A government can use different instruments to steer education and to implement the teaching of values. The Eurydice report on citizenship refers to 'official steering documents containing programmes of study or any of the following: learning content, learning objectives, attainment targets, guidelines on pupil assessment or syllabus. Specific legal decrees in some countries have also been taken into account' (Eurydice, 2012, 17). The Eurydice report also distinguishes between the levels of obligation, namely advice, recommendations or regulations.

Countries differ in the extent to which they steer the curriculum and the amount of autonomy they give to schools in their education policy (Veugelers, 2004; Hargreaves & Fink, 2012). A crucial issue in the policy study and in the curriculum study will be the question of whether, in the context of such normative topics as teaching common values, the relationship between the steering of the curriculum and the autonomy (or better still, relative autonomy) of schools is important. This relationship between policy and the autonomy of schools can, in fact, be replete with tensions (Ball, 2012)

The steering influence of the government, exercised through both the idealised as well as the formal curriculum, can target the teaching of specific subjects in schools, and/or the teaching methodology and learning environments. In the latter case, the question is whether and how the government sets norms for specific learning activities, learning environments, and teachers' roles.

Policy-level steering of the curriculum and the autonomy given to schools is regulated by the government, and often monitored by a school inspectorate. In our research, the education policies of the EU Member States will thus be analysed along the following three lines:

- stimulation (of discourse and conditions),
- steering (of curriculum), and
- room for autonomy.

2.3.2. Curriculum debates: national and international

There are two important points to remember when researching curriculum policy.

- Curriculum policy is always a site of debate or even struggle between different groups and different ideas.
- The national and international developments in education discourse and policy interact.

Analyses of curriculum development, for example, the work of Pierre Bourdieu, show that different social, cultural and political groups struggle for dominance in the education discourse and policy. Education, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1970), plays an important role in reproducing culture, cultural relationships, and social, cultural and political power relations and positions. Education policy and practices are reflections and expressions of cultural struggles between groups and of ideas about society and the role education can play in it. Besides being reproductive, education can also be more transformative and contribute to social change. Goodson (2005) argues, however, that in such a culturally-sensitive domain as education in particular, traditions are strong and mixed with new developments. Curriculum policy should therefore be analysed as a vivid dialogue that responds to societal developments and tries to influence these developments. Recent history, current debates, and future perspectives, all need to be analysed.

The relationship between national developments and international developments is an important area in the sociology of education. Goodson (2010) speaks of a process of refraction that results in differences between countries, in the way international developments are adopted and 'translated' into national policies and practices. Likewise, Spring (2004) in his research shows how different education ideologies influence national education policies. Spring distinguishes three important ideologies that influence national education policy: a national ideology that helps in building and sustaining the nation state through a focus on national history, culture and the mother tongue; a knowledge and market ideology that strives to make the national education system competitive in the global world; and a global morality ideology that focuses on democracy, sustainability and other moral values. According to Spring, the first ideology is supported in particular by the national governments, the second by international economic organisations like OECD and IMF, and the third by organisations like UNESCO and by NGOs.

In education discourses and policy, international developments and national developments frequently interact. This in particular is extremely relevant to our research which studies the education policies of the 28 EU Member States and the relationship between the EU policy and that of its Member States. Of further interest and relevance is the role of the European Union as a kind of mediator between international developments and national policies.

2.4. Research on Teaching Values in the European Union

This section summarises and discusses certain studies that investigate the teaching of values in Europe. These include the International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS, 2010a), the Active Citizenship in Europe study (Hoskins et al., 2012), the Eurydice (2012) report on Citizenship Education in Europe, and Van Driel's (2016) systematic review on multicultural education.

The ICCS 2009 involved 38 countries, of which 22 were EU Member States. Besides the international report, a European report presenting the results for the European countries in particular was also published (ICCS, 2010b). These results include the special European module on civic institutions, policies, and issues in Europe. The ICCS research investigates

in particular the knowledge, skills and attitudes of students. The study shows that students from most EU countries score quite well on civic knowledge; however, the results show considerable variation amongst and within European countries (ICCS, 2010b, 141-142). For instance, Denmark and Finland score high on this module, whereas Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece and Luxembourg score rather low. Large majorities of students in EU countries expressed pride in the fact that their country was a member of the European Union. On average, students held positive attitudes towards equal rights for ethnic or racial groups and immigrants (ICCS, 2010a, 143). However, in some countries, in particular in northern and north-western Europe, this trend was lower (ICCS, 2010a, 102). Of course the knowledge, skills and attitudes that the students demonstrated cannot be interpreted as a direct effect of education. Nevertheless, these results influence the debate on and the policy of teaching values in many countries.

The ICCS 2009 study also collected data on the practice of citizenship education in schools. School practices vary widely between countries, and sometimes also within countries. 11 of the 22 EU countries provided citizenship education as a specific subject, 20 countries integrated it into several subjects, and 19 followed a cross-curricular approach (ICCS, 2010b, 35). In a majority of the countries, citizenship education was placed within three overlapping contexts: curriculum, school, and the wider community. In terms of the content of citizenship education, the countries covered a broad range of topics in their national curricula, but gave varying levels of emphasis to them. Many European countries included in the ICCS not only placed major emphasis on human rights and on government systems (ICCS, 2010b, 36), but also covered newer topics targeting social and community cohesion, diversity, the environment, communications, and global society (ICCS, 2010b, 42). However, 'only a minority of teachers and principals saw "preparing students for future political participation" and "supporting the development of effective strategies for the fight against racism and xenophobia" as important aims of civic and citizenship education.' (ICCS, 2010b, 145).

The outcomes of the ICCS 2009 show that it is very relevant to investigate both concrete policies as well as actual practices of teaching common values in all EU countries, to try to formulate general trends and analyse if policy and practice have (been) changed in recent years. In 2015, data was collected for the new ICCS study, which will include 12 EU countries. These results will be presented by the end of 2017. The conceptual framework of this new study was already published in 2016 (ICCS, 2016). The new framework places greater emphasis on attitudes and values, showing that the link between moral education and citizenship education in research has strengthened.

The Active Citizenship in Europe study, executed by a consortium of researchers led by Bryony Hoskins, explored the concept of active citizenship, reviewed research on citizenship and citizenship education, and presented good practices in the field. The scope of this research, however, was broader than just education. The focus was on participatory citizenship and how policy and institutions, such as those surrounding education, can stimulate this participation. The ICCS 2009 study was also an important source for analysing the role of education in this study. Additionally, data on policy and practice was collected from all EU countries (country fiches) for this study. The conceptual analysis of citizenship in this study led to the following four models (Hoskins et al., 2012):

- the liberal model – emphasising civil society and volunteering;
- the civic republican model – emphasising voting and political engagement at the national level and common values;
- the communitarian model – emphasising identity in local communities;
- the critical model – emphasising critical, engaged citizens based on the values of social justice.

Analyses of the country fiches showed 'that all four models are currently present in policy approaches to participatory citizenship in Europe to different degrees. The traditional civic republican model remains historically strong in older democracies and has been promoted in newer democracies, while the critical model has also been promoted in the newer democracies in the transition to democracy. However, there are signs of a waning of policy support for these models and more a shift to communitarian and liberal models.' (Hoskins et al., 2012, 21). The study also shows that in most countries, education plays an important role in stimulating political participation and community involvement. Additionally, the value of democracy is emphasised in education policy in order to help young people understand the central place of democracy in society (Hoskins et al., 2012, 19).

The Eurydice (2012) study *Citizenship Education in Europe* gives insight into the curriculum of citizenship education in all EU countries. In particular, it asks how schools currently address citizenship education, for example, in specific subjects or as integrated into wider subjects/curriculum areas, and if attention is given to the school culture and to the possibility of participating in society. The study shows that in most countries, the curriculum requires schools to pay attention to citizenship education, and that most schools have several activities related to citizenship education. The Eurydice study raises interest in citizenship education by investigating more and in greater detail what exactly is going on in policy and in schools in all the EU Member States.

A last and fairly recent study in this field is the report on education policies and practices for fostering tolerance, respect for diversity and civic responsibility amongst children and young people in the EU (Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016). This report reviews the most relevant European and international research on these issues in order to summarise existing knowledge and to distil policy lessons based on evidence. The most relevant conclusions from this report for our study are listed below (Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016, 9).

1. 'Respect for others can be taught. There is a need to correct misconceptions and provide opportunities for genuine intercultural experiences from an early age.
2. School policies that encourage ethnic mixing create conditions for inter-ethnic cooperation and foster tolerance. However, simply bringing together young people from different backgrounds physically is not sufficient to reduce prejudice and develop positive intercultural relations; schools need to create the conditions for all children and school staff to develop their intercultural competence.
3. The way a school operates makes a difference. In particular, whole school approaches and schools with strong and dynamic ties to the local community have great potential for promoting cohesion. They create a sustainable positive school atmosphere, as well as a stronger sense of belonging.
4. New effective methods for creating inclusive classrooms have been developed in recent years. Most European countries still tend to use traditional teaching methods, although methods such as project-based learning, cooperative learning, service learning and peer education are becoming increasingly common. These methods have demonstrated their value in combating intolerance.'

All the studies discussed in this section give valuable information on citizenship education and teaching values. The general conclusion that can be drawn here is that all EU Member States have some education policy in place for stimulating the teaching of values, but that these policies differ between the Member States, and also with actual practices of teaching values within the same State. These studies, in particular the ICCS, also show that there is some evidence that value development is stimulated by the following (see also 2.2):

- a whole school approach that includes the teaching of values in a specific subject, its integration in other subjects, as well as in cross-curricular activities;
- a more dialogical methodology of teaching and learning;
- a democratic school culture;
- inclusive education bringing together different groups of students and teachers; and
- a link with the wider community.

In this research, we investigate if these elements of a powerful learning environment for teaching values, in particular those of democracy and tolerance, are part of the education policy of the EU Member States, and if schools and teachers can realise them in teaching practice. This research intends to extend existing knowledge by focusing on:

- two particular values, namely democracy and tolerance;
- the education policy and related developments in all 28 EU countries;
- the practice of teaching common values; and
- the implementation of the education policy, and possible tensions between the intended (formal) curriculum and the curriculum-in-practice.

3. RESEARCH DESIGN

KEY FINDINGS

The empirical research conducted here on teaching common values consists of two different studies. The first study contains an **analysis of the curriculum policy in all 28 Member States of the EU**. What is the curriculum policy regarding democracy and tolerance for secondary education for in EU Member States?

A **written questionnaire** was developed addressing the research questions. The questionnaire consists of 4 parts: education policy on Teaching Common Values, content of TCV, attention to school culture and participation in society in TCV policies, history and future of education policy on TCV. For each country, an **academic researcher/expert** was selected to complete the questionnaire

The second study involves a more in-depth investigation of the **curriculum in 12 Member States**. In these **in-depth studies**, the focus is extended to the curriculum practised at the school level. In selecting the countries for this study, the following criteria were taken into account: regional spread, country size, length of membership of the European Union.

The empirical research conducted here on teaching common values consists of two different studies. The first study contains an analysis of the curriculum policy in all 28 Member States of the EU. The second study involves a more in-depth investigation of the curriculum in 12 Member States. In these in-depth studies, the focus is extended to the curriculum practised at the school level.

3.1. Curriculum policy analysis of 28 countries (policy study)

The research question of this study is as follows:

What is the curriculum policy regarding democracy and tolerance for secondary education for secondary education in EU Member States?

This research is carried out on the level of the idealised and formal curriculum (see 2.3.1).

The sub-questions addressed herein are as follows:

- How important is the focus on democracy and tolerance in the curriculum of secondary schools?
- How are the concepts of democracy and tolerance articulated?
- What are the important reasons underlying this focus?
- In which subjects/cross-curricular activities are these values addressed?
- Have there been recent changes in the focus on democracy and tolerance in the education policy? What are these changes, and why have they been implemented?
- What should be changed in the next few years and why are these changes needed?

A written questionnaire was developed addressing these research questions. The questionnaire consists of 4 parts, listed below.

- A. Education policy on Teaching Common Values (TCV)
- B. Content of Teaching Common Values
- C. Attention to school culture and participation in society in TCV policies
- D. History and future of education policy on TCV

The complete questionnaire can be found in annex 1.

The data gathered by means of this questionnaire have been analysed in a comparative way, guided by the research questions. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses have been carried out. Some of the outcomes of these analyses will be presented in tables with data for all 28 countries. The focus will be on general trends and interesting exceptions and examples. Some innovative policies will also be presented more extensively.

3.2. Participating experts

For each country, an academic researcher/expert was selected to complete the questionnaire (see annex 2). The experts were selected on the basis of their scholarship in the field of moral and citizenship education; for example, they were active members of the network of social justice and intercultural education of EERA or the SIG moral and democratic education of EARLI, researchers in the ICCS study, or researchers involved in other international comparative studies like the UNESCO Global Citizenship group or the Active Citizenship Study. The selected experts are listed below:

In the policy study

Austria	Prof. dr Alfred Weinberger	Pedagogische Hochschule Linz
Belgium	Prof. dr Dimitris Kavadias	Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Bulgaria	Dr Svetla Petrova	Centre for Control and Assessment of the Quality in School Education
Croatia	Prof. dr Vjerab Katunarić	University of Zadar
Cyprus	Prof. dr Mary Koustellini	University of Cyprus
Denmark	Dr Hans Dorf	Aarhus University
Hungary	Dr Agnes Kende	Central European University Budapest
Italy	Prof. dr Piergiorgio Reggio	University Cattolica Milan
Ireland	Prof. dr Dymrna Devine	University of Dublin
Latvia	Prof. dr Anna Liduma	University of Riga
Lithuania	Prof. dr Giedrė Kvieskienė	Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences
Malta	Dr Simone Galea	University of Malta
Luxembourg	Dr Michèle Schilt	Zentrum für Politische Bildung
Portugal	Prof. dr Isabel Menezes	University of Porto
Sweden	Prof. dr Tomas Englund	Orebro University
Slovakia	Dr Jozef Miskolci	Slovak Governance Institute

In both studies

Czech Republic	Dr Dana Moree	Charles University Prague
Estonia	Heidi Paju Msc	Tallinn University
Finland	Prof. dr Kirsi Tirri	University of Helsinki
France	Prof. dr Antoine Bevort	LISE-CNRS-CNAM Paris
Germany	Prof. dr Dirk Lange	University of Hannover

Greece	Dr Anastasia Kesidou	Aristotle University Thessaloniki
Netherlands	Prof. dr Wiel Veugelers	University of Humanistic Studies
Poland	Dr Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz	Independent scholar
Romania	Dr Emilian Colceru	University of Bucharest
Slovenia	Dr Pavla Karba	National Education Institute
Spain	Prof. dr Maria Rosa Buxarrais	University of Barcelona
United Kingdom	Prof. dr Gert Biesta	Brunel University

3.3. In-depth analysis of the curriculum (curriculum study)

As mentioned, the second study within this research involves a more in-depth investigation of the curriculum regarding democracy and tolerance in 12 EU Member States.

The sub-questions addressed herein are:

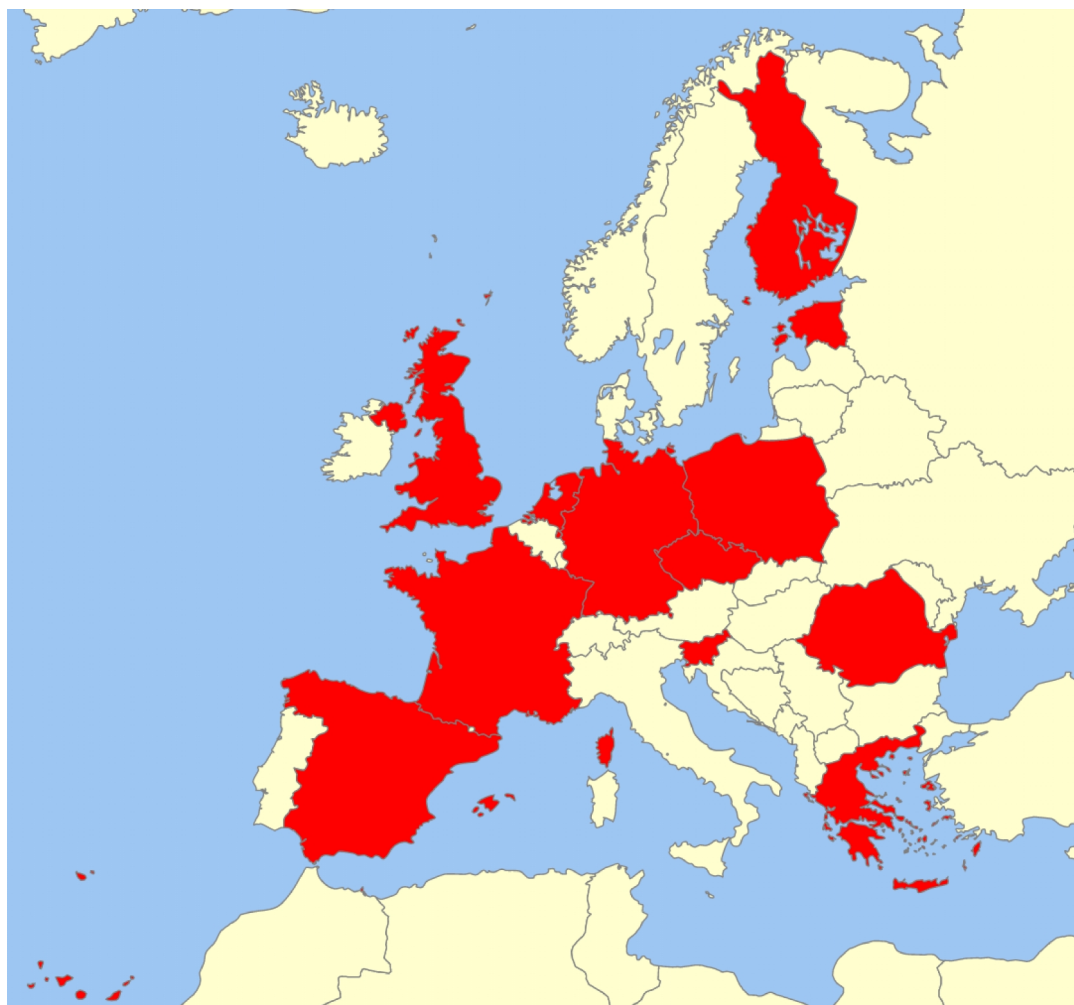
- What is the curriculum policy regarding democracy and tolerance for secondary schools and what important changes has it witnessed since 2000?
- To which developments are these changes related, for example: the economic crisis, a greater concentration of power in the European Union, the threat of terrorism, the growth in the number of immigrants and refugees, etc.?
- What is the influence of civil society organisations like NGOs on the curriculum for democracy and tolerance, both at the formal policy level and at the level of schools?
- How do teachers deal with the topics of democracy and tolerance in their schools?
- How can students be active in a democratic way in their schools?
- Are there differences in the curriculum for democracy and tolerance at the different levels of secondary education (pre-university tracks and vocational tracks)?

In selecting the countries for this study, the following criteria were taken into account:

- Regional spread (north-south, east-west)
- Country size (both large and small)
- Length of membership of the European Union (both old and recent members)

The following 12 countries (in alphabetical order) were included: Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, United Kingdom (see map 3.1).

Map 3.1: Participating countries in curriculum study



The same experts who performed the earlier policy study for these 12 countries were also involved in conducting the curriculum study. Each expert conducted the following research activities as part of this study:

- analysing the national policy and curriculum;
- interviewing a national policy and curriculum specialist;
- interviewing an education expert from an NGO active in the field of education for democracy and tolerance; and
- interviewing four teachers about their practices of teaching about democracy and tolerance.

Guidelines were developed for the different interviews and adapted – in line with the different research questions – to the theoretical framework and the questionnaire of the first study (see annex 2)

Each in-depth study is presented in this report with a full text (see chapter 5). Further, draft texts of all these curriculum studies were discussed in a 3-day seminar. During these discussions, the participating experts also contributed to the analyses of the curriculum studies and an initial formulation of conclusions and recommendations. The analyses of the curriculum studies have been guided by the above-mentioned research questions and built on the outcomes of the analyses of the policy study (chapter 4).

4. THE IMPORTANCE OF TEACHING COMMON VALUES IN THE EDUCATION POLICY OF EU MEMBER STATES

KEY FINDINGS

How important is teaching common values (TCV), in particular democracy and tolerance, in the education policies of the EU Member States? An analysis of questionnaires on TCV completed by education experts from all 28 Member States reveals that, in general, TCV is **fairly important in education policy**, particularly in 12 of these Member States. In the remaining Member States it is given less importance, in most cases either due to the **prevalence of other teaching areas or the inadequate presentation of TCV in both general and specific policy (curriculum) documents**.

- The analysis also reveals that though there is adequate policy attention to teaching democracy and tolerance, there are still two areas of concern: teaching democracy in education policy is **often about knowing democracy rather than fostering attitudes**, and **tolerance is not always actively inclusive of all social and cultural groups**. The analysis also shows that the international dimension of TCV is sometimes superficial and knowledge-centred, and that teaching about the **own nation** is susceptible to an uncritical approach.
- Studying the formal aspects of the policies on TCV, our analysis revealed the following:
 - The Member States **employ a variety of policy instruments** to regulate TCV. Countries where TCV is important usually have multiple policy instruments.
 - **Half the Member States have a specific subject for TCV**. Having a specific subject, however, does not seem to be a prerequisite for TCV being considered important.
 - **The policies vary with regard to curriculum steering and school autonomy**. Schools often have plenty of freedom in implementing TCV, and there is little to no monitoring or evaluation.
- This chapter also examines different approaches to TCV, such as the use of **dialogical teaching methods and participatory activities**, enabling students to experience democracy in the school and in society. In many Member States, both dialogical teaching methods and participatory school councils **are encouraged**. In about half the Member States, policy-level attention is given to active student participation in the community.

In this chapter on teaching common values (TCV), we investigate how important TCV is in the education policies of the EU Member States. By focusing on education policy, we will be dealing with the 'formal curriculum', i.e. the official documents outlining what schools are supposed to teach. This chapter addresses the following questions in particular: How important is TCV in general in education policy? How important is the teaching of the specific values of democracy and tolerance as part of TCV policy? How important are the aspects of school culture and student participation in society in TCV policy? We also examine 'formal' aspects of the policy, i.e. aspects not directly related to the content but to the steering or governance of education. We ask which policy instruments are used to regulate TCV; whether TCV is ordained as a specific subject, integrated into other subjects and/or integrated into other cross-curricular areas; and how much autonomy schools have

with regard to TCV. Further, we analyse whether these formal aspects correlate with the general importance of TCV in the Member States.

Our data for this chapter comprises the questionnaire responses on TCV completed by education experts from all 28 EU Member States. Our focus in this analysis was on finding trends and commonalities. The data clearly expressed strong variations in education policy across Europe. By giving examples and illustrations of TCV policy in various countries (favouring those that do not appear in the case studies), we therefore hope to do justice to all the interesting variations in policy.

Section 4.1 addresses the first question of how important TCV is in general in the education policies of the Member States. Sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 deal with the formal aspects of TCV policy, namely what policy instruments are used, whether there is a specific TCV subject in place or not, and how much autonomy do schools have in TCV. Sections 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 focus on the values of democracy and tolerance and the (inter)national dimension of TCV. Section 4.8 is about aspects of school culture (namely participation in school, teaching methodology and the school population). Section 4.9 deals with the participation of students in society. Finally, in section 4.10 we round up our discussion on TCV in education policy and list the recommendations offered by the education experts.

4.1. The importance of Teaching Common Values in the curriculum

How important is TCV in the education policy of each country? Given the variations and contextual differences between Member States, we chose not to use one set of criteria for gauging the importance of TCV in all Member States. Instead, we invited the experts to define and measure TCV importance in policy in a way that makes sense in the contexts of their own countries. The flip side of this approach, however, is that we cannot really compare the Member States. Experts, for instance, might score similar TCV policies as positive or negative because they use different standards or compare their own policy with different alternatives.

To interpret the experts' opinions we compared two sets of data: first, the scores (1 to 5) that each of the experts attributed to the importance of TCV in the education policy of their country; second, the other information in the questionnaires. In a few cases we asked the experts for additional information. Combining these sources, we give as best an indication of the importance of TCV in the education policies of the 28 Member States.

We distinguished between countries in which TCV was reported very important, moderately important and not so important. It is essential to remember that these categories do not imply a ranking; they merely categorise the opinions of the experts. In order to position the countries into one of these three categories we started with the scores given by experts to the importance of TCV in the education policy of their country. These scores (4/5 important, 3 moderately important, 2 not so important) serve as the starting point of our analysis.

Table 4.1: Experts' scores for TCV importance in their country's education policy

COUNTRY	IMPORTANCE OF TCV	COUNTRY	IMPORTANCE OF TCV
AT	4	IT	3
BE	2	LV	4
BG	4	LT	3
HR	3	LU	3
CY	4	MT	4
CZ	3	NL	3
DK	2	PL	5
EE	4	PT	3
FI	5	RO	3
FR	4	SK	4
DE	3	SI	5
EL	3	ES	2
HU	2	SE	3
IE	4	UK	4

Note: These scores do not imply a ranking.

Category 1: Teaching Common Values very important in education policy

Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and the UK.

The experts belonging to these countries all gave high scores (4 or 5) and used strong positive language to describe the role of TCV in their country. Given below are quotes from some questionnaire responses that illustrate this strong language (indicated in italics). In some cases, a bit of background is added to give context to the quote.

- In Austria, a government decree in 2015 instated citizenship education as a cross-curricular principle. The origin of this development dates back to 2007, when the government decided that people can vote at the age of 16, and subsequently several measures were undertaken to boost citizenship education. Basing his opinion on this development, the Austrian expert stated: 'TCV is *important* in the education policy as it is shown through its *manifold* legal establishment. The education policy considers TCV as an *important* factor of the quality of the school system.'
- In Cyprus, an education reform implemented in 2004 titled Democratic and Humanistic Education in the Euro-Cypriot Society, eventually led to a new curriculum in 2010. Referring to this, the Cypriot expert stated: 'TCV along with the concept of citizenship have both become the *core issues* of education. The official curriculum has *emphasised* on how education can contribute to the formation of democratic dispositions and the development of a democratic culture.'
- The Slovakian expert stated: 'TCV became a *firm* part of the State Educational Programme, which is the most crucial policy document on curriculum in Slovakia.' This programme mentions six learning areas that all speak about fostering common values, especially two of them: "Personal and social development" and "Protection of Life and Health". 'In addition', the expert writes further, 'Civic Education and Ethics Education as specific subjects incorporate the topic of common values *very strongly*.'

- In Germany, the federal structure entails all states having their own education policies, thus making it difficult to speak of the importance of TCV in general. Nevertheless, TCV is emphasised as a target of school education in every state law, as the German expert stated: 'The importance of TCV diverges—like the subject of civic education in general—from state to state... [Still] the position of teaching common values in the laws and acts is *more eminent*.'

According to the experts in all these countries, there is an emphasis on teaching values in key policy documents. The examples mentioned above illustrate the variety in this 'emphasis', e.g. the manifold legal establishment in Austria and the eminence of TCV in German state laws and acts. A more objective criterion used by some countries, for instance, Cyprus and Latvia, is that TCV is strongly present in the curriculum, e.g. it is integrated into all subjects.

Category 2: Teaching Common Values moderately important

Czech Republic, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Romania and Sweden.

Although the experts for the countries listed here were generally positive about the education policy on TCV in their countries, they nuanced this importance. Data analysis revealed four kinds of nuances: TCV is less important compared to other subjects or teaching areas, the key subjects for TCV are only marginally embedded in the curriculum or not well-organised, TCV is inadequately emphasised in the overall general aims, and the presence of TCV is reduced to overall education aims. We explain and illustrate these nuances in the paragraphs that follow.

The experts from Croatia, Estonia, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal and Romania mentioned that there is positive attention for TCV in the education policies of their countries, but they nuanced this position by making a comparison with other subjects. As the Portuguese expert explained, '[...] the emphasis is more on the teaching of "traditional" subjects, with a particular emphasis on maternal language and mathematics that are subjected to national exams or assessment tests.' In a similar vein the Dutch experts wrote that, 'The strong focus in Dutch policy and in monitoring schools on the "basics" (languages, mathematics and science) doesn't help in giving opportunities to teach values.' Likewise, the Romanian expert mentioned that the relevant teaching area for TCV is given fewer hours a week than maths and languages, but more time than the arts, physical education, technologies, and counselling and orientation.

In France and Hungary, TCV is given importance especially in the context of a single subject, but the position of this subject or the position of TCV within this subject is relatively unimportant. In France, following the terrorist attacks of November 2015 the government has prioritised the teaching of 'values of the republic'. Nevertheless, according to the French expert, all this display eventually only led to the introduction of one new subject, namely civic and moral teaching, which is taught for only half an hour every week. Similarly in Hungary, there is general attention for TCV in the curriculum, but it exists mainly as an integrated part of the subject history, and is hardly observed in practice. A reason the expert gave for this is that the teachers are not equipped for TCV. Moreover, the already packed history curriculum hinders the additional teaching of values.

Further, experts from Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Sweden, also remarked that the importance of TCV in their countries is weak especially on the level of general aims or vision. Luxembourg is the clearest example, as illustrated by the corresponding expert who mentioned that, 'In Luxembourg there is no official education policy on Teaching Common Values as such', but later added that there is attention for TCV

on the level of subject curricula. Such ambiguity also exists in Estonia, as illustrated by the Estonian expert who remarked that, 'There is no specific vision of teaching common values in national education policy; also compared to other subjects and topics the attention on teaching common values is not more important', but later added that TCV policy has significantly improved in the last decade. The contrary is true for Sweden, where TCV was important in the first years of the 21st century, but was later superseded by psychological topics such as socio-emotional learning.

The final nuance that emerged was that though TCV is part of the overall aims of education, it is all but absent in the specific curricular guidelines. Only the Danish expert brought this up.

All in all, half the EU Member States fell into this category of TCV being moderately important or ambiguous in their education policy, thus making it the largest category. All the nuances mentioned above when taken together, lead to two main reasons for TCV not being very important in the education policy: first, TCV lacks importance when compared to other subjects (especially maths and languages); second, there is a discrepancy between attention to TCV in the overall education aims (in education laws) and in specific curricular guidelines. In most cases, the former situation is more favourable to TCV than the latter.

Category 3: Teaching Common Values not so important in education policy

Belgium and Spain

The experts from Belgium and Spain assessed the importance of TCV in the education policies of their countries rather negatively. The Belgian expert mentioned segregation as the main reason for this, while the Spanish expert mentioned the priority of preparing students for the labour market as the underlying cause.

The expert from Belgium explained that the development of 'common' values in the country has been hindered by the strong segregation of society. The important causes for this segregation are pillarisation (the sharp division between the socialist, liberal and Roman-Catholic segments of society) and the ethno-linguistic conflict (the French south versus the Dutch north). Because of this lack of common values, the topic of *teaching* common values has been avoided by policymakers. Furthermore, it is difficult to make general statements on Belgian education since the country comprises three distinct (French-speaking, German-speaking and Dutch-speaking) educational communities, each with their own education policies. Furthermore, Belgian schools have much autonomy and are free to go their own way as long as they adhere to a basic minimum of common values. Nevertheless, there is some level of uniformity amongst schools in the Dutch-speaking community, in that they all follow 'learning plans' which contain competences for subjects or cross-curricular themes. These learning plans are developed by the three 'educational networks' in which the Flemish schools are grouped. The expert also added that since the terrorist attacks on Brussels in 2016, there seems to be more attention for TCV, which might affect education policy in the near future.

For a more in-depth discussion on Spain, we refer to the case study (5.11). To summarise here, the expert from Spain found the present education law (LOMCE) to be unfavourable to TCV. She wrote that, '[...] schools must prepare students for the needs of the labour market and production processes. This has important effects in the subjects offered at school, as those perceived as less useful for the economic system are either totally eliminated or, in the best case, they lose weight in the curriculum.' Moreover, 'value education has ceased to be a priority in the new LOMCE-based education system'. According to the expert, there is some mention of TCV in the law, but it amounts to very

little in practice: 'We could say that TCV is embedded in the curriculum in a chaotic and disorderly way and [is], very often, unplanned.'

The issue that negatively impacts the importance of TCV in Spain is not unique; one of the nuances in the previous category was also that of TCV falling behind other subjects with more direct relevance for the labour market. Apparently, TCV in Spain suffers from this orientation to a greater extent. The situation in Belgium, however, can be called somewhat unique, even though pillarisation and language conflicts also exist in other countries.

Altogether, the questionnaire responses show that amongst the 28 EU Member States, TCV holds a very important position in the education policy of 12 Member States, a moderately important position in 14 Member States, and a not so important position in 2 Member States. These are about the same ratios as in the 2009 ICCS, where civic and citizenship education had high priority in 15 countries, medium priority in 20 countries and low to no priority in 3 countries (ICCS, 2010a, 43-46). When comparing the outcomes for the EU Member States in the ICCS to our study, we see that some countries with high priority for civic and citizenship education in the ICCS show medium importance for TCV in our study and vice versa. Interestingly, while citizenship education had low priority in Slovakia in the ICCS, in our study TCV in the same country is reported to have high importance; the reverse is true for Spain. Although it is beyond our study to account for these differences, in the case of Spain and Slovakia we can at least say that the reversal in these trends probably relates to the change in policy.

4.2. Policy instruments for Teaching Common Values

In this and the following two sections (4.2-4.4) we will deal with formal aspects of the curriculum. Here we describe the various policy instruments used for TCV and analyse how they relate to the importance of TCV in education policy.

It is clear that every EU Member State has some kind of education policy on TCV. However, the policy *instruments* that they employ vary (see also ICCS 2010a, 43, 56). By policy instruments we mean the kinds of regulations and documents used for communicating and implementing policy; in particular we distinguish between laws and national core curricula. We first discuss the different policy instruments that the experts mentioned as relevant for TCV in their country. Then we present an overview of these policy instruments. In conclusion to this section, we point out that there is a relation between the type and the number of policy instruments used and the importance of TCV.

In the basic education laws, attention to TCV is often limited to a couple of sentences about values and principles underlying the education system of the country.¹ These laws can contain or be supplemented by the national core curricula. The core curricula give thorough descriptions of the organisation and aims of education on a national level. In other cases, the relevant policy instruments for TCV can take the form of elaborate curricula at subject level or at the cross-curricular level. Such elaborate curricula provide thorough descriptions of the aims and the content (and sometimes also the methods) of specific subjects or cross-curricular domains in which TCV is significantly present. There can, of course, also be combinations of policy instruments in place.

¹ Germany as a federation does not have an education legislation for the entire country. Each federal state has its own education laws. However, there is a standing conference of education ministers that formulates guidelines for the education policy of each state, including the attention to be given to TCV. Belgium is also a federation, but what the federal government in Belgium has to say on education comprises only the bare minimum and is mostly irrelevant for TCV. Since the Belgian expert in our study focused on the region of Flanders, the decrees by the Flemish Government are most relevant to this study.

The difference between basic education laws and national core curricula might not be clear at first glance. To explain and illustrate this difference, we use the example of Malta. The Maltese Education Act is silent on teaching democracy and contains only two references to teaching values: in defining the word 'teacher' it says that a teacher is equipped to motivate the student's 'aspirations for the highest values in life'; in defining 'lifelong learning' it says that the aim is to acquire and improve attitudes, values, knowledge, etc.² However, the Maltese national core curriculum contains much more information on teaching values. The learning area of *Education for Democracy*, for instance, is explained extensively in the core curriculum, with one part stating the requirement that 'They [students] gradually acquire positive attitudes and a respect for human rights; learn to adopt sustainable lifestyles; and develop a sense of belonging within their locality, country, European and international community and a willingness to participate in democratic decision-making at all levels to improve the quality of their lives.'³ In Malta (like in Czech Republic and Hungary) the national curriculum is further specified in another curricular document, which in Malta is called the *Learning Outcomes Framework*. This framework lists certain competences as the learning outcomes for the focus area of *citizenship* in the subject Personal, Social and Career Development; for instance: 'I can talk about and empathise with people who have unmet needs/I can describe things I like and dislike about my local community'.⁴ The example of Malta thus clearly illustrates how the national core curricula are likely to describe TCV in more detail as compared to basic education laws.

We now proceed to the overview of policy instruments for TCV employed by the different EU Member States.

² The Maltese Education Act is available online, see:
<http://www.justiceservices.gov.mt/DownloadDocument.aspx?app=lom&itemid=8801&l=1>

³ Ministry of Education and Employment (2012), 'A National Curriculum Framework for All'

⁴ <http://www.schoolslearningoutcomes.edu.mt/en/subjects/personal-social-and-career-development>.

Table 4.2: TCV importance and formal policy aspects (policy instruments, value-oriented TCV subjects and the degree of autonomy and monitoring)

		POLICY INSTRUMENTS						
		GENERAL LAWS		ELABORATE CURRICULA				
COUNTRY	TCV IMPORTANCE	BASIC EDUCATION LAWS	NATIONAL CORE CURRICULA	SUBJECT LEVEL	CROSS-CURRICULAR LEVEL	PRESENCE OF VALUE-ORIENTED SUBJECTS	AUTONOMY	MONITORING
AT	Very	X		X	X		Moderate	No
BE	Not	X					High	Weak
BG	Very	X	X			X	Moderate	Yes
HR	Moderate				X		Moderate	No
CY	Very		X	X		X	Moderate	Weak
CZ	Moderate		X			X	Moderate	No
DK	Moderate			X		X	High	No
EE	Moderate		X			X	Moderate	Yes
FI	Very	X	X				Moderate	No
FR	Moderate			X		X	Low	Yes
DE	Moderate	X					Moderate	Yes
EL	Moderate		X			X	Low	No
HU	Moderate		X				Low	No
IE	Very			X		X	Moderate	Strong
IT	Moderate			X			Moderate	No
LV	Very		X				Moderate	Yes
LT	Moderate		X	X			High	No
LU	Moderate			X		X	Moderate	No
MT	Moderate		X				Moderate	Yes
NL	Moderate	X					High	Yes
PL	Very	X	X			X	Moderate	Yes
PT	Moderate	X					Moderate	Yes
RO	Moderate	X		X			Moderate	Yes
SK	Very		X	X		X	High	Weak
SI	Very	X	X	X		X	Moderate	Yes
ES	Not	X					Moderate	No
SE	Moderate		X				Moderate	Yes
UK	Very	X	X			X	Low	Yes

Note: The scores do not imply a ranking. This table contains information for sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4. The X in the columns on policy instruments signifies that the specific policy instrument includes TCV. The X in the column on specific TCV subject signifies that a country has a specific value-oriented subject for TCV.

For the UK, the X for education law refers to the *Prevent Strategy* (section 26 of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act of 2015).

For Italy, it is not entirely clear whether *Citizenship and Constitution* is meant to be a subject or a cross-curricular theme. In this table, it is interpreted as a subject.

The cross-curricular policy documents mentioned are the 2015 government decree *Citizenship as a Cross-Curricular Educational Principle* for Austria, and the *Decision of introducing the programme of inter-subject and inter-curricular contents of civic education for elementary and secondary school* (Official Gazette, No. 104 (14)) for Croatia.

The national core curricula referred to here are the following: BG: State Education Standards on civic, health, ecological and intercultural education; CZ: a National Educational Programme for all education, specified for each school type in a Framework Education Programme; CY: Democratic and humanistic education in the Euro-Cypriot society. The report of the Reform Committee (2004) was the foundation for the 2010 education reform. In addition, each year the ministry publishes *Objectives of the year*, which define the ministry's priorities. These objectives regularly give attention to values, democracy and human rights; EE: National Curriculum for Basic/Upper Secondary School (2011); FI: National Core Curriculum (2014), which builds on the Basic Education Act and government decrees; EL: New Curriculum (2011); HU: National Core Curriculum (2009), elaborated in National Framework Curricula (2012); LT: Provisions for the National Education Strategy 2003–2012; LV: National Education Standards; MT: National Curriculum Framework (2012) in combination with a Learning Outcomes

Framework (finalised in 2015); PL: Core curriculum (2008); SK: State Education Programme (separate for lower and upper secondary education); SE: Compulsory School: curriculum and syllabi, and for upper secondary school: Curriculum, exam, objectives and upper secondary school subjects in secondary school (2011); UK: National Curriculum, although half of the British schools are exempted from following this.

What does table 4.2 (in particular the columns on TCV importance and policy instruments) make clear with regard to policy instruments for TCV? First, it shows how different countries use different (combinations of) policy instruments. Second, it shows that a greater number of policy instruments used seems to be an indicator for higher importance of TCV in the education policy. This also corresponds with the conclusion in the Eurydice report (p. 17) that the place allocated to citizenship education in the curriculum (though TCV is broader than citizenship) tends to reflect the importance given to citizenship education by policymakers. Our overview shows that the countries scoring low on TCV importance only employ one policy instrument. Only one country in the category with moderate TCV importance employs more than one policy instrument. However, two-thirds of the countries in the category with high TCV importance employ more than one policy instrument. Both countries with three policy instruments in place fall in the category giving high importance to TCV. Thus, the more education policymakers value TCV, the more instruments they use to secure the position of TCV in policy. What is also striking is that both countries scoring low on TCV importance only have basic education laws as relevant policy instruments for TCV. However, no strong conclusions can be drawn from this, since three countries in the other two categories also have only basic education laws in place as relevant policy instruments for TCV. Still, it is clear that attention to TCV cannot be limited to formulating general principles in basic education laws. Elaboration on TCV in the national core curriculum or specific curricula is desirable for propagating TCV.

4.3. Teaching Common Values in the curriculum

Another aspect of the education policy is the extent to which TCV is embedded in the curriculum: is it instated in the form of a specific subject, is it integrated into one or more subjects, is it a cross-curricular theme, or is it a combination of some or all of these modes?

TCV functions as or within a cross-curricular theme in all countries. According to the experts, a cross-curricular approach to TCV can mean a number of things, e.g. that there are TCV projects that transcend subjects, that TCV is part of learning themes in which several subjects are included, or that all teachers are required to pay attention to it. In about half the Member States, in addition to being cross-curricular, TCV is also integrated into one or more value-related subjects. When TCV is integrated into one or more subjects, it means that it is really part of the content or aims of these subjects. In the other half of the Member States, in addition to being cross-curricular, TCV is included in one or two specific value-oriented subjects. These results show strong resemblances to the Eurydice study (2012, 21). For instance, the Eurydice study also concluded that to some extent all countries have a cross-curricular approach towards citizenship education, since all teachers are supposed to reach objectives related to this area; further, the cross-curricular approach is always complemented by a subject-based approach.

We first address the countries where TCV is integrated into one or more value-related subjects, then the countries where TCV is included in one or two specific value-oriented subjects, and finally the countries where TCV is an optional subject or embedded in the curriculum in an alternative way.

Teaching Common Values integrated into one or more value-related subjects

In nine EU Member States, there is not really one specific school subject for TCV, but TCV is integrated into one or several subjects (Belgium, Croatia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden). There are three variations to this: TCV is either integrated into one single subject, into all subjects or into some subjects.

- **TCV integrated into one subject, but its status unclear.** In Belgium, or at least Flanders, TCV is part of the compulsory course on religion. However, since this subject is confessional, we cannot say that it addresses *common* values per se. It is also not certain how important TCV is in this course in comparison to other topics.
- **TCV integrated into all subjects.** This is explicitly the case in Croatia, Finland, Latvia and Portugal. Finland is an interesting example here. In Finland, the values to be taught are distributed across all the subjects. The Finnish national curriculum has seven 'transversal' or cross-curricular competences, of which two are particularly relevant to participation, democracy and tolerance: competence 2 which deals with diversity, self-expression, human rights and moral behaviour; and competence 7 which is about civic participation and effective, sustainable democracy. Both competences are allocated to the subjects of language and literature, religion, ethics, history, social studies, music, visual arts and home economics. Further, competence 2 is also integrated into guidance counselling, and competence 7 into geography, health care, crafts and physical education.
- **TCV integrated into a selection of subjects.** In Hungary, Malta, Netherlands, Poland and Sweden, TCV is given special space within a selection of subjects, such as, the study/knowledge of society, history, geography, and philosophy/ethics. It is also noteworthy that in Hungary, a value area such as peace and human rights also appears in the natural sciences, where according to the curriculum, the topic of water is to be taught with regard to water protection and security of potable water.

The selection of subjects relevant to TCV is not necessarily equally distributed across the curriculum. In Malta, most of these subjects are optional and appear only in upper secondary pre-university education. Likewise, the experts from the Netherlands and Poland mentioned that the subjects that attend to components of TCV in their countries are less prevalent in the pre-vocational tracks.

Teaching Common Values as a value-oriented subject

In all other Member States, TCV is cross-curricular *and* is included in one or two specific school subjects. Herein, we have grouped the countries into two further sub-categories: countries with subjects for TCV that are compulsory for the entire secondary school period, and countries with subjects for TCV only compulsory for a part of the period. Additional information on hours and different tracks (e.g. pre-university and pre-vocational) is also provided here if available.

Subjects for TCV compulsory for the entire secondary school period:

- Czech Republic: *Basic of Civics and Social Sciences*
- Estonia: *Civics* from years 4 to 7 of school (ages 10-14) for one hour a week, and from year 7 to the end of secondary education for two hours a week
- France: *Civic and Moral Teaching* for half an hour a week for the entire period
- Ireland: *CSPE (Civic, Social and Political Education)* for lower secondary education; *Politics and Society* in upper secondary education was introduced in September 2016

- Luxembourg: *Citizenship Education* compulsory through years 10-12 or in year 13, for two hours in the pre-university track and 6 hours in professional classes, i.e. students who will not obtain a diploma for further studies; *Life and Society* compulsory through years 1-11, in all tracks for two or sometimes one hour a week
- UK: *Citizenship and SMSC (Social, Moral, Spiritual and Cultural Education)*

Subjects for TCV compulsory for a part of the secondary school period:

- Bulgaria: *Citizenship Education* in upper secondary schooling compulsory for all students in all tracks (both general and vocational education), and in lower secondary education only interdisciplinary and as a cross-curricular theme
- Cyprus: *Civics* for half an hour in the third year of the three year (compulsory) gymnasium (ages 12-15)
- Denmark: *Social Studies*, only taught in years 8 and 9 of the comprehensive school (equals two years of lower secondary education), and only obligatory at the lowest level of upper secondary education (subjects are offered in three levels of depth, from high to low: A, B and C, and while some are obligatory at level A, such as history; social studies is only obligatory at level C)
- Greece: *Social and Civic Education* in lower secondary schools for two hours a week in grade 3; and in upper secondary schools for three and two hours a week respectively in years 1 and 2 of general lyceum; and two hours a week in year 1 of vocational lyceum
- Lithuania: *Civic Education*, compulsory in years 7 and 9; for all other years the Civic Education Programme is recommended to be integrated in other subjects
- Poland: *Knowledge about Society* for a minimum of 65 hours in lower-secondary education; in upper secondary education, the subject has a minimum of 30 hours, but if there are enough students interested, it can be increased up to 180 hours
- Slovakia: *Civic Education* for one hour a week in lower education and varying time allotments in upper secondary education; and *Ethics* for students who do not follow *Religious Education*; the higher vocational tracks spend less time on these subjects than the pre-university track
- Slovenia: *Citizenship Education* for two years in lower secondary education; as integrated into other subjects, as a cross-curricular theme and through extra-curricular activities, it appears in all school phases

Teaching Common Values embedded in an alternative way

In several countries, subjects for TCV are embedded in the curriculum in a different way. We briefly explain this case for all five Member States where this is observed.

- In Austria, citizenship education, the most relevant subject for TCV, is only taught in vocational schools. In non-vocational secondary education, TCV is combined with subjects such as history and economics.
- In Germany there are some states which have specific subjects for civic education (*politische Bildung*), but in other states it is combined with other subjects.
- In Italy, according to the expert, it is not clear whether *Citizenship and Constitution* is indeed a specific subject or more a cross-curricular theme.
- In Romania, subjects relevant for TCV appear under a lot of different headings. The compulsory subjects that deal with TCV in secondary education are civic culture (for two years in lower secondary), and sociology, philosophy and social studies (each for one year in higher secondary). Beginning 2017, four more compulsory subjects were added to lower secondary education, one subject for each year respectively:

Critical Thinking and Children's Rights, Intercultural Education, Education for Democratic Citizenship and Economic and Financial Education. Additionally, there are plenty of optional subjects that schools can add to their curriculum. The subjects for citizenship education and TCV belong to the curricular area *Man and Society* and are allotted somewhere between three to seven hours a week, and can sometimes range up to five to eight hours a week.

- In Spain there is a specific subject for TCV, but it is optional and is offered as an alternative to religious education.

In conclusion, this section demonstrates the variety of ways in which TCV is embedded in the curriculum. This corresponds with the ICCS (2010a) and Eurydice study (2012), which also highlight the variety of curricular approaches of European nation states to citizenship education. Although TCV is in some sense cross-curricular in every country, in less than half the Member States, TCV is integrated into one, several or all of the value-related subjects, while in half the Member States, TCV is clearly included in one or two specific value-oriented subjects (which come under a variety of names). These ratios roughly correspond to the ICCS (2010a). It also becomes clear from table 4.2 (the columns on TCV importance and the specific school subject in particular) that there seems to be no connection between having a specific subject for TCV and the general importance of TCV in education policy. Within each category (very important, moderately important, or not important), about half of the Member States have a specific subject for TCV, while the others do not.

4.4. Autonomy and evaluation in Teaching Common Values

The last formal aspect of education policy on TCV that we discuss here is how strongly governments steer TCV in schools in their country, and the amount of freedom that schools have in interpreting the TCV curriculum. A government can either be more directive in this respect or grant more autonomy to schools. In the latter case, schools could be offered the possibility to articulate the common values in a specific way, or add other values to the common values that are relevant to their specific contexts. It is to be expected that governments would want to know if the education policy is effective and to closely evaluate or even monitor the practice of TCV. In countries where schools have greater autonomy, the government might want to monitor if this autonomy is properly applied and remains within the bounds of the national education policy.

In this section we first present some examples and trends in the provision of autonomy and the steering of TCV in education policy. Then we draw some conclusions on the relation between autonomy and steering on the one hand, and the importance of TCV on the other.

On the basis of our analysis of the questionnaire responses, we have distinguished between countries with low, moderate or high levels of school autonomy in implementing TCV. The most commonly observed category of moderate school autonomy implies that schools have autonomy within the boundaries of the education policy. Strictly speaking, this is what policy always does: establishing frameworks within which schools can develop their own approach (Eurydice, 2012, 17). In the category of moderate autonomy, experts would confirm that these established frameworks are neither too narrow nor too broad. What this means will become clearer when we further discuss some instances of high as well as low levels of autonomy. In this discussion, we also link autonomy to the policy on monitoring. Our data for the EU Member States mainly show if monitoring was absent or present in the State. For many countries we do not have enough data to establish an elaborate distinction between strong and weak forms of monitoring. Nevertheless, we discuss some reasons that

experts mention for monitoring being weak in their country, and present the one cited example of strong monitoring.

Schools are granted high levels of autonomy in the education policies of Belgium, Denmark, Lithuania, Netherlands and Slovakia. In Belgium and Netherlands, 'freedom of education' is key. Dutch policymakers do prescribe that all schools have to teach a basic minimum of common values; but what these values are, is left rather open. Moreover, schools are free to add values that fit their own religious or educational identity (see also 5.7). In the Netherlands and Belgium, an inspectorate monitors TCV, but to a limited degree. As mentioned by the Belgian expert, 'The Flemish inspectorate for education only monitors whether schools make an effort to work on the cross-curricular themes. There is no accountability concerning the effectiveness or the results.' This is also true for the Netherlands, even though the Dutch inspectorate seems to use more specific criteria for assessing effectiveness of TCV (e.g. social competences, pluralism, core values and engagement in democratic practices). In Denmark, schools are granted freedom to develop their own vision on TCV. There is monitoring of the achievement of competence aims and the knowledge and skill targets set out for the various subjects, but since none of those aims and targets apply to TCV, this area is not monitored. However, in March 2016 the Danish government decided that the control of free schools with regard to democratic values, both in the curriculum and in everyday school life, should be tighter. The rationale behind this decision, according to one Danish MP, was to give the government more power over Muslim schools to ensure that they are not 'running Quran schools under disguise'.

In four of the Member States, schools have low levels of autonomy in TCV. The experts from three of these States (namely France, Greece and Hungary) made mentions of a highly centralised school system. According to the Greek expert, because of centralisation, 'schools can in most cases not develop their own vision on TCV'. In both Greece as well as in France, TCV is monitored. In Hungary, the new conservative government is moving towards more centralisation. The Hungarian expert wrote that though there are output requirements for TCV, since it remains unclear how to meet these requirements, monitoring is practically impossible. English schools also have low levels of autonomy, but in this context the school system is not highly centralised. In the UK, the government is just more prescriptive with regard to values. Consequently, schools have little space to diverge from the values mentioned in the National Curriculum and within the Fundamental British Values. There is very specific monitoring with regard to the latter, wherein schools are obligated to report to the inspectorate how they are faring in promoting these values.

In about half the EU Member States, there is no effective evaluation or monitoring of TCV, either due to a lack in policy or the deficient implementation of policy. This seems to correspond with the Eurydice study (2012, 77), where it also appeared that the national policy of a large number of countries was silent on the evaluation of citizenship education. In our study, we see a number of reasons for the absence of monitoring of TCV. For instance, in Austria only subjects are inspected. Since there is no separate subject for TCV in Austria, it remains uninspected. In some countries, particularly in Spain and to a lesser degree in Portugal, the education inspectorates do not find the area of values relevant enough to inspect. Finland does not have any inspection at all. While there are values that have to be adopted by the Finnish schools, there is no central inspectorate to monitor this. What comes closest to education monitoring in Finland are meetings with other schools and parents at the municipal level. This is an interesting and more horizontal way of monitoring.

The monitoring in only one of the Member States can be qualified as strong, namely Ireland. By strong we mean that there is a sophisticated and serious approach to monitoring TCV. As the expert from Ireland explained:

Common values are part of a school's mission/ethos statement. This should permeate the whole school, and the School Inspectorate (run by the Department of Education and Skills-DES) will look at this [...]. The DES has produced School Self-Evaluation Guidelines which enable schools to look at how the common values they hold are passed on through the school's Pastoral Care system/curriculum/hidden curriculum. Good practice involves schools examining their mission statement to see if it reflects the work they are doing. This is commented upon in [...] school inspection reports.

Is there a link between the importance of TCV and autonomy or monitoring? As table 4.2 shows, there is no correlation between the importance of TCV in the curriculum and the level of autonomy exercised by schools, or between TCV importance and the level of monitoring. This is, however, not to say that autonomy and monitoring are irrelevant. A (moderate) level of autonomy remains desirable for schools in order to adapt their teaching to local circumstances (see for example Keddie, 2015), and evaluation and monitoring remains indispensable to knowing how policy is implemented in practice, particularly for the sake of public responsibility – although there is always the danger of governments turning monitoring into a control mechanism (see for example Robinson, 2010).

4.5. Democracy in the curriculum

Up to this point, we have been concerned with formal curricular aspects and values in education in general. In the next two sections, we will look specifically at the values of democracy and tolerance. We start with democracy in this section. First, we concentrate on the general importance of democracy in the education policy of the Member States. After that we discuss the three components of democracy, namely participation, politics and society.

How important is teaching democracy in the education policies of the EU Member States? Since all EU Member States are democracies, it is of no surprise that democracy is of central importance in many of their education policies. Experts from 11 Member States (namely Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden) were all very explicit when mentioning the importance of democracy in education in their countries. They mentioned that democracy is formulated as a governing principle and/or as a key objective of education in their respective countries. An example of democracy as a governing principle is that of Sweden, where the curriculum documents for both lower and upper secondary school open with the statement that the school system is based on the foundation of democracy. So democracy is the cornerstone of the rest of the education policy. An example of democracy as a key objective is in Bulgarian policy, where the brand-new School Education Act states that 'Development of competences for understanding and applying the principles of democracy and a constitutional state is one of the main goals of school education'.

Only in a minority of the EU Member States is the emphasis on democracy absent or mostly implicit in the education policy. In Luxembourg, for instance, the word democracy is hardly emphasised in education policy. This has to do with the absence of a central policy on TCV in the country. France too, is a somewhat special case, as the French policy speaks of republican instead of democratic values.

It seems reasonable to assume that even in the countries where the word democracy is not abundantly present in the policy documents, there would still be a consensus that education should advance democracy. However, what is striking is that most of the countries which are more explicit about including democracy in education policy (7 out of 11), also fall in the category of countries where TCV is considered very important in education policy. It thus seems to be the case that countries that prioritise TCV are likely to be more explicit about key values, such as democracy, in their policy.

4.5.1. Participation, democratic politics and building a democratic society

We continue our analysis of democracy by examining the three components of democracy we have distinguished: participation, democratic politics and building a democratic society. We are interested in how important these components are in the education policies, and in what sense. As a starting point for our analysis, we use the experts' scores on the importance of the three components in the education policy of their countries. The table below gives an overview of these scores. Again we stress that the experts may have used different criteria for assigning these scores; thus they cannot be used for direct comparisons.

Table 4.3: Experts' scores on the importance of participation, democratic politics and building a democratic society in their country's education policy

COUNTRY	COMPONENTS OF DEMOCRACY		
	Political participation	Democratic politics	Building a democratic society
AT	5	5	5
BE	3	4	2
BG	5	5	3
HR	4	4	2
CY	5	5	5
CZ	2	4	3
DK	3	3	3
EE	4	3	4
FI	5	4	5
FR	3	3	2
DE	4	4	4
EL	3	3	4
HU	2	3	2
IE	4	4	4
IT	3	3	4
LV	4	3	3
LT	2	3	3
LU	3	2	2
MT	3	3	3
NL	4	3	3
PL	4	5	5
PT	2	2	3
RO	3	4	3
SK	3	4	4
SI	4	4	4
ES	3	3	4
SE	4	3	3
UK	3	4	5
Average	3.5	3.6	3.5

Note: The scores do not imply a ranking of the countries.

It is striking that the overall average scores are almost the same across the three components of democracy: 3.5 (or 3.6) out of 5. This means that on average, the importance of participation, democratic politics and building a democratic society in the education policies across the EU Member States is almost equivalent. It also means that, in general, the experts are positive about the teaching of democracy in their countries (see also Hoskins, et al., 2012, 20).

To give more meaning to these numbers, we now present some illustrative teaching examples of each of these components of democracy, from countries assigned a high score (4 or 5), a moderate score (3) and a low score (2).

4.5.1.1. Political participation

Teaching (about) political participation involves imparting knowledge about political institutions, promoting experiential learning through participation in the community and fostering commitment towards political involvement. Experts who give a high score to political participation within their country's education policy, generally stress that political participation is advanced on all these levels. This quote from the Cypriot expert illustrates the issue:

The curriculum [...] records that students should be made aware of the role of different levels of government, as well as of the role of social and political institutions (e.g. family, education, economy, church, administration [...]) both for the functioning of society and for safeguarding social cohesion. At the same time, concepts such as state, nation, citizens, politics, laws/rules are expected to be clarified by citizenship education. The students are also expected to clarify the interdependence between the individual and the state and between different types of regimes. Students should also learn the state functions (legislative, executive, judicial), along with their peculiarities and prospects. Finally, students should acknowledge their rights (individual-political-social) and obligations (as individuals and groups). This knowledge is expected to strengthen their commitment to political involvement and their active participation in society.

Experts who scored political participation within their country's education policy as moderately important, in general, spoke positively about this component, but also mentioned factors that limit its importance. One of these factors is that political participation is only part of the curriculum to a minor degree. The limiting factor mentioned most often was that though participation is taught in theory, it is not put into practice. So the element of actually *experiencing* participation is missing. Further, the UK expert made a note that, apart from voting, political participation is fostered more on a social level and less on a political level. For instance, he mentioned missing political activism in the curriculum of his country.

Experts from three countries (namely Czech Republic, Portugal and Hungary) assigned a low score to the importance of political participation within their country's education policy. The reason stated for these low scores was also the discrepancy between teaching about participation and actual participation in practice. The expert from Hungary, for instance, only reported attention to political institutions in the Hungarian national core curriculum, and nothing on the topic of active participation and commitment.

4.5.1.2. Democratic politics

This component of democratic education focuses on teaching about the concept of democracy, explaining its multiple meanings and how it differs from an authoritarian

regime, and fostering a democratic attitude. Also vital to this component are developing democratic skills such as critical thinking, debating or deliberation, and consensus-building.

In the countries assigned a high score (4 or 5) for this component, it is usually the importance of democratic knowledge and skills that is stressed, while attitudes remain less explicit in the curriculum. For instance, in Bulgaria, the subject of history deals with the concept of democracy and the differences between democratic and authoritarian regimes. Critical thinking and debating skills are fostered in the subject of philosophy, which is part of the unified curriculum for secondary education. In Slovenia, two of the three general objectives of the social science subjects clearly and comprehensively deal with democratic politics. These were stated by the expert as follows:

- **Development of political literacy** through knowledge about the functioning of the political system of democracy in comparison with totalitarian systems; about democratic institutions; democratic forms of decision-making; human rights; international organisations/associations and global economic/social/political/ecological/ethical circumstances/problems/issues and dilemmas
- **Development of critical thinking** through getting to know/recognise/discuss/judge/hold a dialogue on/understand and critically reflect on the above-mentioned topics.

There are exceptions, however. The Cypriot expert gave the component of democratic politics a maximum score (of 5), even though the most recent curriculum in Cyprus accords little attention to knowledge of democracy in comparison to democratic attitudes and skills. In the eyes of this expert, apparently the latter elements of attitudes and skills matter more.

The experts who scored democratic politics as only moderately important in their country's education policy, mentioned several limiting factors on this front. The most frequently mentioned factor was that democratic politics only has a minor place in the curriculum. Take Malta, for instance, where some subjects from the subject area *Education for Democracy* engage with democratic political issues and democratic pedagogical practice, but not all these subjects are compulsory. Another limiting factor was that debating and similar skills are not linked to democracy. In France, for instance, though democratic skills such as debating are inculcated, the term democracy itself is especially understood as a legal concept.

Two countries were assigned a low score on democratic politics within their education policies. Education about democracy in Portugal seems to be hindered by its dictatorial past, which makes teachers wary of political education in the classroom. And in Luxembourg, the expert made clear that the focus in democratic politics is relatively strong on knowledge, and relatively weak on democratic political skills and attitudes.

4.5.1.3. Building a democratic society

This last component of teaching democracy is about the degree to which students are motivated to make society more democratic or to secure its democracy. This concerns developing skills to deal with civic issues and fostering positive attitudes towards values such as freedom of speech, justice and inclusiveness.

Building a democratic society is considered important in the education policy of 13 EU Member States. Experts from these Member States explained that teaching about the importance of making society more democratic, including equipping students with the skills needed for this, is part of the objectives of the curricula in their countries. In Italy and

Estonia, the focus is on extracurricular activities, in particular on having students participate in the local community. We deal with this in more detail in section 4.9. In Cyprus, Finland, Greece, Ireland and Poland, building a democratic society is particularly connected to helping minorities and stimulating human rights.

Experts who found building a democratic society only moderately important within their country's education policy, were generally positive about the teaching of this component, but pointed out some factors limiting policy in this area. What experts mentioned often was a lack in practising what is preached, due to the way education is organised on this front, to limited teacher skills and/or to classroom practice. The last two reasons, however, relate more to practice than policy.

One particular example of the weak organisation of education for building a democratic society is from Portugal. At the discursive level, there seems to be a lot of attention in Portugal towards building a democratic society, but there is no space created in the curriculum for actually enabling this. Another example is from the Netherlands, where though this component of democracy is considered important in policy, it is left open to schools to decide how much effort to put into it. As a consequence, teachers are not properly facilitated for the task. The problem of lacking teacher skills was also put forward by the Latvian expert. Though the relevant policies are in place in Latvia, teachers lack the scientific insights necessary to effectively foster a commitment towards a more democratic society amongst the students.

In relation to classroom practice, what stands out is that 'freedom of speech' is often no classroom reality. Students are not always allowed to speak their minds. The experts from Romania and Bulgaria reported this, but interestingly enough, so did the experts from Denmark. For Denmark, as the local expert explained, the scarce attention to freedom of speech in policy is remarkable since this topic has been important in politics ever since the Muhammad cartoons controversy of 2005.

Finally, we address the question of why more countries were given a low score by their experts with respect to building a democratic society, than the number of countries receiving a low score on the other two components. In general, it was noted that teaching is limited to (some) elements needed for building a democratic society, and that the actual practice of building such a society is not addressed. A good example was provided by the expert from France, who observed that education policy only delivered the *building blocks* (debating, listening and reasoning skills), but not the actual building of a democratic society. He therefore gave France a low score (of 2) on this component. The situation was reported to be similar in Slovenia, but here the expert did not mind that there was no actual democratic society building. The Slovenian expert wrote that there was attention for 'gaining knowledge and developing skills/viewpoints/relations which are *needed* to develop a democratic political system in society' (our italics), and assigned Slovenia a high score (of 5) on this component.

4.5.2. Conclusion on democracy in the curriculum

On average, experts were of the opinion that the value of democracy as part of TCV is fairly important (average score of 3.5 out of 5). Further, the three components of democracy (participation, democratic politics and democratic society) are, on average, considered equally important (score of 3.5/3.6 out of 5). We can therefore conclude that democracy and its components are quite well addressed in the education policy of the EU Member States. Nevertheless, a 3.5 is still a moderate score compared to a 4 or a 5. The analysis revealed two main factors limiting the importance of teaching democracy in the education policies of the Member States: (1) the meagre position of democracy in the curriculum, and

(2) failing to practice what is preached, either on account of the discrepancy between the central curricular documents stating the importance of democracy and the lack thereof in the more practical curricular documents, or on account of the discrepancy between theory and practice.

4.6. Tolerance in the curriculum

The second value this research focuses on is that of tolerance. In general, tolerance, like democracy, holds a prominent place in the education policy of many EU Member States. For instance, in Germany, 'it is defined in the education acts of all federal states that democracy, tolerance and participation should be fostered. Those form a general frame, which determines actions regarding schools and the curricula.' Similarly, in Slovenia, the goals of all levels of education include 'mutual tolerance, developing awareness of gender equality, democratic and active citizenship, [and] respect for differences.'

However, unlike democracy, the connotation of the term tolerance is not altogether positive. As discussed in chapter 2, tolerance implies more the acceptance of otherness and less an appreciation of that otherness. Some experts criticised a country's policy for merely committing to tolerance. An example is Poland, where '[t]olerance is considered an important issue in the subject Knowledge about Society but rather narrowly understood. [...] In [the] core curriculum tolerance is contrasted with acceptance and from this perspective does not seem to be recognised as a possible vehicle for closer involvement with other social and cultural groups.' What happens in this case is that students learn about 'the other', instead of focusing on commonalities. The expert from Malta also differentiated between respect and tolerance, and was glad that education in her country goes beyond tolerance: 'The school subject Ethics, Personal Social and Career Development seek[s] to educate students towards respect for diversities: ethnic, religious, cultural, [and] gender-based rather than mere tolerance.'

Still, the idea of tolerance, designated either with that word or through other concepts such as 'appreciation', 'respectful engagement' and 'mutual respect', remains important in the education policy of the Member States.

4.6.1. Interpersonal relations, tolerance towards other groups and an inclusive society

We now focus on the three components of tolerance that we have distinguished in our analysis: respectful interpersonal relations, tolerance towards other cultural groups and building an inclusive society. We start with the following table showing how the importance of each of these components in the education policy is scored by the expert from the respective country. Again, we stress that no ranking between countries is implied in this table, as the experts might have used different criteria to assign these scores. In the following sections we will elaborate on what these scores mean in the context of the different countries. As in the section on democracy, we distinguish three categories for each component: very important (4-5), moderately important (3) and not so important (1-2).

Table 4.4: Experts' scores on the importance of interpersonal relations, tolerance towards others and an inclusive society in their country's education policy

COUNTRY	COMPONENTS OF TOLERANCE		
	Interpersonal Relations	Tolerance towards cultural groups	Building Inclusive society
AT	4	4	4
BE	5	4	2
BG	4	5	4
HR	3	3	3
CY	4	5	5
CZ	3	4	2
DK	1	1	1
EE	5	3	5
FI	5	4	5
FR	4	3	2
DE	3	4	3
EL	3	3	3
HU	4	1	3
IE	4	4	5
IT	4	3	4
LV	4	4	4
LT	4	3	4
LU	2	2	2
MT	5	4	5
NL	4	3	2
PL	5	5	4
PT	3	4	3
RO	2	3	2
SK	4	4	4
SI	5	5	4
ES	4	2	3
SE	4	4	4
UK	4	4	3
Average	3.8	3.5	3.3

Note: The scores do not imply a ranking of the countries.

Just as with democracy, the average score for the importance of the value of tolerance in education policy across all the EU Member States is 3.5 out of 5. However, this time, the average scores of the three components of tolerance vary. The component of interpersonal relations scores half a point higher than the component of building an inclusive society. We reflect on these differences as we discuss each of the components below.

4.6.1.1. *Interpersonal relations*

Teaching about interpersonal relations as a component of tolerance means teaching students to empathise and behave respectfully towards one another. Most countries are assigned high scores in this respect. One example is Bulgaria, where 'the students are expected to demonstrate skills for conflict resolution, giving positive feedback, listening, asking questions, expressing feelings and understanding someone['s] feelings, empathy, etc.'. While in Bulgaria all kinds of behaviours and skills related to interpersonal relations are listed in the policy, the education policies of other countries focus on specific aspects of interpersonal relationships, such as communication skills (in Cyprus), sensitivity (in France), empathy (in Finland), and anti-bullying (in Malta, Netherlands and Spain).

Even when experts gave their countries a score of 3 or lower on the importance of teaching about interpersonal relations within the education policy, they still made positive remarks about how this component of tolerance is addressed. For instance, the Danish expert was critical of the limited role of interpersonal relations in Denmark's curricular documents (he assigned his country the lowest score of 1). However, he also stated that in a comprehensive school reform in Denmark in 2014, the importance of this component was emphasised. Similarly, though the expert from Luxembourg assigned his country a low score of 2, he mentioned that, 'Especially in professional secondary education (pupils from 15 years on), social competences are considered important to such an extent that they are part of the evaluation (pupils may eventually fail their year, if this domain isn't convincing)'. Thus, even when policy was relatively silent on interpersonal relations, the experts' comments still indicated that in practice there was enough attention being given to this component.

Altogether, the experts agreed on the importance given to the teaching of interpersonal relations in their countries, even if the policy documents might suggest otherwise. An argument for this could be that in education practice teachers unavoidably have to work with children and their interpersonal relations. Even in teacher-directed education, teachers cannot entirely avoid interpersonal relations.

4.6.1.2. *Tolerance towards other cultural groups*

This component brings us to the question at the heart of teaching tolerance: how important is it in education policy to teach students to accept, respect or tolerate people of other cultural groups? Again we can conclude that, in general, this component is important in the education policies of nearly all Member States. For instance, one of the goals in Belgian secondary education is to 'Be non-discriminating of people of different gender, race, and ethnicity'. In the curriculum of the 'humanistic and democratic school' of Cyprus, there are references 'to the virtues of tolerance and cooperation with other ethnic groups in the modern multicultural society.' Further, 'students are invited to contribute to strengthening social cohesion, through the cultivation of social relations, tolerance and social solidarity in the context of today's multicultural society and intercultural dialogue.'

However, some experts were still negative about the role of tolerance in the education policies of their countries. For instance, in Denmark, although the idea of tolerance is mentioned in the general goals of the comprehensive school, the value has virtually disappeared from the curriculum. In fact, the idea is mentioned only in the subject area of foreign languages, as policy emphasises that learning foreign languages contributes to intercultural understanding.

It is also interesting to focus our analysis on specific areas of tolerance, such as sexuality, religion and ethnicity. Education for tolerance can have a central position in the curriculum, but if it does not explicitly mention the particular groups to be tolerated, experts tend to be

critical. Looking at sexual tolerance, for instance, the Romanian expert noticed that, 'The issue of sexual minorities is inexistent in the official Ministry discourse.' The Bulgarian expert wrote that, 'Development of tolerance and respect to ethnic, national, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of every citizen is set as a main goal of the education in Bulgaria.' We observe that the category of sexual identity is absent in this list. Experts from the Czech Republic, Greece, Estonia and Hungary also noted the implicitness or even absence of tolerance for sexual minorities in the education policy of their countries (i.e. the so-called LGBTQ: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer community).

However, there are also EU Member States that explicitly include sexual minorities in their tolerance education (e.g. Austria, Cyprus, Italy, Malta, Netherlands and Portugal). In the Netherlands, for instance, 'Paying attention to sexual diversity is part of the main criteria, and the Ministry of Education has actively supported the development of education[al] materials and projects on sexual differences/LGBT.' Further, the Dutch Minister of Education has also announced the inclusion of education on sexual diversity in the teacher training programmes. In Malta, a policy document on *Trans, Gender Variant and Intersex students* was published in 2015. As mentioned by the expert from Malta, 'It refers to the need of an inclusive and harassment-free school environment that educates for differences related to sexual orientation and gender expression.'

Tolerance of religious diversity is also not always a matter of course. Experts from some Member States, such as Greece, Hungary and the Czech Republic, noted that religious diversity or freedom is not explicitly mentioned in the context of tolerance in their country's educational policy. The Romanian expert observed that although students of all religions are allowed to form their own classes to study the subject area of religion, what happens in practice is that non-orthodox students end up in the classes of the dominant Christian Orthodox Church. Some of the other Member States, however, have explicit policies on religious tolerance. Ireland is one example, which has had its share of problems arising from religious diversity. In religious education in Ireland, 'students learn about different religious communities and conflict[s] that has occurred/can occur.'

We discuss tolerance towards ethnic groups in the next section.

4.6.1.3. Building an inclusive society

Building an inclusive society is about reducing exclusion, inequality, discrimination and social injustice. This component of tolerance is concerned with the societal perspective instead of personal or intergroup relations. As part of this component, students need to learn about the negative societal effects mentioned above and the mechanism producing them, as well as develop the skills and commitment towards reducing them. In the questionnaire responses, two issues stand out with regard to building an inclusive society: human rights, and the integration of immigrants and refugees in society. We build our discussion of this component of tolerance around these two issues.

Only a minority of the experts gave high scores to the importance of building an inclusive society in the education policy of their country. The reason for these high scores in some cases was the attention given to human rights. This shows that some experts consider human rights a key aspect of inclusiveness (c.f. ICCS, 2010a; Eurydice, 2012). The Polish and Cypriot experts, for instance, mentioned human rights together with democracy as a main value in the education policy documents of their countries. Human rights were also pivotal for the Austrian expert, who stated that, 'The building of an inclusive society is important in the education policy on TCV. All curricula stress the aim that students should know the human rights.' The same was true for the experts from Ireland, Slovenia and the UK.

Conversely, the lack of teaching about human rights could also have served as a major issue underlying the low scores on this component of tolerance. The Spanish expert, for instance, mentioned that as supranational bodies stress human rights, it is crucial that every school should have education *on, for, and in* human rights. However, '[n]one of this is included in the curriculum'. Several experts from the countries that scored low on this component mentioned little about the teaching of human rights (e.g. Belgium, Czech Republic and France). Serving as another example, the Dutch experts stated that human rights are not yet obligatory in the Netherlands, but that the Ministry does mention it as a key domain. However, 'freedom of education' in the Netherlands gives Dutch schools the possibility of exerting a large influence on issues that relate to religions, and schools cannot be forced to teach human rights in a particular way. The Danish expert did observe attention for teaching about human rights in his country, but made the important remark that teaching human rights is not the same as fostering commitment.

Integrating immigrants or minorities in society was the second main aspect brought up in the questionnaire responses within the component of building an inclusive society. In this case too, an education policy favouring the integration of immigrants and minorities was an important reason for experts to give a high score to their country's education policy on this component. The experts gave examples of how immigrant and minority issues have prompted education policymakers to pay more attention to inclusiveness. In Italy, for instance, the schools have a good reputation for inclusiveness, especially with respect to handicapped people. Further, now that the issue of increasing immigration has become pressing, schools are taking the lead in dealing with integration processes, especially by promoting intercultural education.

A cultural group mentioned by experts from several (Eastern European) countries was that of the Roma people. The exclusion of Roma people is well documented by education scholars (e.g. Moree 2008; Váradi 2014), and experts in this research underlined the importance of having an education policy that tries to counter this exclusion. In Bulgaria, for example, research has shown that the students with a Roma background perform terribly at schools. The experts mention that only 15% of the Roma boys and 9% of the Roma girls in Bulgaria finish secondary school. Apparently, the Roma people are far from being socially included in the country. A positive development is that the Bulgarian government has issued several projects to support these vulnerable groups. One of these projects was the *Educational Integration of children and students from ethnic minorities* implemented during 2011-2013. The project was aimed at providing minority students with, amongst other benefits, equal access to high-standing education. We also observe a similar development in Romania. Here the government positively discriminates the Roma people, so that they can be integrated into classes despite their weaker performances in national exams. The government continues this policy even though a segment of society resists this positive discrimination.

Similar concerns are voiced in Hungary and Slovakia, but without the government proficiently taking up the issue. The Slovakian expert reported that, 'There is [...] a significant over-representation of Roma students in special schools or special classrooms of regular schools as a form of segregation of Roma students. The principals often opt for this option of excluding the Roma child into a special educational stream in order to avoid the "white flight" – so the "White" parents would not run away from the school for being concerned about the quality of the school. There are not [sic] education policies which would proactively deal with this situation and promote diversity of students in schools.'

4.6.2. Conclusion on tolerance in the curriculum

We can thus conclude that, on average, tolerance is adequately addressed in the TCV policy of the Member States. With regard to the first component of interpersonal relations, virtually all experts were positive about its place in the curriculum. Nevertheless, not all education policies were explicit on this matter. Most experts were also positive about the policy attention towards tolerating other cultural groups. When this was not the case, it had to do with insufficient attention given to specific groups, in particular religious and LGBTQ groups, Roma people and, more recently, non-Western immigrants.

With regard to the component of building an inclusive society, we saw that human rights and inclusion of immigrant and minority groups emerged as key issues. Addressing these issues adequately in policy was for many experts the underlying condition for assessing this component positively. Taking the last two components together, we can argue that human rights are essential for tolerance, since the awareness that all groups of people have these rights makes discrimination unjustifiable. Policy should thus express sufficient awareness of the processes of inequalities and exclusion of specific groups.

4.7. (Inter)national orientation in Teaching Common Values

In addition to democracy and tolerance, we ask how education policy takes into account the national and international dimensions of TCV. The national dimension signifies the attention in the curriculum to education (including knowledge and attitudes) about the own country, its culture, language(s) and history. The international dimension concerns education about other countries or supranational bodies, such as the European Union, and the relation between the international dimension and the country in question. Our main concern is the balance between national and international education, but we are also interested in how (inter)national educational is characterised in policy, whether it is critical and whether it addresses both knowledge as well as attitudes.

The table below presents the scores given by the experts to designate the importance of both the national and the international orientation in TCV. Once again, the scores here do not imply a ranking, since the criteria used by the experts for scoring may have been different.

Table 4.5: Experts' scores on the importance of national and international orientation in the education policy

COUNTRY	(INTER)NATIONAL DIMENSION	
	National	International
AT	5	5
BE	5	3
BG	5	5
HR	5	3
CY	4	5
CZ	4	4
DK	3	3
EE	5	3
FI	5	4
FR	5	3
DE	3	3
EL	2	3
HU	2	3
IE	3	3
IT	4	3
LV	3	5
LT	5	3
LU	3	3
MT	4	3
NL	4	2
PL	5	5
PT	4	4
RO	4	3
SK	4	2
SI	4	4
ES	5	3
SE	3	3
UK	5	2
Average	4.0	3.4

Note: The scores do not imply a ranking of the countries.

The overview shows an average score of 4.0 for national orientation and a score of 3.4 for international orientation in the education policies of the Member States. The high score for national orientation does not necessarily imply rampant patriotism; critically investigating one's own nation and studying controversial topics might also be part of the national orientation. We deal with this in detail in the following section.

4.7.1. National orientation

In the experts' comments on national orientation we see the term national understood as both an emphasis on fostering national values as well as the critical investigation of the nation, specifically its history.

We start with the two countries that most clearly have a strong national perspective on value education. In Great Britain, the 'Brexit' has created (or was created by) what the expert calls 'Europhobia'. Unsurprisingly, this has led to a strong focus on Britain's own values and identity. As expressed by the expert, 'The advice for the promotion of Fundamental British Values has an ever stronger national orientation as it seeks to safeguard the future of British democratic and legal institutions, but also British democratic and legal culture.' On a lesser scale, and without the mention of Europhobia, the same characteristic was indicated by the expert from France who stated that, 'In lower and higher secondary education this national orientation is very present, very important. The Republican values are clearly those of France.'

In fact, experts from many Member States (e.g. Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Finland, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Malta, Portugal, Romania and Slovenia) value the importance of TCV in fostering national citizenship, but at the same time stress the importance of balancing this with international orientation. These nations' experts typically write that national cohesion and familiarity with one's own culture and past is important, but not at the cost of realising the growing importance of the country's place within a greater whole. For instance, the strategic goal of a Lithuanian policy document is 'to make Lithuania's education a sustainable basis for the enhancement of the state's wellbeing and [for the] education of a dynamic and independent personality responsible for the creation of the own, the country's and the world's future'. Similarly, in Italy, 'Traditionally a great part of contents of the subject "Civic Education" was dedicated to increase a common sense of national identity (history, values...); more recently the subject "Constitution and Citizenship" has confirmed the importance of the national dimension, but including larger aspects belonging to the international dimension.'

A majority of the experts take up the question of national orientation in the context of history education, and often in connection with the teaching of controversial issues. Are the education policies of the EU Member States favourable to such teaching? This question is interesting to investigate as research has underlined the importance of addressing controversial issues in order to teach about tolerance and diversity (Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016). Experts from seven Member States (namely Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland and Portugal) do not think there is enough room in their countries for schools to deal with controversies. The expert from Croatia, for instance, searched the Croatian policy documents for references to skills for critically analysing the history of their own country, and did not find any. He did, however, find many references to the word 'national', often in combination with the word 'patriotic'. In Hungary, a conservative government has been leading the country since 2010, and it has increasingly been centralising education by, for instance, reducing the choice of textbooks. According to the Hungarian expert, the government in this way has forced history education into a more national and conservative direction, with little attention to controversial issues. In the Netherlands, perhaps it goes too far to say that the controversial issues characterising Dutch history, such as slave trade and the holocaust, are ignored, but NGOs and other organisations have argued that these issues remain relatively unexposed.

Experts from nine other Member States (namely Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, France, Germany, Ireland, Romania and Slovenia) do acknowledge attention being given to controversial issues, particularly in history education, where there is opportunity for reflection on controversial or difficult episodes. In Germany, this means, for instance,

reflecting on its national-socialistic past. In Romania, there are even (optional) school subjects that are all about controversial past events, such as *The History of the Holocaust* and *The History of national minorities in Romania*.

4.7.2. International orientation

In this discussion of the international orientation in the education policies of the EU Member States, we differentiate between countries that were assigned low scores (2), moderate scores (3) and high scores (4-5). Only three experts assigned the policy of their country a low score (2) on international orientation. The UK was one of them, and the previous section already discusses why this is the case. Additionally, the Dutch and Slovakian experts indicated that there is little systematic and explicit attention to international orientation in the education policies of their countries.

In the category of countries with moderate scores, the main problem that emerges is that education about other countries is rather superficial (c.f. Georgi, 2008). In Denmark, for instance, the general goal of international education is 'understanding of other countries and culture[s]', which as such is not very specific, and only cognitive. Moreover, the Danish expert added that in the last decades national orientation has become increasingly important, making understanding other cultures a lower priority. The Estonian expert, though she noticed an increase in teaching about the European Union, also missed the important aspects of international education in her country on '[t]opics, such as political integration, globalisation, migration, and cosmopolitan orientation [which] get less [...] attention if any.' The final example we cite here is of Greece. In Greece, the reported attention to education about Europe and beyond is 'rather superficial'. In general, teaching in Greece is 'ethnocentric' and this hinders 'the cultivation of a healthy national and European identity in the future citizen'.

Further, in countries where the international dimension in education is considered important, it is not necessarily the case that international education goes beyond teaching knowledge. In Portugal, for instance, there is an emphasis on knowledge about Europe in the curriculum, but controversial aspects are avoided. Moreover, as the Portuguese expert explained, Europe is dealt with in a historical, factual way, without showing how Europe influences students' lives.

In other countries with high scores on the international dimension, experts observed an explicit value dimension in the policy on international education. Cyprus is a good example. One of the goals of international education in Cyprus is understanding the organisation and function(s) of Europe, including a critical approach to what it has to offer to Cyprus and the rest of the world. Another goal is acknowledging national, European and world citizenship, including the rights and obligations that come along with this. Cypriot students are expected 'to have a positive attitude towards voluntary organisations which undertake actions at local and international level in order to relieve or mitigate fellow humans and universal problems.' Another example is Austria, where, as described by the expert, 'Pan-European thinking and cosmopolitanism are the basis for a peaceful and equitable living together in a global and supra-regional context.' This shows that within the component of international orientation, students are expected to go beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge of international problems and European institutions.

4.7.3. Conclusion on (inter)national orientation in Teaching Common Values

As we argued in chapter 2, fostering a sense of national belonging is undeniably important in TCV, but it is equally desirable that students learn to look critically at their own country. Our research suggests that in a number of Member States (history) education provides a

good balance between patriotism and critical awareness, but in just as many Member States this balance is lacking with the scales tilting in favour of patriotism. Policymakers should thus pay attention to achieving and maintaining this balance.

Considering the international dimension, our main conclusion is that most Member States are aware of the importance of teaching about other countries. However, there is little evidence that the international dimension is addressed to its fullest, including the creation of a sense of cosmopolitanism and European and global citizenship. As with teaching values in general, the goal of international education should extend beyond mere knowledge transmission to also include attitudes.

4.8. School culture

Until now, we have focused on *teaching* common values. But there are also other, more indirect ways in education to stimulate students to develop values. These have to do with *school culture*. In this section we treat three aspects of school culture, namely participation in school, teaching methodologies and the diversity of the student and teacher populations. The first aspect of school culture is more linked to fostering democracy and the third more to fostering tolerance; the second to both.

4.8.1. Participation in school

As explained in chapter 2, school culture also implicitly fosters values. The school can be a training ground for democracy when students have the opportunity to experience democracy themselves. As quoted by the Cypriot expert from a curriculum document from her country, 'The school should be a democratic field for the society's reformation, [a field] where all participants are exercised in democracy and participation and are involved within different levels of the decision-making process'. There are several ways in which a school can do this, for instance, by stimulating school discipline, by encouraging student evaluations of schools and through student representation in school decision-making. Policy on school discipline is mentioned by experts from eight Member States. Most experts, however, focused on student representation, especially through student councils. Student councils are formal representative bodies open to all students, which have a real influence on school leadership. In student councils, students learn about democratic processes and experience having an actual influence on governance.

Most Member States have a policy encouraging or even enforcing a form of student representation. This supports the conclusion of the Eurydice study (2012) that student participation is widely promoted in schools. We start here with two examples from countries demonstrating a good organisation of school councils.

- In Luxembourg, 'Each secondary school has a student council. The elections take place every 2 years. Furthermore, each class has "speakers" that communicate on behalf of his [sic] class with the student council and the school directors. Students have also the right to assist on the "Educational council" of each school that decides about the budget. On the national level representatives of each student council are organised in a "national student council" which proofed [sic] its strength and credibility at the end of September 2016 by negotiating the periods of the final exams with the Minister of Education.'
- In Belgium, student participation is 'a core goal of Flemish education policy', especially since a decree on this matter was issued in 2004. All schools are required to have a student council, unless more than 90% of the students do not want one or unless there are other ways in which students can be involved in school affairs. In general, the expert from Belgium remarks that, 'Participation in a student council is

seen as a practical way to stimulate participation and to provide a “hands-on” approach of teaching democratic politics.’

Despite the generally favourable trend in student representation in schools, two factors might limit the presence of school councils: an undemocratic school culture and strong school autonomy. In relation to the first limiting factor, there has to be a culture of democracy in the school in order for a school council to make sense. This is not always the case. The Greek expert, for instance, reported that the Greek schools are too bureaucratic, thus hindering a democratic practice. Likewise, the Czech experts mentioned that some schools are experienced as being authoritarian institutes. Similarly, in Spain, the principal is the one in control. It is believed that the school should be run by professionals, and not by inexperienced students. In the Greek case, at least, a recent national dialogue between government officials, researchers, business professionals and teachers led to a consensus that schools should be organised more democratically.

The second limiting factor of autonomy implies that schools are free to decide for themselves whether or not there should be a school council. If schools have this kind of autonomy, there is no guarantee that school councils will be widespread in a country. On the other hand, a high degree of centralisation can also have negative consequences on the advancement of school councils. Hungary provides one example of this latter situation. The expert from Hungary spoke of the ‘destruction of students’ rights’, explaining that, ‘whereas the law previously allowed student governments to agree, disagree or even veto regulations suggested or imposed by the school administration, the new law only allows student governments to express their opinion.’

School councils are a proven instrument for having students learn democracy at first hand. Fortunately, in many EU Member States school councils are widespread. To boost the prevalence of school councils still further, education policies might consider making it compulsory for schools to have one. The Eurydice study (2012, 39) suggests that even decentralised school systems should regulate student participation in school governance. What surely is undesirable, however, is an authoritarian or bureaucratic school organisation. If a school is not organised democratically, the students miss out on relevant democratic experiences and may instead derive a misplaced idea of how to lead institutions.

4.8.2. Policy on methods for Teaching Common Values

In this section we focus on the policy on methods for TCV. The rationale behind teaching common values is not that students only acquire some extra insights, but that their attitudes themselves change. Only understanding values is not enough; it is also important to inculcate acceptance. This makes it problematic when TCV in the education policy does not extend beyond imparting knowledge, as is the case in some countries. The Polish experts observed this problem explicitly and agreed that “teaching values” through “teaching about values” seems not to be sufficient.’ They further indicated that focusing on knowledge can even contribute to students forming a misplaced idea of democracy, because, ‘Democracy from this perspective seems then to be something formal, external and even alienated from the student life, instead of being a model of relations between people on both interpersonal and intergroup levels.’

As explained in chapter 2, dialogical teaching methods are vital for students to learn to understand *and* accept values. In this section, the focus is therefore on teaching methods. Is education policy explicit about the teaching methods to be employed for TCV or does it leave the decision of how to approach TCV open to schools and teachers?

The answer we derive from our analysis is that dialogical teaching methods are actively encouraged in the education policies of most Member States. Only experts from less than a third of the Member States (more specifically Czech Republic, Denmark, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain), noted that there is very little or nothing in the policy on how to teach common values. Experts from all other countries stated that their education policy mentions or more often even recommends the use of dialogical teaching methods. The expert from Estonia, for instance, wrote that, 'Teachers are encouraged to use active and involving methodology, such as cooperative learning, case studies, disputes, project works, problem solving, research and document analysis.' In Croatia, the policy documents even go beyond recommending. Quoting from the most important education policy document in the country, the Croatian expert stated that the policy prescribes 'the use of interactive methods of learning and teaching oriented to empirical insight, team-learning, cooperative and workshop learning associated with research, analysis, making conclusions, problem solving which enables students [...] acquiring knowledge, skills and values.' The same document goes on to mention that, 'Such work does not preclude individual methods of learning (for example, individual reading, text analysis, analysis of visual materials or writing essay), but it is essential that they are used as departure to execution of the common activities.'

Hence, most EU Member States promote dialogical teaching methods in their education policy. The language used in this context is often that of recommendations or encouragement, and sometimes also of expectations. However, policy rarely gives specific prescriptions or establishes strict regulations on how to teach TCV.

4.8.3. Diverse teacher and student populations

In order to foster tolerance and appreciation of diversity, students need to experience situations where people of different social and cultural backgrounds are actually present. School classes are often homogenous, which stands in the way of promoting intercultural and intersocial contacts. Policies that promote mixed (ethnically, socially, culturally, religiously, etc.) classes could strongly help foster tolerance and the appreciation of diversity (Isac, Maslowski & Van der Werf, 2015). Classes can be made diverse not only by having a mixed student population, but also promoting diversity in the teacher population (Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016). This section focuses on whether the education policies of the EU Member States take notice of the importance of diversity in schools.

Let us start by saying that many experts pointed out segregated classrooms as an obstacle to TCV. The most common forms of segregation reported were social and ethnic in nature. Social segregation happens when children from different social milieus end up in different schools and classes. Experts from Western Europe (namely France, Denmark, Austria, Belgium and Germany, but also from Bulgaria and Estonia) mentioned this problem in particular. Segregation of minority groups has already been discussed a few times in the context of the Roma students, but there are also examples of immigrant children not being properly included in the normal schools or classrooms. In Spain, for instance, 80% of the immigrant students are enrolled in public schools while only 20% attend the more privileged charter schools (which constitute 45% of all centres). The expert from Malta is particularly critical of a policy in her country that obliges refugee or migrant children to spend a year in a distinct class in order to improve their linguistic skills, before they join the Maltese students. This policy might not be ill-intended, but harbours a form of exclusion nevertheless.

Policy that really challenges segregation is uncommon. In Latvia, for instance, there are separate schools for minorities, where they can learn in their own language. Comparably, in Sweden, there are a growing number of independent schools which are often homogenous

with respect to ethnicity or religion. Religious segregation is also the case in the Netherlands. In fact, the Dutch government fully finances religious schools. These schools are allowed to develop additional entrance criteria for student selection, such as religious identity. As a consequence, religious schools often have a religiously homogeneous population. In these examples, the governments clearly accept the existence of such forms of segregation.

Nonetheless, there are also examples of education policies that proactively stimulate mixed classes. Flanders (Belgium) is one such case. Here a decree issued in 2003 on equal opportunities promotes mixed classes. As explained by the expert, 'This decree installs the right of a parent to enrol in a school of choice. School administrations weren't any longer able to refuse the enrolment of a child on a subjective basis (a common practice until then). [...] The primary goal of this provision was to ensure the rights of all parents but also to provide incentives for ethnic desegregation of inner-city schools.' The decree also enables offering extra support (e.g. financial assistance) to children from risk groups, such as children from travelling groups. This decree and extra support thus indirectly ensures that the mixed classes are vitalised. In the Czech Republic, there is also financial support for schools with similar inclusion measures since September 2016. However, in addition to the decree and provision of financial assistance, Belgium also has an early tracking school system which 'stimulates mainly social selection in function of social background and origin', instead of academic selection as is generally the case.

In Slovenia and Finland, there are anti-discrimination acts that guarantee equal education opportunities for all students regardless of ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, etc. In Latvia and Slovakia, free school choice stimulates mixed classes. However, as we discussed earlier, in the case of Slovakia, this policy does not prevent school principals from refusing entry to Roma children. In Greece, the school system is also non-elective and there is no tracking, and consequently, the schools are very heterogeneous.

In addition to a mixed student population, a mixed teacher population is also important for learning to live together with other people and for promoting the presence of positive role models. In the experts' responses to the questionnaire, we did not encounter examples of policies favouring a mixed teacher population.

4.9. Linking school and society

Next to participating in school, students can also learn about democracy by participating in society. Experts from half the Member States (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Malta, Poland, Romania, Spain and the UK) mentioned (some) policy that encourages students to actively participate in the community. We will discuss some interesting examples of countries where students are indeed encouraged to get involved in volunteer or community work.

The Italian expert was most explicit on this matter. In Italy, a strong cooperation exists between schools and the local community in the form of churches, unions and local administrations. Agreements exist between these parties on how students can have direct experiences with participating in society. Although such participatory experiences are not part of formal education, schools are enabled to give students credits for their community work. Further, the expert mentioned that the emphasis in community work is on legality. The objective is to help students become aware of the effects of the mafia culture, and deal with problems such as violence and illegality, and additionally also learn about women's rights and minority rights.

In Ireland, there is a transitional year between lower and upper secondary education with opportunities for students to get involved in their local community. Each school designs its

own transitional year programme, but 'there is generally strong emphasis on voluntary contributions (through engaging with local charities).'

In other countries, participation of students in society is especially encouraged through extracurricular projects or programmes, often initiated by schools in collaboration with other institutions. The Latvian expert, for instance, mentioned music festivals that are organised in this way, such as the youth art and music festival 'Latvian tones and halftones' and the folk festival 'Latvian children leads dancing'. In Slovenia, schools together with the organisation Slovene Philanthropy organise expert lectures on the topic of refugees. The National Curriculum for England, under the heading of citizenship, states that pupils should be taught about 'the different ways in which a citizen can contribute to the improvement of his or her community', including 'the opportunity to participate actively in community volunteering, as well as other forms of responsible activity.'⁵

Only in Hungary, student participation in society was not only encouraged, but even compulsory. Since 2012, students have to complete 50 hours of community service in order to successfully complete secondary school. The Hungarian expert gave a clear description on how this community service is organised:

The Act defines community service as a social or environmental activity carried out individually or in a group to the benefit of the local community, within an organised framework and with pedagogical support. The aim is to raise social awareness, improve the self-confidence and various skills and competences of students and provide an opportunity for career guidance. Community service relies on the cooperation of schools with other organisations (municipalities, NGOs, churches, museums, libraries etc.) as students usually perform community service in these organisations – e.g. in the fields of healthcare, welfare, environment or nature protection.

In the Netherlands too there was compulsory civil service learning between 2011 and 2014, but the government cancelled this to give schools the opportunity to decide for themselves whether or not they want this kind of learning.

The examples provided in this section, along with the literature on this topic (ICCS, 2010a; Eurydice 2012; Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016), clearly suggest that education for democracy benefits from a policy encouraging students to be actively involved in the community.

4.10. Conclusions and recommendations

In this chapter, we focused on the importance of TCV in the education policy of all EU Member States. From the analysis herein, we can conclude that, in general, TCV has a fairly important place in education policy. TCV is very important in 12 of the Member States and moderately important in 14 of the Member States. Only in 2 Member States was TCV reported to be not so important. The lack of importance of TCV is in most cases either due to the dominance of other teaching areas or the inadequate presentation of TCV in both general and specific policy documents. The specific values we focused on in this study, namely democracy and tolerance, are also considered fairly important in education policy across the EU Member States, both scoring on average 3.5 on a five-point scale. With regard to the (inter)national dimension of TCV, it appears that international education is

⁵

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/335116/Master_final_national_curriculum_220714.pdf. The quote is from p. 229 of this document.

often superficial and knowledge-centred. Although national education is generally better in these respects, it often does not offer a critical look at one's own country.

We also focused on some formal aspects of policy on TCV. We saw that there is a wide variety of policy instruments used for regulating TCV in the curriculum. Our data suggest a relationship between the (number of) policy instruments and the general importance of TCV; countries that consider TCV important are likely to use multiple policy instruments for implementing TCV, and do not reduce attention to values to simple short descriptions in the general education laws. There is also a variety in the way TCV is embedded in the curriculum. Although TCV is a cross-curricular theme in all countries, in about half of the Member States there are either one or more specific value-oriented subjects for TCV or TCV is integrated into one or more value-related subjects. The general importance of TCV, however, seems to be unrelated to the presence of a separate subject for TCV. The same goes for the autonomy and monitoring of schools. We saw that countries differ in the degree to which policies grant autonomy to schools in implementing TCV, and also in the way schools are being monitored for TCV. Nevertheless, both autonomy and monitoring do not correlate with the general importance of TCV in education policy. Furthermore, we looked into different aspects of how TCV should be approached, such as dialogical teaching methods and enabling students to experience democracy in the school and in society. In most (but not all) countries, dialogical teaching methods are encouraged and school councils are present. About half of the EU Member States have a policy on student participation in society.

We will present the overall recommendations based on these and other conclusions in chapter 8. However, here we already list the most important recommendations for improving TCV as mentioned by the experts from all 28 EU Member States. We distinguish between recommendations at the national level and those at the EU level. For each category, we specify recommendations that have been mentioned more than once, and which bear relevance beyond the specific context of one country alone.

4.10.1. National-level recommendations by the experts

Policy in general

- Give TCV more attention in policy. This is only explicitly addressed by experts from two countries, but implied by several other experts as well. The expert from Luxembourg stated that a nice start would be actually *having* a policy vision on TCV. As we saw, TCV-related topics were only addressed in the curricula of specific subjects, but it should also be included in the general policy documents. The experts from the Netherlands made the second explicit mention to this. Here the problem is not that TCV is not mentioned in policy, but that it is left rather open. The Dutch experts desired more *specific* policy on TCV.
- Evaluate TCV. As we have seen, there is little evaluation or monitoring of TCV in many countries. The experts from Bulgaria, Greece and the Netherlands recommended more evaluation in order to gain insight into the extent and quality of TCV.

Curriculum

- Introduce a specific (compulsory) value-oriented subject for citizenship education or TCV. Many countries have such a subject in place and appreciate this. Although countries without a specific subject for TCV may be satisfied with the status quo, experts from at least two countries would like to have a specific school subject (Netherlands) introduced in all levels of secondary education (Austria).

- Prevent ethics and religious education from being alternatives for each other. This is the case in Slovakia, Malta and Spain. Ethics can be a strong subject for TCV, but students miss out on this when ethics is only taught as an alternative to religious education.

School culture

- Counter school segregation. We saw that school segregation stands in the way of having mixed school populations. Countering segregation, as recommended by the Maltese, French and Dutch experts, is needed for improving teaching on democracy and tolerance effectively and to all children.

Teacher training

- Improve teacher training. This recommendation was given most frequently (Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Romania and Slovakia). This shows how much experts value teacher quality in TCV. The responses of the experts revealed several examples of teachers still holding tight to traditional teaching methods, being indifferent to TCV, or avoiding TCV because of a reluctance to teach anything that resembles ideology. The improvements therefore should target both pre-service and in-service trainings.

4.10.2. European-level recommendations by the experts

- Increase or continue support for TCV. The experts from the Netherlands, Germany, Romania and Slovakia mentioned this. They brought up the idea of financing specific programmes or projects for TCV, such as international exchanges (Germany). The Dutch and Italian experts further recommended (continuing) supporting and financing studies on citizenship development and education.
- Sharing good practices. There is no need to reinvent the wheel. Many countries are already working with successful programmes for TCV or have developed policies for TCV that could work in other countries as well. The EU as a supranational entity should (continue to) stimulate the collecting and exchanging of good (and perhaps not so good) practices and make them available to the other Member States.
- Stimulate international student and teacher exchanges. In line with the previous recommendations, it can be very helpful for teachers and students to see and experience how other countries are addressing TCV. The EU could (continue to) play a role in facilitating this international exchange (like in the Erasmus+ programme).
- Education policy in the EU is a matter of national governments. Yet, some experts expressed that they would like the EU to be more directly involved with education policy. The Croatian expert, for instance, wrote that, 'The EU might stimulate TCV in Croatia by *insisting*, for example, on that CE does not become an optional course or set of curricular directives in schools, but a compulsory programme in a version in which various contents of CE are added to other subjects [...]' (our italics). The Italian expert answered the question what the EU could do by stating, 'To *demand* to the government to assume as important specific ways for recognition of learning in formal and informal contexts, including competences of citizenship' (our italics). The Maltese expert answered the same question by saying, '*Ban* the segregation of migrants for learning.' (our italics, and see the section on diverse student and teacher populations for the context of this recommendation). The above-cited experts suggested an EU education policy that transcends the current practice and explicitly asks the Member States to include certain aspects of TCV in their national education policy. These suggestions go beyond the more general requests to pay attention to certain values like in the Paris Declaration.

5. CASE STUDIES

5.1. Czech Republic

Space for citizenship education, so far only in theory

Dana Moree

5.1.1. Characteristics of the country

The Czech Republic (henceforth CZR) is a medium-sized country in Central Europe. Prague is its capital city and also the richest area of the country (with GDP above European Union average). Formerly part of the Habsburg monarchy, the independent Republic of Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918. After the Second World War, the country became a one-party communist state under Soviet influence. However, following the collapse of the communist regime in 1989, Czechoslovakia transformed into a parliamentary democracy, which in 1993 peacefully dissolved into two independent states (Moree, 2008). This transformation was successful in many of its aspects, but at the same time the transformation of structures was not sufficiently accompanied by the transformation of culture and value systems (Berend, 2009; Marková, 2004; Moree, 2013; Sztompka, 1993).

The CZR is a pluralist multi-party parliamentary representative democracy, with a bicameral parliament. Nevertheless, public trust in the government is rather low, and this is reflected in low election turnouts. The CZR joined NATO in 1999, and the European Union in 2004, but has not as yet adopted the euro. The Czechs remain rather Eurosceptic and their support towards the European Union has been relatively low. The CZR is generally regarded as a liberal country (e.g. progressive legislation on abortion and same-sex partnerships) with one of the least religious populations in the world. There are approximately 440,000 foreigners residing in the country, the largest groups being Ukrainians, Slovaks and Vietnamese. According to some estimates by NGOs, there are about 250,000 Roma people in the CZR. The rest of the population is almost entirely Czech in origin, because the holocaust and the expulsion of the German population after war led to a rather ethnically homogenous country.

5.1.2. Education system and policy

The main feature of the education system during communism was that all its parts were subordinated to the political goals. First, the state had control over the types of schools (Kozakiewicz, 1992). It was impossible to set up a private or church-led school because the state was the only authority which could take this legal step. Consequently, the state had strong control over the content of education, including textbooks and teachers (Tomusk, 2001; Vaněk et al, 2011). Moreover, students of the pedagogical faculties were very carefully chosen based on their 'personal evaluation' [*kádrový posudek*]. The development of the Czech education system followed mostly as a consequence of the reaction to political changes in 1989. After this breaking point, we see increasing openness in Czech society, but also a certain amount of inertia. For example, the school act from 1984 was valid up until 2004, which is when significant change finally took place.

The education reform in 2004 brought in significant changes on several levels. First, the education system was decentralised. The new system now only determines the common education outcomes, and enables the schools to decide their own way of reaching them. Schools were thus given increasing freedom, but also the responsibility for preparing the

so-called *school educational programme* based on national guidelines. On the curriculum level, the reform started to work with educational content and corresponding competences. Instead of strictly defining the what, when and how of teaching, the reform enabled teachers to choose parts of the prescribed educational content that they would address in their classes and the methods they wanted to use to develop the competences. This means that the results of the teaching and learning process are no longer assessed only by the amount of cognitive information gained by students (which was very much the case in previous curricular documents), but also by the broader competences developed. The curriculum for attaining these competences is divided into two levels. Level one covers educational areas (e.g. language and communication, mathematics and its application, the human being and society), while level two covers the so-called cross-curricular educational topics, including social skills education, awareness of the European and global context, multicultural education, environmental education and media education (Research Institute of Education in Prague, 2007). Cross-curricular topics penetrate all subjects and areas. This is what is known as the 'infusion model' (Anderson, MacPhee & Govan, 2000). The OECD currently ranks the Czech education system as the 15th best in the world, higher than the OECD average. The reform implementation process, however, was not sufficiently supported financially and teachers' salaries remain extremely low till date.

One of the areas exhibiting this insufficiency in reform implementation is that of cross-curricular themes, which mirror the developments in the country after 1989. Teachers are not sufficiently prepared to integrate soft skills and competences in their teaching and are also unsure on how they should go about doing it. They are still afraid of a kind of indoctrination or ideologisation of their teaching (Moree, 2013; Pol, 2006). Further, though we can see vivid cooperation between schools and NGOs offering programmes for pupils and teachers, the quality of these programmes is not always sufficient (Skovajsa et al., 2010).

The vast majority of primary schools and secondary schools in the CZR are state institutions, although a number of private and church-led schools have been established since 1989. While the first 9 years of schooling are compulsory (divided between two levels of primary school – first for 5 years and second for 4 years), secondary education is voluntary. The main types/tracks of secondary education are grammar schools, and pre-vocational schools or 'expert schools' oriented towards trade, agriculture, etc. The decentralisation of the education system in 2004 as described above, has thus brought more freedom to schools and teachers, but at the same time also surmounted them with plenty of confusion and practical problems with maintaining their schools 'above the standard level'. TCV is amongst the areas most affected by these issues.

5.1.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

The Czech schooling tradition emphasises teaching CE as a separate compulsory subject. This practice remains till today. Next to it, the reform in 2004 offered an opportunity to implement CE issues in all subjects as cross-curricular topics (e.g. education for democratic citizenship, personal and social education, etc.). With this reform came the emphasis not only on knowledge, but also on values, attitudes and skills in this area. However, more precise criteria for evaluating and assessing these learning outcomes are still missing. The state has not shown any interest in creating criteria and collecting data on the effectiveness of CE in Czech schools. No research on TCV effectiveness has been performed as yet, despite the existence of Czech school inspections.

TCV in Czech schools is embedded in three levels.

- **Subjects** – Examples of this include the subject *Man and his world* in the 1st year, and civics in the 2nd year of primary schools. Examples from secondary schools include subjects like Basics of civics and social sciences. There are also other subjects which hold potential for TCV, such as history, languages, etc.
- **Cross-curricular themes** – TCV is included in all cross-curricular themes and one of them is even targeted at citizenship education in particular, namely *civic education for democracy*, which is implemented in elementary schools.
- **Key competences** – The expected competences which children should gain during education are listed and specified, with aspects of TCV included in this specification.

The formal inclusion of CE as a separate subject is definitely a strength of the Czech education system. However, it remains a big question how this subject is really taught and whether it meets curricular demands. Moreover, less formal approaches are still rather exceptional (especially extracurricular activities, direct experience-based classes, etc.). Despite the formal inclusion of CE in the curriculum, the slackening results of Czech students in the International Citizenship Education Studies (CIVED 1996, 1999; ICCS 2009) have shown that it may not be enough to produce the desired outcomes. CE has a rather low status in schools. Compared to the natural sciences, TCV is not perceived as worthwhile, also because teachers apparently fail in showing the importance of CE for the world and society outside school.

Despite the fact that TCV is included in concrete education documents, there is no explicit expression of common vision. The existence of these declarative documents does not ensure real support for TCV in education. The Czech education system is decentralised. Schools have to follow general education guidelines, but they have a duty and freedom at the same time to produce their own school education programme based on these general guidelines. TCV cannot become obligatory for schools in this sense. The way how the school implements it is the school's responsibility. [Policymaker]

5.1.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

The final report of the ICCS 2009 indicates the strengths and weaknesses of CE in the CZR (ICCS, 2010a). These results were also backed by the interviewees in our study in 2016. Amongst the strengths, as mentioned above, is that CE is clearly described in the curriculum as a separate subject and is included in cross-curricular topics in other subjects. Also, students mostly have a positive relationship with their CE teachers and enjoy the CE classes. Finally, students expressed their willingness to participate in decision-making in the school. The identified weaknesses on the other hand, were the following: CE usually does not use direct experiences of students from their everyday lives (e.g. democratic classroom and school climate, school councils); the current emphasis in CE lies on knowledge (basic facts about Czech and European government systems, understanding of key concepts such as democracy, freedom, human rights) before skills and attitudes.

We interviewed four schools for this study where teachers intentionally integrated the topic of democracy and common values into more subjects than the one prescribed (mostly literature, languages, history, and geography). Three of these schools have a school council and encourage their students to participate in the decision-making; all four schools offer extracurricular CE activities. It is important to stress that these schools and teachers are rather exceptional – they have a clear vision of CE and its importance. In general, however, the Czech standard for TCV is very low, and it is perceived as a second-rate subject.

Table 5.1: Study participants Czech Republic

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Polymaker	Officer at National Institute for Education	Large
NGO expert	Expert in Education for Democratic Citizenship	Large
Teacher 1	Social Studies, History	Medium
Teacher 2	Social Studies, History	Large
Teacher 3	Social Studies, Czech language	Large
Teacher 4	Social Studies, History, Head teacher	Large

5.1.4.1. Topics in Teaching Common Values

According to the latest Czech school inspection report (ČŠI, 2016), most schools make use of their autonomy following the 2004 education reform and emphasise the civics curriculum through cross-curricular topics. When teaching democracy, teachers mostly mentioned topics such as the democratic system and its institutions, civil rights and responsibilities, elections, and democracy versus an authoritarian regime. Teachers primarily supported students in debates and critical thinking as these were perceived as the main skills they should help students develop. While the topic of tolerance is usually not directly addressed during the classes, it is part of the so-called 'hidden curriculum' (Margolis, 2001), which students learn by being part of the school community.

5.1.4.2. Activities and methodologies

Some schools offer students opportunities to learn democracy by engaging, for example, in school councils, mock elections, and simulations (moot court, United Nations or European Union models), in Oxford-style debating societies and in community programmes. Additionally, excursions to democratic institutions (mostly the parliament, court and Radio Free Europe) have become part of the school programmes. The primary school teachers when teaching values prefer to work with real stories and emotions, which they believe can reach the attention of students more easily and help shape their attitudes, whereas the grammar school teachers prefer to provoke an 'informed debate' in the classroom, during which the students work with gained knowledge and explain (and therefore think about) their own attitudes. In general, teachers mentioned they want to use methodologies which foster self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), and task-specific civic self-confidence in students for their future actions as citizens.

Teachers value the fruitful cooperation with NGOs which represent a popular source for new approaches and activities offered to schools for free. NGOs arrange discussions with witnesses to history (e.g. holocaust survivors), offer ready-to-use tools like short documentary films, or adapt international know-how to the Czech context (in storytelling, philosophy for children, etc.). One very successful example project which has spread across the CZR in recent years is the mock election. It started as a simulation project led by an NGO in a few schools in order to introduce young citizens to the concept of elections before they reach voting age. The mock elections give the student participants an understanding of democracy, the role of the government and parliament. Over the years, schools started sharing the voting results (which has proven interesting in observing the political opinions

of youth), and a platform for additional activities was established for teachers to help students reflect on the experience of the mock elections and stimulate them to cast their ballot in the future. This project has become part of standard CE and is nowadays implemented in almost every school. Nevertheless, most students usually do not experience CE as useful for their everyday lives.

5.1.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

Teachers value the fact that the 2004 education reform only determines the outcomes, and enables the schools to design their own programmes in order to reach these education goals. However, teachers also describe the confusion they encounter on how to go about this, as the universities do not prepare teachers for education with this level of autonomy. The other impact this school autonomy has is the impossibility of comparing schools, their programmes and education strategies, because there are no criteria or standards set for the space and activities for organising TCV at schools:

We have prescribed education outcomes concerning the education for democratic citizenship in the curriculum. These outcomes describe knowledge, skills and partly attitudes as well. I am very happy to have such a flexible curriculum from which I can choose what I am going to teach in each class. I can teach almost whatever I want, but I do not know what the others teach. Not every teacher is able to deal with such flexibility, so they don't. Therefore, we have different approaches used in the classroom and we produce different standards of CE. It is extremely visible when we compare the secondary school types [grammar school, pre-vocational school, expert school] and the skills and attitudes of students they produce. So I think to set some CE standards is inevitable. [Teacher 2]

Nowadays, when the refugee crisis has become one of the most widely discussed topics, teachers feel the need to deal with this current controversial topic in the classroom as well. But they are often criticised by parents who believe that 'politics doesn't belong in school'. Some teachers and NGO experts stressed that the policymakers should explain the importance of teaching controversial issues to the public, and support universities in teachers' education on TCV topics:

There is no official practice or even a law on how to deal with controversial issues in the classroom. And now every child wants to discuss migration, refugees, Islam and inclusion. What shall I do? Our students ask and we are not allowed to answer or start a debate, because the parents would complain to the headmaster. But we need to teach them critical thinking and develop their skills to make up their own mind. How on earth are we going to do this without discussing controversial issues? [Teacher 3]

Since September 2016, schools have an obligation to include children with special educational needs, and there is a big debate amongst schools about it. Teaching democracy and especially tolerance in schools which are undergoing such a change is very challenging and requires prepared teachers. Therefore NGO experts emphasise that the policymakers should install initial teachers' education in this area for both new as well as for current teachers:

Inclusive education became an obligatory part of the Czech education system since September 2016. We have to also explain the term inclusive education in the Czech context. In 2007, the European Court of Human Rights held that the Czech practice of placing Roma applicants in special schools for mentally disabled violated the European Convention on Human Rights ('Case D.H. and others against the Czech Republic'). In this case, a group of graduates of special schools from the 90s

complained that they were put in schools for mentally handicapped children, not as a consequence of any real handicap, but because of their ethnic background (Romany). This schooling negatively influenced their further opportunities in the labour market and their lives. The court decision started up a discussion, the result of which is the modernisation of the school act. It should help to reduce existence of special schools and should promote inclusion of children with special needs into mainstream schools. There are still no data available on how successfully it could be implemented. There are teachers who would like to gain expertise in creating an inclusive environment, conflict resolution in the classroom, and other similar issues. But there are only few NGOs offering such seminars and we often hear: 'Our headmaster won't let me come because it is not necessary [means not required by the Ministry]. We don't have the time for it. We didn't find any substitution.' So unfortunately I have to say, once you become a teacher and you want to learn something more, you have to do it in your free time. [NGO expert]

5.1.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

The Czech curriculum has a very clearly defined objective: we want to offer basic civic literacy to all citizens (Školský zákon, 2004). Consequently, TCV is integrated into education policy documents like general guidelines or cross-curricular themes. However, the existence of these declarative documents does not ensure real support for TCV in education. Moreover, these policies are not integrated into practical teaching very often. TCV is perceived as a duty which is a consequence of the membership of the European Union, and the real need to teach children and adults the common values is not present in the Czech debate. This fact might also be a consequence of the experiences under the communist regime, where ideology was an inevitable part of schooling (including CE), which is what we know from several studies (Moree, 2008; Moree, 2013).

There are some individual teachers who promote TCV, but it is not guaranteed by the state. It mostly depends on the individual attitudes of teachers whether they choose to address common values in the classroom– those for whom common values are important do so. Those teachers who do not perceive TCV as an integral part of their teaching cannot develop democratic values in their students. Another big obstacle is the opinion of most parents that politics does not belong in schools. Therefore democracy is discussed in the context of ancient Greece rather than the current political situation. While the current education documents include CE and TCV, they emphasise knowledge over real civic behaviour of students. In practice, CE is often taught in the social sciences; students learn the law, economics, philosophy, and political science, and in grammar schools this is taught even at a very high level. But, not surprisingly, by focusing mostly on teaching knowledge, the school loses its potential to have an impact on students' civic attitudes.

Analysing the strength and weaknesses of the Czech CE and TCV policy leads to the following suggestions at the national policy level:

- It is very important to interconnect knowledge about democracy, history, law, and politics with relevant skills and attitudes, in order to encourage civic and political participation. Moreover, gaining knowledge must not slide into unconscious repetition of isolated facts without a deeper understanding of the context.
- It is highly recommendable to choose methods related to real-life situations that play out in the school, community or the wider world. Linking subject matter with real life will create greater interest and motivation amongst students to engage in discussions about these specific issues.

- The classroom should become a safe place for discussing current and controversial issues. The opportunity to discuss current events stimulates students' interest in politics and society and encourages them to participate. It also contributes to the development of critical thinking and communication skills, promotes civic knowledge, and teaches active listening, mutual respect and acceptance of democratic compromise. Promoting critical discussion and thinking is highly desirable in schools and in all of society, where strong antipathy towards cultivated discussions still remains, and is deeply divided into two big 'camps' (cosmopolitan versus inside-oriented).
- The schools should integrate project-based learning and allow students to use their knowledge and skills through direct involvement within the community. Students can make a real impact on the community during authentic activities, while at the same time developing their knowledge and skills in accordance with the curriculum. This form of participation usually has a long-lasting effect and leads to greater commitment for years to come. More cooperation between school and NGOs, local communities, parents or municipalities can help in this direction.
- Students should get the opportunity to engage in school decision-making processes. Researches confirm that involving students in decision-making in the classroom and school are effective tools for long-term development of civic skills and attitudes. Students can also be involved in the management of classroom teaching in terms of the selection of topics and activities.
- Cultural diversity in the school environment should be promoted, with two important goals: teaching tolerance towards different cultural groups, and supporting integration (since the threat of segregation in schools exists in the CZR for a long time, and decentralisation of the education system has made this threat more noticeable).
- A systematic teacher education in TCV should become part of initial teacher training as well as of continuous professional development courses. Also, a systematic assessment and evaluation of TCV should be introduced in order to respond to the current needs of schools. Finally, schools should get support from the Ministry of Education and its agencies in creating 'strategic plans for TCV'.

5.1.7. References

- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. New York: Freeman.
- Berend, I.T. (2009). *From the Soviet Bloc to the European Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CIVED (1996). *IEA Civic Education Study*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- CIVED (1999). *IEA Civic Education Study*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- COV (2012a). *Postoje veřejnosti ke vzdělávání*. Brno: Centrum občanského vzdělávání, Masarykova univerzita. Nепublikovaná zpráva.
- COV (2012b). *Doplňující šetření projektu Výchova k občanství*. Brno: Centrum občanského vzdělávání, Masarykova univerzita. Nепublikovaná zpráva.
- ČŠI (2016). *Tematická zpráva Občanské vzdělávání na základních a středních školách*. Praha: Česká školní inspekce.
- ICCS (2010a). Schulz, W. & al.. *Prvotní zjištění z Mezinárodní studie občanské výchovy*. Praha: Ústav pro informace ve vzdělávání.
- ICCS (2010b). Soukup, P. (Ed.). *Národní zpráva z Mezinárodní studie občanské výchovy*. Praha: Ústav pro informace ve vzdělávání.

- Margolis, E. (2001). *The Hidden Curriculum in Higher Education*. New York: Routledge.
- Marková, I. (Ed.) (2004). *Trust and democratic transition in post-communist Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moree, D. (2008). *How Teachers Cope with Social and Educational Transformation; Struggling with Multicultural Education in the Czech Classroom*. Benešov: Eman.
- Moree, D. (2013). *Učitelé na vlnách transformace; kultura školy před rokem 1989 a po něm*. [Teachers on the Waves of Transformation; school culture before and after 1989]. Praha: Karolinum.
- Pol, M. et al. (2006). *Kultura školy*. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita.
- Protivínský, T., Dokulilová, M. (2012). *Občanské vzdělávání v kontextu českého školství*. Brno: Centrum občanského vzdělávání, Masarykova univerzita. Available online at <http://www.obcanskevzdelavani.cz/publikace>.
- Skovajsa, M. et al. (2010). *Občanský sektor; organizovaná občanská společnost v České republice*.
- Sztompka, P. (1993). Civilisational Incompetence: The Trap of Post-Communist Societies. *Zeitschrift fur Soziologie*, 22, 85 – 95.
- Školský zákon (2004). Zákon 561/2004 Sb. o předškolním, základním, středním, vyšším odborném a jiném vzdělávání ze dne 24. září 2004.
- ÚIV (2010). *Prvotní zjištění ze šetření Občanské postoje mládeže*. Praha: Ústav pro informace ve vzdělávání.

5.2. Estonia

Emerging inclusion

Heidi Paju

5.2.1. Characteristics of the country

Estonia is a small country in the Baltic region of Northern Europe. Previously under Soviet rule, it declared its re-independence in 1991 during the Soviet military coup in Moscow. Estonia joined the European Union in 2004, and accepted the euro as its national currency in 2011. Support for the European Union has always been strong amongst Estonians. Estonia is a parliamentary representative democratic republic that supports a multi-party system and has a prime minister serving as the head of government. The political power is mainly held between two to three parties that have dominated the political arena for a long time.

Estonia's constitution guarantees freedom of religion, separation of church and state, and individual rights to private belief and religion. While a major part of the population is non-religious, Christianity constitutes the largest faith among the religious population. The biggest Estonian minority are Russians (~25% of population). Other minority groups each comprise less than 2% of the population. The issues of social cohesion in Estonia have been closely related to education and nationality. The attitude of Estonians towards other nationalities has become more positive in recent years, particularly in relation to inclusion and contact, and the communication between individuals with different native languages has increased (Integrating Estonia, 2020).

5.2.2. Education system and policy

Estonian education is organised by the government and is obligatory from 7 to 17 years of age, or till the completion of basic education. Preschool education is not compulsory. Primary/ elementary education starts at the age of 7, proceeds to middle school/ secondary level of education at 10, to lower secondary level at the age of 13, and to upper secondary school/ gymnasium at the age of 14. The state and local governments ensure that everyone in Estonia has the opportunity to fulfil this educational obligation. The majority of schools in Estonia are state-owned, followed by municipality-owned schools, and private schools. There are very few religious and international schools. All schools in Estonia have to follow the national curriculum, although every school has an opportunity to add electives to the national curriculum based on its school profile. School curricula are maintained and evaluated by the Ministry of Education and Research.

Estonian teachers have a lot of autonomy in shaping their curriculum and organising their classrooms. But this freedom has to be exercised within the framework of the national curriculum, as the state curriculum requirements are compulsory for all schools. In addition to these requirements, schools can teach extracurricular subjects or teach curricular subjects more intensively. In all cases, students must pass at least three state examinations in addition to school examinations in order to receive a general secondary education certificate.

Estonian education policy supports a strongly student-centred approach, and lays strong emphasis on inclusive education:

Teaching Common Values is 'the' most important aim of the national curriculum; inclusive education is the main principle of the Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act, as well as of the Lifelong Learning Strategy for 2020. [Policymaker]

According to the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Tire et. al., 2012), Estonian students show good performance in basic subjects. The International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS, 2010) reveals that Estonian students score above ICCS averages on civic knowledge, and attitudes towards ethnic/racial groups. However, their scores are below average for citizenship values, attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and different gender groups, and attitudes towards institutions (ibid.).

5.2.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

The policy instrument for teaching common values is the national curriculum, and these values are fostered in social science subjects. The subject *civics*, for example, was included in the national curriculum for the first time in 1996, when the constructivist learning theories to education were introduced at the national level, giving learners the role of active knowledge-makers and meaning-seekers rather than passive information receivers. Starting with the 1996 curriculum, the focus has shifted from the natural sciences to the social sciences. General competences⁶ were introduced for the first time in the 2006 national curriculum. Three of the seven general competences introduced were values, self-determination, and social competences. In the 2011 national curriculum, the social competences were elaborated to include the aspect of active citizenship. The 2014 national curriculum elaborated the general competences still further by adding cultural competence to the list.

The policy of TCV emphasises national values strongly backed by the coalition and aims to foster active citizenship among students. Although the focus of TCV/CE policy was initially on sustaining nationalism (i.e. sustaining the Estonian language and culture), equality, international cooperation, and an inclusive society are also stated as goals for educational development in the latest policy documents (Estonia, 2020; Lifelong Learning Strategy, 2010). The content of TCV/CE is described in the national curriculum (which also states the content for particular subjects, general competences, and instructional materials for teachers) and is conveyed through the subject civics and through general competences.

Civics (*Ühiskonnaõpetus*) starts in the 4th year as a compulsory subject lasting all year for one hour a week and goes on until the 7th year. Starting from the 7th year, civics is given two hours a week as a compulsory subject until the end of secondary education. At the middle school (2nd) level (i.e. years 4 until 7), civics aims to provide students with the competence of *social literacy*: knowledge, values, and attitudes about society for making responsible decisions. The main aim of civics at the secondary school level is to create opportunities for developing students' identities as citizens, as well as strengthening coherence in society and advocating active citizenship among students. At middle school level, CE fosters democracy, nationality, human rights, as well as a sense of belonging to the European community. At the lower secondary (3rd) school level, students already gain practical experience through involvement in student initiatives such as student projects, membership of student unions, publishing school newspapers, etc. At this level, civics

⁶ General competences are a subject field and subject-specific competences that are essential to the development of a person into a human being and citizen. General competences are shaped through all subjects as well as during extracurricular and out-of-school activities, and their development is monitored and directed by teachers as well as through the cooperation between schools and home. General competences in the current national curriculum comprise value competence, social competence, self-management competence, communication competence, learning to learn competence, mathematics competence, and entrepreneurship competence.

supports students' readiness for dialogue between different social segments, as well as between the majority society and minority groups. It aims to educate students for more respectful behaviour towards different cultures and beliefs. The emphasis is on topics such as social inclusion, multiculturalism, equality, and cultural differences, which will continue into the gymnasium or upper secondary school level. The main difference between civics at the two levels of secondary education lies in the focus of the subject. At gymnasium level, the emphasis shifts more towards students' identity and analytical skills. Moreover, additional topics such as citizen behaviour, and respect for human rights and dignity are added to the curriculum.

In addition to the national curriculum, the prevention programme *Kindergartens and schools free of bullying* launched in 2010 supports TCV and CE by addressing the issues of social behaviour and equality. This programme offers kindergartens and schools supportive methodical materials, as well as recommended activities and content. The programme aims to support the policy goal for a more inclusive society and educational inclusion by creating a solid basis for the construction of students' future values and belief systems.

On the policy level, the Ministry of Education and Research has initiated the *Programme for Inclusive Education*, which aims to support the educational and social inclusion of students with special needs. It is remarkable that the national approach to students with special needs includes not only students with physical and mental disabilities, but also talented students. The programme also aims to support a smooth transition between educational levels, and to integrate the activities of different sectors and institutions. Further, the programme supports the national *Lifelong Learning Strategy* (2014), which aims to provide all people in Estonia with learning opportunities that are tailored to their needs and capabilities throughout their whole lifespan, in order to maximise their opportunities for dignified self-actualisation within society, in their work as well as in their family life. Next to this, one of the activities under the *Programme for General Education 2016-2019* has also set as its aim the initiation of working groups for the conception of human rights in education, which in turn aims to increase inclusion in education and society.

The topics of values and citizenship education are also addressed by other ministries. The violence prevention strategy of the Ministry of Social Justice, for example, also addresses issues relating to common values and citizenship education. However, the involved cooperation with schools and teacher training is still almost non-existent. The Ministry of Social Affairs addresses the topic of social inclusion in the memorandum and action plan 'Smooth transitions of youth with special needs from the general education system to vocational training, and after finishing studies, to the labour market', clearly demonstrating the national policy towards building an inclusive society. To attain this objective, the Ministry of Social Affairs, in coordination with the Ministry of Education and Research, has planned a number of activities for the period up to 2019. These developments also directly address the issue of immigration and new immigrants.

The current debate in relation to TCV and CE at the national curriculum level is concerned with the content of social studies subjects and general competences that will be re-evaluated and changed according to the latest developments in society. The Ministry of Education and Research is also addressing the topic of motivated (and well-paid) teachers to implement all the new changes in teaching practice.

5.2.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

This section expands the analysis of TCV in practice through data collected from interviews held with a policymaker, an NGO expert and teachers from two high schools.

Table 5.2: Study participants Estonia

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Polymaker	Officer, Ministry of Education	Large
NGO expert	Social Studies for Freedom and Inclusion	Medium
Teacher 1	Civics, Social Studies (Estonian-Russian mixed school, less experienced teacher)	Small
Teacher 2	Civics, Social Studies (experienced teacher)	Medium

Since the implementation of the current national curriculum, the subdomains emphasised are political participation and democratic politics. In recent years, the issue of democratic society has also been raised. Democracy is fostered in the subject civics, as well as integrated into other social studies subjects, such as history, Estonian language and culture, and people studies. Additionally, schools participate in different social projects connected to TCV/CE, such as the Opinion Festival, Global Education workshops, visits to NGOs, etc.

TCV/CE connected projects at schools are usually related to other subjects and general competences, such as entrepreneurship education, or religious studies in some cases. Interpersonal relations, tolerance and an inclusive society are all issues integrated into the pedagogical activities and tasks. School projects often use a methodology focusing on social behaviour and communication, teamwork, and learning through experience (e.g. the starting of student companies), amongst others means. Some examples of recommended methodologies for teaching TCV/CE are mind mapping, case studies, small-scale research, role plays, discussions, study visits, and practical tasks. Teachers see these methodologies as 'tools' for integrating different topics and addressing critical questions.

Democracy and tolerance are predominantly presented as national values in the curriculum at lower secondary level. The European context for these values gets more attention at upper secondary level. Next to the curricula, democracy and tolerance are also fostered through school atmosphere. The changes in attention to democracy and tolerance during the last 5 to 10 years have been minor, and if at all, then more towards European values. The most challenging task is to teach general competences as integrated topics, since the school exams limit flexibility in choosing topics to teach and emphasise. A noticeably big challenge to TCV/CE is the state of mind of the teachers. The prevalence of some teachers with a rather radical view towards migration has a strong effect on how and what teachers emphasise at schools. Furthermore, teachers pointed out in the interviews that during the last couple of years the problem of radicalisation in society has also entered the classroom, and teachers are facing the situation where they have to teach values and beliefs that are controversial to the ones students have within their families and social environment. The interviewed teachers described the problematic situation with regard to sexual minorities and immigrants as examples:

While the community of Russians have been accepting the same-sex relationship between women, the same-sex relationship between men is completely deprecated, causing problems amongst the students, as well as confusion and questions. [Teacher 1]

In the rural school where I taught civics a couple of years ago, I was facing this quite radical attitude towards immigrants. It was so hard for me to explain to them the [common] values and democracy, while the students' families are preaching completely other [values]. [Teacher 2]

Teachers also pointed out the contradiction between what they teach and the school system as such. The principals at Estonian schools have permanent contracts and since the schools are autonomous, teachers are chosen and hired by the principal. At the same time, teachers have very little (or no) say in school management or development. Of course it depends heavily on the school management itself, but the idea of preaching about democracy while working in a non-democratic system (according to the interviewees) raises a value conflict amongst teachers.

The number and involvement of democracy and civil rights related NGOs and open movements have increased during the last few years. As civil rights and democracy related NGOs are more active in bigger cities, rural areas are left behind. Nevertheless, most schools across the country cooperate with NGOs and use NGO materials in their teaching practice.

There are also some problems with changes in TCV/CE on account of the new civil partnership law, which have not yet been implemented in the curricula. The civil partnership law offers an 'alternative to marriage' by giving rights to couples to sign a partnership act regardless of their sex or sexual orientation, since the right to marry still holds exclusively for opposite sex couples. The recommended methodological materials that schools receive from different projects and programmes on this subject differ in quality and content; it is the teacher's task to assess their adequacy and compliance with the curriculum. At the same time, teachers have to assure that the learning outcomes defined in the curriculum are achieved. The choice of materials and their availability (or non-availability) complicates the work of the teacher.

The interviewee from the NGO sector pointed out that though these policies have good and altruistic aims, society is not able to catch up with them. According to the NGO representative, the situation in society regarding common values and citizenship has changed during the last 10 to 15 years in a remarkable way:

/.../ as after the collapse of the Soviet Union people had the feeling of unity and equality. Then in the last few years the majority is basically dealing with so-called survival issues on a daily basis and no one has time nor energy to commit to [common] values. [NGO expert]

Further, the Ministry of Education usually does not consult NGOs about developments in TCV policy. Instead, as pointed out, cooperation between NGOs and the Ministry with regard to relevant issues in society, often depends on the NGO's initiative to make contact.

While these problems haunt teachers' daily practice in TCV, many good examples of students' democratic activities and democracy amongst students were also mentioned during the interviews. For example, it is quite common in Estonian schools for teachers to choose the way they teach, and exercise freedom in choosing the materials provided by publishing houses or producing their own instructional materials to address topics of current relevance. Every school has a students' representative in the school board, as well as a student union. These measures guarantee that students too have the opportunity to influence the topics addressed and developments undertaken at school.

5.2.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

Teachers generally valued the Ministry's support to schools on TCV/CE, as well as the support to NGOs and programmes that address TCV/CE related topics. Regarding the national curriculum, teachers felt that subject contents should be re-evaluated and changed according to the needs of the current situation and developments in society. The contents of TCV/CE subjects and TCV/CE related general competences have to be updated sooner

rather than later. The current situation, where societal developments are a couple of years ahead of curriculum content, is not satisfying to any of the parties. Teachers also felt the need to constrain the determination of TCV/CE content at the government level, since not all of the new materials and initiatives that currently reach schools are suitable to the given context. In certain cases, these initiatives are borrowed from other countries with different contexts, and in some cases these projects and initiations are started on the basis of NGO initiatives, etc. Therefore, there is no government control over what is actually going on in the field of TCV/CE and this raises a challenge for schools when navigating this rather saturated field of important topics and issues.

Teachers would also like to have more international cooperation possibilities, and not only with other European countries, but also with non-European countries. One teacher also pointed out that the support for national cooperation between Estonian schools is almost non-existent and that schools would appreciate more support on this action as well.

The Ministry of Education and Research also supports the democratisation of schools by including students in the curriculum development process. For example, the subject topic 'Research' was included in the 2014 national curriculum on the basis of students' demands. As Estonian education has a unified school system and there are no different educational tracks, the government's support for democratisation of education is already integrated into policies. In relation to immigration issues, the Ministry is taking care that all immigrant students have the same access to education as local students by integrating them into normal classes. The government also supports special training to teachers for teaching immigrant students.

Most of the activities created by the government for supporting TCV/CE are expressed at policy level, for example, cooperation with different international working groups for democracy and citizenship, preparation for Estonian presidency in 2017, and the initiation of several cooperation-based, capacity-building projects within Estonia and between Estonia and other non-European countries.

5.2.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

The situation of TCV/CE in Estonian schools is generally good. Teachers are aware of what they are expected to teach and conscious of their role in shaping the new generation. Further, the national curriculum is flexible enough for teachers to choose what to emphasise. Nevertheless, it is still not flexible enough to change the topics addressed more frequently based on the current needs of society.

As a conclusion the following recommendations may be made:

European Union level:

- Policy needs to keep up with tensions in democracy and society in order to better deal with these current issues.
- The discussion on democracy has to continue offering support to make democracy stronger and more critical (also against groups in power), thereby aiming for a more inclusive society at every level and building a democratic culture.

National level:

- Regarding the issues of global and national orientation, it is important to recognise national tradition but also to keep in mind the importance of global orientation and topics related to global values. The tension between these opposite approaches needs to be addressed.
- More positive and inclusive initiatives that address groups at risk and minorities,

including students with special needs and immigrants, are needed. The initiatives undertaken by the different ministries mentioned earlier are good examples.

- TCV already has an important status in education and social policy, but the importance has not yet made its way to the wider society. More inclusive actions are needed in this regard. It is therefore necessary to re-analyse the content of civics as a subject and TCV/CE related competences in the national curriculum and make the necessary changes. Further, it is important to not only keep TCV/CE as an independent subject, but to also maintain its focus at the same level across cross-curricular competences as well.
- School culture has to become more inclusive and democratic. Schools have good autonomy with regard to implementing the curriculum (PISA, 2009), but the autonomy within schools has to meet democratic values as well.
- Tolerance should be treated as a positive concept instead of passive 'sufferance'. Tolerance also has to be involved with sexual freedom for LGBT groups in terms of sexual orientation. Segregation should be combated and diversity in education needs to be stimulated.
- Teachers need support and additional training in matters of TCV/CE, as society develops faster than curriculum content. The civic teacher training programme has to be re-evaluated and changed in order to ensure that new teachers have updated and latest knowledge regarding TCV/CE topics. Education and motivation should be stimulated amongst teachers, so that they feel safer about dealing with controversial issues. Teachers have to take on the role of being moral exemplars to students, and have to be supported in accepting this role.

5.2.7. References

- *Estonian Human Development Report 2014/2015*. Estonian Cooperation Assembly. Online: (http://www.kogu.ee/vana/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/EIA-ENG_OK-1.pdf)
- *Haridusalse diskrimineerimise konventsioon* [Convention Against Discrimination in Education], online: <http://www.merlecons.ee/texts/konventsioon.pdf>
- ICCS (2010). *ICCS 2009 International Report: Civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement among lower- secondary school students in 38 countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- Kuurme, T. (2016). *Inimesest võib saada kontrollile allutatud õpimasin. Intervjuu prof. Tero Autioga*. [Becoming a controlled learning machine. Interview with prof. Tero Autio] Õpetajate Leht. Online: <http://opleht.ee/33678-tero-autio-inimesest-voib-saada-kontrollile-allutatud-opimasin/>
- Tire, G. et. al. (2012). *PISA 2012. Eesti tulemused* [PISA 2012. Estonian results]. Ministry of Education and Research. Online: http://www.innove.ee/UserFiles/Üldharidus/PISA%202012/PISA%202012_Eesti%20tulemused.pdf
- *Õpetaja töökava näidis. Ühiskonnaõpetus 6. klass*. [Teachers manual. Example. Citizenship Education, 6th grade], online: [http://www.oppekava.ee/index.php/Õpetaja töökava näidis ühiskonnaõpetus 6. klass](http://www.oppekava.ee/index.php/Õpetaja_töökava_näidis_ühiskonnaõpetus_6._klass)

5.2.7.1. Legal documents

- Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act. Passed 09.06.2010, Retrieved online: <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/ee/Riigikogu/act/521062016007/consolide>
- Civil Partnership Act. Passed on 09.10.2014. Retrieved online: <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/116102014001>
- National Reform Programme Estonia 2020. (2016). Retrieved online, https://riigikantselei.ee/sites/default/files/content-editors/Failid/eesti2020/eesti2020_2016-2020_05.05.16.pdf
- National curriculum for basic school. Passed 06.01.2011. Retrieved online: <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/ee/VV/reg/524092014014/consolide>
- National curriculum for upper secondary schools. Passed 06.10.2011. Retrieved online <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/ee/VV/reg/524092014009/consolide>
- The Estonian Lifelong Learning Strategy 2020. Retrieved online: https://www.hm.ee/sites/default/files/estonian_lifelong_strategy.pdf
- The Strategy of Integration and Social Cohesion in Etonia 'Integrating Estonia 2020'. Ministry of Culture. Retrieved online: http://www.kul.ee/sites/kulminn/files/integrating_estonia_2020.pdf
- Üldharidusprogramm 2016-2019 [Programme for general education. 2016-2019]. Retrieved online: <https://www.hm.ee/et/uldharidusprogramm>

5.3. Finland

Promoting ethics and equality

Kirsi Tirri

5.3.1. Characteristics of the country

Finland as a northern European nation is an independent country since 1917. It is a parliamentary republic with the central government located in Helsinki. Finland has a population of 5.5 million, and is officially a bilingual country with Finnish as the main official language and Swedish as the second official language spoken by the main minority. Additionally, there are also smaller minorities of Sami, Roma and Russian speakers. However, due to an increase in immigration to Finland over the last few decades, multiculturalism has increased, and currently more than 150 other languages are spoken in the country (Holm & Londen, 2010). The largest religious community in Finland is Lutheran Christianity (approximately 80% of the population). Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, and Hinduism constitute the other religious minorities. Finland became a member of the European Union in 1995 and has been a member of the Eurozone since 1999.

5.3.2. Education system and policy

Finnish basic education consists of nine years of schooling from the age of 7 to 16. The organisation of basic education in Finland is based on the Constitution of Finland, the Basic Education Act and Decree, the Government Decree and the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (henceforth NCCBE). The central goal is to promote the development of each student as a human being and as a member of society (Basic Education Act, 2010). In this regard, the Government Decree (2012) emphasises human dignity, human rights, equity and equality.

The Finnish education system was initially under the influence of religion (Lutheran Christianity). During the 1960-1970s, secularisation as well as an emphasis on equality of all people took centre stage both ideologically and practically. Due to the rise in social-democratic values, education was declared free for every student at all levels. It also led to a shift from the previously parallel school system to the present nine-year comprehensive school. Finland's comprehensive school comprises both the lower levels (years 1-6) and higher levels (years 7-9, year 10 optional) of education. The strong financial support for education by the government has resulted in a low share of private schooling.

In the 1990s, the Finnish education system moved towards decentralisation and individualisation. The idea of a municipal curriculum was introduced to supplement the NCCBE. Henceforth, the NCCBE provided the main guidelines, and the municipalities and schools prepared their own local curricula with the assistance of teachers and education providers. Moreover, greater freedom was given to teachers in selecting their own materials and methods. This trend was in line with other megatrends such as deregulation in other European countries. The idea of individualisation emphasised that students' personal interests and characteristics should be taken into account in schools, for example, by offering special education, especially for students with learning difficulties. The provision of teaching in 50 different languages and 13 religions, thus paying attention to students from different backgrounds, is a further indicator of individualism at school-level (Tirri & Kuusisto, 2013; Kuusisto, Gholami & Tirri, 2016).

The vast cultural diversity in Finland creates challenges for teachers and schools in dealing with students from different backgrounds (Holm, 2012). Citizenship education is a vital means of getting students involved and teaching them to be ethical, active members of society, thus promoting tolerance and respect towards diversity (Tirri, 2008). To support the growth of students as human beings, it is necessary to consider diversity in school curricula. When education is multicultural and different cultures and ethnicities are included within its scope, it increases students' awareness and responsibility towards being active members of society (Rasanen, 2007; Talib et al., 2004).

This report provides an overview of the teaching of common values, particularly those of tolerance and democracy, in the Finnish education system. Nowadays, gaining knowledge and skills that enable students to cooperate and interact with people from different cultures is an important issue. Moreover, the need to prepare students for citizenship and improve their knowledge and understanding of democracy and political activities is taking centre stage. The role of education and specifically schools in enhancing these values is vital. This report first investigates formal policy documents, including the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (NCCBE), to evaluate the importance of teaching common values in the Finnish education laws and regulations. Subsequently, it investigates the teaching of common values at the practical level by examining school culture and interviewing different experts in the field of education, including two policymakers, an NGO representative and four teachers. In the following sections, the findings of the policy investigation are reported first, followed by the findings of the interviews investigating school culture and practice.

Table 5.3: Study participants Finland

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Policy maker 1	National Board of Education	Large
Policy maker 2	National Board of Education	Large
NGO	Expert in Teacher Education, Child Rights, Human Rights	Large
Teacher 1	History, Religious Education	Medium
Teacher 2	Religious Education, Social Studies, History	Large
Teacher 3	Social Studies	Large
Teacher 4	Religious Education, Psychology, History, Philosophy	Small-Rural

5.3.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

The main policy instruments that the government uses to stimulate the teaching of common values in Finland are official documents and general laws on education. According to Policy maker 1, values are discussed and defined at several levels, including the parliament, the National Board of Education, the municipalities and the schools. Equality and individualism can be seen as the dominant values present in the Finnish education system. These values are also in line with the most common European values provided by the European Union and the Council of Europe. In addition, the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Rights of the Child form the legal basis for basic education (NCCBE, 2014, p 15). The ideas that guide TCV and CE in basic education stem from the regulations of the Finnish Parliament. According to a Government Decree, education not

only provides the necessary knowledge and skills for life, but also promotes 'human dignity, respect for human rights and democratic values of Finnish society including equality and equity' (NCCBE, 2014, p 20). These values are thus taken into consideration at all levels of decision-making on and provision of basic education.

The next level of governance features the Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE), which provides the NCCBE including details on syllabus, assessment, school culture, values and school ethos. The NCCBE considers each pupil a unique person to be supported to grow into her or his full potential as a human being. Every pupil has the right to receive free, equal and good education to build 'their identity, understand humanity, [different] world view[s] and [the] philosophy of life' (NCCBE, 2014, p. 15). Basic education is based on respect for human rights; it should promote 'well-being, democracy and active agency in civil society' (p. 16).

The latest version of the NCCBE, listing the main guidelines for municipalities and schools, was provided in 2014, and its implementation began in 2016. The fundamental values of equity, equality, humanity, democracy and cultural diversity, discussed in the Government Decree cited above, are all taken into account in the recent NCCBE and reflected through a list of seven transversal competences: *1. Thinking and learning to learn; 2. Cultural competences, interaction and self-expression; 3. Taking care of oneself and managing daily life; 4. Multi-literacy; 5. ICT competence; 6. Working life competence and entrepreneurship; 7. Participation, involvement and building a sustainable future.* The NCCBE clarifies the specific role and contribution of each subject area in improving all these competences. These competences in turn serve as the means for teaching about democracy and tolerance. For instance, Competence 2 emphasises the ability to recognise and appreciate culture and cultural diversity, and to respect different cultures, religions and languages. Another goal discussed within this competence is being able to express one's own ideas while respecting others' points of view, thereby learning to appreciate these interpersonal differences as a resource. The main focus of Competence 7 is to stimulate participation in civic activities in order to eventually promote an effective democracy. This is achieved through building participatory skills and a responsible attitude towards the community and future. As can be seen, these two competences directly refer to ideas underlying democracy and tolerance. However, as all these seven competences are interconnected, the ideas underlying these two values is also reflected in other competences, such as Competence 3, for example, which fosters the skills of taking responsibility for one's own actions, and emotional and social empathy for appreciating the importance of human relationships and caring for others.

According to curriculum specifications at the national level, all these competences should be covered in all subject areas. For instance, according to the NCCBE, Competence 2 should be included in the subject areas of language and literature, religion, ethics, history, social studies, music, visual art, home economics and guidance counselling. Competence 7 should be addressed in language and literature, geography, health care, religion, ethics, history, social studies, music, visual art, craft, physical education and home economics. However, as noted by one of our interviewees, Policymaker 1, this is not the case at the local level where differences may arise based on the specific needs of the society.

The NCCBE specifies guidelines for evaluating values under the title of behavioural assessment. In addition to this behavioural assessment, which is considered as an entity distinct from personal characteristics, students' achievements in different subjects are also assessed during and at the end of the school year. This consists of a numerical grade and verbal assessment on how a student has fared in terms of achieving the objectives within each specific subject area. The school's curriculum usually specifies behavioural objectives based on the NCCBE and the student's behaviour is assessed based on these objectives.

These objectives take into account the school goals, policies, school culture and rules. Students not only receive feedback on their performance but are also involved in discussing and defining these goals and objectives.

Finland has become increasingly multicultural over time, and therefore the curriculum emphasises viewing cultural diversity as a richness and resource. In this regard, the curriculum includes syllabi for different languages and religions, to make students aware of this local and global diversity and the fact that they can coexist and interact. The language syllabi consist of important mother tongues spoken in Finland (e.g. Finnish, Swedish, Sami, Roma), second national languages (e.g. Finnish as a second language, Swedish as a second language, Finnish for Sami speakers, Swedish for Sami speakers), and foreign languages (e.g. English, Sami, Latin, other foreign languages). The languages to be offered can be selected by municipalities and schools based on their students' needs and backgrounds.

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

5.3.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

The NCCBE introduces the main principles to guide education providers and schools in directing school operations and developing a suitable school culture. Municipalities and schools further provide their specific local curricula based on these main guidelines and national goals provided by the NCCBE. Education providers, with the help of teachers, make decisions about the practical implementation of the curriculum, the potential local emphasis of the transversal competences, and how the achievement of these competences should be measured.

In Finland we don't have any inspectorate system in schooling and also publishing the school books – it's totally free business - so we can't say that these are the official textbooks; there are different enterprises producing them and then the teachers make choices [...] In learning methods teachers are also free. [Policymaker 1]

Municipalities, schools, education providers and teachers in Finland thus exercise a high level of autonomy in selecting educational materials, textbooks, teaching and learning methods and forms of assessment.

Cultural diversity and language awareness, participation and democratic action, and equity and equality are the main principles of school culture. For each of these values, the NCCBE suggests activities including the parallel study of various languages, cooperation with various organisations, voluntary work and involving students in selecting and developing their own learning environments and working methods. However, as the Finnish education system is decentralised, local curricula in practice can be quite different in the values that they choose to emphasise and the way they promote and assess the core values mentioned in the NCCBE. Nevertheless, understanding and respect between different identities, languages, religions and world views is promoted across all local curricula. Further, all pupils have the right to learn and appreciate their own language and culture. Therefore, multilingualism and parallel use of various languages is also implemented extensively across school curricula. Yet another principle widely emphasised in school culture is *participation and democratic action*. Students' active participation in society serves as an

important means of promoting their democratic participation. Involving students in activities both inside and outside of schools helps them gain knowledge and practice decision-making and shouldering responsibility. Next to these competences, schools should also provide opportunities for students to discuss social and political questions. This is often achieved by encouraging students to be actively involved in decision-making through planning, implementing, assessing and evaluating school activities. Integrative and multidisciplinary learning are a vital part of school culture. Therefore, schools are encouraged to also use functional activities such as theme days, events and campaigns. Moreover, cooperation between schools and various organisations and communities gives students a chance to expand their idea of involvement and action in civic society. According to the policymakers interviewed in this study, there should be a student council in each school to promote involvement and participation.

The NCCBE views pupils as active actors in education. They have to learn to work both independently and in groups to solve problems. Further, since learning happens together and from each other in a community, there also needs to be interaction between students, teachers, adults and different communities. Students are thus encouraged to reflect on their own work and each other's work. Moreover, feedback from parents is also promoted.

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

Our school participated in this project called shadow election where we have parliamentary elections; we have organised this shadow election where young people can vote for their candidates and then the results are counted. [Teacher 2]

There has been like a chance for students to kind of simulate the election. [Teacher 4]

Another example of an extracurricular project executed every second year is when 7th year students are taken to the Finnish Parliament to visit the main hall and pose questions to Members of Parliament. In order to convey this democratic knowledge to the students in line with the nature of the projects, teachers hold class discussions to help students understand the meaning of democracy and express their own ideas democratically. Group work and projects employing substantial multidisciplinary learning modules have also been used in teaching democratic values. As one of the teachers explained:

I have given assignments like group work about an issue that should be ameliorated in our society or in school community and have asked them to make a plan on how to make people aware about it and how to affect those who are able to make decisions about it [...] I want them to understand the importance of NGOs. [Teacher 2]

The new curriculum places great emphasis on student participation and gets students involved in school activities. To foster civic participation amongst students, each school has a student council that is an autonomous organisation and is led by students with the help of supervising teachers. In these councils, students are given the opportunity to be involved

in decision-making and to practice democracy. Another cited example of multidisciplinary learning modules was that of the school choosing a theme, based on which students plan, implement and evaluate their own sub-projects with the guidance of their teachers. One teacher also explained how she asks students for their ideas and views on the class material and makes them decide what they want included. Another teacher explained how the school's music group held a concert for UNICEF and all the teachers used UNICEF's material in their classes that day.

Similar to the subject of democracy, the topics of tolerance towards cultural groups and inclusive society should be included in all teaching areas. However, these topics are reflected more explicitly in subjects such as religious education, secular ethics, history, social studies, and languages. Each one of these subdomains is discussed in at least one of these subjects. For example, tolerance towards cultural groups can be naturally discussed in religious education, and inclusive society in social studies. Moreover, the teachers stressed that interpersonal relations and skills should be a part of all subjects and everyday life at school.

One of the most important projects to promote tolerance in Finnish schools is an anti-bullying project known as KiVa [*Kiusaamista Vastaan*, against bullying]. This project, established by the University of Turku in 2006, has been widely used in Finnish schools to improve students' knowledge about bullying, and tolerance constitutes one of its main themes. Further, one of the teachers mentioned an example of how her school was going to host a *Tolerance Week* to introduce cultural differences to students. Teachers also mentioned inviting guests from different cultures or religions to the class to help students grow accustomed to differences and to enhance tolerance amongst students. In line with integrative learning, teachers mentioned using group work, discussions and projects in their classes to teach about the diversity in cultures, religions and languages and to promote respect for differences amongst students.

5.3.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

Finnish students have secured high achievements in civic knowledge tests in both European and international comparative studies (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, Schultz et al., 2010). Nevertheless, compared to other countries worldwide, Finnish students show a lack of participation in the youth organisations of political parties and involvement in group communities (ICCS, 2010). The new NCCBE has tried to increase emphasis on participation and democratic involvement of students by introducing it as one of the seven core transversal competences. In addition, school councils, different week and day themes at schools and school cooperation with different organisations also provide an opportunity for students to practice democracy actively within a democratic school culture.

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

On a further note, Europe's current refugee crisis has had a strong effect on Finland's education system. One of the main debates in Finland in this regard has been the role of the education system in improving tolerance and enhancing students' points of view in order to see multiculturalism as a positive resource. As an attempt in this direction, multiculturalism and multilingualism are also strongly emphasised in the new NCCBE.

5.3.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

This study analysed the Finnish education regulations, national curriculum and school culture to understand and evaluate the teaching of values in Finland, in particular those of tolerance and democracy. An investigation of the formal documents revealed that general education laws are the main policy instrument in Finland to foster common values. These laws are mainly supplemented by the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (NCCBE) which serves as a guideline for municipalities and schools to prepare their local curricula. In addition, there is no specific subject for teaching common values. Instead, values are introduced through seven transversal competences stated explicitly in the NCCBE, and they are addressed across all subject areas in the school curricula.

In general, TCV is considered highly important in Finnish education laws and regulations. However, there is no central inspectorate in place to carry out the evaluation of the teaching of these values. According to one of the interviewed policymakers, the Finnish National Board of Education (FNBE) aims to evaluate the new curriculum by performing random checks on local curricula. Nonetheless, there is no central assessment of the common values nor of the various stated learning outcomes.

The interviews indicated that the school culture in Finland is mostly in accordance with the government and FNBE regulations, as well as the main national goals. However, since the education system is decentralised, schools can vary with regard to the core values they choose to emphasise and promote. In fact, municipalities and schools choose their own specific values based on their student's specific needs and backgrounds, taking the NCCBE mainly as a guideline. The interviews showed how each school had chosen different approaches to realise the common values of the Finnish education system. In one of the schools, for instance, tolerance was considered an important issue and the school intended to conduct a theme week on this topic. In another school, democracy and student participation formed the main focus.

Although the Finnish formal documents seem to represent the common values well at all levels; national, European, as well as global, the values promoted in practice might be more national and European in nature (Holm & Londen, 2010). The teachers interviewed for this report suggested that international projects are needed to help students gain familiarity with the idea of entirely different cultures and the meaning of both democracy as well as authoritarian regimes. It might be influential for students to have visitors from African, Asian or Middle Eastern schools at their own school, or even to travel there themselves. One of the main challenges discussed by the informants of this report was the fact that democracy is taken for granted and students do not have any clear idea about authoritarian regimes around the world, and the fact that democracy needs action. The EU and the Council of Europe (CoE) can also play a crucial role in producing materials for national authorities, policymakers and even schools. Further, closer cooperation between the EU and the CoE can be advantageous, since the CoE has already provided a wide range of materials under projects relating to education for democratic citizenship and human rights.

Another important issue that needs to be considered is the revision of pre-service and in-service teacher training in order to introduce teachers to the main changes and national

goals of the new official documents, since teachers might have limited knowledge about the NCCBE. This was confirmed in the interviews with both the policymakers and the teachers, wherein it was reported that teachers are more knowledgeable about the local curricula than the NCCBE. Moreover, as municipalities, schools and teachers have the freedom to choose their own methodologies and materials, this can also result in some contradictory issues between the formal NCCBE document and school culture. The FNBE plans to evaluate the implementation of the new curriculum by analysing a sample of local curricula. However, a wider evaluation is needed with regard to the implementation process in order to ensure that the gap between the formal NCCBE document and school culture is reduced.

5.3.7. References:

- Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Oswald, H., & Schulz, W. (2001). *Citizenship and education in 28 countries, civic knowledge and engagement at age fourteen (ICCS)*. International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).
- Holm, K. (2012). *Ethical, intercultural and interreligious sensitivities: A case study of Finnish urban secondary school students*. (Published doctoral dissertation).
- Holm, G., & Londen, M. (2010). The discourse on multicultural education in Finland: education for whom? *Intercultural Education*, 21(2), 107-120. doi: [10.1080/14675981003696222](https://doi.org/10.1080/14675981003696222)
- ICCS (2010). *International Report: Civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement among lower-secondary school students in 38 countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- Kuusisto, E., Gholami, K & Tirri, K. (2016): Finnish and Iranian teachers' views on their competence to teach purpose, *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 42(5), 541-555. doi: [10.1080/02607476.2016.1226553](https://doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2016.1226553)
- Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development. (2004). *learning for tomorrow's world: First results from PISA 2003*. Paris.
- Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development. (2011). *Education at a glance 2011: OECD indicators*. Author. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2011-en>
- Rasanen, R. (2007). Intercultural education as education for global responsibility. In T. Kaivola & M. Melen-Paaso (Eds). *Education for global responsibilities. Finnish Perspectives* (18-30). Publications of the Ministry of Education 2007:31. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Talib, M-T., Lofstrom, J., & Meri, M. (2004) *Kulttuurit ja koulu. Avaima opettejaille*. [Cultures and school. Keys for teachers]. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Tirri, K., & Kuusisto, E. (2013). How Finland serves gifted and talented pupils. *Journal of the Education of the Gifted*, 36(1), 84-96.
- Tirri, K. (2008). Introduction. In K. Tirri (Ed), *Educating Moral Sensibilities in Urban Schools*. Rotterdam/Taipei: Sense Publishers.

5.3.7.1. Legal and Policy documents:

- Basic Education Act (642/2010). Retrieved from <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2010/20100642>
- Government Decree (422/2012). Retrieved from <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2012/20120422?search%5Btype%5D=pika&search%5Bpika%5D=422%2F2012>
- NCCBE. National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (2014). Helsinki, Finland, National Board of Education. The State Printing Press.

5.4. France

A republican point of view

Antoine Bevort

5.4.1. Characteristics of the country

The French political institutions are defined by the Constitution of the Fifth Republic established in 1958. Though the French constitution is parliamentary, it gives extensive powers to the executive (president and government). According to Lijphart (1999), France has a majoritarian type of democracy characterised by the concentration of power in the hands of the ruling majority, and forms an exclusive, competitive, and adversarial model of democracy. France is a founding member of the European Union and one of the first-wave countries to adopt the Euro on 1 January 1999. In 2016, the French population amounted to 67.2 million residents (including 2.7 million overseas). Catholics represent 50% of the French population, Protestants represent 8%, and other Christians 2%. Further, Muslims represent 6% of the population, non-believers/agnostics account for 20%, and atheists 13%. According to the French Census Survey in 2012, approximately 11% of the population was born outside the country, primarily in Algeria, Morocco or Portugal.

5.4.2. Education system and policy

The French education system is highly centralised. It is divided into three stages: *enseignement primaire* (elementary education), *enseignement secondaire* (secondary education), and *enseignement supérieur* (higher education). About 17% of the students attend private schools, which are mostly Catholic. School education is compulsory for children between the ages of 6 to 16; this obligation covers both elementary education (elementary school) and the first four years (collège) of secondary education. Secondary education for students aged 16 and above is dispensed in *lycées d'enseignement général et technologique* (secondary schools) and in *lycées professionnels* (secondary schools for vocational training). Students attend the former establishment for three years of study which concludes with the *Baccalauréat général* and *Baccalauréat technologique* examinations. The latter establishment provides two years of study for the *Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle* or CAP (vocational training certificate); two more years of study are required to prepare for the *Baccalauréat professionnel* examination. Higher education includes three main tracks: university, the *Grandes écoles* of engineering and business administration, and higher vocational training schools.

The OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) study in 2012 showed that France has dropped to an average position in international mathematics tests. Moreover, the report states that: 'In France, the correlation between socio-economic background and performance is considerably more marked than in other OECD countries'.

Two main values form the basis of the French education system: *laicism* (secularism) and equality. However, these values are increasingly disputed in French society (Van Zanten, 2004). In accordance with these core values, the French education policy focuses on the improvement of lower secondary education (*College unique* or single school), revaluation of vocational education (*Revalorisation de la formation professionnelle*), and a policy of equality of chances. But there is a strong discrepancy between discourse (advocating the equality of chances), theory (no early selection) and reality (which presents much inequality) in which schools remain highly competitive and segregated.

5.4.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

In France, one usually refers to republican values rather than common values. This has been increasingly evident in the past years. Since September 2013, each school posts the Charter of laicism (secularism) next to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 26 August 1789. Both texts highlight the republican values of liberty, equality and fraternity.

The history of moral and civic education in France dates back to the end of the 19th century (Bevort & Veugelers, 2016), when a civic syllabus was introduced in primary schools as part of a policy countering the influence of the Catholic Church (Kahn, 2015). From the start, moral and civic instruction had a double aim: 'to make the country known and to make the fatherland loved' (Buisson, [1887] 2011–2012: 399). In secondary schools, a civic syllabus appeared after the Second World War. In 1999, a syllabus entitled *Civic, legal and social education (Education civique, juridique et sociale)* was introduced in all three years of upper secondary education. Although primary schools received the task of promoting citizenship education in the 1980s, *civic and moral instruction* as a specific course was only reinstated as such in 2008. From September 2015, a new *Moral and Civic Teaching (MCT)* syllabus replaced the existing subject programmes at all levels. The new syllabus was a response to the terrorist attacks of January 2015 in Paris against *Charlie Hebdo*, a satirical weekly, and a Jewish supermarket. The new programme is more about promoting morality and law, rather than citizenship. It focuses on the values of the republic more than on democracy, which is always associated with the adjective representative. It is supposed to be an imperative curriculum but in fact teachers have a lot of autonomy in the way they implement the syllabus.

Outside of education, the *Civic Service* is a volunteer scheme running since 2001, open to all youngsters aged 16 to 25 years. The scheme promotes voluntary commitment amongst youth to serve the interests of the general public, and is part of a youth policy aiming at national cohesion and social intermingling.

5.4.3.1. Policy instruments

After the terrorist attacks of November 2015, a new impetus was given to promoting republican values in education, with an emphasis on the role of the school. On 9 February 2016, the Government launched the School and Educational Partners Forum for Republican Values (*Assises de l'École et de ses partenaires pour les valeurs de la République*); a process of meetings and consultations amongst the education community and its partners, to function as a big school mobilisation for the values of the republic. Eleven action measures were decided in this forum along three main lines: laicism (secularism), the reduction of educational inequalities (through educational diversity, enhanced support), and the creation of a new 'citizen track' (*parcours citoyen*) starting from kindergarten to the end of secondary school, promoting school democracy, student engagement, and mobilisation of stakeholders. A list of target actions has been established, comprising, for example, the yearly participation in Laicism Day, the National Competition on Resistance and Deportation, and Press and Media in Schools Week with the purpose of citizenship education, awakening a critical mind, etc. Further, a newly created Educational Citizen Reserve (*Réserve citoyenne de l'Éducation nationale*) brings together people, besides teachers, who are engaged in promoting the values of the republic. Acting against radicalisation of youth, and promoting equality of girls and boys are other policy instruments.

5.4.3.2. Teaching Resources

A real effort has been made to provide resources for MCT, such as a review of official texts, provision of pedagogical resources to 'act in the classroom' (Educational Resource Kit for Teachers), involvement of parents and partners, and online resources for teachers, students as well as parents. Additionally, a digital portal has been created to promote the values of the republic and offer multiple resources for teaching republican values. Several textbooks have been edited for the subject MCT. The involved policymakers stressed the exceptional training programme that was set up in 2015, to train 300,000 professionals in the fields of laicism, religion and democratic and republican citizenship, facilitating the introduction of the new MCT curriculum. NGOs have also been regularly consulted by the Ministry of Education on these developments, and the materials and trainings provided by them are used in some schools.

5.4.3.3. Debates

The political context following the terrorist attacks of 2015-2016 has refuelled an ongoing debate since the 1980s on laicism, for example, on the issue of wearing a head scarf in school, university or even on the street, or wearing a *burkini* at the beach, an issue that took centre stage during the summer of 2016. The gender issue has also become a pertinent topic, linked in particular to its introduction in some schoolbooks. The NGO expert listed three relevant topics currently debated: the place of laicism in schools, teaching civic values, and social and educational inequalities.

Table 5.4: Study participants France

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Policymaker	Officer Ministry of Education	Large
NGO expert	NGO <i>Éducation et Devenir</i> – Education and Future	Large
Teacher 1	History, Geography	Large
Teacher 2	Social Sciences	Large
Teacher 3	History, Geography	Medium
Teacher 4	Social and Economic Sciences	Medium

5.4.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

5.4.4.1. Topics in Teaching Common Values

The central idea of the education policy is to reinforce the transmission of republican values. MCT formulates four core goals of a moral and civic culture: moral awareness, understanding the role of law and rules, skills of reflective judgement, and a critical mind and sense of engagement. MCT aims to transmit and share the values that found the republic and democracy: liberty, equality - notably between girls and boys, solidarity, laicism, spirit of justice, respect, and action against all forms of discrimination. MCT intends to foster the ability to live together in an 'indivisible, secular, democratic and social republic'. According to our source at the policy level, all these domains and subdomains are dealt with in depth in MCT, in accordance with the different school levels and years. The

NGO expert, however, gave a different analysis stating that several topics received insufficient attention (e.g. active participation, positive attitude towards freedom of speech, consensus building, and an inclusive society).

In lower secondary education, political participation is mentioned in the MCT curriculum, like the knowledge of political institutions of the republic, and the principles of democratic societies. Political, union, associative, and humanitarian involvement are all in the curriculum, for example, in the form of participative school structures. But 'active' participation is not a central issue. The curriculum for higher secondary education is more precise, though participation is not the main motive at this level either. While the concept of democracy is part of the curriculum, the focus is more on a legal approach to democracy, such as comparing different kinds of democratic regimes. The skills needed to debate and participate in decision-making, which we can consider as part of the 'democratic attitude', are not very detailed.

In lower secondary education, the focus is not on 'building a democratic society', but more on the fundamentals of such a regime. The liberties founding democracy are mentioned precisely, but the concepts of consensus or 'concertation' are not core notions in the MCT curriculum. Although the problem of building a democratic society is not explicitly present in the higher secondary education curriculum, the study programme devotes a lot of attention to the skills necessary for building a democratic society, such as taking part in a discussion, a debate or dialogue, speaking in front of others, listening to others, formulating and learning to justify a point of view, understanding that one's liberty supposes the recognition of another's liberty too, etc.

The tension between the values of liberty and equality figures explicitly in the syllabus. The commitment to building a more just society and the major principles of justice (e.g. right to fair trials, rights of defence) are also part of the curriculum, with an explicit link to the school rules and procedures. As one of the teachers noted:

The topic 'democratic society', as so often, is a declaration of intentions. Everything is written down, in texts, laws and policies, but the implementation in everyday life remains complicated. It presupposes the commitment of every single person, a clear policy and a general agreement about the rules we want to follow. In addition, the country currently struggles about what comes under Ministry or local government. We face a tradition of centralisation and a will for more local management. We are talking here about student behaviour, bullying, etc. [Teacher 3]

Respectful interpersonal relations are also often reflected in the curriculum of MCT. At all levels and in all different tracks, the first skill is 'sensitivity towards oneself and others'. According to the curriculum for lower secondary education: 'Sensitivity is an essential component of moral and civic life [...]. Sensitivity education aims at creating a better understanding of ourselves, to identify our feelings and emotions, to put them into words, to discuss them, and to better understand those of others.' In lower secondary education, the concept of 'tolerance' is not quoted, but other similar notions are, such as recognition of others, of cultural diversity, and of different points of view. The syllabus states, for example: 'Understanding that the personal aspiration to liberty implicates the acknowledgement of other person's rights; understanding the diversity of civic, social, cultural, and religious senses of belonging'. In higher secondary education, tolerance is used together with other notions. The topics of pluralism of religious beliefs and practices, and the importance of laicism (including its different meanings, its historical, philosophical and legal dimensions) are emphasised and explained. The practice of liberties and the risks of sectarianism are also part of the curriculum.

The idea of 'building an inclusive society' does not appear in lower secondary education, but the themes of inequality, social justice and actions to reduce these inequalities and foster engagement and critical analysis are present. The notion of an inclusive society is not present in the higher secondary education curriculum either, but the associated knowledge and commitments are present in the curriculum, with the exception of the commitment to contribute to economic prosperity.

National orientation is very visible and very important in both lower and higher secondary education. The republican values are clearly also the values of France. No references to controversial issues in French history are mentioned in the curriculum of MCT, though these topics are present in the history programme. In higher secondary education, the practice of citizenship is referred to in the context of the French Republic and the European Union. The idea of European citizenship is part of the syllabus. The relation between citizenship and nationality is present, as is a comparison between different kinds of democratic regimes. A part of the curriculum is also dedicated to engagement, the notion of militancy, and the main forms of political, union and associative engagement.

5.4.4.2. Activities and methodologies

MCT favours three methodological approaches: informed and thought provoking debate, documentary-making, and partnership. These approaches are considered a better means of forging students' critical thinking skills and helping them build solid and enriched argumentation. The debates have to be followed by debriefing sessions. MCT as a subject is not necessarily evaluated in terms of marks, which is very rare in France, but in terms of four kinds of skills: to be able to identify and explain ethical values and the civic principles at stake; to be able to mobilise the relevant knowledge; personal expression, argumentation and critical sense; and engagement in teamwork.

The different consultative school bodies for participation are seen as experimentation in democracy, as a means of student expression, and as a means to foster a culture of engagement amongst youth. The schools are encouraged to recognise the value of participation, and acquired skills. The Ministry has created an engagement booklet, and given time to teachers to enable them to guide students in this respect. Participation in society is promoted; however, it is not part (or is a very minor part) of school activities. Student participation in society is presented as experimentation in democracy, especially in higher secondary education, and is encouraged.

All the interviewed teachers gave numerous examples of teaching practices, courses concerning domains or subdomains of civic education, trips and projects. Below is one such example:

The methodology used there is built around personal research and collective debate. We expect the students to investigate a question and then to have a debate. The expectations are to improve knowledge and to have a clearer sight of the question after the debate. The personality of the teacher and his/her choices are fundamental because those courses are very different from one to another. [Teacher 2]

Another teacher from a rural department reported that in February 2015 after the terrorist attacks against *Charlie Hebdo*, teaching was interrupted for half a day to open debates with students on the issue of freedom of expression through multiple activities in all subjects. The publication of a students' journal also followed, guided by some teachers. Additionally, a 3-day school trip to the European Parliament was organised by a group of teachers from the same higher secondary school.

5.4.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

The social segregation of schools in France, especially secondary schools, seems a big barrier to the emergence of diverse student and teacher populations. The PISA report showed that the French education system was more unequal in 2012 than nine years before, and social inequalities have worsened especially between 2003 and 2006. School segregation is related, of course, to urban segregation. The CNESCO (*Conseil national d'évaluation du système scolaire*/National Assessment Council of the School System) report published in September 2016 underscores this fact (CNESCO, 2016).

Youth radicalisation and the growing spread of conspiracy theories creates the awareness for the necessity of an educational response. However, as one of the teachers underlined, there is a contrary trend towards the disappearance of socio-educative clubs (*foyers socio-éducatifs*) in schools, and a growing politicisation of the students with an altogether declining interest in the traditional forms of representative political life.

5.4.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

5.4.6.1. Conclusion about policy and practice

There is an important difference between political discourse and practice. The biggest problem seems to be the lack of trust in the government and especially education actors, which hinders the successful implementation of TCV. Although a certain mobilisation by teachers to confront this situation can be noted, students seem to hold a certain reservation against it, and distance themselves from government civic mobilisation. The NGO expert reported that the often chosen top-down approach is particularly ineffectual.

As one teacher stated:

The message from the state about that is clearer than ever. We want the school to teach democracy and tolerance, but at the same time, the country faces many changes coming from a globalised world. Our society changes because of globalisation and it is difficult to adapt. [...] There are breakdowns between the Republic and some groups, particularly, amongst those groups: teenagers. They don't recognise the state in its principles and struggle against it. The school is an image of the state and thus, a place to struggle against. The nice ideas about human rights, democracy, and tolerance are far away from their concerns and maybe, listening to us could be understood in their social groups as a betrayal. [Teacher 3]

5.4.6.2. Discussion about current state and future developments

The current state is characterised by an insufficient response to some very relevant issues. The context of the upcoming elections does not facilitate a reasoned approach towards civic issues. Future developments depend on the result of these elections, which are difficult to foresee.

5.4.6.3. Recommendations for schools, national policy and the European Union

European Union level: Specify and promote the idea of European citizenship, and the shared values on which the European Union is based.

National level: The priorities for the national policy should be to reduce inequality in schools and to set examples of transparency, democracy, and tolerance in public institutions and political organisations. It would also help to adopt an open kind of laicism, and the topic of

freedom of speech and belief should be more explicitly introduced in the MCT curriculum. Further, international comparative study of the different civic traditions should also be given more place in the curriculum.

School level: Schools should benefit from more explicit autonomy to implement the subject. The hierarchical management of schools and of pedagogical methods should also evolve to a more collaborative, participative, empowerment-based pedagogy and management style, giving more time for debate to both teachers and students.

5.4.7. References

Policy and legal documents about TCV

- Ministry of Education (2015). *Synthèse de la consultation nationale sur les projets de programmes d'enseignement moral et civique [National Consultation Summary on the Draft Moral and Civic Programmes]*. <http://eduscol.education.fr/consultations-2014-2015/events/programmes-denseignement-moral-et-civique>
- Ministry of Education (2015). *Programme d'enseignement moral et civique. Classes de seconde générale et technologique, de première et terminale des séries générales [Moral and Civic Programme, Higher secondary school classes]*. <http://eduscol.education.fr/cid92574/l-emc-dans-la-classe-et-dans-l-etablissement-lycee.html>
- Ministry of Education (2015). *L'École et ses partenaires mobilisés pour les valeurs de la République: synthèse des assises [Education and partners mobilised for the values of the Republic: Consultation Summary]*. [http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid88749/l-ecole-et-ses-partenaires-mobilises-pour-les-valeurs-de-la-republique-synthese-des-assises.html#La synthèse des assises en 10 points clés](http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid88749/l-ecole-et-ses-partenaires-mobilises-pour-les-valeurs-de-la-republique-synthese-des-assises.html#La%20synthese%20des%20assises%20en%2010%20points%20cles)

Articles/books

- Bevort, A. & Veugelers, W. (2016). Active citizenship and austerity: A Dutch–French comparison Policy, civil society and education. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 11(3), 315–332.
- Buisson, F. (Ed.) ([1887] 2011–2012), *Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire* [Dictionary of pedagogy and primary education] (398–402). Paris: Hachette.
- CNESCO (Conseil national d'évaluation du système scolaire) [National Assessment Council of the School System] (2016). *Inégalités sociales et migratoires, Rapport Scientifique [Social and Migration Inequalities, Scientific Report]*. September.
- INSEE (2014). <http://www.insee.fr/fr/mobile/>, accessed 10 October 2016.
- Kahn, P. (2015). L'enseignement moral et civique, vain projet ou ambition légitime ? Éléments pour un débat [Moral and civic education, a useless project or a legitimate ambition? Elements for a debate]. *Carrefours de l'éducation*, 39(1), 185–202.
- OECD (2014). *PISA 2012 Results in Focus What 15-year-olds know and what they can do with what they know*. <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results.htm>
- Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Van Zanten, A. (2004). [Grand Dossier 'L'école en débat : quelles politiques pour l'éducation ? [School at stake: what policy for Education?]]. *Sciences humaines*.

5.5. Germany

Promoting critical thinking in everyday life

Inken Heldt and Dirk Lange

5.5.1. Characteristics of the country

Germany is a federal parliamentary republic. It is one of the founding states of the European Union, and therefore an EU Member State since 1 January 1958. It is also a member of the Eurozone since 1 January 1999. With a population of 81,197,537 (in 2015), Germany is the most populous country in Europe. It has a strong literary tradition and is Europe's strongest economy. It also has a sizeable immigrant population comprising more than 7 million people, amounting to nearly 9% of the total population. Amongst Germany's immigrant population, the largest group is of Turkish origin, comprising 2.5 million people or nearly 3% of the population, followed by 1.3 million Poles.

5.5.2. Education system and policy

In Germany, it is compulsory for all children to attend school. Compulsory schooling begins at the age of 6 and lasts for a 9-year period. The German federation and the 16 *Länder* (states) each have certain responsibilities of their own. The responsibility for the school system lies primarily with the 16 federal states. There are different education systems and plans in place, along with different types of schools and even different subjects.

Published in 2001, the PISA 2000 results revealed that Germany had a higher correlation between family socio-economic status and student achievement than any other OECD country, implying that students from disadvantaged backgrounds were particularly at risk. Moreover, Germany scored an average of 484 points in the first PISA test for reading and literacy, thus falling below the OECD average of 500. This caused a so-called 'PISA shock', driving political parties, unions as well as parent groups to work together towards significant reforms. In the latest global Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), German students performed below the EU average in mathematics. Further, students' abilities in maths and science showed no advancement, and received either the same or even a lower average score than in 2011 when this assessment was last administered (Wendt et al 2016).

Germany did not take part in the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS). However, it is represented by the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia in the ongoing 2016 ICCS cycle, which will report on the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens.

Teaching common values in Germany is inextricably linked to the subject of citizenship education. Further, the history of citizenship education in Germany is closely linked to the experience of the totalitarian rule in the early days of its democracy. The development of democratic attitudes within Germany was understood to be an indispensable ingredient in building a stable democracy in the Federal Republic after 1945, and in reunited Germany again in 1989. The failure of the Weimar democratic experiment and the ease with which Hitler took over Germany in 1933 was seen in part as a result of the education systems, which were themselves anti-democratic and authoritarian, and unable to convey the idea of democratic values (Roberts, 2002). Although the strategies of the four occupying powers differed considerably in terms of purpose, content and method, all agreed that the development of a stable democracy would require more than citizens who paid lip service to

democratic principles but still reluctantly tolerated a democratic order imposed on them by the authorities (Roberts, 2002). This diagnosis emphasised that a mere conveyance of information about democratic systems was insufficient. A focus on developing democratic values, *attitudes* and *practices* rather than imposing certain ideas 'from above' was required. 'Democracies need democrats' soon emerged as the underlying credo for the concept of citizenship education, valid even today.

During the 1950s and 1960s, civic education was introduced as a separate school subject in Western Germany. From this point on, the professional development of this discipline was initiated. As part of its continuing professional development, in-service teacher training was provided to teachers of citizenship education. At the same time, citizenship education was made part of the academic discourse, and its theoretical and conceptual underpinnings were elaborated upon. In 1965, a national professional association for teachers of civic education was founded (*Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Bildung e.V.*), serving as a special interest group for teachers of citizenship education until today (Sander, 2014).

During the 1960s, professorships for citizenship education were founded in German universities, focusing on citizenship education in formal schooling. At this time, during the 1960s and 1970s, the philosophy of the school subject was a matter of serious and embittered fights. By the 1960s, new left-wing approaches took the argument further, demanding a more emancipatory take on citizenship education, and encouraging people to question authority and if necessary, to resist it. Contrary to this were approaches that took a more 'rationalist', less politicised stand, emphasising the value of information and reflection rather than political activism. Different conceptions of citizenship education led to polarised ideologies, and experts were split into two camps: one camp believed that the goal of citizenship education was to help citizens make rational judgements; the other believed it was to teach citizens how to emancipate themselves from those who might seek to seize power. Because of the socio-political demands made by citizenship education, the debate was at times bitterly contested. At least two state elections centred on the question whether education had the task of passing on traditions to the younger generation or of enabling students to change this world by political means. This either-or confrontation divided between conservative and progressive opinions brought up the question whether teachers could indoctrinate students according to their own personal point of view. There was a shared belief that this kind of education could not be called education for democracy (Reinhardt, 2007, p. 69).

The federal nature of the German education and political system, with the guaranteed cultural autonomy (*Kulturhoheit*) of the 16 federal states, means that there is no unified or 'national' curriculum for any subject in Germany. Consequently, there is also no uniform concept of citizenship education. This divergence is illustrated by the varying names given to citizenship related subjects in schools, such as politics and economy (*Politik und Wirtschaft*), social studies (*Sozialkunde*) and politics (*Politik*). Nevertheless, the commonality they share lies in their coverage of a wide and comprehensive range of topics addressing the fundamental principles of democratic societies, contemporary societal issues such as cultural diversity and sustainable development, as well as the European and international dimensions. With regard to its place in the curriculum, citizenship education is structured as a stand-alone subject. In practice, most schools provide less than two hours of citizenship education each week. NGO materials and trainings on democracy and tolerance (e.g. topics of discrimination, human rights, free trade agreements) are also widely used. Further, citizenship education exists not only as a separate subject but also as a pedagogical school principle in all of Germany's varied educational facilities, at every level of education.

Teachers of civics are usually required to pass specialised pre-service or in-service courses carried out by universities or teacher training institutions. As with many other issues in education for democratic citizenship in Germany, the structure, content, intensity and objectives of teacher training within German universities show considerable diversity. In some states, budget cuts have meant that the status of citizenship education in both in-service and pre-service teacher trainings is rather precarious. A common critique is that there are still too many teachers teaching citizenship education without having an academic qualification for doing so, e.g. teachers who have no background in social science studies.

A unique feature of Germany with regard to civic education is the existence of a Federal Agency for Civic Education (*Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*; henceforth BpB). The BpB is a government agency which has its own administration and which is subordinated to the Federal Ministry of Interior. The BpB provides German citizens with information about all areas of politics, social life and common values. The work of the agency is supervised by a board of trustees, made up of members from the German *Bundestag*, who ensure that the perspectives of all political parties are taken into account equally. The BpB was founded in 1952. Its main task then was to explain democracy to a nation which critically needed to analyse and come to terms with its past (BpB, 2016). Its main task today is providing information and teaching materials (such as books, magazines, DVDs, etc.) as well as arranging events (such as trainings, study trips, exhibitions and competitions). The range of topics covered by the BpB include European integration, elections, globalisation, participation and civic engagement, issues relating to the economy and the financial markets, migration and social change. The target groups include both education professionals (journalists, teachers and anyone involved in education and youth work) as well as laypersons (children, youth and adults including target groups such as hard-to-reach learners, the elderly, people with migrant backgrounds, etc). The overall aim of BpB is to promote awareness for democracy and to inculcate values such as democracy, pluralism and tolerance in people's minds. Not only are BpB's broad range of educational activities designed to motivate people to actively participate in political and social life, they also seek to enable people to critically assess and evaluate political, cultural, social and economic processes and issues for themselves.

In order to derive a more in-depth understanding of the German policy and practice of teaching common values, interviews were conducted with four teachers and an NGO expert from the field of citizenship education. The following sections present a further discussion of the insights gained from these interviews and the study of relevant policy documents.

Table 5.5: Study participants Germany

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Expert, Education Authority of Lower Saxony (subordinated department of the Ministry of Education of Lower Saxony)	Expert in Civic and Citizenship Education and Vocational Education	Large
Head of NGO	Expert in non-formal Education for Democracy	Umbrella Organisation
Teacher 1	Citizenship Education, early career teacher	Large
Teacher 2	Citizenship Education, senior teacher	Large
Teacher 3	Citizenship Education, senior teacher	Medium
Teacher 4	Citizenship Education, coordinator in-service teacher training	Medium-Large

5.5.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

Despite competing ideas of citizenship education, widespread agreement exists on three basic principles known as the *Beutelsbacher Consensus*. All the teachers interviewed made a reference to these principles:

To me, the Beutelsbacher Consensus serves as a normative yardstick when discussing about values and such. [Teacher 1]

In 1976, a conference of educationalists from different didactic schools addressed the need to avoid indoctrination. Education as propaganda and as a means of brainwashing citizens has been an especially sensitive issue in the Federal Republic because of former Nazi and communist indoctrination policies (Roberts, 2002, 561). The conference participants agreed on a set of guidelines emphasising the notion of 'objective', value-neutral education, which resulted in these three principles.

The first principle prohibits educators from overpowering students with political opinions, attitudes or values. Any kind of indoctrination contradicts the core idea of a self-consciously critical individual, and is therefore irreconcilable with citizenship education overall. Likewise, indoctrination does not conform to the teacher's role in democracy and the – widely accepted – aim of students' personal autonomy (*Mündigkeit*).

Second, educators are expected to reflect on the variety of perspectives and plurality of interests, and the problems they present. If a topic is controversial in science, politics or society in general, then citizenship education must also teach it as controversial. This second principle clearly shows why the teachers' personal points of view, their origin in a certain academic philosophy and their political opinions are of rather little interest. Teachers' own specific understanding of democracy (e.g. does it imply a way of life or does it constitute the form of the state?) is not problematic as long as opposing views are allowed to enter the picture. This requirement is closely linked to the first demand, because if differing points of view are not clearly stated, if options are suppressed, if alternatives are not openly discussed, then the path to indoctrination is chosen. Within the second principle, the question is raised whether teachers should bring up opinions and alternatives that are unfamiliar to students because of their social background or not.

The third principle postulates that students are to be taught to analyse their own political interests, and to influence society in a realistic way so as to pursue those interests. This aim includes pragmatic operations that also follow from the first two principles.

The Beutelsbacher Consensus has played an eminent role in citizenship education in Germany and continues to act as a fundamental pillar. Any civic education curriculum today quotes the Consensus. However, recent critics have been demanding an explicit interrogation of the underlying normative assumptions and implications of the Consensus, as they tacitly speak in favour of the status quo rather than of truly emancipatory notions. Hidden and unhidden normativity in civic education with regard to the Beutelsbacher Consensus are thus being intensively debated in current discourses.

The education acts of all federal states recognise the need to foster democracy, tolerance and participation. The acts form a general framework, which determines actions regarding schools and curricula. Furthermore, the Standing Conference (*Kultusministerkonferenz*), which is an association of ministers and senators from the federal states who are responsible for education, science and cultural affairs, regularly formulates common structural guidelines for the education policies of the federal states. In the current context, the Resolution of the Standing Conference of 6 March 2009, entitled *Strengthening Democracy Education* (KMK 2009), is especially important. This resolution promotes the idea that democracy and democratic action have to be learned. It states that, 'Children and

young adults should both experience benefits and chances of democracy and be aware of the fact that democratic values like liberty, justice, solidarity and tolerance will never be up for debate – even in times of change in society’ (p. 2). Further, it mentions that, ‘For schools, learning about democracy is the ultimate principle in all domains of pedagogical work. The school itself has to be a sphere of democratic activity, where the dignity of everybody is important, other people are tolerated, moral courage is omnipresent, rules are being followed, and conflicts are solved without any aggression and violence.’ (p. 3).

5.5.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

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

A more concise definition of citizenship education has long been contested. Throughout the ongoing debate, different positions have emerged on which concept is the best to inform education practice (Lange, 2008a). The debate centres on what knowledge should be applied, which academic disciplines are most relevant and which conceptual frameworks are most promising for efficient and meaningful teaching and learning. The first idea is to re-establish political science as the benchmark discipline for citizenship education (Weißeno, Detjen & Juchler, 2010). The second model utilises a variety of fields from within the social sciences, giving each their respective importance, in an effort to mediate citizenship education (Autorengruppe Fachdidaktik, 2011). The third perspective refers largely to democratic discourse and citizenship engagement (Himmelmann, 2013; Behrmann, Grammes & Reinhardt, 2004). The fourth position emphasises the individual subject, and uses students’ intuitive ideas as the point of reference to consider content issues (Lange, 2008a; Lange, 2008b). The first three approaches share the commonality that they once again place the core of citizenship education firmly within academics, whether in political science, the social sciences or the study of democracy. The fourth approach, however, disengages from the demands made by institutional academia, and instead favours individuals’ perceptions as a point of departure in order to develop subject-centred approaches.

Each different framework translates into different learning goals and objectives being pursued in the classroom that speak in varying degrees to the theoretical models of citizenship, such as the *liberal*, the *citizenship republican* and the *critical model* (Hoskins, 2013). The liberal approach to citizenship education is focused on creating autonomous citizens who can act towards supporting their own self-interest. It is focused on enhancing individuals’ basic level of citizenship knowledge and dispositions towards engagement. The citizenship republican approach emphasises the need for citizens to be actively engaged within a community as equal and free citizens. This approach stresses citizenship responsibility to act for the common good. The critical approach, on the other hand, focuses on improving and critiquing society through political action and social change. This approach is based on the idea of empowerment, social justice and a critique of the status

quo. It centres on the assumption that civic education does not simply aim at maintaining the democratic status quo. Rather, it seeks to develop citizens' skills to judge and act, enabling them to thus create, change, and maintain a political system that continually provides an open space for self-determination.

Irrespective of the conceptual controversy, participation in society is an upcoming topic. There is widespread agreement, both on policy and academic level, on the fact that teaching and learning at school must go beyond narrow, behavioural approaches that are content-led and knowledge-based. In the past few years, citizenship education has experienced a renaissance as 'democracy education'. Through school profiles, study programmes and initiatives, this area has steadily increased in importance (Himmelfmann, 2013). The goal of democracy education is to increase interest among schoolchildren to participate in social affairs. Several schools already initiate 'social days' or offer internships in social work. Those projects are in line with the federal state policies and the concept of social learning.

5.5.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

Proponents of the so-called 'democratic learning approaches' point to the fact that one cannot simply deal with citizenship issues in academically-oriented subjects. Instead, a new form of education has to be developed which enables children as well as adolescents to cope with real-life issues. Proponents often draw on John Dewey's pragmatic theory of democracy, which points out that democracy not only touches upon the order of society and the institutional organisation of power, but also concerns the way we deal with one another in everyday life; it concerns culture and our way of life. Understood this way, such civic education cannot only take place in a separate school subject; it concerns the school as a whole, and it needs to transform the schools from within in order to build a democratic school culture. Schools are in need of support to change accordingly. There are a number of support schemes helping schools with their so-called 'democratic school development'; however, some of them are funded by private actors and foundations. When it comes to democracy, support from public policies and administration is essential in order to ensure impartiality. On a federal level, the Resolution of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany of 6 March 2009 (KMK 2009), reaffirms the need to foster a democratic school life, as schools that best teach students how to actively engage in democracy are themselves organisations that reflect democratic principles - not only in words, but also in deeds. To this end, the resolution points out the need to include democratic and inclusive learning approaches in both in-service and pre-service teacher trainings.

In some schools in Germany, students with an immigrant background comprise the majority of the student body. This topic is therefore of particular importance and relevance within the social, political, and national context. Germany's populist far-right is seeking a comeback amid a record wave of asylum seekers in 2015, hoping to anchor itself in mainstream politics. The long-term integration of refugees - soon expected to reach 1% of the overall population - most of whom practice a different religion and often hold profoundly differing world views, is regarded as a leading challenge in Germany. Social acceptance or rejection of refugees depends not only on how well the influx is managed, but also on whether local authorities stoke fears or provide a safe haven to people fleeing terrorism and misery. Consequently, some crucial questions that must be addressed in education and academic discourse are: What is the relevance of citizenship and citizenship education for native-born Germans, and for those originally from other countries? What differences and similarities can be identified, and how can they be perceived and applied to the greater good, both domestically and internationally?

According to the head of an umbrella organisation for adult education, NGOs are regularly consulted on developments in TCV policy and practice. The respondent mentioned the following important aspect in relation to teaching common values from the perspective of NGOs:

A central debate deals with the 'Repoliticisation of political education' concerning a more 'political' participation than displayed before. It would need a better qualification for teachers and education facilitators. There is a lack of financial resources in the field of political education. Also, a lot of ad hoc offers and programmes were funded lately, while 'normal' programmes have a problem with their sustainability and implementation. The 'economisation' of education is difficult for NGOs and their 'basic' work. Of course we need to come up with special projects in special circumstances, but at the same time some basic structures need to be preserved for educators to be able to continue good work for a broad range of target groups. [...] The main aims of our NGO in the next few years are: Fostering political participation, the role of the European Union (the international dimension) and dealing with right-wing populism, which also means dealing with it as a core issue in all of society, and not only as an issue in certain milieus. [Head of NGO]

As the NGO respondent cited above points out, national and international education policies must refrain from fostering *affirmative* democrats, thereby (implicitly or explicitly) instrumentalising citizens for state purposes or economic purposes. The commitment to fostering participation must not displace a distanced and critical analysis of basic social and political issues.

5.5.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

Teaching common values in Germany is recently confronted by right-wing populism in the wake of the 2014 European elections. Especially in times of crisis, right-wing positions with their exclusionist slogans and allegedly simple 'solutions' to any perceived problem, score high with people. Unlike France with its National Front, Britain with the UK Independence Party, or Austria with its Freedom Party, Germany — given its sensitivity about the Nazi era and the Holocaust — so far does not have an anti-immigrant party represented in its national parliament. However, the party *Alternative for Germany* (AfD) founded in 2013, achieved around 7% of the vote in the European election by opposing the German government's Eurozone policy. Furthermore, the rapid rise of a group calling itself Patriotic Germans against the Islamisation of the West (PEGIDA) has become a cause for concern. The anti-immigrant rallies against the supposed 'Islamisation' of Europe in January 2015, that drew record participation with 25,000 people, have prompted a debate about German identity and the visible shades of xenophobia among the citizenry. A study published by the Bertelsmann Foundation in 2015 revealed that around 57% of Germany's non-Muslim population feel threatened by Islam, with one in four Germans willing to support a ban on Muslim immigrants altogether. About 61% of non-German respondents feel that Islam doesn't fit into Western society. This sentiment also plays out in the school context:

My school tried to gain the official status of a so-called 'School without racism'. To achieve that kind of status, at least 70% of all students and teachers of the school need to agree with the proposal. In the end, this 70% support was not achieved. Sadly, teachers do not have the will or ambition or time to change things or develop new projects in order to change people's mindsets. [Teacher 3]

The teacher cited above pointed out the need for improvements in in-service teacher trainings so that they explicitly address professional development in TCV and advance teachers' understanding of democratic and inclusive schools. Citizenship education

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

5.5.7. References

- Autorengruppe Fachdidaktik; Besand, Anja; Grammes, Tilman; Hedtke, Reinhold; Lange, Dirk; Petrik, Andreas; Reinhardt, Sibylle (Ed.) (2011). *Konzepte der politischen Bildung. Eine Streitschrift*. Schwalbach am Taunus: Wochenschau (Reihe Politik und Bildung, Bd. 64).
- Behrmann, G. C., Grammes, T. & Reinhardt, S. (2004). Politik: Kerncurriculum Sozialwissenschaften in der gymnasialen Oberstufe. In: Heinz Elmar Tenorth (Ed.): *Kerncurriculum Oberstufe. Expertisen* (322-406). Weinheim [u.a.]: Beltz (Beltz Pädagogik).
- Bertelsmann Stiftung (2015). *Religion monitor. Understanding common ground. Special study of Islam. An overview of the most important findings*.
- Beutel, W. (2012). Developing civic education in schools: The challenge. In: Murray Print & Dirk Lange (Eds.). *Schools, curriculum and civic education for building democratic citizens* (7-18). Rotterdam, Boston: SensePublishers (Civic and political education, 2).
- Bpb (2016). *Federal Agency for Civic Education*. <https://www.bpb.de/die-bpb/138852/federal-agency-for-civic-education>. Accessed 29.11.2016
- Himmelmann, G. (2013). Competences for Teaching, Learning and Living Democratic Citizenship. In: Murray Print & Dirk Lange (Eds.). *Civic Education and Competences for Engaging Citizens in Democracies* (3-7). Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Hoskins, B. (2013). What does democracy need from its citizens? Identifying the qualities needed for active citizenship and making the values explicit. In: Murray Print & Dirk Lange (Eds.). *Schools, curriculum and citizenship education for building democratic citizens* (23-35). Rotterdam, Boston: SensePublishers (Citizenship and political education, 2).
- Lange, D. (2008a). Bürgerbewusstsein. Sinnbilder und Sinnbildungen in der Politischen Bildung. In: *Gesellschaft-Wirtschaft-Politik (GWP)* 3, 431-439.
- Lange, D. (2008b). Citizenship Education in Germany. In: Viola B. Georgi (Ed.): *The making of citizens in Europe. New perspectives on citizenship education* (89-95). Bonn: Bpb (Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, Bd. 666).
- Reinhardt, S. (2007). Civic Education – The Case of (East-) Germany. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 6(2), 67-72.
- Roberts, G. (2002). Political Education in Germany. *Parliamentary Affairs* 55, 556-568.
- Weisseno, Georg; Detjen, Joachim & Juchler, Ingo (2010): *Konzepte der Politik. Ein Kompetenzmodell*. Bonn: Bpb (Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, Bd. 1016).

- Wendt, Heike; Bos, Wilfried; Selter, Christoph; Köller, Olaf; Schwippert, Knut & Kasper, Daniel (Eds.) (2016): *Timss 2015. Mathematische und naturwissenschaftliche Kompetenzen von Grundschulkindern in Deutschland im internationalen Vergleich*. Pressemappe, <http://www.ifs.tu-dortmund.de/cms/de/Forschung/Gesamtliste-Laufende-Projekte/TIMSS-2015.html>. Accessed 29.11.2016.

5.5.7.1. Legal and policy documents

- KMK (2009): Stärkung der Demokratieerziehung. Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 06.03.2009, <https://www.kmk.org/themen/allgemeinbildende-schulen/weitere-unterrichtsinhalte/demokratieerziehung.html>. Accessed 29.11.2016

5.6. Greece

Citizenship and tolerance in the cradle of democracy

Anastasia Kesidou

5.6.1. Characteristics of the country

The awakening of the Greek collective identity under the Ottoman Turks brought about the Greek War of Independence in 1821. This led to the emergence of the Modern Greek state (in 1830), which soon after became the 'Kingdom of Greece'. In more recent history, the heavy turmoil during the Second World War and the subsequent Civil War left Greece in a disadvantaged position for the course of the coming decades. Further, the subsequent efforts of economic reconstruction and political stabilisation were interrupted by seven years of military dictatorship (1967-1974). From 1974 onwards, the long-awaited resolution of severe conflict in the political arena finally brought about the consolidation of democracy and the country's institutions. A new constitution was established in 1975 and a parliamentary republic was initiated, with a president as the head of state elected by the parliament. Greece became a full member of the European Union in 1981 and joined the Eurozone in 2002.

Demographically, Greece is a largely homogeneous country; more than 90% of Greek citizens identify themselves as ethnic Greeks, with a common language and a common religion, namely that of the Eastern Orthodox Church (Papademetriou, 2012). There is one officially recognised minority: the religious Muslim minority in Western Thrace. Since the 1990s, Greece has become a reception country for immigrants. The 2011 national census reported 713,000 third country nationals and 199,000 (non-Greek) EU citizens residing in the country, respectively accounting for 6.5% and 1.8% of the population (Triandafyllidou, 2014). In recent years, Greece has faced a significant increase in arrivals of refugees and asylum-seekers from Syria, as well as irregular migrants from the wider region (including African and Asian countries). At the same time, the emergence of the economic crisis in 2009 marked the onset of an explosive political and social situation. The Greek population continues to be challenged by dramatically rising unemployment and wage cuts, along with significantly rising taxation levels. In 2014, more than a third of the country's total population was at risk of poverty or social exclusion (Eurostat, 2015). The economic crisis also marked the dynamic appearance of a far-right extremist group in the political arena, which now forms the third most-powerful political party in Parliament.

5.6.2. Education system and policy

Education in Greece is compulsory for all children from the age of 5 to 15. The Greek education system is highly centralised. For many years, there has been talk of the need to enhance individual school autonomy, but there is little sign of this to be seen in practice till date (Xochellis & Kesidou, 2015). Education is non-selective; students are not streamed and classrooms are heterogeneous. Moreover, the curriculum is unified. Teaching is mostly traditional, teacher-centred and exam-oriented. Most of the efforts of teachers and pupils are directed towards the goal of selective examinations held at the end of secondary school, with the central priority of effectively acquiring a precisely-defined amount of theoretical knowledge to clear these exams. Greek students do not show good performances in TIMSS and PISA; they fail in tasks designed to test key competences (which do not focus on narrow details of the curriculum). Nevertheless, these studies hardly have any influence on the Greek education policy. Amongst the defined civic competences

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

The subsequent analysis on the policy and practice of teaching common values in Greek secondary school curricula is based on official documents and related resources, as well as on data collected through interviews conducted in autumn 2016. Interviews were conducted with a policymaker, an NGO expert and teachers from four secondary schools. The interviewee profiles are presented in the table below:

Table 5.6: Study participants Greece

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Policymaker	President, Institute for Education Policy	Large
NGO expert	Project Manager in Anti-racist Education, Education for Ecology, Peace and Non-violence	Large
Teacher 1	Humanities, Lyceum	Medium
Teacher 2	Humanities, Lyceum	Large
Teacher 3	Humanities, Gymnasium	Small
Teacher 4	Informatics, Gymnasium	Large

5.6.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values (TCV)/ Citizenship Education (CE)

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

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

In Greece, CE in secondary schools is mainly offered in the form of a separate subject. Even though TCV can in principle take place across the curriculum, it is the prevailing understanding that it mainly concerns the subject *social and civic education*, which is taught at all three levels of schooling (years 5 and 6 of primary education, year 3 of lower

secondary education, and years 1 and 2 of upper secondary education – thus five years in total). While the contents of the curriculum and the respective textbooks include issues which mainly focus on the knowledge of institutions, it is the aim of the Ministry of Education to foster political participation and democratic politics through the organisation of *student communities*. According to the relevant requirements, these are considered as a 'cell of democratic life in schools'. Student communities aim at ensuring student participation in school life, so that students can grow accustomed to functioning as members of a democracy. Student communities are also considered as a means to inculcate human values such as equality, peace and friendship between people, as well as the elimination of discrimination (Ministerial Decision 23.613/6/Γ2/4094/1986, *Official Government Gazette* 619/B/25-9-1986). Furthermore, the *Parliament of Adolescents* is an educational programme organised annually with the cooperation of the Greek Parliament and the Ministry of Education, in order to give young people the opportunity to discuss their opinions and conclusions on contemporary issues, as well as to describe their visions for the future. As part of its policy, the Ministry has also established the *School Activity Programmes* administered at the prefecture level. These provide a framework within which teachers and schools have the possibility to initiate projects, which amongst other topics, also focus on TCV. Next to this, NGO materials and trainings are used in some schools, provided that the particular NGO has been granted special entrance permission by the Ministry of Education. NGOs are mainly involved in non-formal educational activities, and it is rather uncommon for them to be consulted by the Ministry on developments in TCV policy and practice in formal education.

Overall, the experimental new curriculum (2011), due for revision soon, emphasises TCV more clearly than any other former curriculum. Though TCV is included in the national education policy, it is decisively strengthened by the fact that it is also supported by the European education policy. As the President of the Institute for Education Policy stated:

In the 2011 curricula, TCV is emphatically more intense. Democracy, tolerance, immigration, diversity, [and] mutual recognition have started to play a role from the 1980s onwards. While coming from the national education policy, TCV is additionally strengthened by the fact that it enjoys the full support and legitimacy of the European education policy. It is an existing dimension from the beginning to the end of school education. However, it is not sufficient. [Policymaker]

Indeed, Greek education policy has always boasted an orientation towards the humanities in its goals and contents. The secondary school curriculum seems to include the basic goals and aims regarding TCV (though 'democracy' seems to be more embedded than 'tolerance'). However, these goals often do not go beyond the level of mere rhetoric. In addition, due to the lack of autonomy, schools in most cases cannot develop their own vision on TCV. There are no national assessments on value development in relation to democracy and tolerance, nor are schools required to review their respective learning outcomes.

The current priorities of the education policy for the forthcoming years include strengthening democracy as a central element in the curriculum (including a thematic week on democracy in lower secondary schools), enhancing the use of alternative teaching material, promoting TCV horizontally in all subjects, emphasising the role of teachers as educators, granting more school autonomy, and encouraging active involvement of students in joint decision-making.

5.6.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

Secondary education (from the age of 12 to 18) offers three years of systematic education on democracy and, to a lesser extent, tolerance. In year 3 of lower secondary education (gymnasium), students are engaged with the subject social and civic education for two hours per week. In years 1 and 2 of upper secondary education (general lyceum) the subject civic education (including economy, political institutions and principles of law, and sociology) is taught for three and two hours respectively every week, while the subject history of the social sciences appears in the curriculum in year 3 of upper secondary education (one hour per week). In general lyceum, there are additionally also a number of electives that partially include elements of TCV.

These subjects are based on content-oriented and visibly overloaded curricula and textbooks. The upper secondary curriculum is broader in its scope and more multidisciplinary, in the sense that topics from a broader spectrum of disciplines are introduced at this level. However, curriculum overload does not really allow for a difference in focus between lower and upper secondary education, as in both cases competences, skills and attitudes concerning active citizenship seem to be difficult to cultivate. In recent years, these subjects have been taught primarily by teachers with a major in sociology, law or political science. However, in the case of a lack of specialised teachers, teachers of religion, economics, home economics, or the humanities in general are also entitled to undertake these subjects (Ministerial Decision 94588/Δ2/2016, *Official Government Gazette* 1670/ B/10-6-2016). Specialised teachers still often lack the appropriate teaching skills, the result being that the aims and contents of TCV remain inactive due to the traditional teaching and learning methodologies implemented. On the other hand, teachers from other specialty areas lack the appropriate expert knowledge of TCV content.

The humanities curricula of both lower and upper secondary education provide numerous opportunities to teach common values:

In the 3rd year of gymnasium, in Modern Greek and Ancient Greek language and literature, there are explicit units in which you can talk about democracy, racism, war and peace, Europe and the European institutions. In the 2nd year 'friendship' can support the values of respect and democracy. The literature curriculum includes works about war and peace, child labour and exploitation and poverty. The curriculum does provide some 'triggers', as long as you decide that you wish to work that way. [Teacher 3]

Indeed, when TCV is not explicitly stated as a goal in the curricula of other subjects, which do provide a considerable number of opportunities to teach about democracy and tolerance, the teacher is always free *not* to use these opportunities. This is especially the case in a school system where the quantity of knowledge prevails over quality, and teacher flexibility is minimal. What dominates is a continuous effort on behalf of the teachers to cover the material, which favours traditional teaching and hinders the application of group-based or enquiry-based learning. In such a framework, using opportunities offered by the curriculum to teach TCV horizontally, is in practice only possible if the teacher decides to deviate from the official guidelines. In the current school year, the Ministry of Education has shown some intention to make the teaching content more flexible and to encourage teachers to access alternative teaching resources.

As a result, the (moderate) presence of TCV in the curriculum does not guarantee its implementation; this depends largely on the initiative and inspiration of specific teachers and schools. There is in fact quite an impressive variety of extracurricular projects implemented by teachers. Some examples of such projects are *Euroscola* of the European Parliament; the *E-twinning Programme* on human rights and the role of the individual in the

prevention of their violation; a school project on Internet safety, human rights and equal access to information; a European project on media and the activation of citizens (where students investigate sources and are trained in debating); a UNICEF Programme on *Schools as Defenders of Children* or *Peer Mediation*; etc. Even though participation in such projects generally arouses enthusiasm amongst students and teachers, in most cases there is no conscious commitment towards the aim of the project within the school unit, which results in the fragmentation of the relevant activities. In addition, the extracurricular activities which are directly proposed by the Ministry of Education, are not coordinated and linked to the curriculum. In some cases, extracurricular activities on TCV are almost 'imposed' by the Ministry (for example, in the case of the UN International Days), so that they are likely to be implemented only superficially. As to the effect of extracurricular activities, a teacher interviewee stressed the following:

But there isn't any measurable evidence. We do have some feedback from students and parents. Apart from that, we do not know the actual impact on students, so we can only speculate. [Teacher 4]

Democracy does not always fully work in the context of the school culture. According to the Law 1566/1985, the 'Teacher Board' was granted decisive power with regard to school management. However, teachers themselves are not always keen on actively participating in board meetings to collaboratively develop and reflect on the educational work of the school. It is also well known that in most cases, there is a lack of cooperation or even competitive relationships between teachers. Clientelistic relationships amongst some school heads and teacher unions, or within the education hierarchy, are also apparent. There is serious concern that the recently introduced new procedure for the selection of head teachers, with new weightings for various professional and personal aptitude criteria, limits their independence (European Commission, 2016). Furthermore, the aim of student communities seems to have been distorted:

It is common practice for the student communities to hold their meetings in the last teaching hours, so that they can soon finish up and go home. It is important to teach students in advance why this institution is important, to raise awareness about what it offers. We have never cultivated in children the sensitivity towards democratic processes, because we ourselves are not sensitive towards them. [Teacher 4]

Realising a democratic school culture also seems difficult due to the 'mixed messages' that students receive inside the school by different teachers, or due to the lack of convergence between TCV and the actual school culture. Indeed, raising awareness about democracy and tolerance is difficult when some teachers are focused on TCV, while others send out contradictory messages. The goal can also not be achieved if democracy and tolerance are taught on the basis of the curriculum or extracurricular activities, but these common values are not clearly visible in the personal interaction between school actors.

5.6.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

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

Today they ask me to teach education for democracy, tomorrow it will be something else. No one can distinguish the importance of democracy or tolerance, since they are put into 'the same sack', as all other potential goals. There is also a responsibility on behalf of the political world. When students realise that there is no real democracy, equality or equity around them, then what prevails is the question how I will manage to survive. But then, it is the individual at the expense of the society. [Teacher 2]

Another difficulty is the lack of appropriate support from the Ministry. The bureaucratic education system imposes many constraints on teachers, resulting in the loss of valuable strength and time which could alternatively have been devoted to TCV with innovative teaching approaches. In addition, teachers who are genuinely interested in and do pursue TCV are practically left alone, and their positive work and contribution goes unacknowledged:

Until 2013, the Ministry used to have an institution for excellence and innovation; teachers used to receive awards for their innovative work. That was some kind of moral recognition for the hard work of teachers in unfavourable conditions. Now there is just cynicism and frustration. [Teacher 4]

TCV could be improved if multidisciplinary as well as the cooperation amongst teachers is strengthened. Education policy cannot leave TCV to mere luck, but should concentrate on its diffusion. The interviewed teachers insisted that due to the importance of TCV, it should be somewhat 'imposed' on schools:

Schools could in the first place be asked for their annual plan on TCV. A school counsellor or a critical friend from the university could give directions and support, but also have supervision over the results. The focus should be on the school unit and its accomplishments. The leadership of the Ministry of Education has never really supported teachers and this is important to change. School-based in-service teacher training should play a central role in that respect, and all desirable changes in students should be attempted by taking small continuous steps. [Teacher 4]

Finally, teachers stressed that TCV can only be successful provided that the curriculum is clearer as to what it expects from teachers with regard to democracy and tolerance:

It is important for me to be able to better understand what I am expected to do, since the curriculum prescriptions on democracy and tolerance are so vague. A mainstream teacher will never pay any attention to these prescriptions, since he/she mainly concentrates on the examinations. Personally, I do pursue TCV-related goals, but not because they are in the curriculum; as a human being, I feel that I have to include them in my teaching. [Teacher 1]

Another prerequisite for successful TCV is that theory is strongly related to practice. Schools should be more closely linked to their communities; this would promote experiential learning and would allow students to see for themselves what democracy and tolerance are really about. As an interviewed NGO expert also underlined, it is important for students to realise what the real necessities of the local societies are, and how they themselves can intervene in a positive way.

5.6.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

Even though democracy is strongly believed to be a Greek legacy, education for democracy in Greece is rather moderate, both in the school curriculum and in school practice. Since the 1990s, education for tolerance (which is generally not as strong as education for democracy) has gained increasing attention in the curriculum and influence in Greek

society. However, it is often considered as an 'imported' European value, which stems from globalisation and aims to facilitate the integration of immigrants, refugees and Muslim populations, thereby undermining national homogeneity.

The practice of TCV does not correspond to the policy, especially with regard to the aspired competences of 'active and critical involvement and participation'. Overall, it can be said that TCV is challenged by inherent weaknesses in Greek education and schooling. On the other hand, in the light of the economic and social crisis, as well as the rise of populism and right-wing extremism, it is essential to ensure a democratic conception of a democratic citizen in a democratic society.

The analysis presented above leads to the following recommendations at the European and national levels:

European Union level:

- The EU can stimulate TCV if it provides a clearer framework for the democratic development of school units and the assessment of their achievement; a framework on how to develop the prospective teacher as a citizen, who in turn will be able to teach students how to be active citizens with an ability to value diversity; and also, if it is open to a dialogue based on the multiperspectivity of national traditions and approaches.

National level:

- TCV can be improved if the relevant teaching aims are explicitly emphasised and clarified by policymakers. At present they are vague in their content, not easily comprehensible to teachers, and therefore difficult to achieve. The same holds for the terms 'democracy' and 'tolerance', which are also not explicitly defined. Clarity and adequate emphasis are important for establishing the framework of a long-term and well-coordinated education policy.
- Opportunities for relevant teacher training, both in bigger cities and provincial areas, as well as a more binding responsibility for teachers to pursue TCV (on the basis of the curriculum, extracurricular activities, and daily school life) can have an important effect.
- The hard work of teachers who are devoted to TCV should be acknowledged.
- Curriculum flexibility, greater school autonomy, and less bureaucracy for teachers would also ensure a positive environment for TCV.
- Additionally, TCV can be improved if it constitutes a daily aim of the school community as a whole, and if relevant student achievements are assessed by the individual school. The latter is important in order to receive adequate outside support and to be more closely linked to the local community and civil society.

5.6.7. References

- Androusou, A. & Askouni, N. (eds.) (2011). *Πολιτισμική ετερότητα και ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα. Προκλήσεις για την εκπαίδευση [Cultural Diversity and Human Rights. Challenges for Education]*. Athens: Μεταίχμιο.
- Bäckman, E. & Trafford, B. (2007). *Democratic Governance of Schools*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- European Commission (2016). *Education and Training. Monitor 2016. Country Analysis*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- European Commission/Eurydice (2012). *Citizenship Education in Europe*. Brussels.

- European University Institute (2013). *New Knowledge about Greece. Accept Pluralism Project: Tolerance, Pluralism and Social Cohesion. Responding to the Challenges of the 21st Century in Europe*.
- Eurostat (2015). <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database> .
- Hoskins, B., Saisana, M. & Villalba, C. (2015). Civic Competence of Youth in Europe. Measuring Cross National Variation through the Creation of a Composite Indicator. *Social Indicators Research*, 123, 431- 457.
- ICCS (2010). *ICCS 2009 International Report: Civic knowledge, attitudes and engagement among lower secondary school students in thirty-eight countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- Ikonomidis, B.D. & Eleftherakis, Th.G. (2011). *Εκπαίδευση, δημοκρατία και ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα [Education, Democracy and Human Rights]*. Athens: Διάδραση.
- Papademetriou, Th. (2012). *Greece. Status of Minorities*. Washington, DC: The Law Library of Congress, Global Legal Research Center.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2014). *Migration in Greece. Recent Developments in 2014*. European University Institute/Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP).
- Xochellis, P., Kesidou, A. (2015). Greece. In: Hörner, W., Döbert, H., Reuter L.R. & von Kopp, B. (Eds.). *The Education Systems of Europe* (335-354). 2nd edition. New York: Springer International Publishing,.

5.6.7.1. Legal and policy documents

- Law 1566/1985
- Ministerial Decision 23.613/6/Γ2/4094/1986, *Official Government Gazette* 619/B/25-9-1986.
- Ministerial Decision 94588/Δ2/2016, *Official Government Gazette* 1670/B/10-6-2016.

5.7. Netherlands

From side dish to shared responsibility?

Isolde de Groot and Wiel Veugelers

5.7.1. Characteristics of the country

The Netherlands is a country in the north-western part of Europe with 17 million inhabitants. The provinces of the Netherlands first came together under Spanish rule, from which they gained independence at the end of the Spanish war in 1648. The Netherlands is a constitutional monarchy. After 1848, it became a parliamentary democracy with an elective parliament. In 1956, the Netherlands became one of the six founding members of the European Union. While it has always been a strong proponent of the EU and the Euro, popular support for the EU is currently declining. The Dutch democracy has a multiparty system and can be defined as a consensus democracy (Lijphart, 1984). Currently over 16 parties hold a seat in the Dutch national parliament, and the local and national governments always comprise a coalition between several parties.

Of the total Dutch population, 22.1% are first or second generation immigrants (CBS, 2016). About half the immigrants are of non-Western origin, with the majority coming from Morocco, the Dutch Antilles and Aruba, Suriname, and Turkey. In 2013, 53% of the Dutch population identified themselves as religious. In particular, 26% identified themselves as Catholic, 16% as Protestant, 5% as Muslim and 6% as having another religion (e.g. Jewish, Hindu or Buddhist) (CBS, 2014). Dutch is the official language of the Netherlands.

5.7.2. Education system and policy

Dutch education is organised by the government and is obligatory from the age of 4 to 18. Secondary education starts at the age of 12, when children are selected for one of six different education tracks (four pre-vocational tracks, one general secondary education track and a pre-university track). All schools are publicly financed. About two-thirds of all Dutch schools are religious schools, and about a third are public schools. All schools have to follow the national curriculum. Qualification for the labour market is the main education aim, which is reflected in the strong policy focus on the 'basic subjects' (language, maths and science). Socialisation is also emphasised. There is no reference to TCV-related aims of education in the national education law, apart from the task of schools in contributing to the development of students with attention to the variety of religious and civic values that are present in the Dutch society (article 42 of the Dutch education law).

School choice and autonomy is strongly supported in policy. Nevertheless, school autonomy is bounded by the monitoring of the school inspectorate, and national tests and exams. In theory, teachers have quite a lot of autonomy in their curriculum and in their classroom. In practice, however, teachers have limited opportunities to move beyond teaching the main curriculum (the 'basics'), and preparing students for national assessments. In Dutch schools, child-centred pedagogy and education psychology (self-regulated learning) is very popular.

In international comparative studies like PISA and TIMSS Dutch students show good performance on 'basic subjects', with some of the best scores in Europe. In terms of citizenship development, however, the performance of Dutch students is still lacking. In the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), for example, Dutch

students scored quite low on knowledge and participation, and very low on attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants.

5.7.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

Active participation is a central concept in the Dutch national policy on citizenship education. In the law (2006) that obligates schools to work on citizenship, the Ministry of Education emphasises two concepts: active participation and social integration. The former refers to active participation in school, community and policy. The latter, i.e. social integration, is emphasised because of concerns about a lack of political interest amongst youth, growing immigration and radicalisation amongst youth. Following the advice of the National Education Council, the Ministry of Education currently also emphasises participation in the democratic pluralist society, in official documents (MOCW, 2013). Knowledge about politics, political institutions and levels of government is addressed in the school subject *study of society*. There is also some focus on knowledge about democracy, skills for democratic participation and developing a democratic attitude.

Freedom of expression and freedom of religion are given plenty of attention in Dutch education policy (MOCW, 2009). Other elements, such as different groups living together and an inclusive society are less explicitly tailored to democracy, although the Ministry does promote 'the peaceful school' project, as an example. The idea of learning democracy by participating actively in school is also promoted (MOCW, 2014). To advance interpersonal competences, ample attention has been given to bullying both in and out of schools (in particular in the social media). Paying attention to sexual diversity is also part of the main objectives, and the Ministry of Education has actively supported the development of educational materials and projects on sexual differences/LGBT. The Ministry stimulates joint activities between schools with different social and cultural groups. At the same time, however, the highly stratified and denominational system generates more homogeneous schools and contributes to social and cultural segregation.

Knowledge about (in)equality, discrimination, and in- and exclusion is included in the main curriculum objectives, and the government initiates the development of educational materials and projects in this regard. However, these components are not included in subjects and need to be addressed in extracurricular activities. Attention to (violations of) human rights is not obligatory yet, though recent communications by the Ministry of Education (OCW) do mention it as a key domain of CE. There are no official criteria and general assessments in the area of teaching values (in line with the neutrality premise of education policy). Schools are free to decide which topics to address, and how extensively they want to cover these topics in the curriculum.

Attention to national history in education has increased in the last years as the government wants students to learn about traditions and become engaged with the Dutch culture. About 10 years ago, a law was introduced giving an overview of all that students should learn about Dutch history. Some NGOs and other organisations argue that not enough attention is paid in this canon to controversial issues and the role of the Netherlands therein, e.g. slavery, the colonial war in Indonesia, and poor resistance in the Netherlands to the Holocaust in the Second World War. On the other hand, knowledge about different cultures, religions/world views is only systematically fostered in schools that choose to offer interreligious education. A reflective attitude towards political integration in Europe is not commonly fostered. Global citizenship education is typically oriented towards openness for other cultures with a strong focus on international trade.

The outcomes of the ICCS study, as well as public debate on discrimination and radicalisation, have led to more attention for TCV in the parliament, and an increase in

initiatives by the Ministry to advance CE practices, e.g. a website for schools (burgerschapindeschool.nl) with good examples and school-self-assessment tools, teacher training programmes (e.g. to learn how to guide classroom dialogues), furthering research instruments to measure CE development, and monitoring and discussing developments (ICCS 2010, 2016; School and Safety, 2012, 2014). Public debate on discrimination, integration, and tensions between social and cultural groups have also led to an increased collaboration among several ministries on CE questions and activities, and coordinated actions and communication on CE matters. The Ministry of Education has also developed general (primarily knowledge oriented) learning objectives, but does not want to prescribe how teachers and schools should advance CE and what its content should be. As a policy officer explained:

Setting standards with regard to knowledge is one thing, but how prescriptive do we want to be? [...] Images about good citizenship vary across the population, and across schools. It is not up to the Ministry to fully define what good citizenship entails and how this should be put into practice.

A current debate in this regard concerns the extent to which common values (e.g. the values that are foundational to the democratic legal system) should be translated into mandatory learning objectives. In line with the so-called *Dutch freedom of education* legislation, schools are currently free to decide which developments they want to pursue. Schools do need to adhere to the (broad) definition of CE and legal boundaries in the Constitution (e.g. equal treatment, no discrimination, freedom of religion and speech), and the Inspectorate of Education monitors if schools meet the basic CE requirements. Schools do, however, need to formulate a CE vision and attend to two out of four main topics (social competences; the Dutch pluralist society; the core values of the Dutch political and legal system; and the school as micro-society, where students can engage in democratic practices and learn to participate and deal with diversity). With regard to teaching sexuality and sexual diversity, the Ministry includes items on sexuality in the monitor on social security in schools, and advances knowledge about sexual diversity in teacher education (MOCW, 2016, p 5-7).

Overall, this structural construction (giving substantial autonomy to schools) is highly valued by schools and school boards. Several scholars and practitioners, however, critique the fact that schools are currently free to adopt a minimalist approach, with little attention to democratic values and participation. In 2015, the Ministry assigned a '2032-committee' to give advice on a desirable future curriculum. As a follow-up to the committee's advice, it is expected that key stakeholders, including school leaders and teachers, will advise the ministry on CE aims, as well as on strengthening attention to personal and civic development in the main curriculum.

5.7.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

In Dutch education there is no specific subject that deals with values. The Ministry advocates integration of values in other subjects and a cross-curricular approach. Attention to TCV is paid within the compulsory subjects history and geography (pre-university level) or the subject *society* (pre-vocational level) in lower secondary education, the compulsory 1-year subject *study of society* in upper secondary education, the eligible subjects social sciences, philosophy/ethics in upper secondary education (pre-university level), and the subject world view/religious education, which is compulsory in denominational schools (i.e. two-thirds of all schools). In world view/religious education, teachers can opt for a theological, science of religion, or a pedagogical approach. TCV is often organised in extra- and cross-curricular activities, often in collaboration with NGOs. NGO materials and trainings on democracy and tolerance (e.g. topics of discrimination, prejudices, freedom,

Second World War) are widely used. In vocational education (ages 16-20), TCV is offered in the subject *learning, orientation to the labour market and citizenship*. Systemic attention to TCV is not paramount though, as TCV in most schools is organised by individual teachers. In some schools, the 2006 legislation has also led to the expansion of the civics curriculum (i.e. additional projects or subjects).

Overall, attention to TCV differs amongst schools and amongst student levels and education tracks. For example, pre-vocational students and students in lower levels of secondary education have fewer TCV-related subjects (e.g. no social sciences, philosophy). According to the school inspectorate, the 2006 legislation on civic education has led to an increase in explicit attention to (world) citizenship in mission statements. The legislation on citizenship education has also led to increased attention to participatory experiences, service learning, political deliberation, debating and dialogical learning activities in education policy and in practice. While systemic attention to CE is still not common in Dutch schools (in 2016), several high schools have worked hard to develop a whole school/integrative approach over the last years. We elaborate here on common TCV practices and challenges in this context, as derived from interviews held with a policymaker, an NGO expert (head of education) and teachers from four high schools with a whole school approach (two schools for pre-university and vocational students, one school for pre-vocational students, and one school for students with special educational needs), as well as insights from professional and empirical publications.

Table 5.7: Study participants Netherlands

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Policymaker	Officer Ministry of Education	Large
NGO expert	Expert in Education for Freedom and Democracy	Large
Teacher 1	Social Studies, team manager	Medium
Teacher 2	Social Studies, coordinator citizenship	Medium
Teacher 3	Teacher Citizenship and location manager	Medium
Teacher 4	Citizenship, coordinator citizenship	Large

In schools with an integrative approach, teachers in all subjects advance citizenship development in their teachings (e.g. through assignments such as writing an essay on gay rights in language classes), and connect their teachings to the school values (which have been defined by teachers and students together) and the school vision on CE. Some schools have also installed an extensive curriculum for civics, including systemic attention to multiple world views, (social and political) philosophy, and ethics. Overall, tolerance and democracy are fostered in multiple ways in these schools. Students can learn democracy by engaging in student councils at every level, through political debates and simulations (e.g. model UN, mock/shadow elections), and visiting the Dutch (and EU) parliament. In one project, 50 students from different grades deliberated about how to spend 7000 euros, made available by the municipality, for an issue that serves the interest of the youth population in town. Subsequently, students also defended their plan to the local government. This activity enabled students to experience how political decision-making works.

Schools with an integrative approach also organise various projects that try to advance tolerance (using NGO projects and materials on discrimination, prejudices, human rights issues, etc.), and offer international student exchanges in which specific attention is paid to common values (e.g. freedom of religion) and how legislations and policies on these values vary. An example project in this regard is the 'freedom trail' that one of the pre-vocational schools organised for all their 8th year students. During this walk, teachers and students visited monuments and buildings which represent several of the rights defined in the UN Declaration of Human Rights. At each monument, students recited a poem on freedom that they wrote in their arts and language classes. The poems and art pieces were also displayed in the schools.

A common *challenge* faced by teachers in these schools concerns the offering, monitoring and assessing of civic learning activities in a more systematic manner. To this end, the special education school, for example, decided to implement the whole school programme entitled 'the peaceful school' and participate in a learning community with teachers and academics on monitoring CE development. The long-term goal of the school is to organise collaborations with companies and residents in the neighbourhood ('the peaceful neighbourhood'). Other challenges that teachers in these schools currently face concern cultivating students' ability to deal with conflict, how to provide meaningful education on social inequality, and how to help students gain an in-depth understanding of civic issues:

Students have a lot of questions about the refugee crisis, for example, which we discuss in class. Helping them to really understand what is happening is difficult though. For the students it is still quite abstract. Last year, two students volunteered in a centre for asylum seekers. That made things very concrete for them, and helped them gain an understanding of who these people are. [Teacher 3]

5.7.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

In general, teachers value the fact that the Dutch Ministry of Education emphasises the importance of CE, because it helps them sustain/expand the current attention to TCV in schools. Some teachers argue, however, that the Ministry should be more specific about the citizenship developments that they want schools to cultivate, in order to provide school leaders and teachers with a more concrete point of reference. Also, not all teachers are confident about the sustainability of CE/TCV at their schools:

When the government really wants schools to cultivate citizenship development, it should also provide the necessary facilities. The 'study of society' subject (70 minutes per week for one year at my school) is far too small to provide in-depth guidance to students' perspective-taking and meaning-making. The government therefore also needs to mark space in the curriculum to foster democratic and intercultural skills and attitudes. Furthermore, the decision to install/sustain a strong CE curriculum should not be left to individual schools or school leaders. [Teacher 1]

Some teachers and experts also recommend strengthening teacher education on teaching tolerance in schools with a predominantly white, immigrant, or mixed student population, and demarcating time specifically for professional development on TCV:

A survey amongst pre-vocational teachers revealed that teachers would like to gain expertise with regard to discussing discriminatory utterances in class/school, or discrimination that occurred following a conflict in class [...]. [NGO expert]

After developing lesson materials and a teacher course in collaboration with teachers, however, teachers [still] did not enrol, explaining that while they would love to come, they did not have time to attend. This is what we hear a lot. The

workload of teachers is too high, and they have limited time for professional development. [NGO expert]

According to the NGO expert, NGOs are regularly consulted on developments in TCV-policy and practice. Both the NGO experts and the teachers would like the government to become a more active initiator of nuanced debates on both the national and international level, such as on what 'Dutch' and 'European' citizenship entails, and on shared values and principles:

Public norms and interpretations of freedom vary a lot across EU countries (e.g. with regard to abortion, and gay marriage). What does that mean for 'our' interpretation of 'European' values? Such questions require public debate. [Teacher 2]

5.7.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

While the Dutch government stresses that schools need to prepare students for active engagement in a pluralist democratic society, it has not defined clear aims and requirements regarding TCV. Additionally, the education policy and the inspectorate focus strongly on school effectiveness on the 'basic subjects', leading to TCV and CE being treated as a side dish in many schools. Schools that have chosen to develop a whole school CE curriculum and/or actively stimulate collaboration between subjects on CE have undertaken many activities to develop a curriculum and culture that advances student learning on common values in a systemic manner. However, this practice is not widespread.

The analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the Dutch and EU TCV policy as presented above, leads us to the following suggestions for policy development:

EU-level:

- To further instigate nuanced debates on the (inter)national level on what 'Dutch' and 'European' citizenship entails, and shared values and principles, e.g. by emphasising values underlying the EU and developments in EU policy.

National level:

- To introduce a(n integrative) civics course in the lower levels of secondary education, and a clear demarcation of attention to TCV in the curriculum (e.g. advancing students' capacity to foster inclusive democratic societies through acquaintance with, and discussion of, various perspectives on civic events, controversial issues and human rights issues).
- To develop a more nuanced position on the role of the government in prescribing attention to certain values and certain types of educational activities in civics. Staying away from defining in detail what skills and attitudes Dutch schools should cultivate, for example, can very well be combined with prescribing attention to key values of a democratic system and a democratic way of life (e.g. democracy and tolerance), and with the installation of school criteria regarding the prevalence of educational activities in which students can inquire and discuss various interpretations of these values (move beyond 'knowing about' these values), and engage in democratic decision-making processes.
- To advance collaboration amongst stakeholders, like school boards, and interdisciplinary teams of teachers, within and between schools, residents and companies in the neighbourhood.
- To provide more relevant (post-)initial teacher education, and demarcate time for professional development on TCV.

- To encourage a school policy that advances more inclusive schools. This is to counter the current Dutch education system with its early selection, separate tracks and religious schools that contribute to social and cultural segregation.

5.7.7. References

- Bron, J., & Thijs, A. (2011). Leaving it to the schools: citizenship, diversity and human rights education in the Netherlands. *Educational Research*, 53(2), 123-136.
- De Groot, I. & Veugelers, W. (2015). Why we need to question the democratic engagement that adolescents in Europe develop. *Journal of Social Sciences Education*, 14(4), 27-38.
- CBS (2014). De religieuze kaart van Nederland 2010-2013 [religion in the Netherlands]. <https://www.cbs.nl/nr/rdonlyres/20ec6e0b-b87a-4cfe-818b-579fb779009f/0/20140209b15art.pdf>
- CBS (10-03-2016). Bevolking. Kerncijfers [Population the Netherlands]. Retrieved from: [http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=37296ned&D1=a&D2=0,10,20,30,40,50,60,\(I-1\),I&HD=130605-0924&HDR=G1&STB=T](http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=37296ned&D1=a&D2=0,10,20,30,40,50,60,(I-1),I&HD=130605-0924&HDR=G1&STB=T)
- De Winter, M. (2012). *Socialization and civil society: How parents, teachers and others could foster a democratic way of life*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Eidhof, B., Ten Dam, G. Bijkstra, A. B., & Werfhorst H. (2016). Consensus and contested citizenship education goals in Western Europe. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 11(2), 114-129.
- Lijphart, A. (1984). *Democracies: Patterns of majoritarian and consensus government in twenty-one countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Peschar, J., Hooghoff, H., Dijkstra A.B. & Ten Dam, G. (Eds.). (2010). *Scholen voor burgerschap: Naar een kennisbasis voor burgerschapsonderwijs [Foundations for citizenship education]*. Antwerpen: Scholenpanels burgerschap & Garant.
- Veugelers, W. (2007). Creating critical-democratic citizenship in education: empowering humanity and democracy in Dutch Education. *Compare*, 37, 105-119.
- Veugelers, W. (2011). Theory and Practice of Citizenship Education: The Case of Policy, Science and Education in the Netherlands *Revista De Educacion*, 12(1), 209-224.
- Wilschut, A. & Landelijk Expertisecentrum Mens- en Maatschappijvakken (Ed.). (2012). *Burgerschapsvorming en de maatschappijvakken [civic education and social studies]*. Ipskamp, Enschede.

5.7.7.1. Legal and policy documents

- Ministry of OCW. (06/01/2016). Vervolg Onderwijs 2032. [Letter to Parliament on proceedings 2032 curriculum]
- Ministry of OCW. (07-01-2015). Beleidsreactie op onderzoek naar ervaringen leraren bij het gesprek in de klas over maatschappelijke thema's [Letter to parliament on teacher experiences with classroom conversations on civic issues]
- Ministry of OCW. (05-01-2015). Antwoord op schriftelijke vragen van het lid Jadnanansing (PvdA) over gebrekkige sociale en maatschappelijke vorming op scholen [Letter to parliament on limited attention to social and civic development in schools].
- Ministry of OCW. (29-04-2015). Voortgang versterking burgerschapsvorming in het Onderwijs. (Letter to parliament on advancing CE).

5.8. Poland

Somewhere between the past and future

Barbara Malak-Minkiewicz and Jerzy Wiśniewski

5.8.1. Characteristics of the country

The Republic of Poland is a country in Central Europe, situated between the Baltic Sea to the north and two mountain ranges (the Sudetes and Carpathian Mountains) to the south. The total area of Poland is 312,679 km², making it the 69th largest country in the world and the 9th largest in Europe. In 2016, its total population was 38,346,279, with approximately 62% living in urban areas. Approximately 18% of the population is aged 17 or under. In terms of national/ethnic composition, Poland is relatively homogeneous. Ethnic and national minorities account for just a minor percentage of the total population (Central Office of Statistics, 2016). The official language, and thus the language of school instruction, is Polish. However, national and ethnic minority languages and the regional language Kashubian, are taught at all stages of education (National Parliament of Poland, 2005a). More than 90% of the Polish population consider themselves Catholics.

The Polish Round Table Talks (6 February – 5 April 1989) between leaders of the Solidarity movement and Communist regime, launched Poland's transition to a democracy and a primarily market-based economy. Since then, Poland has developed into a parliamentary democracy with its own constitution. The Constitution protects civil rights and freedoms, determines the relationships between the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers, and defines the structure and electoral rules for state roles and institutions such as the parliament, president, and council of ministers. The Constitution also regulates government administration, public finance, and states of emergency (National Assembly of Poland, 1997). Poland now ranks 20th worldwide in terms of GDP and is classified as a high-income economy by the World Bank (World Bank, 2016). In 1996, Poland joined the OECD, in 1999 NATO, and in 2004 the European Union.

5.8.2. Education system and policy

The Polish education reforms initiated in the early 90s included, amongst others, the parliamentary adoption of the School Education Act (National Parliament of Poland, 2005b), which increased the influence of citizens and local communities on school life. The reform decentralised management of educational institutions, which are now under the responsibility of the municipal (pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education) and district (upper-secondary, art and special education) authorities. The reform also provided a framework legitimising non-public (civic, church and private) schools. In 1990, religion was introduced to school curricula (as an optional subject). Almost all funds for public-sector schools come from the state and local government budgets, while non-public schools are mainly financed, in addition to public subsidies, by fees received from parents and funds from private enterprises and foundations. A majority of children (more than 90%) attend public lower and upper secondary schools (Central Office of Statistics, 2014).

Compulsory education in Poland lasts 9 years. It starts at the age of 6 from class '0' at pre-school and the ages 6-7 from year 1 at primary school. As per the 1999 education reform, after the first six years of primary education, students join gymnasium for three years (lower secondary education) and at the end, take a compulsory exam. There are several alternatives for upper secondary education later on, the most common being the three

years of secondary general schooling or four years of technical schooling. Both end with a maturity exam, which opens doors for a tertiary education.

In November 2016, the Government submitted the draft of a new Act on school education to the Parliament to change the system into a two-stage structure: 8-year primary school (ages 7-15) and 3 types of secondary schools: 4-year general lyceum, 5-year secondary technical vocational school, and 3-year vocational school (Projekt aktów prawnych dla oświaty, 2016). In spite of the protests by teacher trade unions, associations of local governments and many experts, the Act will probably be passed by the Parliament and the new structure will be introduced from September 2017. This will be followed by a revision of the core curriculum.

Polish schools and teachers have some level of autonomy. All schools have to follow the core curriculum set by the Ministry of National Education (2008), but are permitted to develop their own curricula based on it, and to determine teaching methods. Textbooks can be chosen from the list approved by the Ministry, but teachers may also decide to use materials prepared by other educational publishers or by the teachers themselves. The Superintendent of Education Office (*Kurator*) undertakes the day-to-day pedagogical supervision, coordination and implementation of ministerial policy on the regional level. Intra-school assessment of students' knowledge and skills is not standardised; each school creates its own assessment system through regular written and oral tests. The criteria on which this assessment is based must be transparent to students and their parents. The external assessment system consists of a variety of standardised tests and examinations. The development and administration of all external examinations is managed by eight Regional Examination Boards supervised by the Central Examination Board. Polish lower-secondary students do well in the international comparative studies of PISA (OECD, 2012), CIVED (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 2001) and ICCS (2010).

The following sections of this report present characteristics of the policy and practice of teaching common values based on professional and empirical literature, as well as interviews conducted with an officer from the Polish Ministry of National Education, an NGO expert in education, and four teachers from lower and upper secondary schools.

Table 5.8: Study participants Poland

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Polymaker	Officer, Ministry of National Education	Large
NGO expert	Expert in Civic and Citizenship Education	Large
Teacher 1	Knowledge about Society, Philosophy	Large
Teacher 2	Knowledge about Society	Small
Teacher 3	Knowledge about Society, Coordinator Citizenship	Small
Teacher 4	Knowledge about Society, History	Small

5.8.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

The *Teacher's Charter*, a central document that describes in detail the status and working conditions of teachers, states, amongst others, that, '...*teacher responsibility is to educate the young generation in the atmosphere of freedom of religion, conscience and thought and respect for others [...] in accordance with ideas of democracy, peace and friendship with people of different nations, race and world views...*' (National Parliament of Poland, 2006, 2). This shows a prominent place for democracy related values in Polish education.

Common values are also stipulated in the School Act:

The values, which are implemented in Polish schools, are indicated in the preamble of the School Act: solidarity, democracy, tolerance, justice and freedom. [...] In all schools one may find displayed child's rights and student's rights, and schools educate following the values of tolerance and respect for people. It is the responsibility of each school principal to create the necessary conditions for this. If something goes wrong, then the Superintendent of Education Office intervenes. [Policymaker]

From the perspective of curriculum content as well, TCV is an important part of Polish education. The general vision of a 'good citizen' (an individual with a complex national-European-global identity, engaged, sensitive and open to others) is embodied in a number of school subjects (e.g. knowledge about society, history, Polish literature, knowledge about culture, introduction to entrepreneurship, etc.). However, teaching is mostly focused on procedures and mechanisms of social and political life, and on transmitting sociological knowledge. From this perspective, common values seem to be something formal, external and even alienated from the students' lives, instead of serving as a model for relations between people on both interpersonal and intergroup levels (Blumsztajn, 2016). Thus, the importance of TCV in Polish education seems a bit superficial since 'teaching values' through 'teaching about values' does not seem to be sufficient. Potential *supplements* to provide more practical experiences could be either of two areas of activity proposed by the core curriculum: first, the requirement (strongly promoted by NGOs) for the participation of each student of lower-secondary schools in at least one educational project engaging the student in the life of the local community; second, each school has to prepare a so-called 'education programme', which has to be consistent with the core curriculum and should address issues important to the school as a community. A part of this second area of activity involves the student self-government, which is based on democratic principles and values and can propose motions on issues important to students in the school (e.g. organisation of events, etc.). However, in school practice, the implementation of this part of the programme is often unsatisfactory (Bacia, Pazderski & Żmijewska-Kwiręg, 2016; Korzeniowski & Machalek, 2011).

The relation between these two, i.e. learning about values (through transfer of knowledge) and learning values through practical experience, became an underlying issue for some debate, particularly on the role of the school as a place for developing knowledge and cognitive skills or as a place where youngsters should learn how to act and how to be engaged. NGOs especially, postulated a 'more balanced' approach with more opportunities for students to exercise citizenship in schools (e.g. school parliament) and local community (e.g. through projects focused on problems in the local community, people in need, etc.). NGOs help teachers in the development and evaluation of such projects (Bacia et al., 2015). The 'traditional' discussion mentioned above is, however, complicated by the more basic discussion taking place in the Polish society, about values themselves, i.e. how to understand them (Public Opinion Research Centre, 2014).

With tolerance everything depends on the age of children and the way the topic is introduced to them. One should not act in opposition to tradition and opinions of parents. One has to be sure not to go too far with those minority rights... [Policymaker]

Discussions about tolerance, discrimination and injustice are very important, especially in the context of foreign children (there are a number of student-refugees from Chechnya in this school). In the last year, intolerance is growing. Foreign children in our school are already quite adjusted, and study well. But more and more often, one may hear unpleasant comments. Amongst parents, opinion is

circulated that foreigners produce a threat for children. Negative attitudes of parents influence attitudes of children. [Teacher 3]

The most difficult is discussion about LGBT. This topic is taboo in 'regular' class. Sometimes (together with other 'difficult' issues) [it] might be discussed during the ethics classes, but it is not obligatory to attend them. [Teacher 2]

The Catholic Church is also very active in the discussion about values in the Polish society, and its prominent presence in schools often pushes both curricula and education practice into the direction of conservative and limited understanding and teaching of common values.

5.8.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

The international IEA studies on civic and citizenship education (CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009) confirmed that teaching democracy and other democratic values in Polish schools, introduced by the education reform of the 90s, was successful, positioning Polish students amongst the best performing in the world on the knowledge test. Polish students were, however, less trustful of public institutions and endorsed less rights for immigrants and minorities than their peers from Western countries. They were also less interested in political and social activities (Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Schulz et al., 2010). Many experts consider this a consequence of the lack of adequate active experiences provided to students by schools (Dolata, Kosela, Wiłkomirska & Zielińska, 2004; Zachorska, Papiór & Roszkowska, 2013).

There is a big difference between [the] intended education policy and its implementation at the school level, i.e. school practice. In official documents, in particular in the National Core Curriculum, the objectives and the principles of democracy are clearly described: active participation in the school and community life, responsible engagement, tolerance, openness. However, schools are lacking know-how and the will to translate those general objectives into practice and to implement them in the school's daily life. [NGO expert]

The Ministry of National Education has made efforts to assist schools and teachers in developing projects to activate students' value education, either through its own institutions or in cooperation with NGOs. For example, the ministerial Centre for Education Development (ORE) proposed to schools projects such as *The Diversity Amongst Us*, *Democratic school – Self-governing school*, *Combating Hate Speech Online*, etc., providing schools and teachers with educational materials and teacher training, and organising forums for exchange of good practices (Felis, 2016). NGOs also often initiate school activities in areas important to local communities such as national minorities, ecological problems, etc. For example, the Centre for Civic Education (an NGO) offered schools the programme *Voting Youth*, within which students of the lower and upper secondary schools organised workshops on the meaning of public voting, held debates between candidates representing different political parties, and finally conducted elections in their own schools based on rules similar to the public election (Centre for Civic Education, 2015).

In general, there are still not many schools that adopt the offered programmes and include them in their curriculum. The major obstacles stem from: (i) lack of skills and motivation of teachers, (ii) conflictual expectations, i.e. promoting rather cognitive outcomes of education in this area, and (iii) controversies within society. The following are four voices that illustrate this:

Teachers do not have knowledge, skills and instruments to encourage and assist students in practising citizenship. And without this, education policy for teaching

common values is not efficient. For example, in the 'Voting Youth' project students mostly vote on most extreme, often anti-systemic candidates. They are not equipped with tools to analyse critically what candidates offer. [NGO expert]

In my opinion, attitudes of teachers are the most important things in teaching values. We have to show that for us, democracy and tolerance and everything related to them are important. When students see that we are authentic in promoting them, they also believe that such concepts are not empty. [Teacher 4]

TCV takes place in various subjects such as knowledge about society, history, and Polish literature. The teaching programmes might be coordinated with an aim to promote critical reflection on values important for the democratic society. However, in the core curriculum, facts are more important than attitudes, and education might be reduced to knowledge. There is no time for a critical reflection left. [Teacher 1]

Schools can well recognise directions of development of education proposed by the new Ministry. They do not live in isolation and, for example, they check with the Institute of National Remembrance what historical education should look like. Nobody told them to propagate Cursed Soldiers⁷, but when I visit schools I can see this happening. [Policymaker]

5.8.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

Across the entire period of transformation of the Polish education system after the collapse of communism, teaching common values was subject to contradictory expectations. First, there was no agreement between different groups in society on how these values should be defined. 'Patriotism' was contrasted with 'cosmopolitanism', 'tolerance' with 'acceptance', and 'national' with 'international'. Moreover, although policymakers have seen the need for practising democracy and its values, the support that the Ministry could provide to education practice is limited by political constraints. Even if specific practical programmes are offered to teachers (by governmental or non-governmental organisations), teachers might be afraid of confronting parents and local education or religious authorities when implementing them. Because of this, many practitioners postulate maintaining and even developing a further pluralistic approach to education:

We should keep a variety of schools: managed by municipalities or by cooperatives of parents and teachers, or privately. We need open democratic schools, with religious instruction and without. This would help us to understand our students better and work with them, to gain contact with them. [Teacher 2]

The present conservative government in Poland is accused by many of undermining democracy and democratic values in political and social life. It intends to introduce, amongst others, changes in the education system, starting from structural changes (e.g. replacement of the three-stage schooling system: primary-lower-secondary-upper-secondary/vocational, with a two-stage system: primary-secondary/vocational), through changes in curriculum (e.g. more history and less knowledge about society), to changes in the content of citizenship education. While the values listed in the preamble of the School Education Act remain unchanged, there is a significant shift in teaching values. This shift

⁷ 'Cursed soldiers' is a term applied to a variety of anti-communist Polish resistance movements formed in the later stages of the Second World War and its aftermath; some of them continued their armed struggle against the Stalinist government of Poland well into the 1950s. The guerrilla warfare included an array of military attacks launched against the Communist regime's prisons and state security offices, but also national minorities. This last fact makes Polish debate about cursed soldiers one of the most controversial. The present administration, with the support of the newly appointed board of the Institute of National Remembrance made cursed soldiers a symbol of 'historical policy', thereby omitting or diminishing their criminal actions.

can be termed 'preaching national orientation', and is observable in the interview excerpt below:

Democracy and tolerance are strongly rooted in Polish tradition, but national values were neglected in previous years. We prepare new programmes and textbooks which will accentuate national identity and Polish democratic tradition. Of course, knowledge about global processes is necessary, but we should stress in our education, national and not cosmopolitan orientation. We should not be ashamed of being Polish.

Tolerance is an important value in Polish schools but we should not stress some minority groups, especially sexual minorities and their sometimes unjustified rights.

Education policy should follow national tradition and the Ministry's role is to supervise it.

The major school subjects for the education of Polish citizens are history and Polish literature. There are also discussions about national security and [the] introduction of civil defence classes. [Policymaker]

5.8.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

There are three levels to think about in relation to teaching common values in Polish schools, and correspondingly three groups of recommendations.

First, there is the present state of affairs and the intention of subordinating citizenship education to nationalistic values, with limited attention given to values of liberal democracy. Thus, the major recommendation at this level is:

- Restoring plurality of values in the Polish education system, to enhance values that are shared with other European countries and that serve the democratic development of the Polish society.

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

- Generating a broad discussion in which parents, education experts, policymakers and practitioners (especially teachers) are included as participants with an equal voice as that of the political and church authorities.
- Maintaining a variety of schools as well as their levels of autonomy, and even increasing the latter to give an opportunity for exercising various models of education.

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

- Developing instruments for encouraging schools and teachers to develop, within their granted autonomy, programmes, methods and activities, which would give students more opportunities to learn about values through applying them in practice.
- Working intensively on the core curriculum in order to better balance the amount of knowledge and practical skills acquired in the educational process.

- Revising teacher education in order to provide teachers with instruments for working with their students in 'real-life' situations and not only at the desk in the classroom.
- Empowering teachers, and also giving them self-confidence in working with parents and local communities.

5.8.7. References

- Bacia, E., Gieniusz, A.M., Makowski, G., Pazderski, F., Stronkowski, P., & Walczak, B. (2015). *Kształtowanie kompetencji społecznych i obywatelskich przez organizacje pozarządowe w Polsce* [Formation of the civic and citizenship competences by the non-governmental organizations in Poland]. Warsaw: IBE.
- Bacia, E., Pazderski, F., & Żmijewska-Kwiręg, S. (2016). *Edukacja obywatelska w Polsce. Analiza aktualnej sytuacji, zidentyfikowanych potrzeb oraz szans i barier rozwoju*. [Citizenship education in Poland. Actual situation, identified needs as well as chances and barriers of development]. Retrieved online: http://www.ceo.org.pl/sites/default/files/EPiO/davBinary/edukacja_obywatelska_w_polsce.pdf
- Blumsztajn, A. (2016). *Analiza nowej matury z przedmiotu wiedza o społeczeństwie*. [Analysis of the Matura results for subject knowledge of society] Społeczny Monitor Edukacji. [Social Monitor of Education]. <https://www.monitor.edu.pl>.
- Central Office of Statistics (2014). *Education in 2013/2014*. Warsaw: Author.
- Central Office of Statistics (2016). *Poland in figures*. Warsaw: Author.
- Centre for Civic Education (2015). *Wyniki wyborów młodzieżowych* [Results of youth voting]. Retrieved online: <http://www.ceo.org.pl/pl/mlodzi/news/wyniki-mlodzi-glosuja-wybory-parlamentarne-2015-0>
- Dolata, R., Kosela, K., Wiłkomirska, A., & Zielińska, A. (2004). *Młodzi obywatele. Wyniki międzynarodowych badań młodzieży* [Young citizens. Results of the international studies of youth]. Warsaw: Warsaw University press.
- Felis, M. (2016). *Response to the Short questionnaire on the follow-up of the Paris Declaration on Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education*. (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency). Warszawa: ORE.
- ICCS (2010). *ICCS 2009 International report: Civic knowledge, attitudes, and engagement among lower-secondary school students in 38 countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- Korzeniowski, J., & Machalek, M. (2011). *Edukacja obywatelska w szkole. Teoria i praktyka*. [Citizenship education in school. Theory and practice.] Warsaw: PWN.
- OECD (2012). *PISA 2012 results. What 15-year-olds know and what they can do with what they know*. Paris: Author.
- Projekt aktów prawnych dla oświaty (2016). [Proposal of new legal regulations for education]. www.portaloswiatowy.pl
- Public Opinion Research Centre (2014). *Stosunek do demokracji i jego praktyczne konsekwencje* [Attitude toward democracy and its practical consequences]. Warsaw: Author.
- Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Oswald, H., & Schulz, W. (2001). *Citizenship and education in twenty-eight countries. Engagement at age fourteen*. Amsterdam: IEA.

- World Bank (2016). Country at Glance. Poland. Retrieved online: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/poland/overview>
- Zachorska, M., Papiór, E., & Roszkowska, M., (2013). *Obywatele czy poddani? Młodzież szkolna a demokracja*. [Citizens or subjects? School youth and democracy]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”.

5.8.7.1. Legal and policy documents

- National Assembly of Poland (1997). *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Constitution of the Republic of Poland]*. Warsaw: Author.
- National Parliament of Poland (2005a). *Ustawa z dnia 6 stycznia 2005 o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym [Ethnic and National Minorities and the Regional Language Act 6 January 2005]*. Warsaw: Author.
- National Parliament of Poland (2005b). *Ustawa z dnia 7 września 1991 r. o Systemie Oświaty (z późniejszymi zmianami) [School Education Act of 7th September 1991 (with further amendments)]*. Warsaw: Author.
- National Parliament of Poland (2006). *Ustawa z 26 stycznia 1982 roku Karta Nauczyciela (z późniejszymi zmianami) [The Act of 26 January 1982 Teacher's Charter (with further amendments)]*. Warsaw: Author.
- Minister of National Education. (2008). *Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z 23 grudnia 2008 r. w sprawie podstawy programowej wychowania przedszkolnego oraz kształcenia ogólnego w poszczególnych typach szkół [Regulation by the Minister of National Education of 23 December 2008 on core curricula for preschool education and general education in particular types of schools]*. Warsaw: Author.

5.9. Romania

From Traditional to European

Emilian Colceru

5.9.1. Characteristics of the country

Romania is situated in South-Eastern Europe. Its total area of 238,391 km² ranks 9th in the European Union, and its population of 20,121,641 (Census 2011) makes it the 7th largest country of the European Union. Romania gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1877 as the United Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and expanded its territory in 1918 after the integration of Transylvania. The country joined the European Union as recently as 2007, and is not yet a member of the Eurozone.

Until 1989, Romania was a Socialist republic, under the rule of the Romanian Communist Party which enforced a totalitarian regime. After the Romanian Revolution in December 1989, Romania expressed its willingness to introduce liberal democracy again. Its fundamental law now defines the country as a 'state of law, democratic and social' (*Constitution of Romania*, 2003, Art. 3). Modern Romania can be categorised as a semi-presidential republic, in which both the president and the government (directed by a prime minister) hold executive power. Each legislature brings several political parties to the parliament, with the government being appointed by the president from the parliamentary majority.

According to the 2011 census, Romania is mostly inhabited by Romanians (88.9%), with significant minorities of Hungarians (6.5%) and Roma (3.3%). The vast majority of citizens are Christian Orthodox (81%), other denominations being Roman Catholic (4.3%) and the Reformed (3%). Besides Christians, other religious groups include 64,000 Muslims (0.31%) and 3,519 Jewish (0.017%). Romania is perhaps one of the most religious countries of the European Union, with a striking 99% of the population declaring themselves as believers, as opposed to only 39,660 atheists (0.19%).

5.9.2. Education system and policy

The education system of Romania follows the 2011 *National Education Law*. Pre-university education consists of 10 years of compulsory education and 2 years of non-compulsory education (which adds up to 12 years), plus a preparatory year before entering the 1st year. It is divided into primary education (prep year and years 1 to 4, ages 6-10), lower secondary education (years 5 to 8, ages 10-14) and upper secondary education (years 9 and 10 compulsory and years 11 and 12 non-compulsory, ages 14-18). The system is centralised with a curriculum for compulsory disciplines approved by the Ministry of Education. However, schools have the liberty to choose optional disciplines, either from a list proposed by the Ministry, or from disciplines proposed by teachers which have to be approved by the Ministry. The Ministry monitors activities in schools through a network of county inspectorates. 99% of the students attend public schools (OECD, 2014), although there is an increase in private education over the last years. Private schools have to follow the Ministry curricula as well, since they must be accredited by it in order to function. Public schools are financed by the local council from the state budget. The percentage of students who skip classes or days of school in Romania is one of the highest amongst the countries participating in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA): 58%, rank 5/64 (OECD, 2014).

The education ideal in Romania consists in 'developing a free, integral and harmonious human individuality, forming an autonomous personality and assuming a system of values that are necessary for personal fulfilment and development, for the development of an entrepreneurial spirit, for active citizenship participation in the society, for social inclusion and for being integrated into the labour market' (*National Education Law*, 2011, Art. 2 (3)). Despite this ideal, Romania showed poor results in the PISA evaluation of 2012 (OECD, 2014): in mathematics an average of 445 points (rank 45/65), in science an average of 439 points (rank 49/65), and in reading an average of 438 points (rank 50/65). The Ministry of Education intended to remediate this status by introducing PISA-type evaluation in general education (primary and secondary level, in the 2nd, 4th and 6th years) since 2014. Romania is not part of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS).

5.9.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

The current Romanian education system gives rather consistent attention to TCV. For instance, the *Framework Structure for lower secondary education* that has been adopted in 2016 and which will be enforced beginning 2017, increases the number of hours dedicated to the curricular area *Human and Society* from 3-7 hours a week up to 5-8 hours a week. The area includes history (1-2 hours/week), geography (1-2 hours/week), religion (1 hour/week), social education (1 hour/week) and optional disciplines, most of them TCV-related (0-2 hours/week). This curricular area still has less hours dedicated to it than areas such as language and communication (8-10 hours/week) or mathematics and natural sciences (5-11 hours/week), but more hours than certain other areas such as arts, physical and health education, technologies, counselling and orientation (2-4 hours/week each).

The Romanian education system contains a number of compulsory disciplines directly related to TCV: civic education (2 years in primary education, ages 8-10, 1 hour/week) and civic culture (2 years in lower secondary education, ages 12-14, 1 hour/week). There is no compulsory discipline on social education at upper secondary level (ages 14-18), as common values are supposed to be taught in disciplines such as sociology, philosophy and social studies (1 year each in upper secondary education). The Framework Structure for lower secondary education (ages 10-14) contains one compulsory social education discipline (1 hour/week) for each year: critical thinking and children's rights, intercultural education, education for democratic citizenship, and economic and financial education. Each discipline comes with approved multiple-choice textbooks.

TCV can also be found in contents of other compulsory disciplines, such as history, Romanian language and literature and foreign languages. The Ministry also proposes a number of optional disciplines related to TCV in upper secondary education, such as civic education, mass-media competences, human rights, intercultural education, education for democracy, institutions of the European Union, and international humanitarian law. Most of these optional disciplines also have textbooks. Some of these disciplines were introduced at the initiative of NGOs, which also supply materials and trainings for teachers.

The Ministry also encourages schools to develop extracurricular activities in partnership with state institutions (e.g. *Project citizen*) and NGOs (e.g. debates on topics like: *Is civicism optional?* developed by the Association for the Promotion of Culture and Civic Responsibility). NGOs are incidentally also consulted by the Ministry of Education in relation to developments in TCV policy and practice.

One of the most impactful public debates concerning the role of TCV in Romanian school curricula is also the most recent one (2016) on the change of the Framework Structure for education at the lower secondary level. Some experts proposed a larger discipline titled

Education for Society that includes elements of history, citizenship education, financial education, and education about the European Union. This proposal was met with considerable opposition from a large part of society, which was intensely dissatisfied with the categorical disappearance of the discipline history and the incoherence of this new discipline. In the end, the Framework approved by the Ministry kept both history and social education as distinct compulsory disciplines for each of the four years of study.

Another recent debate concerned the optional status of the discipline religion. Since the decision of the Constitutional Court in 2015, the study of religion can only be facilitated following a request from the students' parents (or the students themselves if they are 18 years or older). After the centralisation of such requests, over 90% of the parents and students chose to continue the study of religion in schools.

Yet another prevalent debate concerns the study of diversity in sexual orientation, advocated by the LGBT community. However, there is no official response from the Ministry of Education on this subject yet. Recently (2016), a petition supported by most religious communities of Romania to change Art. 48 of the Constitution in order to define 'family' as 'being based on the freely consented matrimony between a man and a woman' (as opposed to 'spouses') gathered 3 million signatures.

5.9.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

In order to understand the relationship between policy and practice, interviews were held with several actors who are part of the process of TCV. This section outlines their contributions to this discussion.

Table 5.9: Study participants Romania

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Policymaker	Director, Ministry of Education	Large
NGO expert	Expert in Education at the Policy Centre for Roma and Minorities	Large
Teacher 1	Geography and Civic Culture teacher, Public and Private School	Large
Teacher 2	History and Civic Culture teacher, Public and Private School	Large
Teacher 3	History and Civic Culture teacher, Public School	Large
Teacher 4	History and Civic Culture teacher, Public School	Small

Until recently, civic culture has been considered a secondary discipline in teaching practice (Colceru, 2014), since it is not part of the national assessment. This aspect was observed by a civic culture teacher:

Civic culture and civic education should be introduced in all classes, at all levels because, somehow, civic culture is still viewed as a Cinderella of the school and lessons are still perceived as a time for entertainment. [Teacher 1]

Nevertheless, other disciplines that touch on TCV issues, such as history, geography or philosophy, are given larger importance, as they are subjects that are part of the national exams (Baccalaureate) at the end of the 12th year.

Within TCV contents, democracy-related issues are more visible than tolerance-related ones. A representative of the Policy Centre for Roma and Minorities, an NGO focusing on anti-discrimination, remarked the following on this situation:

Regarding tolerance towards different cultural groups, I know that, last time I checked, there was a page in the history textbook that presented all of it, an extremely concise discussion about every ethnicity in Romania. [NGO expert]

Romania has adopted the European frame of reference, as expressed in the Recommendation of the European Parliament and the Council of 18 December 2006 on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning, which recommends eight key competences, including social and civic competences (Bercea, 2010). The current curriculum includes a series of methodological suggestions that point out the necessity of active participatory learning. The methods used to develop competence-based education are diverse, including debates, brainstorming, learning through discovery, team projects, portfolios, etc. Teaching practice does show an increase in the use of these methods, despite the fact that a large part of the classwork remains dedicated to classical methods such as presentation, description, and demonstration.

Being challenged by the school curriculum, teachers use all kinds of innovative methods in order to make the subjects more accessible to students. One example of good practice came from a history teacher who created an optional discipline called The History of Romanian Theatre and obtained some good feedback from her students:

This course could underline personal development of the individual, as well as prove that for Romanians it didn't matter that plays were written by the French, English, Germans or any others as long as they appealed to the greater public. Through dramatisation, it creates life situations for students to get acquainted to. [Teacher 3]

Another example of good practice came from extracurricular activities developed by teachers in order to increase tolerance for and information about diverse cultural groups, such as guided tours of city sights relevant to ethnic and religious minorities:

I emphasise role play, the way you can feel discriminated. In situations I encounter tolerance I try to use empathy in the approach of history, the way students would feel not as oppressors but as the oppressed. [Teacher 2]

Although the issue of school culture is not much endorsed in the curriculum, it is encouraged at the practice level (Student's Status, 2016). At the level of secondary education, student representatives participate in some of the issues debated in the school government bodies, playing a consultative role in issues such as rules, extracurricular activities, the school action plan, optional lessons, acquisition of educational materials, expulsions, or teaching content, and an informative role in issues such as budget and assessment criteria (Eurydice, 2012).

The issue of discrimination against national minorities is still on the public agenda, and the Ministry has expressed its willingness to curtail it. A part of the society criticised the positive discrimination policy which allows Roma students to be integrated into classes despite their lower average in national exams. This issue was also brought up by the interviewed NGO representative:

Special places for Roma people are a good thing, but they don't give them enough chances to recover the gap. On the other hand, positive discrimination only targets Roma people; it would be more useful to target poor people. If you belong to the Roma community and you have money you have the resources to get into a good high school; but if you are poor, you have a problem getting there. [NGO expert]

5.9.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

Most teachers acknowledge the contribution of the Ministry of Education, but mention that there is still room for improvement. As one teacher puts it:

Although there have been some activities, I consider that this is not enough, there should be a much greater involvement of the government, at the level of the Ministry of Education in this area. [Teacher 2]

The problem increases as we step outside Bucharest, into rural areas:

Although we are nearby Bucharest, because of the isolation of these rural or even urban places, we cannot develop projects related to TCV. [Teacher 4]

All the aforementioned policies are already present in the education system and are accompanied by the existence of official documents (laws, methodologies, curricula). The challenge is to enforce these new rules in teaching practice. Further, the common values should also be assumed by members of the school community (teachers, students and parents) and this is a process that will take a considerable amount of time, according to the Ministry officials:

It is not enough only to create the curriculum. What is important is that these values are assumed and shared as to become standards for the whole community. It is true that we have examples of good practice in these matters, but there are also situations in which things are not as they are supposed to be. [Policymaker]

On the other hand, there are sometimes problems concerning the financing of projects and policies: financing for better conditions in schools (e.g. facilities for disabled students) which is a task for the local council; financing for programmes on curricular and extracurricular activities (e.g. field trips to institutions) which is a task for the Ministry of Education and for local communities; the appropriate absorption of European Union funds delineated to the education system which is a task for the Romanian Government.

5.9.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

Teaching European common values is a priority of education policies in Romania, as shown by the number of official documents that refer to it. However, the task proves to be particularly difficult, for a number of reasons. One of these reasons is the lack of coherence of education policies due to the numerous education reforms.

Another reason is the historical evolution of the country. In recent history, Romania has been more or less isolated from other spaces of culture, including Western Europe. A large number of the student population reveals nostalgia for the ancient regime. In a 2010 survey, an average of 38% upper secondary level students considered the Communist period to be better than the present (Fundația Soros România, 2010).

Certain communities that define themselves as 'defenders of traditions' feel that these common values are imposed by the European Union on Romania, and show an attitude of dismissal, mostly towards subjects relating to tolerance and European integration. For instance, three quarters (75%) of high-school students reported that they would not accept homosexuals as neighbours, two-thirds (66%) reported they would not be neighbours with Roma people or people suffering from AIDS, 44% with Muslims, 35% with Hungarians and 34% with Jews (Fundația Soros România, 2010).

The Ministry of Education intends to continue enforcing the changes that have already been initiated with regard to the introduction of TCV policies in the pre-university system of education. Till recently, TCV policies have mainly focused on the domain of democracy. The changes began when the Ministry started working additionally on topics relating to

tolerance (i.e. an inclusive society) and international orientation (i.e. European and global issues). On the curricular level, the adoption of the new Framework Structure for education at the lower secondary level has to be accompanied by new curricula for all the disciplines as well as new textbooks. The Ministry also intends to change the Framework Structure for education at the upper secondary level, which could mean a better enforcement of TCV in the curriculum.

Taking into account the aforementioned issues, given below are some recommendations to optimise the practice of TCV in Romania:

- Continuity at the level of implementing TCV-related policies. This need for continuity is shared by officials in the Ministry as well as the beneficiaries of the education process (i.e. students, parents, and teachers).
- An increase in the number of hours dedicated to TCV (perhaps even as far as making civic education compulsory in upper secondary education) relative to other disciplines, would improve the degree of assimilation of these values by the student population.
- A better collaboration between the Ministry of Education and NGOs will optimise the process of teaching common values. This collaboration should extend, besides selective projects, to creating platforms for teacher education.
- Learning from examples of good practice offered by other national systems of education from countries in the European Union. The continuation of European mobility programmes such as Erasmus, Comenius, and Leonardo could contribute to this sharing of experiences that could help Romanian teachers and students to acquire common values.
- Financing of programmes and projects dedicated to TCV by the Romanian Government and by the European Union will contribute to their success.
- Reduction in the amount of paperwork that has to be completed in order to access European funding and support will increase the number of programmes and projects implemented in the Romanian education system and their rate of success.

5.9.7. References

- Bercea, M. (2010). Cu privire la competențe în predarea istoriei [Regarding Competences in the Teaching of History]. In: Adăscăliței, Felicia, Bercea, Marilena, Dumitrescu, Doru, Lazăr, Liviu, Manea, Mihai & Popescu, Mirela. *Elemente de didactică a istoriei [Elements of Didactics in History]*. Bucharest: Editura Nomina.
- Colceru, E. (2013). The Impact of Civic Education on the Citizenship of Romanian Youth. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 12(4), 23-28.
- European Comission. (2007). *Key Competences for Lifelong Learning. European Reference Framework*.
- European Comission (2012). *Eurydice. Citizenship Education in Europe*.
- Fundația Soros Romania. (2010). *Implicarea civică și politică a tinerilor (Civic and Political Involvement of Youth)*, Constanța: Dobrogea.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2014). *PISA 2012 Results in Focus. What 15-year-olds know and what they can do with what they know*.

5.9.7.1. Legal and policy documents

- Ministerul Educației Naționale și Cercetării Științifice. (2016). *Plan-cadru de învățământ pentru gimnaziu (Framework structure for education in the lower secondary level)*
- Ministerul Educației Naționale și Cercetării Științifice. (2016). *Statutul elevului (Student's Status)*
- Parlamentul României, 2003: *Constituția României*
- Parlamentul României, 2011: *Legea Educației Naționale*

5.10. Slovenia

How to develop a culture of responsibility for the individual and common good?

Pavla Karba

5.10.1. Characteristics of the country

Slovenia is a small country (20,273 km²) in the south of Central Europe. It lies at the crossroads of four linguistic groups: Romance (Italy), Germanic (Austria), Finno-Ugric (Hungary) and Slavic (Croatia and Slovenia), and at the crossroads of four European geographical macro-regions: Alpine, Pannonian, Dinaric, and Mediterranean. Its key characteristics are diversity and transition in both the natural and social context.

In the past, the territory of Slovenia formed an integral part of several states. On 23 December 1990, the citizens of Slovenia voted in a plebiscite (88.5% of all voters) to make Slovenia an autonomous and independent state. The Republic of Slovenia became an internationally recognised independent state in early 1992. In May that year, it also became a member of the United Nations. On 1 May 2004, it became a member of the European Union and NATO (as decided by citizens in a referendum). Slovenia has eight representatives serving as Members of the European Parliament. It lies within the Schengen Area, and is part of the Eurozone since 1 January 2007.

On 23 December 1991, the Slovenian Assembly promulgated the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia. Article 1 of the Constitution lays down that Slovenia is a democratic republic; Article 2 states that it is a social state governed by the rule of law; and Article 7 mentions that the state and religious communities are separated. Slovenia is a parliamentary democracy, with both a president and a prime minister. The prime minister serves as the head of government. The National Assembly is made up of parties of the coalition, i.e. the government majority and parties of the opposition. Local self-government is implemented at the level of municipalities.

According to statistical data for 2015, the Republic of Slovenia has a total of 2,062,874 residents. With regard to ethnic structure, around 83% of this population are Slovenians. The rest comprise minorities: an autochthonous Italian national minority living in the towns of the Primorska region, a Hungarian national minority living in the Prekmurje region, and a Roma ethnic community in the regions of Prekmurje, Dolenjska, and Bela krajina (protected by the Roma Community Act of 2007). Most of the immigrants are Serbs, Croats, Bosnians (from the former common state of Yugoslavia), and Albanians. Approximately 65% of the population are Catholic, followed by Evangelicals, members of the Orthodox Church, and Muslims (the latter are the fastest-growing group). The share of atheists (non-believers) is rising significantly (according to data, between 10%-20%). Under the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, all religious communities are equal and can operate freely. Likewise, everyone has the freedom to practice their religion in private and public life.

5.10.2. Education system and policy

Preschool education is intended for children from the age of 1 to the age of 6, which is the point for compulsory entry into school. Preschool education in Slovenia is not compulsory, but recommended. According to data, 90% of 5-year-olds were included in public preschool education in the school year 2013-14.

Primary education is organised as a unified 9-year school track for students from the ages 6-15. It is offered by both public and private primary schools (though the latter make up less than 1%), and by institutes for educating children with special needs. Adults are educated by organisations for adult education. As per the Constitution, primary education is compulsory and is financed from public funds. The primary school programme is laid out in the form of syllabi and curricula for compulsory and elective subjects, in guidelines and concepts that also define other forms of working with students (e.g. extracurricular activities, education outside the classroom, etc.), and in cross-curricular areas (e.g. activity days, library and information science, etc.). To an extent, these documents allow for schools' professional autonomy (with regard to contents and didactic implementation). The curricula lay down the knowledge standards, and the school legislation lays down the principles and forms of knowledge assessment (including the national knowledge assessment examinations). Primary education generally concludes with the national knowledge assessment examination in three subjects (Mathematics, Slovenian/Hungarian/Italian, and a third subject determined by the Ministry of Education). It is financed and held by the state and is the central instrumentation for knowledge assessment.

Compulsory primary education is followed by non-compulsory secondary education, which lasts for a period ranging from two to five years. It is divided into general education with 4-year programmes at general and technical upper secondary schools, and into vocational and technical education (programmes of varying difficulty levels). The secondary education system is centralised, i.e. its establishment, financing, teacher education, and educational programmes are determined at the national level.

Slovenia also takes part in international knowledge assessment examinations, such as PISA, TIMSS, ICCS, etc. The knowledge demonstrated by Slovenian students in international examinations is generally above the European average. OECD research on examinations from 2012 and 2014 shows great progress in the knowledge of Slovenian students, especially in natural science, mathematical literacy, and civic literacy. Efforts at the level of the state and schools are directed towards further improving the quality of the knowledge of students, especially in reading literacy, towards raising their knowledge in all types of literacy to a higher level (e.g. using this knowledge in new situations, creativity, and critical evaluation), and towards quality integration of immigrant children (including refugees) into the educational process (with an emphasis on intercultural literacy).

5.10.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

The curricular primary education reform during 1996-1999 (ISCED 1 and ISCED 2 – lower secondary education) introduced the subject of *Ethics and Society* in years 7 and 8 of schooling. The subject was legally renamed *Citizenship Education and Ethics* in 2001. In 1999, the gradual transition from an 8-year primary school to a 9-year one was introduced by law. The transition was completed in the school year 2008-09 when the 9-year primary school was finally introduced for the entire population. The extent of changes in Slovenia (e.g. gaining European Union membership), Europe and the world, demanded general changes to the curricula at all levels of education. Subsequently, the existing curriculum for citizenship education and ethics, which had been prepared under quite different circumstances than those of the early 21st century, underwent radical changes. The Eurydice 2005 study *Citizenship Education in Europe* (with its emphasis on education for democratic citizenship and human rights), and the Recommendation of the European Parliament and the Council of 18 December 2006 on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning, became the basis for modernising the citizenship education curriculum in the country (the modernisation process lasted from 2006 to 2011). The curriculum, approved in

2011, entered into force in 2011-12 in year 7 of schooling (encompassing 35 periods) and in 2012-13 in year 8 (also encompassing 35 periods). The content of the curriculum follows the concept of citizenship education in the 21st century (including common topics and values relevant to the European and global community), while the didactic concept (i.e. teaching methodology) promotes the development of social and civic competences in young citizens (e.g. active participation of primary and secondary school students in the learning process, in the school/student community, in local communities, etc.). In the didactic recommendations, the curriculum informs teachers that certain topics, especially in light of their value orientation, call for a cross-curricular and thematic approach to their discussion and for vertical alignment across topics (e.g. human rights, democracy, European Union, religions, globalisation, etc.). The highlighted topics are partly included in the curricula of different compulsory social science and humanities subjects, such as social studies, history, geography, foreign languages, arts, and sports, as well as the following elective subjects: religion and ethics, civic culture, philosophy for children, and media education.

The curricula of social science subjects, in particular the subject of *civic and patriotic culture and ethics* (years 7 and 8), highlight three broader general objectives of civic education:

- **Developing political literacy** through knowledge about the functioning of the political system of democracy in comparison with totalitarian systems; democratic institutions; democratic forms of decision-making; human rights; international organisations and associations, and global economic, social, political, ecological, and ethical circumstances, problems, issues and dilemmas.
- **Developing critical thinking** through getting to know/recognise/discuss/judge/hold a dialogue on/understand and critically reflect on the above-mentioned topics.
- **Encouraging students to become involved in the social life of the class/school/student/local community** so that through their own activity, primary and secondary school students develop and raise awareness on the concepts of active democratic citizenship, civic identity, social cohesion, etc.

In ISCED 3 programmes, i.e. upper secondary education, general secondary school students likewise learn about certain aspects and contents of citizenship education within the scope of the following compulsory subjects: history, sociology, philosophy, and geography; and within the scope of the following elective subjects: European studies, education for solidarity, and compulsory electives which include civic culture (encompassing a minimum of 15 periods). The students of secondary vocational education mostly learn about these aspects and contents in the compulsory subject of sociology.

The national assessment of knowledge examination in citizenship education is intended for year 9 primary school students. Only a quarter of 9th year students in the country take the citizenship education examination, whereas the entire population takes the national assessment of knowledge examinations in mathematics and their mother tongue. The examination is in written form and has been conducted in the years 2009-10, 2012-13, and 2014-15. These exams mostly assess students' declarative knowledge of the following topics: human rights, democracy, rule of law, European Union, religions, and globalisation, and to a smaller degree the viewpoints and attitudes of students towards topical and controversial issues. The test results indicate insufficient political literacy amongst students. The results of the examination in citizenship education in the year 2014-15 were much lower than the averages for mathematics and the mother tongue (these two subjects are assessed every year). In comparison with the national assessment of knowledge examinations, ICCS tests inquire, to a greater extent, about the opinions of students on topical and controversial issues. The results of ICCS (1999, 2009, and 2016 – analysis is

still underway) show that the citizenship knowledge of Slovenian students is slightly above the international average, but that there is a small group of students with a highly negative attitude towards the rights of immigrants. A comparison of the results of both these tests shows that in the national assessment of knowledge examinations, the knowledge of students was most insufficient on the topic of rule of law, whereas in the ICCS tests, this knowledge insufficiency was evident in their opinions on intercultural topics (showing presence of prejudices and stereotypes). Both topics are connected with common European values and are highlighted in the modernised subject curriculum of 2011.

5.10.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

The amendment to the Organisation and Financing of Education Act, adopted in March 2008, lays down the goals on which human rights education in all aspects of primary (ISCED 1), lower secondary (ISCED 2) and upper secondary (ISCED 3) education is based. These goals include education conducive to mutual tolerance, developing awareness of gender equality, democratic and active citizenship, respect for differences, cooperation, respect for children's and human rights and basic liberties, and equal opportunities for both sexes, with a view to developing the ability needed to live in a democratic society (as explained by the policymaker). In connection with this, the curricula in primary and secondary education were modernised between 2006 and 2011. The legislation and curricula promote a cross-curricular and thematic approach to education for common values.

The modernised legislation and curricula require that schools and teachers plan and realise the aforementioned common values (in particular the education for democracy and tolerance) within the framework of the school's vision, the school's education plan, extracurricular activities, programmes of the school/class/student community and student parliament. This was reflected in the responses of the interviewed policymaker, NGO representative (Humanitas Association), and teachers (two from lower and two from upper secondary level, both general and vocational education).

Table 5.10: Study participants Slovenia

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Policymaker	Officer Ministry of Education	Large
NGO expert	Education and Training Programme Leader, Human Rights and Global Learning	Medium
Teacher 1	Civic and Patriotic Culture and Ethics, German	Medium
Teacher 2	Civic and Patriotic Culture and Ethics	Medium
Teacher 3	Philosophy, German	Medium
Teacher 4	Social Studies, Geography	Large

Schools (and teachers) are provided expert help with realising the modernised curricular paradigm, by national institutions (such as the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, National Education Institute of the Republic of Slovenia, Educational Research Institute, National Examinations Centre, and faculties) and non-governmental organisations (such as the Slovenian Association of Friends of Youth, Amnesty International, Slovene Philanthropy, Humanitas, and others). This expert help entails professional training of teachers, teachers'

collectives and head teachers; preparation of professional didactic materials (manuals for teachers, textbooks and workbooks for primary and secondary school students, online materials/broadcasts and websites); and professional cooperation in carrying out activities at the school, such as lectures, debates, workshops, and round tables on current/controversial topics. It also includes encouraging schools to take part in contests, research papers, and competitions under public tenders, on current and controversial topics, such as: Draft a Constitution (in 2011-12); its purpose was to encourage students to think critically about the role of rules and legislation in society, Letter from Members of Parliament (in 2013-14); its purpose was to encourage students to reflect critically on events in society and on values such as honesty, equity, and equality, 25th Anniversary of the Independent Republic of Slovenia (in 2016); its purpose was to encourage primary and secondary school students to critically present the circumstances in the country. Other examples include encouraging young people to become actively involved in public debates, civic initiatives, civic campaigns, and interviews on current and controversial topics (e.g. young parliamentarians at the national student parliament; a programme which has been active for 27 years and is held by secondary school graduates on various occasions). These examples illustrate the teaching of common values according to contemporary active methods of experiential, cooperative and active (participatory) learning. The need for further practice on this front is supported by the following statements of the interviewed teachers as well as the NGO expert:

My wish is that all participants of the learning process would be more aware of the fact that teaching is not only about knowledge and skills but also about values. [Teacher 4]

My colleagues and I aim for change in classic teaching practice in order to make it more democratic, formative, learner-centred. [Teacher 1]

I think that encouraging democracy and tolerance at my school is more the matter of the individual teacher than a whole school culture. [Teacher 3]

The greatest challenge is how to transfer things from paper to real life. I am aware of the fact that this is a process but I think that we are moving too slowly. [Teacher 2]

The workshops' evaluations with young people clearly show that the work on empathy, tolerance, encouragement of an inclusive society, and multiperspective views is not sufficient [by itself]. [NGO expert]

5.10.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

The modernised school legislation, curricula, guidelines, results of knowledge assessment studies, teaching practice, and opinions of teachers, all show that the interest in training young people to be responsible participants in social and political life (by teaching the common values of democracy and tolerance) is growing and yielding positive results, but that even more attention should be devoted to it. The situation in Slovenia, Europe, as well as all across the world, is becoming increasingly strained (with an increase in inequality, discrimination, all kinds of exclusion, and prejudice), and political populism and undemocratic practices are on the rise, which additionally confuses young people and makes them insecure. During the organised training sessions and interviews, teachers pointed out the following key dilemmas they encounter in their work, which are connected with the teaching of common values:

- How to balance the requirements of a neo-liberal market economy whose goal is to educate for ruthless competitiveness, with social cohesion whose goal is to educate for responsible cooperation, human dignity, and solidarity.

- How to reduce the gap between the declarative level, i.e. the document level, and the implementation level, i.e. the level of teaching practice, which is greatly influenced by events in real society, such as the discriminatory attitudes of certain politicians towards specific current social problems, including directing/abusing social movements and provoking civil disobedience by trampling on democratic values and rights (e.g. rights to asylum, to free sexual orientation, etc.) in order to achieve undemocratic partial interests.

Research and interviews with teachers also show that the level of awareness of the importance of teaching common values differs greatly amongst teachers in school collectives. Some teachers feel they are not professionally competent enough to critically reflect on current social circumstances with primary and secondary school students, especially on controversial topics, and have voiced their need for additional professional development. Teachers also stated that the education policy needs to unburden teachers of administration work.

5.10.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

The following are recommendations for raising the quality of education in the field of developing common values connected with democracy and tolerance, as encouraged by the Council of Europe and defined by the compulsory curricula and school legislation:

European Union level:

It would be advantageous if the various institutions of the European Union would further cooperate and coordinate their efforts when gathering data on education and TCV policies, and developing specific teaching and learning materials (translated into several national languages).

National level:

- Greater cooperation amongst the stakeholders in charge of providing education at the level of the state, local community, and school (through interconnection, exchange of information, and joint planning of certain activities).
- Greater number of open public debates on controversial social/political topics, which should also be addressed by school policy, because they need to be discussed within the education system. For example, the Educational Research Institute has been organising public round tables in recent years on topics such as education and children's rights, and equal (educational) opportunities and social inequality.
- Continuation of scientific and expert symposiums and panels on current topics, such as the one held in 2016: *Who Is Thinking about the Refugee Crisis and How? Integration of Immigrant Children into the Educational Process*. This promotes the relevance of education for an intercultural dialogue amongst various responsible stakeholders in the country's education system.
- Developing an awareness of a holistic approach to teaching common values. Strengthening the awareness that efficient teaching of common values requires interdisciplinarity and complexity in theoretical reflections and in practical work.
- Monitoring the implementation of curricula in practice and seeing to their modernisation. Continuation of the professional and political debate on how to strengthen implementation of and policy for citizenship education for common values in the ISCED 3 curricula and in the field of tertiary education.

5.10.7. References

- Banjac, Marinko, et al. (2016). *Zbornik – Prispevki in razprave k domovinski in državljanski kulturi in etiki: Nacionalno preverjanje znanja 2014/15* [Collection of Scientific Papers – Papers and Treatises on Patriotic and Citizenship Education and Ethics: National Assessment of Knowledge Examination 2014/15]. Ljubljana: Republiški izpitni center.
- Eurydice, (2005). *Citizenship Education in Europe* [Slovenian translation by Marjan Šimenc]. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport.
- Gollob Rolf & Kapf Peter (2008). *Teaching Democracy*. Strasbourg.
- Gril, Alenka & Videčnik Asja (2011). *Oblikovanje državljanske identitete mladih v šolah* [Shaping the Civic Identity of Young People in Schools]. Ljubljana: Pedagoški inštitut.
- Gril, A (2011). *Citizenship Competences of Elementary and Lower-Secondary Students in Slovenia – Research Findings of the International Research Citizenship Education ICCS 2009*.
- Karba, Pavla, et al. (2011). *Učni načrt. Program Osnovna šola. Državljska in domovinska vzgoja ter etika* [Curriculum. Primary School Programme. Citizenship and Patriotic Education and Ethics]. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport and Zavod Republike Slovenije za šolstvo.
- Karba, Pavla, et al. (2013). *Posodobitev pouka v osnovnošolski praksi Domovinska in Državljska kultura in etika* [Modernisation of Lessons in Primary School Practice. Patriotic and Civic Culture and Ethics]. Ljubljana: Zavod Republike Slovenije za šolstvo.
- Pavlin, Samo & Deželan, Tomaž & Svetlik, Ivan (2013). *Challenges of Citizenship in Higher Education*. Wien.
- Sardoč, Mitja, (2011). *Multikulturalizem-pro et contra. Enakost in različnost v vzgoji in izobraževanju* [Multiculturalism-pro et contra. Equality and Diversity in Education]. Pedagoški inštitut.
- Sardoč, Mitja, et al. (2014). *Osnovni pojmi in dileme državljanske vzgoje* [Basic Concepts and Dilemmas of Citizenship Education]. Prvi del. Ljubljana: založba i2.
- Šimenc, M. (2011). Patriotizem in nacionalizem slovenskih učencev iz perspektive Mednarodne raziskave državljanske vzgoje [Patriotism and Nationalism of Slovenian Students from the Perspective of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study]. *Solsko Polje*, 22, 139-156.

5.11. Spain

Revitalising education for citizenship

Maria Rosa Buxarrais

5.11.1. Characteristics of the country

Spain is the 4th largest European country. Its capital is Madrid. The Spanish State became a member of the European Union on 1 January 1986, after the Socialist Party, led by Felipe González, won the referendum that was called to take a decision on this proposition. Spain has been a member of the Eurozone since 1 January 1999.

Spain's political regime is a parliamentary monarchy, with a prime minister serving as the head of government and the King serving as the head of state. The country is internally organised as a 'State of Autonomies', with 17 autonomous communities divided into 50 provinces, in addition to the two autonomous cities in Africa (Ceuta and Melilla). The autonomies are political entities that allow for regional self-governments serving the demands, needs and differences of these diverse territories of the State. Some of these territories are considered 'nationalities', with their own culture, language and history, while others are considered 'regions'. The diversity in social groups and cultures exists mainly due to the considerable differences between these territories, which even have their own languages (e.g. Catalan, Basque and Galician, next to Spanish). Adding to this diversity is the Romany culture, deeply rooted throughout the Spanish territory. Since the end of the 20th century, due to a great wave of labour immigration, Latin American and *Maghrebi* cultures also became part of the Spanish society. According to the official register, out of the total population of 46,438,422 inhabitants, citizens from other countries account for 4,418,898 residents (INE National Institute of Statistics, 1 January 2016), while the Spanish population accounts for 42,019,525 residents.

Article 16.3 of the Spanish Constitution describes the state as non-denominational, although the Catholic Church is the only religion explicitly mentioned in the article and is also the most common religious faith to be found in the country. According to the public opinion survey carried out by the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS) in May 2016, 72.1% of the Spaniards identify themselves as Catholics, 13.3% as non-religious, and 9.8% as atheists, while 2.4% practise a different religion. However, the proportion of people who actually practise their religion is far smaller. The Spanish society is witnessing a progressive secularisation process.

5.11.2. Education system and policy

One of the main characteristics of the Spanish education system is the difference between public and private education. The system presents three types of schools: public schools (68%), private schools (6.5%) and charter schools (25.5%) that are mainly managed by religious orders. Public schools are publicly owned and run. Private schools are privately owned and managed. Charter schools are privately owned but publicly funded and follow the same curriculum as public schools.

Spanish education policy has been very irregular in the number and duration of the laws that have shaped the education system. Each political party, once in power, has approved an education law according to its own ideological principles. None of the laws approved in the last 26 years have been the result of a national pact. In 1990, the LOGSE (Organic Law of the Education System) was approved while the Socialist Party was in power. In 2002, the

LOCE (Organic Law on the quality of education) was passed while the Popular Party was in government, though it was never actually implemented. In 2006, the LOE (Organic Law of Education) was adopted with the Socialist Party once again in government. The last act to be approved, the LOMCE (Organic Law for the improvement of educational quality), which is currently in force, was passed in 2013 when the Popular Party returned to power. The Popular Party has recently started a new term.

The structure of these four laws was very similar. In its current form, the law signifies the following. Primary education takes place in primary school until the age of 12, following which students move to secondary school for four years of Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO) until the age of 16. After the first two years at secondary school, students can proceed to finish the last two years similarly, or can opt for a two-year course in vocational training instead. Everyone must go through compulsory secondary education. Subsequently, following the introduction of this concept in LOGSE, the integration of students with special needs (i.e. students with any of various difficulties such as a physical, emotional, behavioural, or learning disabilities or impairments that cause an individual to require additional or specialised services or accommodations, such as in education or recreation) also takes place in secondary schools. This has caused considerable problems, as neither the institutions nor the teachers are properly trained for achieving school integration, despite the incorporation of an educational psychologist in the centre and the fact that primary school teachers are also allowed to work as secondary school teachers in the first two years to cater more effectively to the variety and new types of students that the centre is now receiving due to secondary education being made obligatory.

The factors discussed above could probably explain in part the below-average results of Spanish students in the PISA test (Programme for International Student Assessment) when compared to countries that are similar in ways, such as France or Italy. In general terms, school failure, i.e., the abandonment of study before completion of upper secondary education remains at 24%. In relative terms, Spain ranks somewhere in the middle of the OECD student assessment, outperforming Russia, Luxembourg, Italy, Portugal, USA, Lithuania and Sweden, at least in maths, reading and science.

5.11.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

The introduction of the subject *Education for Citizenship* in Spanish schools dates back to 2006, when the Socialist Party passed the LOE. This was a curriculum reform that introduced a new subject called *Education for Citizenship and Human Rights*, designed for students in the final stage of primary education (10-12 years of age) and for students in one of the first three years of compulsory secondary education. Further, the subject *Philosophy and Citizenship* was introduced for students in secondary schools. The inclusion of this subject stirred a great controversy in Spanish politics. The Popular Party, which belongs to the *Christian Democrat International*, considered this move as the moral and political indoctrination of students, and was strongly opposed to it, alleging that the State was seriously invading every citizen's education. Subsequently, when the Popular Party came to power and passed the LOMCE, one of the expected key reforms was the suppression of the subject education for citizenship and the return to the old *ethical values* in compulsory secondary education and *civic and social values* in primary education. This subject is only taught to those children not taking the subject [Catholic] religion. The Catholic Church also objected to it, arguing that it was an attempt for a State indoctrination on secularism. One of the points most criticised by the Church concerned sexual education, and the teaching of multi-parental or homosexual families as an alternative vision to the traditional values. Moreover, the implemented educational renewal movements were completely contrary to the proposal of the PP Party.

Regarding TCV in curriculum and school culture, the LOMCE represents a significant step backwards compared to the contents presented in the previous education law. On the one hand, the LOMCE proposes a citizenship education subject as an alternative to religion. This implies an exclusion in relation to education in these common values. On the other hand, this new law has eliminated those topics considered controversial in Spanish culture and country, a fact that does not contribute in the least to that pluralistic and democratic education that the Constitution emphasises. However, the LOMCE is currently the basic document that proposes the development of this subject. Since it does not specify objectives on the matter, in the absence of regulations that develop and specify this law, each secondary school can propose its own agenda for citizenship education.

To add to the above, the same law allows autonomous communities to establish the subjects they wish. Further, there has been discussion about how these common values should be taught in schools, whether transversally or as independent subjects. Finally, we observe that the terms democracy and tolerance appear on very few occasions in the law – five times and once, respectively. This suggests that the lack of importance given to these words in the law is directly reflected in education.

5.11.4. Practice of Teaching Common Values

According to the Ministry of Education, the subject of citizenship education was suppressed because it raised controversial issues that could have different approaches. Although the elimination of this subject from the curriculum is a reality in the current Spanish education system, some teachers continue insisting on promoting critical, active and responsible citizenship, as indicated by the interviews, and we can prove that schools still promote democracy through different approaches.

1. Through what we call the *hidden curriculum or school culture*, i.e. the everyday educational practices in the classroom. An example that illustrates this is the establishment of a pyramid of roles in the classroom, so that each student is responsible for a different field (e.g. ICT, playground duty, mediators in the case of conflict, etc.). The system of roles that is assigned to the students, in which each student has a responsibility towards the collective, also enables the students to meet with their counterparts from other courses who hold the same responsibilities, and share experiences. Moreover, the incorporation of methodologies and dynamics at the classroom and school level enables the promotion of common values from a global and experiential dimension in addition to the level of everyday life at school, to the development of values such as dialogue, democracy and tolerance, and the use of media to arrive at a critical understanding of issues.
2. Through *planned activities* in the school, for example, activities to incorporate students coming from other countries, such as researching about their different traditions, music, art, and culture. There are also schools that organise an annual conference on values, where a different value is discussed every year, always keeping in mind the overall value of tolerance. Another project that attracted our attention is entitled *We Are What We Do*, and aims to enable every single student of the school with the opportunity to propose an idea for an action that would improve the quality of the classroom, of the school, or the lives of people who are part of their world; as long as the student accepts the responsibility to be involved in its development. Any student who has an idea can send an email to the school with a proposal, and subsequently the school will support the student in the design and evaluation of the idea and, at the same time, assess its impact and feasibility.

3. Through *subjects relating to ethical education*. This can be achieved in two ways: cross-curricular discussions or tutoring sessions. In these sessions, students choose 'delegates' or class representatives. Delegates are present during evaluation sessions and are the link between their peers and teachers. Delegates can also suggest topics and activities that they believe to be interesting for the class as a group.
4. Through *student participation*. For example, schools hold regular assemblies where problems or difficulties are discussed and solutions are proposed. Students are actively involved in the school council, after having been nominated as candidates and elected. Class delegates also participate actively in the decisions of the class and the resolution of problems within the group. Some schools encourage projects requiring student participation. One of the more successful initiatives involving the active participation of students in the community is that of *Community service-learning*. In some autonomous communities, community service has been implemented from the 3rd ESO (Compulsory Secondary Education). A relationship between municipalities and secondary schools has also created support for campaigns such as *Human Rights Cities*.
5. Through the *teachers' organisation*, where teachers gather in committees with the objective of organising activities to enhance values such as solidarity, sustainability, tolerance, respect, etc. This has also led to the formulation of a 'book of style' where related methodologies of the schools, both curricular and extracurricular, are collected and the related intentions which must then be implemented are listed out. Development of critical thinking is kept in mind by most high-school teachers. This involves shaping citizens who are able to tackle world problems to the extent of their possibilities and moulding students into becoming agents of change to transform and improve their own environment, society and the world.

All in all, a majority of the schools surveyed, in one way or another, addressed the following topics: 1) the identity and the dignity of the person, 2) understanding and respect of interpersonal relations, and 3) coexistence and social values.

NGOs are consulted on occasion by the Ministry of Education with regard to developments in TCV policy and practice. Further, only some of the schools use NGO materials and trainings; this depends on the decision of the school principal.

Table 5.11: Study participants Spain

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Policymaker	Officer, Ministry of Education	Large
NGO expert 1	Expert, Intermon Oxfam	Large
NGO expert 2	Expert, Institut DiverSitas	Medium
Teacher 1	Secondary Education Teacher, Social Studies	Medium
Teacher 2	Coordinator Citizenship Education, Social Studies	Medium
Teacher 3	Teacher, Social Studies and Philosophy	Medium
Teacher 4	Coordinator, Civic Ethics	Small

5.11.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

Secondary school teachers in general believe that the curriculum is good as a point of reference, but each school should have its own and independent educational project. Teachers are not slaves of the standards set by the government, which in most cases prevents them from working freely and making decisions democratically with their colleagues, when they show willingness. Some of them report the disillusionment of some of their colleagues with respect to carrying out actions that promote common values. Teachers confess they are often trapped by the curricular contents, time frames and assessments.

Moreover, the LOMCE has led to an obsession for excellence, and is on the way to a type of education that is more scientific than humanistic. Observations show the lack of coherence between the stated political ideals and the models sought to be taught in the classroom. As stated in the LOMCE (2012), 'The challenge of a democratic society is to create the conditions so that all students can acquire and express their talents; in short, a quality education in support of equality and social justice.' However, the Ministry is interested in approaches that promote excellence in individuals, thereby stimulating competitiveness amongst students. In some cases, it makes a return to the use of traditional methodologies, of memorisation and knowledge transmission. Fortunately, there are also teachers who believe in a methodological change, opting for cooperative learning, problem-based learning, participation in projects, etc.

5.11.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

We do not believe that the Ministry of Education will modify the present law, regardless of their supposed wish for a national pact in education. Every element of the TCV education policy is difficult to realise in secondary schools, as the curriculum has been extended and there is not even enough time to implement it in its totality. Also, external control exercised by education inspectors and external tests ensures that the stated guidelines are strictly adhered to, leaving little room for flexibility. Nonetheless, there are teachers who make TCV their main concern. Moreover, the interest in moral and civic education, citizenship education, and in the last few years also community service learning, is increasing as the ideas progress through different contents, trying to solve similar problems in different geographical contexts. For instance, nowadays, the basic role of families in ethics and civic education in Spain is receiving special attention.

Nevertheless, the responsibility for democratic and citizenship education has fallen on schools, and it is in schools where this education can be appreciated through participation. This 'participative approach' might be somehow related to the influence of Dewey and his work entitled *Democracy and Education*, on some of the most important theorists in our country. However, Spain's current situation has implied that a new education means a new socialisation, and that this is a political task that requires understanding politics as the joint management of common matters. In other words, education goes beyond the transmission of knowledge, because the main aim is to promote the role of politically-trained citizens. As a result, politics, ethics and education become inseparable concepts.

TCV should be essential in the education policy of any country and should be compulsory at all pre-university levels. We know that this alone will not create future good citizens, but it can certainly help. Moreover, TCV should not be an alternative to religion. TCV has the potential to help contribute to creating a space for dialogue, common to all religions and ways of understanding life, which could lead to a cosmopolitan citizenship. Research shows that academic success depends on how students have been educated in these common values. Working on a personal life project and reflecting on the meaning of life are

fundamental elements in the development of common values. To add to this are the following recommendations:

- A crucial issue with the current law of education (LOMCE) is the devaluation of the humanities and strengthening of scientific disciplines. For teaching common values, it is important to reconsider this aspect.
- To promote a cultural space that immerses its inhabitants in a civic and democratic coexistence and calls for appropriate behaviours and expectations.
- In many schools, collaboration between schools and families is not a defining characteristic. We know families should be more involved in their children's education, and empirical evidence shows improvement in academic results when this happens. Therefore, avenues of participation and communication between both educational agents should be encouraged.
- An improvement in teacher training is required, as well as the time for teachers to work on network-building, and taking advantage of experiences of other centres and school cultures. Teachers also call for greater flexibility in organising schedules and curriculum contents.
- All educational actors (not only schools, but also families, NGOs, and politicians) should push in the same direction, i.e. towards democratic citizenship. In this way, democratic space and civic citizenship come to be two sides of the same coin.
- The government should review the law with the aim of introducing a clear and evident democratic education, in order to explicitly inculcate values of respect and tolerance.

5.11.7. References

- Ayuste, A. (Ed.) (2006). *Educación, ciudadanía y democracia* [Education, citizenship and democracy]. Madrid: Octaedro.
- Bárcena, F. (1997). *El oficio de la ciudadanía*. Barcelona: Paidós
- Bárcena, F., Gil, F., & Jover, G. (1999). *La escuela de la ciudadanía. Educación ética y política*. [The Citizenship school. Ethical and political education]. Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Bartolomé, M. (Ed.) (2002). *Identidad y ciudadanía* [Identity and citizenship]. Madrid: Narcea.
- Bolívar, A. (2007). *Educación para la ciudadanía. Algo más que una asignatura* [Citizenship education. More than just a subject]. Barcelona: Graó.
- Buxarrais, M.R. et al. (1997). *La educación moral en primaria y secundaria* [Moral education in Primary and Secondary Education]. Madrid: Edelvives.
- Buxarrais, M.R. (1997). *La formación del profesorado en educación en valores. Propuestas y materiales* [Teacher training in values education. Proposals and materials]. Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Buxarrais, M.R., Martínez, M., Noguera, E. & Tey, A. (2003). Teachers evaluate the Moral Development of their Students. In Veugelers, W. & Oser, F.K (Eds). *Teaching in moral and democratic education* (173-192). Bern/New York: Peter Lang.
- Buxarrais, M.R. & Martínez, M. (2004) Children's rights in the society of information and technologies. *Encounters on education*, 5, 141-159.

- Buxarrais, M.R. & Zeledón, M.P. (Eds.) (2006). *Las familias y la educación en valores democráticos. Retos y perspectivas actuales* [Families and education in democratic values]. Barcelona: Editorial Claret.
- Eurydice (2012). *La educación para la ciudadanía en el contexto escolar europeo* [Citizenship education in the European school context]. Brussels: Eurydice.
- Garcia, J.L. (2007). *Formar ciudadanos europeos* [Training European citizens]. Madrid: Academia Europea de las Ciencias y las Artes.
- Gil, F., Jover, G. & Reyero, D. (2001). *La enseñanza de los derechos humanos* [Teaching Human Rights]. Madrid: Paidós.
- Gracia, D. (Ed.) (2016). *Ética y ciudadanía. 1. Construyendo la ética, 2. Deliberando sobre los valores* [Ethics and citizenship. 1. Building ethics, 2. Discussing values]. Madrid: PPC.Ley Orgánica 8/2013, para la mejora de la calidad educativa (LOMCE) [Organic Law for the Improvement of Education Quality (LOMCE)]. BOE Nº 295, of December 10th, 2013. Reference: BOE-A-2013-12886
- Martínez, M. & Hoyos, G. (Eds.) (2006). *La formación en valores en sociedades democráticas* [Values education in democratic societies]. Barcelona: Octaedro.
- Payà, M. (1997). *Educación en valores para una sociedad abierta y plural. Aproximación conceptual* [Values education for an open and plural society. Conceptual approach]. Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer.
- Puig, J.M (1996). *La construcción de la personalidad moral* [The construction of moral personality]. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Puig, J.M., Martín, X., Escardíbul, S. & Novella, A. (1997). *Cómo fomentar la participación en la escuela* [How to promote participation in school]. Barcelona: Graó.
- Puig, J.M., Batlle, R., Bosch, C. & Palos, J. (2006). *Aprendizaje servicio. Educar para la ciudadanía* [Service learning. Educating for citizenship]. Barcelona: Editorial Octaedro.
- Puig, J.M. (Coord.) (2010) *Entre todos. Compartir la educación para la ciudadanía* [All together. Sharing Citizenship education]. Barcelona: ICE-Horsori.
- Ruiz Corbella, M. (coord.) (2003). *Educación moral: aprender a ser, aprender a convivir* [Moral education: Learning to be, learning to coexist]. Barcelona: Ariel Educación.
- Trilla, J. (1992) *El profesor y los valores controvertidos. Neutralidad y beligerancia en educación* [Teachers and controversial values. Neutrality and belligerence in education]. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Valdivieso, S. & Almeida, A.S. (2008). *Educación y ciudadanía* [Education and citizenship]. Madrid: Anroart Ediciones.

5.11.7.1. Legal and policy documents

<https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-1990-24172>

<https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2002-25037>

<https://www.boe.es/buscar/pdf/2006/BOE-A-2006-7899-consolidado.pdf>

https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2013-12886

5.12. United Kingdom

With Brexit on the horizon

Gert Biesta

5.12.1. Characteristics of the country

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK) is a sovereign state in Europe. With an estimated population of about 65 million inhabitants, of which 53 million in England, it is the 21st most populous country in the world, and the 3rd most populous in the European Union. The UK is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary system of governance. It consists of four countries: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The latter three have devolved administrations, whereas England is governed directly by the UK parliament. In a referendum held in 2014 in Scotland on the question whether Scotland should be an independent country, 55.3% voted against. The UK has been a leading member state of the European Union and of its predecessor, the European Economic Community, since 1973. On 23 June 2016, a national referendum resulted in a 51.9% vote in favour of withdrawing membership from the EU. This potential departure of the UK from the EU is commonly referred to as 'Brexit'. At the time of writing this report (October 2016), it remains unclear what Brexit will entail and when it will take effect.

The UK can be characterised as multi-ethnic, multi-national and multi-religious, albeit with a large majority of white, Christian British nationals. According to the 2011 census, about 55 million inhabitants of the UK identified themselves as White, 4.3 million as Asian or Asian British, 1.9 million as Black or Black British, 1.2 million as Mixed or Multiple, and about 0.6 million as Other.⁸ According to a Eurostat poll from 2010, about 7 million inhabitants of the UK were foreign-born, of which 2.2 million were born in another EU state. Since the expansion of the EU in 2014, about 700,000 inhabitants from new EU countries have settled in the UK, the largest group being from Poland (850,000 according to figures from August 2016⁹). This also makes Polish the second largest language spoken in the UK.¹⁰ A 2015 British Social Attitudes survey revealed that 49% of the UK population identified themselves as having no religion, while 42% identified themselves as Christian, 5% as Muslim and 3% as having another religion.¹¹ According to the Equality Trust, the UK has a very high level of income inequality compared to other developed countries and an even higher level of wealth inequality.¹²

5.12.2. Education system and policy

Education in the UK is a devolved matter, which means that England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland all have their own policies, practices and jurisdiction. What follows thus is only the situation in England.

England has both state-funded and privately-funded schools, and about 93% of children and youngsters attend state-funded schools. Whereas in the past only privately-funded

⁸ <https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census> last accessed 14 November 2016

⁹

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/ukpopulationbycountryofbirthandnationality/august2016> last accessed 14 November 2016

¹⁰ <https://www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census> last accessed 14 November 2016

¹¹ <http://bsa.natcen.ac.uk/latest-report/british-social-attitudes-33/introduction.aspx> last accessed 14 November 2016

¹² <https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/scale-economic-inequality-uk> last accessed 14 November 2016

schools were exempt from having to follow the National Curriculum (which itself was introduced in 1988), the introduction of Academy Schools (by the 1997-2000 Labour Government) and Free Schools (by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition after the 2010 elections) has complicated the education landscape in that such schools are *not* required to follow the national curriculum, although they can choose to do so. The national curriculum for secondary schools is divided into Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14, school years 7-9) and Key Stage 4 (ages 14-16, school years 10-11). Citizenship education has been a compulsory part of the national curriculum for Key Stages 3 and 4 since 2002 and is taught as a stand-alone subject (Keating et al., 2009). State-funded schools provide a comprehensive curriculum up to the age of 16. After this, students are required, until the age of 18, to either stay in full-time education (for example at a college), or start an apprenticeship or traineeship, or spend 20 hours or more per week working or volunteering while in part-time education or training.

All schools in England are inspected either by Ofsted (the Government's Office for Standards in Education), responsible for the inspection of state-funded schools; or by the Independent Schools Inspectorate (ISI) or the School Inspection Service (SIS), two organisations that focus on inspecting privately-funded schools. Inspection frameworks are particularly influential where there is no national curriculum or there is only a description of the area that needs to be taken care of (such as in the case of Personal, Social, Health and Economic education; and Social, Moral, Spiritual and Cultural education).

The focus of education policy over the past 20-25 years has been on 'raising standards', which, in fact, means raising student achievement in a selected number of subjects. For a long time, the indicator of how the education system was performing was the percentage of young people achieving a C grade in five GCSE-subjects (the secondary school exam), including English and mathematics. In 2016, this was replaced by 'Progress 8', a metric that focuses on the extent to which students achieve grades in their GCSE exams as predicted at the end of Key Stage 2.

5.12.3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

There is a requirement that 'every state-funded school' must offer a curriculum 'which is balanced and broadly based' and which 'promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and in society' and 'prepares pupils at the school for the opportunities and responsibilities and experiences of later life.' All state schools are also required 'to make provision for a daily act of collective worship' and 'must teach religious education to pupils at every key stage' and provide 'sex and relationship education to pupils in secondary education.' So-called Faith Schools also have to follow the national curriculum, but can choose what they teach in religious studies. Faith Academies, however, do not have to teach the national curriculum. *All* schools (including privately-funded schools) 'should make provision for Personal, Social, Health and Economic education' (PSHE).

Since November 2014, all schools have an additional duty to *actively promote* 'the fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs'¹³. Whereas before, schools had a duty to *respect* these values, 'all schools must now have a clear strategy for embedding these values and show how their work with pupils has been effective in doing so.' This, as mentioned, is a requirement for *all* schools in England, irrespective of how they are funded or governed. The active promotion of Fundamental British Values (FBV) is part

¹³ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/guidance-on-promoting-british-values-in-schools-published>
accessed 14 November 2016

last

of the wider *Prevent Strategy* which gives all schools the duty to give 'due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism.' The Prevent Strategy is part of the 2015 Counter-Terrorism and Security Act.

5.12.4. The Practice of Teaching Common Values

5.12.4.1. Topics in teaching common values

Issues concerning the teaching of common values play a role in the following policies:

1. The National Curriculum for Citizenship (compulsory for Key Stages 3 and 4 in 'maintained' schools, i.e. state-funded schools governed by local education authorities)
2. The National Curriculum for History (compulsory for Key Stage 3 in maintained schools)
3. Religious Education (compulsory in all state-funded schools) and Sex and Relationship Education (compulsory in all state-funded secondary schools)
4. Personal, Social, Health and Economic education (PSHE) (compulsory for all schools, privately-funded and state-funded, but with no specified curriculum requirements)
5. Social, Moral, Spiritual and Cultural education (a requirement for all schools)
6. The promotion of Fundamental British Values (compulsory for all schools since 2014)

The national curriculum for citizenship focuses mostly on civic knowledge (including knowledge of political and legal systems), human rights and international law, voluntary activities ('active citizenship'), and attention to the uses of money and the importance of budgeting. There is little mention of promotion of values, but there is a mention of 'the need for mutual respect and understanding' in relation to 'diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom'. The national curriculum for history focuses strongly on chronological knowledge, historical literacy, and the ability for critical analysis, with a strong emphasis on British history and, within this, English history. Although schools are required to provide PSHE education, it is left to schools to develop their particular approaches (taking statutory guidance on particular areas, including drug education, financial education, sex and relationship education, and health education into consideration). Within PSHE, attention is given to common values.

The most explicit focus on common values is formulated in the requirement to 'actively promote' Fundamental British Values (FBV). Guidance suggests that this can (and should) be included in Social, Moral, Spiritual and Cultural education, although a case can also be made (and has been made) that citizenship education is the appropriate context for this. Autonomy is limited where it concerns FBV, as these values are explicitly described in the Ofsted inspection framework. Schools have a duty to report on their activities in relation to these values and are accountable to the inspectorate. With regard to the values that are part of the national curriculum for citizenship, schools also have very little autonomy in terms of formulating alternative views. The national curriculum is part of the Ofsted Inspection Framework.

Advice for the promotion of FBV, lists the following values as fundamental: democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect for and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs and for those without faith. In terms of what must be taught, the following is the advice for maintained and independent (i.e. privately-funded) schools, academies and free schools:

- Enable students to develop their self-knowledge, self-esteem and self-confidence.

- Enable students to distinguish right from wrong and to respect the civil and criminal law of England.
- Encourage students to accept responsibility for their behaviour, show initiative, and understand how they can contribute positively to the lives of those living and working in the locality of the school, and to society more widely.
- Enable students to acquire a broad general knowledge of and respect for public institutions and services in England.
- Promote tolerance and harmony between different cultural traditions by enabling students to acquire appreciation and respect for their own as well as other cultures.
- Encourage respect for other people.
- Encourage respect for democracy and support for participation in the democratic processes, including respect for the basis on which the law is made and applied in England.

There is one additional requirement for independent schools:

- Encourage respect for other people, paying particular regard to the so-called 'protected characteristics' set out in the Equality Act 2010 (these are: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion and belief, sex, sexual orientation).

5.12.4.2. Activities and methodologies

Although schools are in principle free to meet the national curriculum requirements and FBV guidelines in ways they deem meaningful and effective, a major influence on the daily practice in the classroom comes from so-called Exam Boards, which are responsible for setting and awarding secondary education qualifications. Exam boards not only set exams and award qualifications, but also develop curriculum materials intended to support teachers in helping their students prepare for the exams.¹⁴ The Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT), which is the professional subject association for citizenship education¹⁵, also plays a major role. The ACT provides guidance, curriculum materials and active support for the teaching and assessment of citizenship education. Another important organisation in the field of citizenship education and young people's citizenship is the Citizenship Foundation, which seeks 'to inspire young people to contribute to society as equal members of it.'¹⁶ It does so through the provision of widely-used curriculum materials, social action programmes aimed at young people, and proactive engagement with policymakers at all levels to make the case for the importance of citizenship education.

At the level of policies, it is interesting that student participation is mentioned in detail in the advice for the promotion of FBV, but not in the national curriculum for citizenship. This is because the national curriculum guidelines seek to leave space for teachers and schools to develop their own provisions. At the level of curriculum materials and exams, as provided by the exam boards, explicit attention is given to the importance of active participation, and to the development of relevant skills and appropriate attitudes. Unlike the guidelines in the national curriculum for citizenship, advice for the promotion of FBV suggests that student participation, student voice, and extracurricular activities can play an important role in promoting these values. Participation in society is also mentioned in both

¹⁴ For examples of GCSE 'Citizenship Studies' see, for example, the materials from OCR (<http://www.ocr.org.uk/qualifications/gcse-citizenship-studies-j270-from-2016/>) and AQA (<http://www.aqa.org.uk/subjects/citizenship>) -- last accessed 14 November 2016

¹⁵ <http://www.teachingcitizenship.org.uk> last accessed 14 November 2016

¹⁶ <http://www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk> last accessed 14 November 2016

documents, albeit the focus is on voluntary work and 'active citizenship,' and less on explicit political activism.

5.12.5. Support by government policy, constraints and possibilities

One could argue that the national curriculum for citizenship education already provides clear messages about the value of democracy, regard for the law, importance of a critical exploration of social and political issues, and preparing pupils to become responsible active citizens. One limitation of the national curriculum for citizenship, however, is that it is only compulsory for maintained schools – other schools are free to not follow the national curriculum. This is where the requirement for the active promotion of FBV gains significance, for three reasons in particular: (1) because it mentions particular values; (2) because 'active promotion' (of values) rather than 'respect for' or 'knowledge of' is stated as the overall aim; and (3) because it is compulsory for *all* schools to promote these values and to show how effective they have been in doing so.

That the national curriculum is only compulsory for the subset of maintained schools is an important issue in England, particularly as latest statistics indicate that only about half of the secondary schools are still maintained. Although other schools are free to follow the national curriculum, they are also free not to do so, which raises questions about the 'impact' and 'reach' of the national curriculum, particularly in the domains of citizenship and history. Nonetheless it is significant that citizenship has become and remained a compulsory subject within the national curriculum (though there were suggestions in recent years that it should be removed). It is also significant that the active promotion of FBV has become a requirement for all schools. While there are questions about the particular set of values included within these, and their labelling as 'fundamental' and as 'British,' they nonetheless send out a clear message, which is further supported by the explicit attention to these values in inspection frameworks. This seeks to secure that the values of democracy and tolerance are taught and promoted throughout the entire secondary education system in England.

Table 5.12: Study participants United Kingdom

OCCUPATION	SUBJECT OF EXPERTISE/SUBJECT TAUGHT	CITY SIZE DESCRIPTION
Policymaker	Local Authority	Large
Curriculum Advisor	Religious Education, History	Large
Teacher 1	Citizenship Education, Secondary school	Medium
Teacher 2	Citizenship Education, Secondary school	Medium

Despite clear policies, curriculum guidelines, materials, and examinations, what happens in actual practice remains 'full of paradoxes' (policymaker). As formulated by the interviewees:

Are democracy and tolerance a key focus in reality? I would say no; at least not at the moment. The pressures on schools in terms of accountability measures from external standardised tests (SATs) at 11 and externally marked and set GCSE examinations (in some cases by for-profit organisations) at 16, have an overburdening effect on schools. Maintained schools have no option except to prepare students well for these tests as this is a key factor upon which their school

will be measured. This is despite evidence for the impact of democratic engagement in participatory practices on student outcomes. [Curriculum Advisor]

Where democracy is presented in schools, [it is] in my experience usually only in relation to the version of democracy present in the UK. [Teacher 1]

Something I became acutely aware of during the referendum was the absence of teaching about the EU and democracy in the EU. [Teacher 2]

5.12.6. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

5.12.6.1. Conclusion about policy and practice

The values of democracy and tolerance play a rather prominent role in English secondary education, particularly through the implementation of the national curriculum for citizenship and the requirement for the active promotion of Fundamental British Values. There are clear policy guidelines for both and because policies are included in school inspections, there is a strong framework to secure that this takes place in secondary schools. One obvious 'gap' here is that the national curriculum is not compulsory for all schools, which suggests that the advice for teaching FBV may have a stronger and more system-wide impact than the national curriculum for citizenship. Given that the active promotion of FBV is only a recently enforced requirement, the scholarly literature on the significance and impact of this initiative is only still emerging.¹⁷ Anecdotal evidence suggests that the 'raising standards' agenda still exerts a strong influence on the daily practice and strategic decision-making in schools, which raises questions about the extent to which the values of democracy and tolerance are really becoming an actual part of what happens in all schools.

5.12.6.2. Discussion about current state and future developments

Two points are worth noting here. The first is that developments in England appear to be quite nationalistic in their outlook. The national curriculum for citizenship strongly focuses on the UK; though it promotes a comparative outlook, it has a less strong international orientation. The same is the case with the national curriculum for history, wherein Britain's role in the world is discussed, but mainly in terms of the impact Britain has had 'elsewhere.' There is little explicit attention given to Europe and to the EU. The same can be said about the advice for the promotion of FBV which once again focus strongly on Britain, and more specifically, on England.

A second point concerns interpretations of citizenship, and particularly the question to what extent these interpretations lie on the 'social' or the 'political' end of the spectrum (see Biesta, 2011a; 2011b). Here it seems that the citizenship curriculum appears to be more focused on social citizenship – for example, active participation in and contribution to the local community – whereas the advice for the active promotion of FBV lies much more at the political end of the spectrum, with a strong emphasis on democracy, not just as a set of values but also as a 'framework' within which pluralist societies can and ought to function. It is interesting that this explicit concern for and defence of democracy is presented as being 'fundamentally British,' but this is perhaps to signal that democracy is the non-negotiable 'fundamental' for all those who live in Britain (including British citizens and immigrants).

¹⁷ In 2016 the *Journal for Education and Teaching* published a special issue on Fundamental British Values (Volume 42, issue 3) which, to date, appears to be the first exploration of this topic in the academic literature.

In addition, there is strong anecdotal evidence that the vote in favour of Brexit has reduced tolerance towards immigrants, particularly those from other European countries. How this will develop over time is difficult to say, but raises important questions, both for politics and for education.

5.12.6.3. Recommendations for schools, national policy and the EU

Although one can conclude that in terms of official policy, England gives rather strong and explicit attention to the values of democracy and tolerance – albeit with the provisos mentioned above – the question how this works out in practice, and how influential education will be in safeguarding positive support for democracy and tolerance, remains an issue of ongoing concern. After the referendum, there is also a real question what the relationship with and the role of the EU in relation to democracy and tolerance will be.

5.12.7. References

- Biesta, G.J.J. (2011a). *Learning democracy in school and society: Education, lifelong learning and the politics of citizenship*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Biesta, G.J.J. (2011b). Citizenship education reconsidered: Socialisation, subjectification, and the desire for democracy. *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education*, 1(1), 58-67.
- Keating, A., Kerr, D., Lopes, J., Featherstone, G., & Benton, T. (2009). *Embedding citizenship education in secondary schools in England (2002–08): Citizenship education longitudinal study, seventh annual report*. London, UK: Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF).

6. TEACHING DEMOCRACY AND TOLERANCE: EDUCATION PRACTICES IN 12 EU MEMBER STATES

KEY FINDINGS

Analysis of the practice of TCV in 12 EU Member States shows that there are only a few Member States where the **different components of teaching for democracy and tolerance** receive systematic attention across schools. At the curriculum level, for example, systematic attention to democratic politics and the international dimension of democracy in schools is not widespread in many of the Member States.

- At the level of **teaching methods**, the transition from traditional to dialogical methods is still very much a work in progress in most of the Member States. Likewise, at the level of **school culture**, opportunities for students to participate in activities that address school and community issues are common in only a few of the Member States.
- Our analysis also leads to the identification of several **limiting conditions** that seem to constrain developments in TCV practice.
 1. The first set of limiting conditions, observed at the policy level, include an emphasis on **basic knowledge and limited time demarcated for TCV** in the curriculum, the **politicisation of TCV policy**, and **enforcement of segregation in schools**.
 2. The second set of limiting conditions concern value **debates** on the desirable influence of the EU on TCV policy and practice, tensions between social and cultural groups, and a lack of interest in advancing (education for) democracy amongst citizens.
 3. The third set of limiting conditions concerns the influence that **different stakeholders** can (and should) have in these procedures, and limitations in teacher education.
- Based on these findings, and in line with -and complementary to- earlier policy recommendations, we propose a number of measures to further advance the quality of TCV practice across the EU Member States, e.g. **advancing public support** for teaching common values and promoting development of **clear vision documents on desirable TCV practices** targeting **all students both at the national and school level**.

Whereas chapter 4 reported our analysis of the education policy for TCV in the 28 EU Member States, this chapter reports our analysis of TCV practices in the 12 EU Member States presented in chapter 5. To gain insight into the education practices with regard to teaching democracy and tolerance, we examined the following:

- 1) The extent to which democracy and tolerance receive systematic attention in the education practices within and across the Member States
- 2) The extent to which schools have a democratic culture
- 3) The types of collaboration that exist between education partners; in particular: to what extent are NGOs consulted and to what extent are their educational materials used in schools?
- 4) The developments in society that positively impact or constrain developments in TCV practice within and across the Member States

The chapter commences by presenting the patterns, strengths and weaknesses in education for democracy and tolerance across the twelve Member States, and a discussion of our findings in relation to insights gained from previous studies. Next, we present our findings on the conditions that constrain the development of TCV practices in several of the EU Member States. The chapter concludes with a discussion of policy measures at both the national level and EU level that can help address the limitations and constraints in TCV practices across the Member States.

6.1. Education for democracy and tolerance at the level of the curriculum

The policy analysis in Chapter 4 revealed that learning about democracy and tolerance is mandatory for all students in 11 out of the 12 Member States studied. Only in Spain, there are no formal requirements in place for democracy and tolerance education. Furthermore, governments commonly advocate an interdisciplinary approach to cultivating democracy and tolerance; they have installed mandatory value-related subjects, promoted cross-curricular activities by funding development of educational materials and projects, and installed policy measures that aim to advance democratic school culture.

Analysis of the 12 case studies suggests that in general, TCV policy is at par with TCV practice in seven of these countries (see also Table 6.1). According to the experts from Germany and Finland, both the policy and practice of TCV are strong in their countries. By 'strong' we mean that policy and practice not only aim at teaching *about* democracy and tolerance, but also systematically attend to the development of democratic values, and the recognition and appreciation of, amongst other things, cultural and sexual diversity. The experts from the Czech Republic, Greece, France, the Netherlands, and Poland, on the other hand, state that both policy and practice of TCV in their countries need further development.

Table 6.1: Overall relation between policy and practice

	STRONG POLICY	POLICY REQUIRING ATTENTION
STRONG PRACTICE	Germany, Finland	Spain
PRACTICE REQUIRING ATTENTION	Estonia, Romania, Slovenia, UK*	Czech Republic, Greece, France, Netherlands, Poland

Note: *As explained in earlier chapters, the results from the UK mainly reflect the situation in England.

In the remaining five Member States, there is a substantial discrepancy between TCV policy and practice. Several of the experts who defined their policy as strong, described various limitations with regard to the implementation of TCV policy in their countries (Estonia, Romania Slovenia and the UK). Conversely, the expert from Spain remarked on the commitment of many teachers towards advancing TCV practice in Spain, despite the marginalisation of TCV in policy.

When countries do not score 'strong' on TCV practice in general, this does not mean that they witness no positive developments in their TCV policy and practice. Germany, France, the Netherlands and Slovenia, for example, all reported an increase in attention to dialogical and participatory learning approaches in TCV policy and practice in the last decade. Likewise, the expert from the UK reported that TCV policy has improved substantially since November 2014, in that it has become a system-wide concern and has been included in the inspection framework. Nevertheless, it does signify that so far TCV practices are not systematically implemented in all schools in these countries.

The analysis also indicates that ameliorations in TCV practices typically stem from a number of societal developments and related responses at the national and EU levels, e.g. the Paris Declaration of 17 March 2015 (see also the introduction chapter). Some societal developments in recent times that have generated an increase in attention to education for democracy and diversity are the terrorist attacks and threats faced by EU Member States, concerns about tensions between cultural groups in society and the refugee 'crisis'. With the growing interest in education for democracy and citizenship amongst national and local governments as well as schools, there also seems to be an increasing impetus for international collaboration in this regard, not only between students and teachers but also between policymakers.

The following sections discuss the findings for each of the components of education for democracy and tolerance examined in this study. We report whether the respective components are dealt with in schools all across the country or whether they are only offered attention in some schools, whether they are addressed in a rigorous (systematic) manner or mainly in projects that are offered as a 'side dish' and not embedded in the main curriculum (incidental). Furthermore, we present the common strengths and weaknesses found in education practices across the Member States. Both experts from countries with less developed practices as well as countries with well-operationalised education for democracy and tolerance, list out elements that need further improvement. It is important to note that our analysis focuses on the operationalised curriculum in general. The case studies do indicate that the operationalised curriculum in some of the Member States varies between tracks (pre-vocational and pre-university), levels of education (lower and higher) and school types (government-funded or private). Gaining insight into the commonalities and differences in this regard requires further quantitative and qualitative research.

6.1.1. Education for democracy

Three out of the twelve experts reported that education for democracy serves as the main framework for citizenship education in their countries and that these education practices prepare students for democratic politics and inclusive democracy. In Finland and Germany, functional activities such as extra-curricular projects, for example, are widely used in schools to teach democracy. According to the expert from the UK, TCV practice is also widespread in England as it is monitored by the inspectorate.

Nine of the experts, however, mentioned a lack of systematic attention to education for democracy (see also Table 6.2). Several experts explained, for example, that students in their countries have limited opportunities to experience participatory political or democratic activities (e.g. election simulations, moot courts) and advance their (political) citizenship competences (Czech Republic, Netherlands, Poland, Romania and Spain). As mentioned by the NGO expert from Poland:

Teachers do not have knowledge, skills and instruments to encourage and assist students in practising citizenship. Without this, education for teaching common values is not efficient. In the 'Voting Youth' project, for example, students mostly vote on most extreme, often anti-systemic candidates. They are not equipped to analyse critically what candidates offer.

This suggests that students in these countries have limited opportunities to learn how to critically analyse political programmes, deal with conflict and controversial issues and contribute to civic and democratic change.

Table 6.2: Education for democracy and tolerance in schools

COUNTRY	EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY		EDUCATION FOR TOLERANCE	
	Systematic	Incidental	Systematic	Incidental
CZ		X		X
EE		X		X
FI	X		X	
FR		X	X	
DE	X			X
EL		X	X	
NL		X		X
PL		X		X
RO		X		X
SI		X		X
ES		X	X	
UK	X		X	

Some of the experts also commented that education for democracy is offered in a rather detached manner in schools, and that few teachers encourage their students to analyse how democracy impacts their daily lives. Overall, this study shows a less optimistic picture of education for democracy than that presented in studies aiming to map the existence of citizenship-related subjects in education (e.g. Eurydice, 2012; ICCS, 2010a). This relates to the fact that prior studies predominantly examined the extent to which schools advance teaching *about* democracy, which focuses on the transfer of knowledge and cognitive skills or incorporates a broader range of civic participation activities. Our study, on the other hand, focuses on value-related education *for* democracy, and our results suggest that democratic politics and a democratic society receive limited attention in the operationalised curricula of the 12 Member States.

6.1.2. Education for tolerance

Our analysis of the practice of education for tolerance across the 12 Member States reveals a similar picture to that of education for democracy (see also Table 6.2.). Only five of the experts considered education for tolerance towards different social groups and towards an inclusive society as well-operationalised in their countries (Finland, France, Greece, Spain and the UK). The other seven experts did report positive developments in terms of the introduction of cooperative and participatory approaches to teaching tolerance in their countries, but mainly emphasised several limitations in this area. A first commonly-mentioned limiting condition was that many teachers and schools are still wrestling with questions on how to design meaningful learning activities, i.e. activities that successfully foster students' recognition and appreciation of cultural diversity and a willingness to explore different points of view. As stated by the NGO expert from Romania:

[Despite an increase in the use of methods developed for competence-based education like debate and learning through discovery,] there is no direct connection to the present, to the world we live in. So the information you cover becomes abstract, and you don't know how to work with it. We do speak more about discrimination and inclusive society, but they are just treated like labels. These concepts have been treated badly, with no connection to any surrounding realities.

This finding resonates with the NESET 2016 report, which concluded that teachers and school leaders require training in effective dialogical methods, diversity, and in the advancement of commitment to an ethos of diversity:

The personal commitment of school leaders and other members of school management teams is critical in developing respect for diversity among students and improving their intercultural competence (Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016, 5).

An important point to note here is that the issues and desirable strategies are always context-dependent, since the population characteristics (such as ethnicity, religious background, immigrant background, minority backgrounds, etc.) as well as the education systems vary widely between Member States.

A second related limiting condition concerns the unwillingness on the part of the school leaders and teachers to organise education practices aiming to develop knowledge and attitudes of students with regard to sexual diversity and cultural minorities (in e.g. the Czech Republic and Poland). This condition relates to controversies prevalent in the wider society and is discussed later on in the section on constraints. Overall, our analysis of the data on the operationalised curricula of the 12 Member States suggests that attention to tolerance, particularly in terms of advancing a reflective attitude towards different cultural groups and stimulating a sense of commitment towards building an inclusive society, is not widespread.

6.1.3. (Inter)national dimension

Our findings also indicate that the international dimension of education for democracy and tolerance remains underdeveloped in most of the Member States. As table 6.3 shows, only two of the twelve experts considered this component of teaching common values as well-operationalised in their countries (Estonia and Slovenia). The expert from Estonia, for example, wrote that attention to building a national and European community are both reasonably covered in the operationalised curriculum in Estonia. While remaining positive overall about attention given to the international dimension, the expert from Estonia also warned against making this aspect of building a national or international community too central, as it might take up too much space in the curriculum at the expense of other pressing TCV-related topics (e.g. globalisation and migration).

A common critique mentioned by the other country experts in this context concerns the lack of attention paid to democratic politics in the international arena (Germany, Finland, France, Netherlands, Spain, Romania and the UK). When democracy is presented in schools in England, for example, the curriculum seems to pay limited attention to versions of democracy outside England. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, attention to the international dimension in democratic politics seems to vary between student education levels; for instance, pre-vocational students, in practice, are less informed about and introduced to democratic politics at the EU level.

Table 6.3: Education for democracy and tolerance at the EU level

COUNTRY	ATTENTION TO INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION	
	Systematic	Incidental
CZ		X
EE	X	
FI		X
FR		X
DE		X
EL		X
NL		X
PL		X
RO		X
SI	X	
ES		X
UK		X

Another limitation expressed in relation to international orientation concerns the extent to which students are exposed to other students from different parts of the world. Teachers across Europe do teach students about different cultures and about both democratic and authoritarian regimes. However, actual opportunities for students to learn together with other students from different countries about country-specific values and issues, and discussions about desirable policy developments in this regard, seem to vary substantially both within and between Member States.

6.2. Education for democracy and tolerance at the level of school culture

Our analysis reveals that, in general, democracy does not fully work in the context of the school culture in many of the Member States. Only two country experts (from Finland and Germany) were positive about all four elements of the democratic school culture distinguished in our study; namely the democratic leadership culture in schools, the use of a dialogical approach to teaching values, the possibilities for student participation in schools and in society, and an inclusive school policy. In the following subsections we report the observed patterns, strengths and limitations in the 12 Member States with regard to the different components of democratic school culture identified in our analysis.

6.2.1. Democratic school leadership

Our analysis indicates that education for democracy with regard to school leadership is not strongly developed in schools. Only two out of the twelve countries were reported as having a common culture of democratic leadership in schools. This means that, in general, students and teachers across most EU Member States do not have many opportunities to engage in decision-making processes on issues that impact the learning and school climate.

Table 6.4: Democratic leadership culture in schools

COUNTRY	DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP CULTURE IN SCHOOLS	
	Multiple elements of a democratic culture	Some elements of a democratic culture
CZ		X
EE		X
FI	X	
FR		X
DE	X	
EL		X
NL		X
PL		X
RO		X
SI		X
ES		X
UK		X

A typical limitation mentioned in this regard concerns the limited possibilities for students, apart from student councils, to participate in decision-making processes in schools (in e.g. the Czech Republic and the Netherlands). A second limitation concerns the widespread presence of a traditional, top-down management culture in schools (in Estonia, France and Greece).

6.2.2. Methods of teaching democracy and tolerance

Education for democracy and tolerance requires different strategies, dependent on the societal and educational context. This means that it is impossible to present simple answers with regard to what strategies work best. In general, however, we do argue that dialogic competences are quintessential to a democratic way of life, and therefore that dialogical methods are fundamental to fostering the co-construction of common values and a commitment to democracy amongst students (see also chapter 2).

Analysis of the information provided by the experts suggests that dialogical methods, as defined in chapter 2, are used widely in five out of the twelve Member States. In the other seven Member States, however, dialogical methods are less commonly used. This result also reflects conclusions from prior reports on the use of traditional teaching methods in EU Member States (Dürr, Spajić-Vrkaš & Martins, 2000; Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016, 4). Additionally, the experts in our study also mentioned multiple conditions that hinder widespread use of dialogical methods in schools (e.g. focus on measurable learning outcomes and on subjects like language and mathematics, limited teacher autonomy or expertise, etc.). These constraints are discussed in the next section.

Table 6.5: Use of dialogical methods in schools

COUNTRY	USE OF DIALOGICAL METHODS IN SCHOOLS	
	Systematic	Incidental
CZ		x
EE	x	
FI	x	
FR	x	
DE	x	
EL		x
NL		x
PL		x
RO		x
SI	x	
ES		x
UK		x

Further, the case studies reflect a widespread consensus amongst the experts on desirable TCV approaches and methods. These include informed and thought-provoking debates; classroom discussions that help students understand what democracy and tolerance entail and help them express their own ideas democratically; projects that advance articulation and discussion of democratic values; participation in student bodies (e.g. student council, student communities) and in political simulations or activities (e.g. campaigning programmes designed for educational purposes).

Based on our analysis of the experts' reports on the methods and approaches used and advocated in their respective countries, we can conclude that:

- TCV is primarily about fostering student values and attitudes in relation to democracy and tolerance, as (cognitive) learning about democracy and tolerance alone is insufficient to advance (critical) democratic engagement amongst youth;
- TCV requires an integrative approach;
- TCV should encourage active involvement of students in joint decision-making; and
- TCV requires active methods of experiential, cooperative, and participatory learning in real-life learning circumstances.

Our analysis of the case studies also suggests that this kind of practice is not systematically incorporated in schools across the Member States. As our study aimed at gaining an impression of the variety in methods and approaches used within each country, it does not provide insight into the extent to which a single method or approach is used within and across countries. Likewise, it does not provide insight into the effectiveness of a certain method across contexts. Further empirical study is required to deepen current knowledge about the opportunities for different types of students to participate in decision-making, and about the use of a specific TCV method within and across Member States.

6.2.3. Student participation in school and society

We asked the experts in our study to indicate the extent to which students in their respective countries can engage in democratic politics in schools, for example, by voting for class representatives, taking part in decision-making about how the school should be run,

taking part in discussions at a school assembly, or standing as a candidate for class representative or school representative. Our analysis of the country case studies indicates that opportunities for student participation and student involvement in school activities are (more) widespread in five out of the twelve Member States (Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece and Spain). In the other seven Member States, opportunities for student participation within the school are only offered in some schools. Two typical constraints mentioned in this regard were a focus on knowledge development and on measurable learning outcomes. These constraints are discussed in section 6.3.

Our analysis of student opportunities to participate in activities outside the school (e.g. service-learning projects and participation in human rights campaigns) in the 12 Member States also reveals a similar picture. In three countries (Estonia, Germany and Finland) participation in society seems to be actively supported across all schools in the country (see table 6.6). The other countries also provide opportunities for participation outside schools; however, these activities are not part of the regular curriculum in the majority of schools in these countries.

Table 6.6: Student participation in school and society

COUNTRY	PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL		PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETY	
	Systematic	Incidental	Systematic	Incidental
CZ		X		X
EE	X		X	
FI	X		X	
FR		X		X
DE	X		X	
EL	X			X
NL		X		
PL				X
RO		X		X
SI		X		X
ES	X			X
UK		X		X

A previous ICCS report from 2009 also provided insights into opportunities for participation at school as well as in activities outside school amongst 14-year-old students in most of the EU Member States included in our study (ICCS, 2010a). However, as we did not collect data on specific participatory practices in schools across all the Member States, we cannot compare our findings with those of the ICCS study. Nevertheless, our findings do indicate that opportunities for students to learn democracy through participatory measures are not equally available to students across all the 12 Member States.

6.2.4. Collaboration on the practice of Teaching Common Values

Collaboration between various stakeholders is important for the development of both TCV policy and practice. In this section we present our findings with regard to the collaboration between governments, NGOs and schools in advancing TCV practice and teacher professionalisation.

Analysis of the case studies indicates that collaboration between the government, NGOs and schools is well developed in some of the studied Member States. The experts from the Czech Republic, Finland and the Netherlands, for example, reported that collaboration with

NGOs in their countries has resulted in the provision of high quality (online) resources for teaching democracy and tolerance. The case studies also indicate that collaboration between the different stakeholders has increased over the last two decades. Several experts mentioned the current initiatives to intensify existing collaborations, and advance future collaboration with civic partners, school neighbourhoods and partners elsewhere in the world. In Estonia, for example, the Ministry of Education plans to 'further cooperation in different international working groups regarding democracy and citizenship [...] and to initiate several cooperation and capacity building projects both within Estonia and with third countries.'

6.2.4.1. The role of NGOs in advancing teaching for democracy and tolerance

Given our interest in the role of NGOs in education for democracy and tolerance, we particularly examined the extent to which they are consulted by the education ministries in the Member States, and the extent to which their materials are used in schools for teaching democracy and tolerance. The information provided by the interviewed NGO experts and policymakers from the 12 Member States as well as the appointed research experts, revealed that NGOs are regularly consulted by the Ministry of Education for developments in TCV policy and practice in at least six of the Member States (Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland and Slovenia). As expressed by the expert from Finland:

The government and Ministry of Education provide good support towards the cooperation between schools and different NGOs and organisations' [...] [For example,] according to the NGO expert who was interviewed in this study, UNICEF has played a strong role in adding Child Rights to the curriculum, and environmental NGOs have played a vital role in the inclusion of the necessity of a sustainable way of living in the new curriculum.

In five of the twelve Member States, NGOs are not commonly consulted by the Ministry on developments in TCV policy and practice in formal education (Czech Republic, Estonia, Spain, Romania and Spain). The expert from Estonia, for example, reported that it is usually the NGOs themselves who take the initiative to discuss developments in TCV policy. In Spain, collaboration between NGOs and the Ministry of Education seems to be practically non-existent. The expert from the UK was also unsure about the level of collaboration between NGOs and the Ministry of Education. Nevertheless, NGOs in the UK as well as in many of the other Member States do actively engage in public debate to influence policy developments in formal and informal citizenship education. Further research could provide deeper insight into the commonalities and differences between Member States with regard to how the respective education ministries organise collaboration with NGOs.

Table 6.7: NGO involvement in TCV policy and practice

COUNTRY	CONSULTATION BY THE GOVERNMENT		USE OF NGO MATERIALS BY SCHOOLS	
	Regular	Incidental	Across the country	In some schools
CZ		X		X
EE		X	X	
FI	X		X	
FR	X			X
DE	X		X	
EL		X		X
NL	X		X	
PL	X			X
RO		X		X
SI	X		X	
ES		-		X
UK	?			X

With regard to the use of NGO materials in schools, we examined if NGO materials are used nation-wide, if they are used in some schools, or somewhere in between: in part of the schools. Analysis of the experts' statements indicated that collaboration between schools and NGOs and the use of NGO materials in schools is widespread in six out of the twelve countries (Estonia, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands and Slovenia). In the other countries, NGO materials and trainings are used in some (or part of) the schools (Czech Republic, France, Greece, Poland, Romania, Spain and UK). As the expert from the Czech Republic stated:

The teachers value the fruitful cooperation with NGOs which represent [a] very popular source for new approaches and activities offered to schools for free. The NGOs arrange discussions with witnesses of time (e.g. holocaust survivors), offer ready-to-use tools like short documentary films or adopt the international know-how on storytelling and philosophy for children to the Czech context.

Finland, Germany, the Netherlands and Slovenia also scored high on both NGO collaboration with schools and the use of NGO materials for democracy and tolerance education (see table 6.7). In Estonia, on the other hand, though NGO materials are widely used in schools, NGOs are not commonly consulted in policy discussions.

In addition to offering educational materials and projects, NGOs also offer post-initial teacher training programmes in many of the countries. Furthermore, it is important to note that in some countries, the government strongly regulates the extent to which NGOs are granted access to schools (Greece), or the types of NGOs that are invited to the discussions on policy issues. In Poland, for example, the current government predominantly consults nationalistic youth organisations and organisations residing with the Polish Catholic Church.

6.2.5. Inclusive school practices

The analysis of the country case studies also provides some insights into the extent to which schools advance inclusion. In this subsection we report our results with regard to opportunities for students from different socio-cultural backgrounds to attend school together and the provisions for different student groups in schools (e.g. minority students and gifted students).

As the Czech Republic, Greece, Estonia, Finland, Romania, Slovenia and the UK all have a unified school system, students with different learning capacities are part of the same classrooms in these countries and attend the same schools. In the other Member States, however, students are (potentially) educated in a less diverse environment because of a division of student tracks (in e.g. the Netherlands), a system that allows state-funded denominational schools to define admission criteria for students in line with their religious identity (in e.g. the Netherlands), or the presence of privately-funded schools.

On a positive note, the reports indicate that countries are working to improve learning conditions for students with special educational needs, gifted students and newcomer students. The expert from Estonia, for example, described this trend as follows:

Smooth transition of the youth with special needs from the general education system to the labour market [...] the Ministry of Social Affairs, in coordination with the Ministry of Education and Science has planned a number of activities for the period up to 2019. These developments also directly address the issue [of] immigration and new immigrants.

Some experts, however, also report problems with the implementation of newly established policies on inclusive education in their country (e.g. Spain). In chapter 4, we concluded that the education policies of north-western European countries in particular, create a segregation between different social and cultural groups. These tendencies are confirmed in the case studies, which suggest that there are many schools across the Member States where students have less opportunities to learn collaboratively and engage with students who are streamed into different education tracks and/or come from different socio-economic backgrounds.

6.3. Conditions that restrain the practice of teaching democracy and tolerance

In this section, we present our analysis of conditions that, according to the appointed research experts, restrain the advancement of TCV practice in the 12 Member States. In accordance with the main topics covered in the case studies, we distinguish between three categories of conditions: conditions that relate to TCV policy, conditions that relate to controversies and tensions between groups of citizens, and conditions that relate to the quality of collaboration between education partners. In line with the qualitative nature of this curriculum study, our report only provides an indication of the countries in which these conditions are influential. Determining the extent to which each of these specific conditions are prevalent amongst the different EU Member States requires complementary quantitative and qualitative research.

6.3.1. National education policy on Teaching Common Values

With regard to conditions restraining TCV policy in establishing a systematic education for democracy and tolerance in practice, we first present issues that relate to current policy aims and instruments in the 12 Member States. We then report on two sets of conditions that more directly reflect the controversial and political issues in society, namely the

politicisation of TCV policy and the components of education policy that reinforce segregation in schools.

6.3.1.1. Limitations of policy aims and instruments

Our analysis of the country case studies led to a distinction between six issues that hinder the advancement of TCV practices:

- Limited space in the curriculum for TCV across different education levels
- A focus on basic knowledge
- The length of time for which the TCV policy has been in place
- Limited means to advance implementation in all schools
- Limited flexibility in the school curriculum
- Lack of systematic evaluation of TCV activities

The first issue is *limited space in the curriculum for TCV, and vagueness (or lack) of TCV policy*. Several experts mentioned encountering this issue (in e.g. the Czech Republic, Netherlands, Poland, Spain and the UK). In some countries, this lack of space in the curriculum relates to differences in the TCV policy between school types. The expert from the UK, for example, reported that the national curriculum is only compulsory for state-funded schools governed by local education authorities. Furthermore, he explained that in the UK, the recent advice for active promotion of Fundamental British Values is the only document that explicates elements of TCV that all schools need to advance. As stated by the expert, 'at the level of policy it is interesting that participation by students is mentioned in detail in the advice for the promotion of Fundamental British Values, but not in the national curriculum for citizenship.'

In the Netherlands, TCV policy varies between education tracks. Unlike in most other countries, the Dutch curriculum does not complement history and geography with another subject, or additional time, for TCV in lower secondary education. In Spain, civics is no longer a mandatory subject and the fostering of critical, active and responsible citizenship is no longer required. The expert from Spain commented that with hardly enough time for teachers to cover the main curriculum, it has become very difficult to realise TCV in secondary schools. Attention to TCV is also scarce in countries where, despite a strong policy on TCV, teaching in related subject areas mainly focuses on knowledge development and cognitive competences. As stated by a teacher from Poland:

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

The second issue concerns a *focus on assessment of basic knowledge*. This issue was mentioned by experts from several Member States (e.g. Greece, Netherlands, Spain, Slovenia, Poland and the UK). The interviewed expert from the curriculum advisory committee in England, for example, stated:

The pressures on schools in terms of accountability measures from external standardised tests [...] have an overburdening effect on schools. Maintained schools have no option except to prepare students well for these tests as this is a key factor upon which the school will be measured. This is despite evidence for the impact of democratic engagement in participatory practices on student outcomes.

Some of the experts further linked this issue to a focus on education for the market economy. The expert from Slovenia, for example, raised the question of how one can advance social cohesion, responsible cooperation, human dignity, and solidarity in an environment that mainly prepares students for the neo-liberal market economy, and educates them for ruthless competitiveness. Similarly, the expert from Spain commented that with the renewed focus on individual excellence and competitiveness amongst students, the Ministry seems to stimulate a return to traditional methodologies like memorisation and knowledge transfer. In other countries (e.g. Poland and Greece), however, these issues were not connected.

The third issue concerns the *fairly recent installation of TCV policy*. The expert from the UK, for example, described how legislation on Fundamental British Values, which makes teaching for democracy and tolerance obligatory for all students, has only recently been implemented in the UK. As explained by the expert from Romania, implementation of education policy for advancing tolerance needs time:

Up to recent times, TCV policies have mainly focused on the democracy domain; changes began as the Ministry started to work more on topics regarding tolerance (mainly on inclusive society) and international orientation (European and global issues). At a curricular level, the adoption of the new framework structure for education in the lower secondary level has to be accompanied with a new curriculum for all the disciplines and the writing of new textbooks. The Ministry intends to also change the framework structure for education in the upper secondary level in order to enforce TCV in the curriculum.

The fourth issue concerns *limited means to advance implementation of TCV policy in all schools*. In this regard, several experts commented on limitations regarding financial resources, high quality educational materials and time for professional development in their countries (namely Czech Republic, Estonia, Germany, Romania and Spain). The experts from Estonia and Romania, for example, both reported an increase in the number and activities of NGOs related to democracy and civil rights in the last few years. However, they also pointed out the fact that while (NGO) programmes on civil rights and democracy are widely offered in bigger cities, schools in rural areas are left behind. With regard to the (non-)availability of educational materials and their lacking quality assessment, the expert from Estonia explained the following:

Schools receive different quality and content of the recommended methodological materials from different projects and programmes; it is the teacher's task to assess their adequacy and compliance with the curriculum. At the same time, teachers have to assure that the learning outcomes defined in the curriculum are achieved. The choice of materials and their availability (or non-availability) complicates the work of the teacher.

In a similar vein, the NGO expert from Germany criticised the limited financial resources in the field of political education. Rather than financing of ad hoc offers and programmes, the expert mentioned that he would like the government to focus more on the implementation and preservation of existing programmes.

Issue five concerns *limited flexibility in organising spaces, schedules and curricula for TCV*. Specific comments in this regard were made by the experts from Spain, the Netherlands and Estonia. They pointed to the fact that teachers find it difficult to integrate comprehensive (NGO) projects into the curriculum, and are often not flexible enough to adapt the learning content to latest developments and trending topics in society.

With regard to the sixth concern, namely a *lack of systematic evaluation of TCV practices*, the expert from the Czech Republic, for example, stated that, 'More precise criteria for

evaluating and assessing the outcomes are still missing. The state has not shown any interest in creating criteria and collecting data on the effectiveness of CE in Czech schools'. The expert also criticised the lack of research on the effectiveness of TCV. In relation to this, few countries seem to systematically organise (formative) assessments of activities or developments in democratic competences, attitudes and values.

6.3.1.2. The politicisation of TCV policy

Several experts mentioned that education has become a political project in their countries (Estonia, Greece, France, Poland, Romania and Spain). It is important in this regard to distinguish between a vibrant political debate on education, and the politicisation of this debate. Whereas the first implies that a government instigates public and political debate on desirable adjustments to (civic) education policy in the light of societal developments, civic issues, and insights from education research; the second implies a scenario where a newly installed government, for instance, makes abrupt changes to education policy, based on the preferences of its electorate.

Analysis suggests that politicisation of TCV constrains the practice of teaching democracy and tolerance in several ways. First, it leads to continuous shifts in TCV policy, as the education law changes with every government. Second, it leads to inconsistency in TCV policy, as politicians seem more interested in pleasing selective groups within their electorate than in developing a sustainable TCV policy. As explained by the expert from Spain:

Regarding TCV in curriculum and school culture, the LOMCE represents a significant step backwards compared to the contents presented in the previous education law. On the one hand, the LOMCE proposes a citizenship education subject as an alternative to religion. This implies an exclusion in relation to education in these common values. On the other hand, this new law has eliminated those topics considered controversial in Spanish culture and country, a fact that does not contribute in the least to that pluralistic and democratic education that the Constitution emphasises.

The case studies also revealed how in some countries (e.g. Poland and Spain) the influence of religious or right-wing movements in the political domain have resulted in laws and policy measures that restrain education for democracy and tolerance.

A related issue concerns whose voices are, and whose are not, represented in deliberations about desirable developments in education policy, and the relative weight attributed to these voices. Views on desirable aims and approaches for citizenship education often vary amongst education partners (parents, civic organisations and institutions, and educators). The European Parliament and the European Commission's interpretations of fundamental or common values and their perception of desirable policy measures in this regard, might vary from the values and policy measures that a national government emphasises. Likewise, other education partners might hold contradicting ideas about good citizenship and good education. In Poland, for example, the Catholic Church argues against equal rights for homosexuals and education for sexual diversity, and in the Czech Republic, teachers, parents and school leaders sometimes have conflicting views on desirable TCV policy and practices. As mentioned by the expert from the Czech Republic:

Nowadays, when the refugee crisis has become one of the most widely discussed topics, teachers feel the need to deal with this current controversial topic in the classroom as well. But they are often criticised by parents who believe that 'politics doesn't belong in school'. Some teachers and NGO experts stressed that the

policymakers should explain the importance of teaching controversial issues to the public, and support universities in teachers' education on TCV topics.

So far, many governments don't take a position in the debate on the desirability of teaching controversial issues, and of discussing politics in the school. This means that schools have to respond individually to the controversial issues that influence the practice of democracy and tolerance in schools, and negotiate the interests of different stakeholders in this regard at the level of the school.

6.3.1.3. Enforcement of segregation in schools

In section 6.2.5., we already presented our findings with regard to the limitations in inclusive school practices in some of the Member States. In this section, we report the conditions that the experts mentioned in relation to opportunities for students from different socio-cultural backgrounds to attend the same school, and the provisions made for different student groups in schools (in e.g. the Czech Republic, France, Netherlands and Spain). With regard to segregation of students from different social and cultural groups, the expert from the Czech Republic pointed out the influence of the decentralised school system in this context. The expert from the Netherlands mentioned other examples including the early selection of students, and the freedom of religious schools to select students based on criteria that relate to their religious identity. Concerning the provisions made by schools for immigrant or gifted students, experts from two Member States (Romania and Spain) that have recently implemented an inclusive school policy, related problems inherent in the current implementation of this policy, such as, insufficient financial resources and insufficient support for the professional development of teachers.

6.3.2. Societal controversies and tensions on the subject of teaching values

The limitations and related constraints facing TCV practice mentioned by the experts revealed different types of value debates that (might) hinder the extent to which schools advance social, civic and intercultural competences, and promote democratic values, fundamental rights, social inclusion, non-discrimination, as well as active citizenship. These constitute the overarching aims as formulated in the Paris Declaration of 17 March 2015.

A first debate in this context concerns the questions of what good citizenship entails and whether citizenship education should cultivate social and/or political development. Several experts reported significant disparities in their countries between the key citizenship values advocated by a part of the population and those advocated by (inter)national democratic bodies. The experts pointed out that TCV practice in relation to democracy and tolerance is especially difficult to organise when education becomes politicised, when a significant percentage of the population envisions migrants and sexual diversity as a problem, when people have the idea that democratic institutions fail to protect or advance their well-being, and when people have different expectations on how –and by whom– common values should be defined.

A second, related, debate concerns the extent to which citizens want the European Union to prescribe what they need to value, and who they need to live together with. As the expert from Romania explained, 'Romania has been, in recent history, more or less isolated from other spaces of culture, including Western Europe [...]. Certain communities that define themselves as "defenders of traditions" feel that these common values are imposed by the EU on Romania, and show an attitude of dismissal, mostly towards subjects relating to tolerance and European integration.'

A third debate concerns the objection raised by citizens in several countries to introducing political views and (TCV) ideology in schools. For example, the expert from Spain remarked

that, 'The Popular Party, which belongs to the Christian Democrat International, was strongly opposed to the subject "Philosophy and citizenship", alleging that the State was seriously invading every citizen's education. This party considered the subject as moral and political indoctrination of students.'

Apart from these debates, several experts also mentioned tensions between certain social and cultural groups (in e.g. the Czech Republic, France, Romania and Poland). We already mentioned earlier a division between people with a nationalist, inside-oriented or patriotic outlook and people with an international or cosmopolitan orientation. The expert from France additionally mentioned a dichotomy between citizens who support the government and those who feel that the democratic system works against them. Related to this, several experts also pointed to the negative or ambivalent attitudes towards democracy and tolerance held by students and teachers (in e.g. the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, Poland, Romania and Slovenia). As stated by the expert from Slovenia:

What is noticeable is that the biggest challenge to TCV and CE is the state of mind of the teachers. As there are some teachers with quite radical view towards migration, it has a strong effect on how and what teachers are emphasising at schools.

The policymaker from the Ministry of National Education in Poland, as another case in point, stated that teachers should not act in opposition to the tradition and opinions of parents, and should not 'go too far with minority rights'. Further, one of the interviewed teachers from Poland mentioned that, 'The most difficult is discussion about LGBT. This topic is taboo in "regular" class. Sometimes (together with other "difficult" issues) [it] might be discussed during the ethics classes, but it is not obligatory to attend them.'

Several experts pointed to a lack of urgency amongst citizens towards advancing democracy and tolerance, and education on common values (in e.g. Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland and Romania). The expert from Finland commented that:

One of the main challenges discussed by the informants of this report was the fact that democracy is taken for granted and students do not have any clear idea about authoritarian regimes around the world and the fact that democracy needs action.

The experts from the Czech Republic and Estonia commented on the low status of citizenship education in their countries, and the fact that, though cultivating democracy has been high on the agenda for some time, people are primarily concerned with issues in their daily lives. There is limited attention in public debate to the desirable development in education for democracy and tolerance.

These value debates illustrate the complex social, cultural and political context in which the teaching of democracy and tolerance takes place. They also indicate that it is difficult to improve TCV practice, and implement TCV policy, when the underlying issues are not debated widely, both in public debate as well as in the debate between different education partners (such as policymakers, NGO representatives, school leaders and teachers).

6.3.3. Collaboration and professional development

In section 6.2.4., we described our findings with regard to the collaboration between education partners across the Member States. In this section, we elaborate on the constraints mentioned by the experts in relation to the quality of policy steering, collaboration building and the professional development of teachers.

Overall, the research experts highly valued policy constructions with weaker steering (therefore affording higher autonomy to schools). Several of the research experts, however, criticised the freedom that schools had in adopting a minimalist approach and

giving limited attention to teaching democratic values and participation (in e.g. the Netherlands).

The experts from the Czech Republic, Greece, Estonia, the Netherlands, Romania, Slovenia and Spain also mentioned certain characteristics of current collaborations amongst stakeholders that need attention. The expert from Estonia, for example, commented on the lack of support for national cooperation, and the experts from the Netherlands criticised the current 'neutral' approach towards TCV and the weariness against adopting a more prescriptive approach:

Staying away from defining in detail what skills and attitudes Dutch schools should cultivate can very well be combined with prescription of attention to key values of a democratic system and a democratic way of life (e.g. democracy and tolerance), and with the installation of school criteria regarding the prevalence of educational activities in which students can inquire and discuss various interpretations of these values (move beyond 'knowing about' these values), and engage in democratic decision-making processes.

The experts also mentioned concerns regarding the influence that different education partners can and should have in these procedures, and the responsibility of different stakeholders to guide and support the positions that schools take regarding their role in dealing with controversial issues. These concerns have been described more elaborately in the section on the politicisation of education. Moreover, the experts from Estonia and Romania were critical of the limited (coordinated) efforts of education partners to address discrepancies between key values promoted in the national curriculum and the missions and practices at the local and school level.

The *professional development of teachers* and other stakeholders is also an issue that needs attention across the Member States. Experts from all the studied Member States, except Finland and the UK, mentioned limitations in relation to teachers' professional development, which requires attention in order to advance the quality of TCV. The common limitations of teacher professionalism mentioned in this regard were as follows:

- Insufficient knowledge of TCV/CE topics and methods, in particular with regard to working with students in 'real life' situations (not only in the classroom), discussing controversial issues in the classroom, organising a whole school approach to TCV and responding to new civic issues.
- Insufficient awareness of the fact that efficient teaching of common values is a complex enterprise that requires an interdisciplinary approach, and theoretical reflections and collaboration between stakeholders on practical and value-related issues.
- Limited commitment towards advancing shared values.
- A lack of confidence regarding working with parents and local communities and dealing with controversial issues in the school and in society.
- Insufficient quality of teacher education.

From the experts' comments and observations we can conclude that, across all Member States, many teachers still lack the appropriate teaching skills to implement dialogical learning methodologies, and teacher education programmes are insufficient in preparing teachers to implement the national/regional policy on teaching democracy and tolerance. As stated by the expert from Germany:

The structure, content, intensity and objectives of teacher education within German Universities show considerable diversity. In some Länder, budget cuts mean that the status of citizenship education in both in-service and pre-service teacher trainings is

rather precarious. Also, it is often criticised that there are still too many teachers who teach citizenship education without the required academic qualification.

Although our study did not aim to provide insights on developments in teacher education in the area of TCV, several of the experts did report important (modest) steps in advancing teacher professionalism and teacher education in their countries. The expert from France, for example, explained that a large-scale training programme was set up in 2015 to train 300,000 professionals in the fields of laicism, religion, and democratic and republican citizenship. Based on the constraints listed above, and in line with earlier reports (e.g. Dürr, Spajić-Vrkaš & Martins, 2000), we can conclude that teacher professionalisation and the quality of collaboration requires further attention in most of the 12 Member States.

6.4. Recommendations

The research experts from the 12 Member States gave many suggestions to improve the policy and practice of TCV. Based on our analysis of these suggestions, as well as the country case studies, we list several policy measures at both the national and European level that, in our view, are quintessential to advancing TCV practices across all EU Member States. This section thus complements the recommendations section in chapter 4, which addressed the limitations of current TCV policies at the national and EU level. We also discuss how the recommendations provided here add to existing policies and findings from policy research in this area.

6.4.1. Policy recommendations at the national level

(TCV) Education policy is predominantly a matter concerning each individual Member State, with the EU having a supporting competence according to Article 165 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU. Therefore, the experts from each of the 12 Member States covered in the case studies, formulated several recommendations at the national level. Taking all these suggestions together, we distinguish here between five clusters of recommendations for advancing the practice of TCV. These recommendations, in general, focus on strengthening education for democracy and tolerance at the level of the curriculum and the level of the school culture, improving collaboration between stakeholders and promoting teacher professionalisation.

1. Advance public support for teaching common values

The recommendation to advance public support for TCV stemmed from two findings in particular: first, the concern of many of the experts about a lack of willingness amongst citizens, parents and teachers to promote democratic engagement and engagement towards building an inclusive society in formal education; second, the experts' comments about issues and developments in the civic and political domain that (might) hinder the advancement of TCV policy and practice in their countries. Based on these findings, and in addition to the policy agenda defined in the Paris Declaration of 17 March, we recommend the following policy measures within countries, targeting both the societal and political level with regard to TCV in education:

- Instigate active debate on controversial issues in society.
- Instigate active debate on controversial issues in citizenship education.
- Instigate debate amongst stakeholders on their roles and responsibilities in advancing democracy.

- Instigate active debate on different views amongst stakeholders (e.g. school leaders, teachers, NGOs, education advisory boards, parent unions, etc.) on their role in preparing students for participation in democratic communities.
- Advance transparency, democracy and tolerance in public institutions and political organisations in order to narrow the gap between what students learn about democracy and their democratic experiences in daily life.
- Evaluate education policy based on a democratic citizenship education framework, and in light of emerging tensions in society.

2. Strengthen education for democracy and tolerance at the curriculum level

Our recommendations on strengthening the focus and aims of TCV policy stem from patterns observed in the experts' critiques on current TCV practices in their countries. A first shared criticism concerns the emphasis, in many Member States, on knowledge about democracy, history, law, politics, and cognitive skills rather than tailoring this knowledge to the development of actual democratic participatory skills (e.g. to discuss controversial issues), and values and attitudes (e.g. attitudes towards freedom of speech and recognition and appreciation of cultural, religious and sexual diversity). The second criticism concerns the vagueness of teaching aims and the limited conceptualisation of the terms democracy and tolerance in the policy framework and in the curriculum in some of the Member States. The third concern relates to the lack of balance between the national and international orientation of TCV policy. The fourth issue concerns a lack of space in the curriculum to take up NGO projects on democracy and tolerance. The fifth concern is the lack of evaluation of TCV practices, and the sixth and final concern in this context, is the lack of opportunities to meet or exchange views with students from different Member States. Based on these six issues, we advocate the national (or regional) governments to strengthen, or introduce, the following policy measures:

- Promote a whole school approach in accordance with a framework of education for democracy and tolerance.
- Promote the development of clear vision documents on desirable practices of TCV targeting all students at both the national and school level.
- Balance attention in the curriculum towards democracy and tolerance at the national and the international level.
- Demarcate (more) time in the curriculum in lower and higher secondary education for the advancement of students' skills, values and attitudes in relation to democracy and tolerance
- Increase curricular flexibility.
- Advance systematic monitoring of TCV practices.
- Stimulate collaboration between students from different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds.
- Stimulate international student collaboration.

The recommendation for a whole school approach resides with, amongst other studies, a similar recommendation from the Erasmus+ study *Education policies to foster tolerance in children and young people* (Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016). Moreover, it also extends the recommendation from the Erasmus+ study by stressing the need to explicitly tailor this approach to a democratic citizenship framework.

3. Strengthen democracy and tolerance at the level of the school culture

Our recommendations at the level of the school culture build on the experts' comments and suggestions with regard to the four components of democratic school culture delineated in this study: the lack of a democratic management culture in schools, the limited use of collaborative and participatory approaches in education for democracy and tolerance, the lack of opportunities for student participation in schools and in society, and the lack of policies or means to advance inclusive schools (in e.g. the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, Netherlands, Poland and Spain). Based on these findings and in line with existing frameworks for democratic participation and democratic school management (e.g. Bîrzea, 2005), we propose the following policy measures:

- Complement existing requirements regarding a democratic leadership culture in schools with measures that advance a democratic ethos amongst teachers and school leaders.
- Support the development of methods and activities that assimilate a collaborative, participative and empowering style of teaching and learning.
- Monitor the extent to which schools generate a cultural space that evokes civic and democratic coexistence and related behaviour amongst students.

4. Promote collaboration between stakeholders

These recommendations follow from the experts' remarks and suggestions with regard to the current steering of TCV policy and the corresponding teacher and school autonomy. Experts from the countries with strong steering argued that TCV practices would benefit from more flexibility in the curriculum, more school autonomy and less bureaucracy for teachers. Experts from countries with a 'neutral' approach to TCV, in contrast, argued for a more prescriptive approach. With regard to advancing existing practices, the experts from the Czech Republic, Greece, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovenia and Spain argued that TCV practice in their respective countries would benefit from further advancing collaboration between stakeholders, like school boards, interdisciplinary teams of teachers within and between schools, and residents and companies in the neighbourhood. Experts from countries where education has become politicised also called for debate on the desirable role and responsibilities of various stakeholders in advancing sustainable education for democracy and tolerance. Based on these findings and in line with earlier recommendations to advance the role of experienced NGOs in policy development for fostering tolerance amongst children in pluralist societies (Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016), we specifically recommend national (or regional) governments to introduce or strengthen the following policy measures:

- Coordinate debate amongst stakeholders on desirable deliberation procedures, and the influence that different stakeholders can -and should- have in these procedures.
- Organise systematic consultations between the Ministry of Education and experienced NGOs, in line with (temporal) understandings of their desirable role in policy development.
- Offer sufficient autonomy (and space in the curriculum) for school leaders and teachers to organise collaborative, participative and empowering activities.

5. Support professional development in TCV

Many of the experts criticised the quality of teacher professionalism in their countries (e.g. Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Estonia, Netherlands, Poland, Romania and Slovenia). The typical constraints mentioned in this regard were limited availability of projects and training in TCV in rural areas and limited time demarcated for professionalisation in TCV.

Based on these constraints and in line with earlier recommendations to 'better prepare the education workforce for tolerance, diversity and inclusion' (e.g. Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016, 7), we specifically recommend the following policy measures to advance professional development:

- Update and strengthen teacher education on TCV for teachers from all subject areas.
- Provide sufficient time and facilities for specialisation of teachers in this area.
- Advance opportunities for relevant teacher training in provincial or rural areas.
- Support the development of networks of teachers from different schools and different Member States in order to promote exchange of experiences, challenges and good practices.
- Introduce a more binding responsibility for teachers to pursue TCV.

6.4.2. Policy recommendations at the European level

In general, the experts conducting the case studies valued the support for TCV that is currently provided by the European Union and the Council of Europe. In their view, EU policy on TCV and related areas (e.g. teaching 21st-century competences) has led to a stronger focus on TCV in the national education policies of its Member States. Nevertheless, the experts agreed that the EU needs to expand its efforts to advance education for democracy and tolerance. Based on our analysis of the experts' writings on current practices, constraints and recommendations with regard to desirable (additional) initiatives from the European Parliament and other European institutions, we suggest the following policy measures to improve TCV practices in the EU Member States.

1. Instigate debates on what 'national' and 'European' citizenship entails

As our analysis of the conditions constraining TCV practices revealed, limitations in TCV practice can, in part, be explained by a lack of debate about fundamental values both within the countries as well as across the EU. Similar to the recommendations at the national level in this regard, and in line with experts' comments on limited communication by the European Parliament on fundamental values in the EU we recommend international democratic bodies to undertake the following measures:

- Instigate debates on what 'national' and 'European' citizenship entails, and what the shared values and principles are, e.g. by emphasising the values that underlie the EU and developments in EU policy.
- Instigate debates on controversial issues in citizenship education and society.
- Instigate debates on the different views amongst stakeholders on their role in preparing students for participation in democratic communities.
- Instigate debates on desirable developments in democratic policy and practice.

2. Increase financing of programmes and projects dedicated to TCV

According to the experts, programmes like Erasmus+ and its predecessors have been very helpful in sharing and advancing good practices on TCV between the different EU Member States. Furthermore, EU-funded research in this area has led to an increase in knowledge and developments in TCV policy and practice. So far, however, research has focused mainly on providing insights into the organisation of citizenship education in general. As this report shows, the presence of a compulsory, or optional, citizenship education subject does not necessarily imply that students have opportunities to discuss which values are –and should be– considered fundamental in their society, and in the EU at large. Based on our findings, we specifically recommend the following measures in this context:

- Promote research on opportunities for students to discuss the fundamental values of the political communities that they are part of (on a local, national and international level), both in subject areas and in extra-curricular activities in school and society.
- Promote research on opportunities to engage in the discussion of controversial issues, and opportunities to challenge existing policies and personal political views in light of fundamental values.
- Promote research on opportunities for students to engage in political decision-making and other types of civic participation in school and society.
- Promote research on teacher commitment to TCV across the EU Member States.

3. Support professional development in TCV

In line with existing studies (e.g. Dürr, Spajić-Vrkaš & Martins, 2000; Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016), our findings indicate that TCV practice could benefit significantly if the limitations of teacher education in this area were addressed. Although the professional development of teachers is a national matter, it can also be supported by the European Union and the Council of Europe. Current strategies in this regard concern the advancement of knowledge about current practices, stimulating exchange between education professionals across countries, and providing a wide range of materials under different projects such as education for democratic citizenship and human rights. Apart from these strategies, we recommend the following actions:

- Instigate public debate on the role of schools and teachers in advancing discussion within schools and in the wider community on value issues in society.
- The EU should facilitate the exchange of best practices of initial teacher training on key values, attitudes, competences and knowledge.

4. Support evaluation of TCV policy and practice

Prior studies on citizenship education have focused on the citizenship development of adolescents and related policy measures (e.g. Eurydice, 2012; ICCS, 2010a). So far, however, we know little about actual practices of TCV in schools. The findings from our case studies indicate that evaluation of TCV is not widespread amongst schools in Europe. We therefore recommend supporting the development of systematic evaluation of the operationalised curricula on TCV at the EU-level, e.g. evaluation of the extent to which students can gain participatory competences in specific TCV subjects, general or other related subject areas, cross-curricular and extracurricular activities, school deliberation platforms and advisory boards. Some particular measures that can be undertaken in this regard are the following:

- Actively promote and extend existing self-evaluation frameworks (e.g. Bîrzea, 2005) that can be helpful to national authorities, policymakers and school leaders in evaluating and strengthening attention to TCV.
- Fund research on the impact of self-evaluation trajectories on the quality of TCV practices.

7. FROM THE PRACTICE OF TEACHING COMMON VALUES TO EDUCATION POLICY

KEY FINDINGS

- Both governance and educational change often encounter **tensions between different levels and different partners**. The policy and curriculum studies in this research reveal that the strongest tensions are the more vertically-situated ones. These include tensions between national policy and school autonomy (when implementing TCV in all schools), between TCV and other subjects in the curriculum, and between the role of teachers and of students when working together (e.g. in dealing with controversial issues).
- We argue for a **moderate level of policy steering that combines relative autonomy for schools**. Policy steering should target the central education policy aims, curriculum guidelines (e.g. subject areas and content), and guidelines for evaluating TCV activities in schools. The space for autonomy afforded to each school should target efforts to collaborate with partners on their own vision and practice, and to stimulate and create conditions for dialogical methods and a democratic school culture.
- **Diversity in schools and classes** is very relevant for learning democracy and tolerance. Consequently, stimulating diversity in the student population and reducing segregation in schools by limiting tracking and making schools as public as possible, is a pressing issue in most of the studied Member States. By promoting diversity, schools and teachers can serve as moral exemplars of the values of democracy and tolerance.
- Our studies suggest that a broader **whole school approach** is needed for stronger implementation of TCV in schools. The whole school approach imparts TCV through a combination of specific value-oriented subjects, other value-related subjects, cross-curricular activities, and a democratic school culture. Further, **reflective and dialogical learning** processes are needed to support the personal value development of students, and **democratic learning** is important to acquire the skill of consensus-building.
- A curriculum policy that aims to stimulate value development and address controversial issues within education must include a fundamental change in teaching and learning approaches. This requires **professional development, better working conditions, and community-building**.

The empirical policy and curriculum studies in this research raised important questions about the education policy and practice of teaching common values of democracy and tolerance in Europe. In this chapter, we analyse the central topics and issues in the policy and practice of teaching values that emerge from both empirical studies, before rounding up the report with the overall conclusions and recommendations in chapter 8. Our analysis makes use of the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 and the concepts therein. In particular, we focus on how education policy can improve the curriculum and teaching of common values.

7.1. Tensions at different levels of policy and education

Both governance and educational change often encounter tensions not only between different levels but also between different partners (Fullan & Hargreaves, 2014). These tensions can be vertical in nature, when involving hierarchical relations, or horizontal in nature, when involving equal partners. Our research too, shows particular tensions between different levels of policy and education on teaching common values.

In our research, 'tensions' are defined as the dynamics between different institutions or groups holding different viewpoints and displaying diverging behaviour. We don't use the word 'contradiction'; that would suggest that no deliberations or solutions to these tensions are possible. Instead, our study builds on the idea that tensions between different social and cultural groups are inherent to modern, democratic and pluralist societies. In line with this notion, it is our contention that education policy needs to relate to these inherent tensions. The political method of democracy in particular, can help reduce these tensions. Given that these tensions are part of education policy, they can be part of the educational practice of teaching democracy and tolerance as well.

Our research on the education policy and curriculum practices of TCV reveals the following tensions:

Figure 7.1: Tensions in education policy and curriculum practices

VERTICAL			
International level	European Union	↔	Member States
National level	Education Policy	↔	School (autonomy)
HORIZONTAL			
Community level	School	↔	Local Community
School-parent level	School	↔	Parents
VERTICAL			
Curriculum level	Specific subjects	↔	Other activities
Teaching-Learning level	Teachers	↔	Students
Student level	Student diversity	↔	Individual students

At the international level, vertical tensions exist between international bodies, such as between the EU and its individual Member States, which under the subsidiarity principle are responsible for their own education policies. Vertical tensions also exist at the national level in the hierarchical relation between the national education policy and the individual schools. The levels of community and school-parent cooperation on the other hand, exhibit more horizontal tensions given the more equal relations between the involved partners. A step further still, at the levels of the curriculum, teaching and learning, and students, the observed tensions are once again more vertical in nature given the unequal relations between the involved parties; e.g. some subjects are more important in education than others, teachers are more in formal control of education than students, and students vary

in terms of their access to social and cultural capital and their association with common values.

All of the tensions that are more vertical in nature can be reduced by means of more horizontal developments. At the international level, for instance, there can be a better balance between the international policy and the policies of the individual nations. At the individual country level, the aims of national policy and individual schools can be better aligned. Further, at the level of education within a country, more horizontal developments can also support the teaching of democracy and tolerance; for example, making TCV more important in the curriculum, promoting more dialogical teaching methods, and stimulating a more democratic school culture.

The empirical policy and curriculum studies in this research both reveal that the strongest tensions encountered within the sphere of TCV are the more vertically-situated ones; in particular, those between national policy and school autonomy (when implementing TCV in all schools), between TCV and other subjects in the curriculum, and between the role of teachers and of students when working together (e.g. in dealing with controversial issues). These tensions are at the heart of education policy and teaching of common values, and should be addressed in both policy and practice.

7.2. Implementing education policy in practice: steering and autonomy

The empirical studies undertaken in this research reveal a recent increase in attention to both the policy and practice of teaching values in most EU Member States, and in particular, to teaching democracy and tolerance. The factors underlying this trend, as stated by the research experts here as well as in several other studies, stem from the particular complexities of a multicultural society and include issues like radicalisation, immigration and globalisation. They also include more specific developments in politics; for example, the lack of political participation, less stable political configurations, and the relation between the nation state and international collaborative bodies (like the EU).

Most experts (see chapter 4) concluded that the education policy on TCV is not very strong. The reasons cited in elaboration to this claim are as follows:

- The educational vision for TCV in policy is not very explicit and/or coherent.
- The policy instruments used are not adequate and strong enough.
- There is lack of a good balance between policy steering and school autonomy.
- The conditions for schools and teachers are not good enough to teach values.
- The teaching of values has a low status in education policy and practice compared to other educational topics.

A crucial element in implementing the teaching of the common values of democracy and tolerance, is achieving a balance between the level of policy steering and the resulting school autonomy. The findings in this research, in particular the policy study (in chapter 4), suggest that many EU Member States struggle with this balance.

Two arguments can be formulated in favour of *strong policy steering*.

- Strong steering is desirable if policymakers want to ensure that all schools follow the curriculum regulations in order to avoid big differences between schools. Strong steering suggests what is called 'a teacher-proof education', in which teachers cannot make real choices and articulations. It also presumes an instrumental idea of the teaching profession.

- The second argument relates to school autonomy and the fact that non-public education has a strong position in some countries. In the area of values in particular, a balance has to be found between national policy and the vision of the school community. The word 'national' in this context refers to the society as a whole. In fact, there is an inherent tension here between education policy for the benefit of society as a whole and education for a specific community. The idea of common values, i.e. values that are dominant in a society, asks for a rather strong national education policy.

The following arguments, on the other hand, favour *weak policy steering*, and thereby stronger school autonomy.

- Questions about values are not only political, but also personal. Weaker policy steering offers teachers and students the space to give their own articulations to values.
- The school community has both the right and possibility to address issues of values according to their own cultural and educational view.
- In chapter 2 we argued that teaching values like democracy and tolerance requires dialogical methodologies. This implies that TCV should venture beyond the cognitive learning of facts and include attitudinal learning processes of value development. Teaching values is not a mechanical process that involves transferring values into the heads and hearts of students. The attitudinal component of values in particular, requires active engagement of students in the learning process (Haste, 2004).
- A policy characterised by strong steering does not create many possibilities for such dialogical and situated educational processes. Identifying the common values and their meaningful articulations, is part of the democratic practice and educational learning process. This is in line with Biesta's (2011) suggestion that citizenship education should be about the question what constitutes good citizenship.

We argue here for a *moderate level of policy steering and relative autonomy for schools*.

Policy steering should target:

- Central education policy aims
- Curriculum guidelines (for subject areas and content)
- Guidelines for evaluating TCV activities in schools

Relative school autonomy should target:

- Articulation in education policy of the space for autonomy afforded to each school to collaborate with partners on their own vision and practice for TCV
- Stimulation and creation of conditions for dialogical methods and a democratic school culture

7.3. Monitoring the Teaching of Common Values

This research (in particular chapter 5 with its case studies) shows that many EU Member States encounter problems in implementing their education policies, particularly across schools. Our research also suggests that part of these difficulties relate to the overall steering strategy chosen, and the type of steering measures taken. In the previous section, we proposed that teaching common values like democracy and tolerance are best

addressed through a moderate level of policy steering which creates a better balance with the relative level of autonomy granted to schools.

Part of good governance is evaluating what is going on in practice and how this practice relates to the intended policy. Most of the Member States in our study attempt to evaluate their TCV implementation processes. This brings us to the following question: What kind of instruments are used to evaluate the complex educational task of teaching common values, and how can they be used to improve TCV policy and practice?

1. *Assessment of student outcomes* in relation to the teaching of values.

This instrument is not commonly used by the EU Member States. Moreover, when there is an assessment, the focus is predominantly on testing knowledge and not attitudes. Assessing values is methodologically difficult. Developing more instruments and different ways of assessing outcomes can help improve the teaching and learning of values and the evaluation of the effects of TCV policy.

2. Demonstration by schools of their *educational vision* and practice.

Some EU Member States ask schools to explain their vision and practice. Formulating their own educational vision and practice can help schools in constructing a coherent and adequate TCV practice in which they show their education partners what kind of education they offer. This approach is particularly important in cases where schools have a certain level of autonomy.

3. Control by the *school inspectorate* over the practice of teaching common values.

This instrument is employed in some of the Member States. However, evaluation by the school inspectorate is often experienced as control from outside and is linked to policy. The challenge faced by school inspectorates is, therefore, to maintain a balance between evaluating policy implementation and controlling school practices (for the role of the school inspectorate on social outcomes of schools, see Dijkstra & De La Motte, 2014).

4. More *horizontal control* in which schools work together with other schools, the local municipality, the wider community, and NGOs.

This kind of networking between schools and their communities is not yet well-developed in most of the studied Member States. This form of horizontal control is especially interesting because it links schools to society. Further, when schools work together in formal and informal networks, they can learn better from each other's experiences, support each other, and become part of a larger educational community (Hargreaves & Fink, 2012). In Italy, for example, there is a concrete policy to stimulate the linking of schools with community organisations. In Finland, there is strong cooperation between schools and the local government (Sahlberg, 2011).

5. *Participation in international comparative research* on citizenship and citizenship education, like the ICCS study.

12 of the 28 EU Member States participated in the new ICCS study. The results of this new study will be published in October 2017. International comparative studies like ICCS are interesting and important because they give an overview of student development, and provide benchmarks to help countries in evaluating and adapting TCV policy.

All these five instruments can help nations in implementing and evaluating the education policy on teaching common values and in improving the practice of teaching. These instruments can also be used to intervene in the tensions presented in section 7.2. For instance, the instrument requiring schools to demonstrate their own educational vision and practice also creates the possibility for schools to articulate their own autonomy. At the

community level, horizontal control can help schools to connect in a stronger way to their environment. These two instruments are more bottom-up in nature. The other three (more vertical) instruments; namely student assessments, international comparative research, and school inspectorates; can provide feedback to schools and inform policy about the possible effects of top-down implementation processes. Using these instruments in a dialogical way of communication establishes a more dynamic balance between top-down and bottom-up approaches and serves as an expression of a democratic system.

7.4. Equity and inclusion in education: reducing segregation

Most school systems, including those in the EU Member States, involve different kinds of schools. For teaching values, the social and cultural composition of the student and teacher populations in a school is very relevant. The school context and the composition of students and teachers influence concrete learning experiences in relation to values.

As concluded in chapters 4 and 6, in several countries, particularly in North-West Europe, schools exhibit processes of segregation, i.e. students from different social and cultural groups increasingly attend different schools. Such processes of segregation at the school-level can affect TCV in two ways:

- Students encounter *different experiences*, since learning experiences are strongly influenced by the composition of the classroom and the school, and the involved social and cultural capital.
- Students have *limited opportunities to meet*, live and collaborate together with students from other social and cultural groups. This limits the possibility to practice democracy and tolerance.

Segregation of students is enforced by structural factors such as different education tracks, early selection, and the presence of private schools. Countries differ with respect to the age determined for streaming students into different tracks. In North-West Europe in particular, there are countries where this selection and streaming happens at an early age. In Northern Europe, on the other hand, streaming or tracking takes place at a later age (Euydice, 2014). Additionally, private schools often prevent public schools from being a mirror of society. School choice gives parents and students the possibility to select a school that is closer to their own individual values, and this is at odds with a policy that focuses on bringing all students together in public education. Several experts, in particular from North-West Europe, expressed the negative effects of placing students in different tracks (selection) and of the prevalence of schools other than public schools (e.g. private and/or religious schools) on learning common values. Diversity in schools and classes forms an exceptional means of learning in, from and about democracy and tolerance. Stimulating diversity amongst students and combatting segregation, by limiting tracking (Oakes & Saunders, 2008) and making schools as public as possible, is thus a pressing issue in most countries.

From the perspective of teaching democracy and tolerance, diversity amongst teachers is equally important as diversity amongst students. Through a diverse body of teachers, schools can demonstrate that they practice tolerance, by showcasing, for example, diversity in religion, culture, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, etc. Schools and teachers can thus serve as moral exemplars of democracy and tolerance themselves. We did not find much data in our studies on teacher diversity in schools, indicating that this is not yet seen as a relevant issue with regard to teaching values.

7.5. Teaching and learning 'controversial' values

Values are important for societies and individuals. Values give meaning to personal life and can create social connectedness (Tirri & Nokelainen, 2011; Buxarrais & Esteban, 2013). At the individual level, values are personal meaning systems that express what somebody finds important, particularly in relationships with others. At the societal level, values can bring people together; they can create, support, and re-create communities at the local, national and international levels. Values can create a common feeling, a sense of belonging, and an identity for nations, organisations, and communities. Finding ways to live together thus involves working with values.

In democratic societies, developing values is a very personal activity since it involves personal decisions. Value development is also linked to the crucial human right of freedom of speech. Education should help students in their orientation to different values. Influencing the value development of students is acceptable if these values are considered as common values, since values not only assimilate personal meaning but also social connectedness. Values, however, can also generate tensions. Values can be controversial or contested (Hess, 2009; Beckerman & Zembylas, 2012; Van Driel, Darmody & Kerzil, 2016). People can differ in the values they find important, and in particular, in their articulation of abstract values.

To speak about 'common values' is therefore not easy, as it suggests that there is an agreement on certain values. In this sense, it neglects controversies about these values. In our research, the values of democracy and tolerance are considered common European values. Indeed, Europe has a long tradition of building the values of democracy and tolerance (Oshri, Sheafer & Shenhav, 2015; Van Middelaar & Van Parijs, 2015). The values of democracy and tolerance can in fact be considered as the very foundations of the moral and political culture of the European Union; they are grounded in the European tradition, its contemporary discourses, and its future imaginations. These moral values have been part of cultural policies and educational practices for a long time, and are considered important in sustaining peaceful relations in Europe between nations, social and cultural groups, as well as individuals.

Our research shows that, in general, the values of democracy and tolerance are part of the education policies of all 28 EU Member States. However, differences exist in the articulations of these common values when making them more concrete. These differences can generate meaningful learning experiences. However, controversies over these differences can also hinder learning processes. Many experts involved in both the policy and curriculum studies in our research, argued that teachers often avoid talking about controversial issues. The common value of tolerance in particular, often involves sensitive controversial issues related to culture and religion, that teachers prefer to avoid.

In research literature, teaching controversial issues has recently gathered significant attention (Beckerman & Zembylas, 2012; Hess & McAvoy, 2014; Reilly & Niens, 2014). Controversial issues hold great learning potential, because they incorporate multiple perspectives and are thus relevant to many people. Avoiding the discussion of controversial issues in schools means that education leaves it to the students themselves to form their opinions on these controversies, and to this end, to choose their own channels of information. It thus neglects the pedagogical function of education. Teaching and learning about controversial issues involves actively working with the values of democracy and tolerance together.

In most cases, a dialogical methodology is recommended for teaching values, particularly in reference to the attitudinal component of values. Dialogical learning implies an openness to investigating a topic together, a willingness to study different perspectives, an active

interaction between participants, and a willingness of all those involved to change their ideas, and consequently their values.

Accepting that teaching controversial issues is part of teaching common values and is an important task for teachers, implies that education policy must support teachers in this endeavour. This can be achieved through the following means:

- *Professional development* of content on these controversies and teaching methodology (for a more dialogical way of teaching).
- Creation of *working conditions* by schools for implementing such approaches (e.g. small classes) and time for collegial supervision.
- *Community-building* and holding dialogues with parents as part of teachers' professional development, since controversial issues also often create tensions with (parts of) the community and some parents.

7.6. Common values in the curriculum and in school

How is the teaching of values addressed in schools? Both existing research as well as our studies show that the teaching of common values takes place within four areas:

- *Specific value-oriented subjects*, like citizenship education and moral education
- *Other value-related subjects*, in particular social studies, history, geography, philosophy, religious studies and world view studies
- *Cross-curricular activities*, including projects both in and outside schools (e.g. mock elections, service learning, etc.)
- *School culture*, giving students the chance to practice and experience common values at first-hand

Our studies show that all four ways of teaching values have their strengths, and together contribute to an integrated comprehensive way of teaching common values. *Specific value-oriented subjects* in particular, can focus on the attitude component of values and on giving meaning to these values. In this research, we find that in many countries the focus is more on knowledge transfer and less on attitudes; hence, greater focus on attitude development is desirable. Addressing common values in *other subjects* can link value development to the knowledge base of important scientific disciplines and thereby enhance the knowledge foundation of values. *Cross-curricular activities*, on the other hand, offer an active and critical engagement with common values in practice, particularly when they address an intensive link with life outside school. The country case studies in our research show interesting examples of such activities. Finally, through a democratic *school culture* students themselves can practice and experience the common values. However, many experts argued that most schools do not offer strong possibilities for students to directly experience democracy and tolerance. In fact, the school culture, with its hierarchy, formal structure, and focus on knowledge transfer, often strengthens an adaptive type of citizenship. More democratic relationships are definitely possible in education, and if adopted within school culture, can contribute to developing democratic knowledge, skills as well as attitudes.

Our research suggests that a broad whole school approach incorporating all these four areas, i.e. offering a combination of specific value-oriented subjects; other value-related subjects; cross-curricular activities and a democratic school culture, is both desirable and necessary for the strong implementation of TCV in schools.

7.7. Value learning process: experiencing, critical reflection and attitude development

Values have a knowledge, skill, as well as attitude component. Attitude development is a complex and difficult educational process that requires active involvement of students in reflective and dialogical learning processes (Solomon, Watson & Battistich, 2001; Haste, 2004). Many experts mentioned that TCV in their countries currently focuses primarily on the teaching of knowledge. Attitude development receives less attention and requires more complex learning activities than are commonly offered in most schools. The suggestions given by the experts and the interviewed teachers in the context of learning values can be divided into three areas:

1. Organising learning processes in which students reflect on values in an *inquiry-oriented manner and in dialogue* with other students. These kind of learning processes are still uncommon in most EU classrooms, where a traditional teacher-directed transfer of knowledge is dominant.
2. Giving students the opportunity to *practice democracy* in their own school. These experiences can help in reflecting on and engaging in the values of democracy and tolerance at first-hand.
3. Offering more opportunities for learning *outside of school* through community projects, service learning, or action-research which brings students into contact with experiences of other citizens, and gives them a chance to build personal experiences in real-life contexts. Linking learning outside of school with learning that takes place within schools can deepen both the knowledge and construction of values.

A curriculum policy that aims to stimulate value development must introduce a fundamental change in teaching and learning approaches. This requires a change in teacher professionalism and in other organisational educational conditions in schools and in society.

Reflective, dialogical and democratic learning processes

Teaching values involves more than simple knowledge transfer. Value development is based on the joint learning of knowledge, skills as well as attitudes. The affective component of values in particular, is a learning process in which the learner has authorship over their specific meaning of and personal engagement with a value (Haste, 2004). Values cannot simply be transferred; but teachers can try to cultivate the development of these values. Reflective and dialogical learning processes are needed to support the personal value development of students.

The values of democracy and tolerance can be cultivated by what we call democratic learning processes (Veugelers, 2011a, 32). *Democratic learning* consists of developing concern for others and appreciation of diversity; stimulating openness to joint consensus-building; standing for your autonomy, critical thinking and action; and involvement in expanding humanity and building democracy as a permanent process.

Both the policy and curriculum studies in this research show that nearly all EU Member States find TCV important, and most countries have recently intensified their policies in this regard. The studies also show that both the policy and practice of TCV can be further improved. In the following sections we focus on possibilities for improving implementation of TCV policy.

Relative position of TCV

In many EU Member States, TCV is less important than other topics, both at the political and school levels. Nevertheless, attention to values in education policy, including those of democracy and tolerance, has been growing in the last decade in many Member States. There are several reasons for this trend, including economic concerns, lack of political participation and trust, growing multicultural experiences, and the integration of newcomers into nations. Societal developments have a very strong influence on teaching values like democracy and tolerance. Recently, such societal influences have stemmed from the terrorists attacks. In the 1990s, however, it was the change from communism or other kinds of dictatorship to democracy that stimulated the inclusion of teaching democracy and tolerance in education policy. Hoskins et al. (2012) (see also 2.4) mentioned that in the 1990s there was a strong focus on democracy in the education policy of most Eastern European countries. Our research shows that in many Eastern European EU Member States this focus on democracy in education policy has now been contested. One exception, however, seems to be the youngest democracy amongst our case studies, namely Slovenia, where there has been a relatively strong education policy on democracy.

In general, our research demonstrates that education is once again viewed as an important institution for socialising youngsters for participation in society and for their personal subjectification (Biesta, 2011). The pedagogical and moral task of education has been rediscovered. In the 1990s, education was largely considered as the technical transfer of knowledge and skills; now, education is once again seen as a value-oriented pedagogical process. Furthermore, it seems that this pedagogical and moral orientation of education will become even more relevant in the future. Given current socio-political developments, the position of TCV in relation to other topics/subjects should therefore be reinforced.

Educational vision for Teaching Common Values in policy

Many EU Member States are working on a political and educational vision on value development and the teaching of common values. In most countries, however, this debate and policymaking can be improved, and more education partners can be included in the process of formulating such documents. Given the fact that the values of democracy and tolerance are context-based and part of the dynamic social, cultural, and political developments, a permanent debate on this topic is desirable.

Nevertheless, in order to set some long-term goals for education, it is also desirable to have an education policy that is not too strongly connected to daily politics. Several experts argued that in their countries the policy on TCV changes with each new government; in chapter 7, we called this the politicisation of education. This, however, does not help schools in implementing TCV. A well-developed vision on TCV that transcends daily political life can help schools in practising TCV.

Implementing Teaching Common Values in schools

Earlier we argued for a good balance between policy steering and school autonomy. The general aims and curriculum guidelines can be steered by policy. Policy steering can target TCV content, curriculum structure, teaching and learning activities in general, and the school culture. Further, however, schools can use their autonomy to articulate their own pedagogical ideas and activities that suit their specific student composition. Education policy can thus indicate general directions for TCV, while schools can further shape these frameworks.

Additionally, TCV is not the responsibility of individual teachers, but of the whole team. In working as a team, teachers can also model the processes of democracy and tolerance.

Working with differences, and being democratic and tolerant about these differences, are part of the work of education professionals.

Teacher education and professional development

Based on the conducted interviews, many experts argued for more attention to be given to TCV in teacher education, in particular in guiding dialogues and organising cross-curricular activities both in schools and outside schools in the wider society. Teachers need to broaden their competences in these areas by means of training, collegial consultation and networking. Creating opportunities for teachers of different schools to work together in networks can help them broaden their horizons and feel part of the larger education community, thus stimulating them to take on responsibility not only for their own schools but for the entire community (Veugelers & O' Hair, 2005; Hargreaves, 2008).

Education policy in Europe

In the next chapter, we will formulate recommendations at the level of the European Union as well as the level of the Member States. The recommendations will focus on how the education policy of the Member States can support the teaching of the common values of democracy and tolerance. We will formulate recommendations for all EU Member States, and give examples to illustrate the suggested developments and activities. Nevertheless, to round up this chapter we would like to mention here that EU education policy can strongly benefit from the following three processes (see also Heritier, 2001; Kuhlmann, 2001):

- *Benchmarking*: comparing the different nation states on their education goals, activities and outcomes (through research).
- *Modelling*: presenting interesting examples that can help other nations (through development).
- *Dialogue*: stimulating interaction between teachers, students and even policymakers to share experiences and to experience other possibilities (through exchange).

These three innovative processes apply to both the European Union as well as the individual Member States. At the national level, however, these processes need to be complemented by concrete guidelines and curricula.

8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

KEY CONCLUSIONS

Policy

- In the past decades, and in particular in recent years, most countries have taken **new initiatives** related to teaching values in secondary education. Greater attention to the teaching of values is evident in the education policies of all EU Member States. This is also the case for the values of democracy and tolerance. Teaching Common Values (henceforth TCV) is **fairly important** in half of the EU Member States; however, compared to other topics and subject areas, the attention given to TCV is still lacking.
- Analysis of the practice of TCV in 12 EU Member States shows that there are only a few Member States where the different components of teaching for democracy and tolerance receive **systematic attention** across schools.
- TCV is often not very strongly implemented in education policy in terms of **concrete curriculum instruments** and in supporting measures. This results in practices that do not always give real attention to TCV. The EU Member States differ in the extent to which they **steer the curriculum** in general, and teaching common values like democracy and tolerance in particular. They also differ in terms of the **relative autonomy** given to schools. Nevertheless, schools often have plenty of freedom in implementing TCV.
- In the education systems of several EU Member States, there is a strong **tendency to separate students into different groups**, based on different learning capacities. This reduces possibilities to learn about social and cultural differences. A second element that limits diversity amongst students is the existence of private or religious schools.

Curriculum

- In most EU Member States, there is a focus in practice on **political participation**. In TCV, attention should also be given to **democracy as a process of deliberation and consensus-building**, and to **creating a democratic society** that values freedom of speech, equality, and making society more just and inclusive. Strong education practices that relate to all these different components of democracy are scarce.
- Tolerance is addressed in education particularly at the **interpersonal level**, quite a lot at the **level of cultural groups**, but very little at the level of an **inclusive society**.
- While the **national orientation** gets abundant attention in education policy, attention given to the **international dimension** is not very strong, although it is growing. Teaching about the own nation is often susceptible to an uncritical approach.

Schools

- Each country makes its own choices in the way it incorporates TCV into the curriculum. Common values are imparted through special **value-oriented subjects** like citizenship education and moral education in half of the EU Member States. Values are involved in many **other school subjects** as well, but not always explicitly. Further, schools offer quite a lot of **cross-curricular activities**, both in and outside of school, that pay attention to values. However, schools do differ in the extent and manner of their cooperation with the community and NGOs.
- The foundation of **school cultures** on the values of democracy and tolerance is not very strong across the Member States. Currently, **learning** also value-related.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Policy

- The EU and the government of each EU Member State has to take **responsibility** in contributing to the sustainability of society and in supporting democracy and tolerance as common values. An **intensive dialogue** in society on what constitute the common values and the role of education in promoting them, is an expression of a lively democracy and is a challenge for tolerance. Both EU Member States as well as the EU should support such dialogues.
- **Steering in education policy** should target the general aims, guidelines for content, and subjects and activities. Beyond that, education policy should challenge schools to use their **relative autonomy** to demonstrate their own vision for and their practice of teaching common values.
- The EU can **challenge its Member States** to develop their own educational vision on teaching common values like democracy and tolerance, stimulate the development of **innovative practices**, promote the **exchange** of teachers and students to help them experience different political and educational practices, and stimulate **comparative research**.

Curriculum

- Greater attention should be given in education policy and practice to all three **components of democracy**, namely political participation, democratic politics, and a democratic society. TCV also has to address all three elements of value development, namely **knowledge, skills**, as well as a democratic **attitude**.
- Besides tolerance, concepts with more **positive attitudes** such as appreciation, pluralism, and respectful engagement should be used. Tolerance can be addressed at the interpersonal level, at the level of social and cultural groups, and at the level of an inclusive society. **All three levels** need more attention in education policy and practice.
- Learning democracy and tolerance can be strengthened by promoting social and cultural **diversity in schools and classrooms**. Education policy should thus stimulate diversity in education (amongst both students and teachers).
- Each country has to find a good balance in education between a **national and an international orientation**, so as to strengthen democracy and tolerance both nationally and internationally, and address both in a critical way.

Schools

- Education policy on TCV should stimulate the **integrated use** of four ways of teaching values: **special value-oriented subjects, integration of values into other subjects, cross-curricular activities**, and a **democratic school culture**.
- Teaching common values needs more **reflective and dialogical learning** processes in which students reflect and enter into dialogue with others about their experiences and values. Teaching democracy and tolerance also needs more **democratic learning** in which students can learn to collaborate, deliberate, appreciate differences and find consensus.
- Teachers should be afforded possibilities, as part of their professional development, to **learn these varied ways of teaching**. This can be implemented, in particular, through co-teaching, promoting mutual support and networking.
- Schools should be at the centre of their community and serve as the pedagogical engine for **community** development. **Parents, community groups and NGOs** should surround the school and partner up in educating young people. Mutual support makes education more meaningful for students and can create a strong pedagogical community.

In this final chapter we formulate the overall conclusions and recommendations stemming from our research on TCV. We start with some remarks about the strengths and limitations of our research.

8.1 Strengths and limitations of the research

As explained in chapter 2, our study complements and adds to the earlier studies on teaching values, such as the ICCS and the Eurydice study on citizenship education and the NESET II study on tolerance, in the following ways:

- The common values of democracy and tolerance have been analysed in a more concrete and distinct way by introducing different components of democracy and tolerance.
- The national and international orientation of teaching democracy and tolerance has been studied.
- The policy of teaching common values has been investigated in all 28 EU Member States.
- The practice of teaching common values has been analysed in a careful selection of 12 EU Member States.
- The role of NGOs in TCV policy and practice has been studied.

8.1.1. Limitations of the research

The aim of this research was to give insight into the policy and practice of TCV in all 28 EU Member States, with a focus on trends, developments and new initiatives. Nevertheless, research on teaching values is complex and requires the development of novel concepts and instruments. While this has been undertaken to a vast extent in our research, many of the issues addressed herein need further exploration in different kinds of studies. Both comparative cross-national studies as well as in-depth studies on TCV policy and practice in individual countries can complement our research.

The research in each country was conducted by one academic expert who had previously published research in this area in international scientific journals. Further, the 12 country case studies, also carried out by experts, presented a more in-depth analysis of the policy and practices of TCV within these countries, and were based on the investigation of relevant documents and reports on teaching common values, as well as extensive interviews with a policymaker, an NGO representative and four teachers within each of the 12 countries. However, in the limited time frame afforded to this research, it was not possible to organise a survey study amongst a larger group of teachers and/or NGO representatives.

The experts in charge of the country case studies all participated in a joint seminar in Utrecht, in the Netherlands, in which they presented and together discussed their concept reports. This meeting contributed to the comparative perspective of this research.

In our opinion, this research presents an interesting overview of TCV policy and practice in the EU Member States. However, a lot more quantitative and qualitative research on education policy and practices both within countries and within the EU is desirable.

What conclusions can we draw from our research and what kind of recommendations can we formulate? Most recommendations apply to both education policy as well as schools. If necessary, however, we draw a distinction between these two levels.

We start with education policy in section 8.2, and proceed to the values of democracy and tolerance in section 8.3. The measures of policy steering and school autonomy are addressed in section 8.4. Section 8.5 covers the teaching of values in schools and society.

We round up this chapter, and this report, with section 8.6 which discusses what the EU can do to improve teaching of the values of democracy and tolerance.

8.2. Education policy

Teaching values has always been a part of the education policy of EU Member States. However, our research shows that in the past decades, and in particular in recent years, most countries have taken *new initiatives* related to teaching values. Greater attention to the teaching of values is evident in all EU Member States. This is also the case for the values of democracy and tolerance. Teaching Common Values is *fairly important* in half of the EU Member States; however, compared to other topics and subject areas, the attention given to TCV is still lacking (see 4.1).

The *arguments for starting new initiatives* and reinforcing attention to TCV can vary. The arguments mentioned most often in our studies were: declining political participation and trust, growing pluralism, new immigrant groups, and terrorism. Some experts also mentioned the transformation from authoritarian regimes to more democratic regimes, and the financial and economic crises as arguments for increasing attention to TCV. Mostly, countries encounter a mix of these different arguments for supporting TCV initiatives. Sometimes, urgent arguments, like the recent radicalism and terror, are also given in favour of TCV. The trend in most countries is, however, to transcend these more incidental causes by presenting a *more comprehensive view on teaching common values* by focusing on values like democracy and tolerance.

Education is always a cultural-political project, in which a country aims to transfer its cultural heritage, and socialise and foster its citizens to contribute to its society. The focus and articulation of this cultural-political project strongly depends on the political orientation of a country. Our research shows that there is a strong link between policy and education; in all EU Member States, *policy influences education* (see 6.3). The research also shows that different groups differ in their ideas about society, and that societal debates on values are just as important in building democracy and an education policy for teaching common values.

Education is considered a shared societal responsibility, or a *public good*. Education can fulfil this role through a clear and detailed education policy, which also targets the area of teaching common values like democracy and tolerance. However, and particularly relevant to this politically sensitive domain of teaching values, the case studies in this research show that too much concern for politics in the curriculum for teaching common values, can lead to changes in the curriculum each time a new government comes to power. Education should therefore focus on more long-standing political traditions, like democracy and tolerance, and not on incidental political developments.

Based on these findings on the key components of TCV, we propose the following recommendations to policymakers.

Recommendations for policymaking

- The EU and the government of each EU Member State has to take *responsibility* in contributing to the sustainability of society and supporting democracy and tolerance as common values. Education can play a crucial role in fostering these values. An *intensive dialogue* in society on what constitute the common values and the role of education in promoting them, is an expression of a lively democracy and a challenge for tolerance. EU Member States and the EU should support such dialogues.
- Each EU Member State should develop a *pedagogical vision* on teaching common values like democracy and tolerance, and the role of schools therein. A political

concern for education and for teaching common values is normal. Nonetheless, education benefits from long-term policy with a focus on the main concerns and developments.

- Because of the importance of the common values of democracy and tolerance for the future of democratic societies, the *relative position* of teaching common values in education policy and, in particular, in the curriculum should be made stronger.

8.3. The common values of democracy and tolerance

Nations have a *cultural-political policy* which supports the building of the nation and, as the term suggests, its policy and its culture. Democracy and tolerance can be part of this cultural-political policy. Our research, in particular the education policy study carried out in all the 28 EU Member States (see chapter 4), shows that democracy and tolerance are in fact part of such cultural-political policies, and are operationalised in the education policy and practice. All three *components of democracy*, namely *political participation*, *democratic politics*, and *democratic society*, receive some attention in policy and practice (see 4.5). However, in most EU Member States, there is a focus on political participation. In teaching common values, attention should also be given to democracy as a process of deliberation and consensus-building and to creating a democratic society that values freedom of speech, equality, and making society more just and inclusive. These more normative aspects of democratic politics and society, in particular, are crucial for the engagement of people in a democracy and for making a democracy stronger. The analysis of the TCV practices in the 12 EU Member States (see 6.1) revealed that strong education practices relating to these components of democracy are scarce. Given the importance of these values for a stable and sustainable world, they should be given much more attention in both politics and education.

The second common value in this study is tolerance. Tolerance is, in our view, part of democracy. Like democracy, tolerance is about people living together. However, we opine that the concept of tolerance is not positive enough, since it mainly concerns acceptance of differences and not necessarily appreciation. Of course not everybody can always appreciate everything, but tolerance as a standard moral criterion is still too minimal. Concepts like appreciation, pluralism and respectful engagement, on the other hand, are more positive and can contribute more meaningfully to a democratic society. The policy study in our research showed that tolerance is addressed in education particularly at the *interpersonal level*, quite a lot at the *level of cultural groups*, but very little at the level of an *inclusive society* (see 4.6).

In the theoretical framework of this research, we distinguish between a *national* and an *international orientation*. Both orientations are necessary within education. A national orientation is needed for building and sustaining society and the nation state. An international orientation, on the other hand, is necessary to address the increasing connectedness in a globalising world, where growing links between the nation and the world make one's own nation more diverse. Further, supranational cooperation between nation states, like in the EU, can also be driven by common values like democracy and tolerance. While the national orientation gets quite a lot of attention in education policy (see 4.7); attention for the international dimension is not very strong, although it is growing. Teaching about the own nation is susceptible to an uncritical approach.

Recommendations for democracy and tolerance

- Greater attention should be given in education policy and practice to all three *components of democracy*, namely *political participation*, *democratic politics*, and *democratic society*. It is also important to distinguish between *knowledge* about

democracy, democratic *skills*, and a democratic *attitude*. The teaching of common values has to address all these elements.

- Besides tolerance, other concepts relating to living together (with differences) can be used as well, especially those with more *positive attitudes* such as appreciation, pluralism, respectful engagement, etc. As defined in this research, tolerance can be observed on the interpersonal level, between social and cultural groups, and in making society more inclusive. *All three levels* need more attention in education policy and in practice.
- Each country has to find a good balance in education between a *national and an international orientation*, so as to strengthen democracy and tolerance both nationally and internationally; and both in a critical way.

8.3.1. Inclusion of different social and cultural groups

The values of democracy and tolerance presuppose differences, and people need to be able to deal with these differences. Experiencing and reflecting on differences are the foundational elements of learning democracy and tolerance. These elements help students in analysing the different perspectives and the influence of different contexts. In the education systems of several EU Member States, there is a strong *tendency to separate students into different groups*, based on different learning capacities. The result of these selection and tracking (or streaming) processes is a strong grouping along the lines of social and cultural differences. This reduces possibilities to learn about differences. A second element that limits diversity amongst students is the existence of private or religious schools. These schools are mostly less diverse than public schools and do not necessarily focus on what constitutes the public good, but on the good of their own particular community.

Recommendations for inclusion of different social and cultural groups

- Learning democracy and tolerance can be strengthened by social and cultural *diversity in schools and classrooms*. Education policy should thus stimulate diversity in education (amongst students and teachers).
- From the point of view of learning democracy and tolerance, *segregation* between different social and cultural groups should be *reduced*. To meet students of other social and cultural groups and to experience both commonalities and differences, tracking/streaming of pupils in schools should be diminished, and should not be implemented too early on in the school career.
- To avoid pupils from living too strongly in their own communities and not encountering diversity, *public education* with a strong link to different communities should be stimulated.

8.4. Education policy steering and school autonomy

Both the policy and curriculum studies in this research show that TCV is often not very strongly implemented in education policy in terms of concrete curriculum instruments and in supporting measures (see 4.1 and 6.1). This results in practices that do not always give real attention to TCV. Thus, there are gaps between TCV policy and practice. The question that arises then is how to better implement TCV, using, in particular, the relation between policy steering and school autonomy.

Education policy can employ different levels of *steering*, with the use of different instruments. For instance, education policy can focus on headlines such as the central aims and some general guidelines, or on a kind of restricted curriculum which leaves a lot of

autonomy for schools in how they actually address this curriculum. The policy can also be further extended to give more concrete guidelines or even a prescribed curriculum that schools have to follow. The EU Member States differ in the extent to which they steer the curriculum in general, and teaching common values like democracy and tolerance in particular (see 4.2 and 4.4).

Values, even common values, are given concrete articulation in specific contexts, and people develop values in a *social-constructivist learning process*, which needs a connection between own experiences, the interest of the learner, and the values taught by the teacher. It is important that the curriculum of teaching common values provides some space to schools to build their own educational environment and content-oriented focus in order to guide the personal value development of each student.

Autonomy of schools is always a *relative autonomy*. Schools, in particular those offering secondary education, function within the framework of the education policy; policy sets the limits and possibilities for school autonomy. Nations can differ in the relative autonomy they give to schools. In relation to teaching common values, we see a wide palette ranging from no/barely any autonomy (in e.g. France) to a high level of autonomy (in e.g. the Netherlands).

Based on our research, we advise for a *moderate position* in which there is a *balance between steering and autonomy of schools* (see 7.3). Steering can target the general aims, guidelines for content, and subjects and activities for stimulating policy implementation and ensuring that all schools teach democracy and tolerance. Further, all schools can be asked to use their relative autonomy to demonstrate their vision for and practice of teaching democracy and tolerance.

Our research, in particular the curriculum study (see 6.1), shows that the autonomy given to schools is often not used to advance the practice of teaching common values. Policy steering for teaching common values is also less strong compared to steering that targets the teaching of other educational topics. Moreover, the monitoring of teaching practices through assessment procedures and inspectorates is considerably less in the area of values than other subject areas in schools. In some countries, the practice of TCV is widespread. This depends, in particular, on the *commitment of schools and teachers* to work on teaching common values. Thus, whether schools take the autonomy granted to them seriously depends mainly on the pedagogical visions of the school and the interest and competences of teachers.

Schools are embedded in communities. These communities can also try to influence the teaching of values and can give students opportunities to learn about values in concrete practices. In the curriculum study, we gathered information about the role of NGOs. We find some but not a lot of examples of civil society and NGO involvement in our studies (see 6.2.4).

Recommendations for policy regarding steering and school autonomy

- Each nation should try to find a good *balance* between policy steering and giving autonomy to schools. The perspective of steering expresses what society expects from all schools with regard to teaching common values. Autonomy, on the other hand, gives schools the space to develop their own pedagogical vision for developing values, within their own context, through the active involvement of teachers and students. Achieving a balance between these two perspectives is therefore a challenge imbibing the concepts of democracy and tolerance themselves. *Steering* in education policy should target the general aims, guidelines for content, and subjects and activities. Beyond that, education policy should challenge schools to use their

relative autonomy to demonstrate their own vision for and practice of teaching common values.

- It is important that *schools and teachers* support the idea that education can contribute to cultivating democracy and tolerance, and not only through the transfer of knowledge, but also by developing certain attitudes. Schools should consider value development an essential element of their educational task, and should place teachers at the heart of their profession.
- Schools should be at the centre of their community and serve as the pedagogical engine for *community* development. Parents, community groups and NGOs should surround the school and partner up in educating young people. Mutual support makes education more meaningful for students and can create a strong pedagogical community.

8.5. Teaching Common Values in schools and society

8.5.1. Subjects, cross-curricular activities and school culture

Values can be taught in *different ways*. Common values can be imparted through special value-oriented subjects like citizenship education and moral education (in half of the EU Member States). They can also be integrated into other more value-related regular school subjects. In fact, values are involved in many school subjects (if not all). The results of this research clearly show that each country makes its own choices in the way it incorporates TCV into the curriculum (4.2).

Our research also shows that schools offer quite a lot of cross-curricular activities that pay attention to values. These cross-curricular activities can take place either in or outside school. Out-of-school activities, in particular, can make learning experiences more real and can confront students with values in practice. Further, society, communities, civil society organisations and NGOs can all contribute to the teaching of common values through such activities.

Additionally, students gain more direct experiences with democracy and tolerance through the *school culture*. Within a school, students experience being members of a community and functioning in social relationships. Therefore, the kind of values practised in schools play an important role in the kind of experiences students gain in relation to democracy and tolerance. This research shows (6.3) that the foundation of school cultures on the values of democracy and tolerance is not very strong across the Member States and can be improved.

Our studies also show that all four ways of teaching values cited above are important. These different ways of teaching values can support each other and can contribute to attention for all aspects of value education, including knowledge, skills, as well as attitudes. Most school subjects are rather knowledge-oriented. Special value-oriented subjects can offer a greater challenge to students' attitudes, while in other value-related regular subjects at schools, values can be linked to disciplinary knowledge. In cross-curricular activities and school culture, skills can be practised and attitudes can be demonstrated and analysed. Together, thus, these four modes constitute a holistic and *integrated school approach* to teaching common values.

Recommendations for incorporating values in the curriculum

- Education policy on TCV should stimulate the *integrated use* of four modes or ways of teaching values.
 - *Special value-oriented subjects* can focus on the normative aspects of values, the context in which they function and the skills required.
 - *Integration of values into other subjects* can make regular subject content value-embedded and introduce different perspectives on values.
 - *Cross-curricular activities* can integrate the learning of values into real-life experiences, and establish a greater link between school and society.
 - *School culture*, when democratic, can offer students the opportunity to directly experience the common values of democracy and tolerance.

8.5.2. Reflective, dialogical and democratic learning processes

Teaching values is more than a simple transfer of knowledge. Value development is based on the joint learning of *knowledge, skills and attitudes*, and teachers should aim to cultivate all these three aspects in students. Further, reflective and dialogical learning processes are needed to support value development. The values of democracy and tolerance, in particular, can be cultivated by what we call democratic learning. Experts and teachers from nearly all the 12 studied Member States found that currently learning, also value-related, primarily involves a transfer of knowledge. Other kinds of learning processes, learning environments, and teaching are necessary for better teaching of common values. The experts and teachers argued for a more dialogical and inquiry-oriented learning. The values of democracy and tolerance require more reflective, dialogical and democratic learning processes.

Recommendations for reflective, dialogical and democratic learning processes

- Teaching common values needs more *reflective and dialogical learning* processes in which students reflect and enter into dialogue with others about their experiences and values. Teaching democracy and tolerance also needs more *democratic learning* in which students can learn to collaborate, deliberate, appreciate differences and find consensus.
- These different kinds of learning processes require a *school organisation* that facilitates teachers in working with their students in less traditional and more pedagogical ways.
- Teachers should be afforded possibilities, as part of their professional development, *to learn these varied ways of teaching*. This can be implemented, in particular, through means such as co-teaching, promoting mutual support, and providing opportunities to observe other educational practices.
- National policy can help realise these different kinds of teaching by creating good working conditions for teachers and supporting their professional development.

8.5.3. Professional development of teachers

In both studies constituting this research, the experts made a plea for more attention to values in teacher education, professional development, and in teacher collaboration. Similar to students, teachers also need to acquire knowledge as well as skills and attitudes in order to develop values. The professional development of teachers is necessary in all three areas.

Recommendations for professional development of teachers

- Stimulate teachers to acquire *content knowledge* about values, in particular democracy and tolerance, and knowledge about learning and teaching these values. Next to this, teachers should also acquire value-related *skills* and learn how to help students reflect, enter into dialogue with others and develop democratic skills.
- Support teachers in dealing with *controversial issues*, in particular, by offering collegial support and profound expertise on the content involved.
- Provide teachers with *possibilities to experience the values* of democracy and tolerance themselves, as well as value teaching and learning processes, in local, national and international settings.

8.6. What can the European Union do to advance Teaching Common Values?

In section 8.2 we gave some recommendations for the role of policy at both the national and EU level. In this last section we focus, in particular, on the role of the EU in education policy and in teaching common values like democracy and tolerance.

The EU Member States all have their own education policies, but can still work together on common topics like the values of democracy and tolerance. As the European Union, they can develop joint initiatives such as the Paris Declaration, and further still, they can learn from each other's practices and experiences. This research shows that the Member States value their independence in the education domain, but that they also appreciate support and possibilities for mutual learning.

- The EU can *challenge its Member States* to develop their own educational vision on teaching common values like democracy and tolerance. Studying each other's visions and holding dialogues about them can further contribute to a meaningful debate on what constitute the common values in the EU, and what is the role of education in cultivating them in citizens, in particular young people and newcomers. Different stakeholders like NGOs, civil society organisations and parents can participate in such dialogues.
- The EU can stimulate the development of *innovative practices* (and curriculum materials) that can function as examples for teachers.
- The EU can stimulate the *exchange* of teachers and students to help them experience different articulations of the values of democracy and tolerance in other EU Member States. Teacher exchange can also focus on *different education practices* for teaching common values.
- The EU can stimulate *comparative research* on ideas about citizenship, teaching values and its possible outcomes.
- And, as in all political and education practices, the EU can itself serve as an *example* of a lively democracy and tolerant society in action.

REFERENCES

- Althof, W. (2003). Implementing 'Just and Caring Communities' in elementary schools. In: Veugelers, W. & Oser, F. (Eds.). *Teaching in moral and democratic education* (153-172). Bern: Peter Lang.
- Althof, W. & Berkowitz, M.W. (2006), Moral education and character education: their relationship and roles in citizenship education. *Journal of Moral Education*, 35(4), 495-518.
- Apple, M. & Bean, J. (Eds.). (1995). *Democratic schools*. Alexandria: ASCD.
- Ball, S. (2012). *Politics and policy making in education: explorations in sociology*. London: Routledge.
- Banks, J. (2008). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship in a global age. *Educational Researcher*, 37(1), 129-139.
- Barber, B. (2004). *Strong democracy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid modernity*. London: Polity Press.
- Bekerman, Z. & Zemblyas, M. (2012). *Teaching contested narratives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bevort A. & Veugelers W. (2016) Active citizenship compared in France and the Netherlands. *The Journal Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, (11)3, 315-332.
- Biesta, G.J.J. (2011). *Learning democracy in school and society: Education, lifelong learning and the politics of citizenship*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Bîrzea, C. (2005). *Learning democracy: Education policies within the Council of Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (1970). *La reproduction*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.
- Bague, R. (2015). Five challenges for European democracies. In: Middelaar, L. van & Parijs, P. van (Eds.). *After the storm: How to save democracy in Europe* (41-52). Tiel: Lannoo.
- Brint, S. (1998). *Schools and society*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Buxarra, M. R. & Esteban, F. (2013). Why moral motivation is motivating by nature. In: Heinrich, K., Oser, F. & Lovat, T. (Eds.). *Handbook on moral motivation: What makes people acting morally right?* (607-622). Rotterdam, SensePublishers.
- Charmaz, A. (2011). A constructivist grounded theory analysis of losing and regaining a valued self. In: Wertz, J. (Eds.). *Five ways of doing qualitative analysis* (165-204). New York: the Guildford Press.
- Council of Europe. (2009). *Protecting the rights of Roma*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Pub.
- Council of Europe. (2010). *Council of Europe charter on education for democratic citizenship and human rights education: Recommendation Cm/Rec(2010)7*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Pub.
- De Groot, I., Goodson, I. & Veugelers, W. (2014) Dutch adolescents' narratives of their citizenship efficacy: "Hypothetically, I could have an Impact". *Educational Review*, 66(2), 148-167.

- De Winter, M. (2012). *Socialization and civil society*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Department for Education (2014). *The national curriculum in England: Framework document*, on www.gov.uk/government/publications.
- Dewey, J. (1916). *Education and democracy*. New York: Free Press.
- Dijkstra, A. & De la Motte, P.I. (Eds.) (2015). *Social outcomes of education*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Durkheim, E. (1923/1971). *Moral education*. New York: Free Press.
- Dürr, K., Spajić-Vrkaš, V. & Martins, I. F. (2000). *Strategies for learning democratic citizenship*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- EACEA (2016). *The structure of the European education systems 2016/17*. Brussels: EACEA.
- European Commission (2016), *Education & Training 2020*, http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/strategic-framework_en
- EURYDICE (2012). *Citizenship education in Europe*. Brussels: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency.
- EURYDICE (2016). *Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin.
- Fullan, M. & Hargreaves, A. (Eds.) (2014). *Change wars*. Bloomington: Solution Tree.
- Georgi, V.B. (2008). New Perspectives on Citizenship Education in Europe. In: V.B. Georgi, (Ed.). *The making of citizens in Europe: New perspectives on citizenship education*. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.
- Gewirtz, S. & Cribb, A. (2008). Taking identity seriously: dilemma's for education policy and practice. *European Educational Research Journal*, 7(1), 39-49.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Giroux, H. (1989). *Schooling for democracy*. London: Routledge.
- Goodlad, J. (1979). *Curriculum inquiry*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Goodson, I. (2005). *Learning, curriculum and life politics*. London: Routledge.
- Goodson, I. (2010). Times of educational change: towards an understanding of patterns of historical and cultural refraction. *Journal of Education Policy*, 25(6). 767-775.
- Grover, S. (2007). Children's right to be educated for tolerance: minority rights and inclusion. *Education and Law*, 19(1), 59-70.
- Habermas, J. (1994). Three normative models of democracy. *Constellations*, 1(1), 1-10.
- Hargreaves, A. & Fink, D. (2012). *Sustainable leadership*. Boston: Wiley.
- Haste, H. (2004). Constructing the citizen. *Political psychology*, 25(3), 413-440.
- Held, D. (2006). *Models of democracy*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Heritier, A. (2001). *New modes of governance in Europe*. Wien: RennerInstitut.
- Hess, D. & McAvoy (2014). *The political classroom*. London: Routledge.

- Hess, D. (2009). *Controversy in the classroom. The democratic power of discussion*. New York: Routledge,
- Hopgood, S. (2013). *The endtimes of human rights*. New York: Cornell University.
- Hoskins, B., Abs, H., Han, C., Kerr, D., & Veugelers, W. (2012). *Participatory citizenship in the European Union*.
http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/pdf/report_1_contextual_report.pdf
- ICCS (2010a). *ICCS 2009 International Report. Civic knowledge, attitudes and engagement among lower secondary school students in thirty-eight countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- ICCS (2010b). *ICCS 2009 European Report. Civic knowledge, attitudes and engagement among lower secondary school students in 24 European countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- ICCS (2016). *Assessment framework*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- Illeris, K. (2009). *Theories of learning*. London: Routledge.
- Isac, M.M., Maslowski R. & van der Werf, G. (2015). Native Student Attitudes towards Equal Rights for Immigrants. A Study in 18 European Countries. In: M.M. Isac (Ed.). *Tolerance through education: Mapping the determinants of young people's attitudes towards equal rights for immigrants and ethnic/racial minorities in Europe* (35-57) Luxembourg: European Union.
- Joffe, H. (2012). Thematic analysis. In: Harper, D. & Thompson, A.R. (Eds). *Qualitative research methods in mental health and psychotherapy: A guide for students and practitioners* (209-224). UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Johnson, L. & Morris, P. (2010). Towards a framework for critical citizenship education. *Curriculum Journal*, 21, 77-96.
- Keating, A. (2014). *Education for citizenship in Europe: European policies, national adaptations and young people's attitudes*. London: Routledge.
- Keddle, A. (2015). Prioritizing social and moral learning amid conservative curriculum trends: spaces of possibility. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 47(3), 355-373.
- Kuhlmann, S. (2001). Future governance of innovation policy in Europe- three scenarios. *Research Policy*, 30, 953-976.
- Laegaard, S. (2010). Recognition and toleration: Conflicting approaches to diversity in education? *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 42(1), 22-37.
- Leeman, Y. & Wardekker, W. (2013) The contested professionalism of teachers meeting radicalizing youth in their classrooms. *International journal of inclusive education* 17(10), 1053-1066.
- Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of democracy*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- Malin, H., Tirri, K. & Liauw, I. (2015). Adolescent moral motivations for civic engagement: Clues to the political gender gap? *Journal of Moral Education* 44(1), 34-50.
- Middelaar, L. van & Parijs, P. van (Eds.) (2015). *After the storm: How to save democracy in Europe*. Tiel: Lannoo.
- Ministers of Education of the EU Member States (2015). *Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education*. Paris.

- Moree, D. (2008). *How Teachers Cope with Social and Educational Transformation; Struggling with Multicultural Education in the Czech Classroom*. Benešov: Eman.
- Mouffe, C. (2005). *On the political*. London: Routledge.
- Nucci, L., Krettenauer, T., & Narvaez, D. (2014). *Handbook of Moral and Character Education*. London: Routledge.
- Nussbaum, M. (2002). Education for citizenship in an era of global connection. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 21(4), 289-303.
- Official Journal of the European Journal (2016). *Consolidated version of the treaty on European Union*. C202/17.
- Oser, F. & Veugelers, W. (Eds.) (2008). *Getting involved: Global citizenship development and source of moral values*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Oshri, O., Sheaffer, T., & Shenhav, S. (2015). A community of values: democratic identity formation in the European Union. *European Union Politics*, 17(1), 114-137.
- Osler, A. & Starkey, H. (2010). *Teachers and human rights education*. London: Trentham Books.
- Peonidis, F. (2013). *Democracy as Popular Sovereignty*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Power, C., Higgins, A. & Kohlberg, L. (1989). *Lawrence Kohlberg's approach to moral education*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Print, M. & Lange, D. (2012) (Eds.): *Schools, curriculum and civic education for building democratic citizens*, Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Print, M. & Lange, D. (2013) (Eds.): *Civic education and competences for engaging citizens in democracies*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Putman, R.D. (2000). *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Reilly, J. & Niens, U. (2014). Global citizenship as education for peacebuilding in a divided society. *Compare*, 44(1), 53-76.
- Rifkin, J. (2004). *The European dream*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Robinson, S. (2010). 'Guardians of the system? : an anthropological analysis of early 21st century reform of an Australian educational bureaucracy'. University of Western Australia: doctorate thesis.
- Schuitema, J. & Veugelers, W. (2011). Multicultural contacts in education. *Educational Studies*, 37(1), 101-114.
- Shady, S. (2010). Tolerance, empathy, or inclusion? Insights from Martin Buber. In *Educational Theory*, 60(1), 81-96.
- Solomon, D., Watson, M., & Battistich, V.A. (2001). Teaching and schooling effects on moral/prosocial development. In: Richardson, V. (Ed.)". *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (4th edition) (566-603). Washington: AERA.
- Spring, J. (2004). *How educational ideologies are shaping global society*. Mahwah: Erlbaum.
- Stolk, V. (2015), *Tussen autonomie en humaniteit. De geschiedenis van levensbeschouwelijk humanisme in relatie tot opvoeding en onderwijs tussen 1850 en 1970 (Between autonomy and humanity. The history of modern humanism in relation to education between 1850 and 1970)*. Breda: Papieren Tijger. PhD-thesis University of Humanistic Studies.

- Tirri, K. & Nokelainen, P. (2011). *Measuring multiple intelligences and moral sensitivities in education*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Touraine, A. (1997). *What is democracy*. London: Westview Press.
- Van Driel, B., Darmody, M., & Kerzil, J. (2016). *Education policies and practices to foster tolerance, respect for diversity and civic responsibility in children and young people in the EU*. NESET II report. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Váradi, L. (2014). *Youths trapped in prejudice: Hungarian adolescents' attitudes towards the Roma*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Veugelers, W. (2004). Between autonomy and control. *Journal of Educational Change*, 5(2), 141-160.
- Veugelers, W. (2007). Creating critical-democratic citizenship education: Empowering humanity and democracy in Dutch education. *Compare*, 37(1), 105-119.
- Veugelers, W. (2011a). *Education and humanism*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers,
- Veugelers, W. (2011b). Theory and practice of citizenship education. The case of policy, science and education in the Netherlands. *Revista de Educacion*, 209-224.
- Veugelers, W. (2011c). The moral and the political in global citizenship education: appreciating differences in education. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 9(1). 3-4, 473-485.
- Veugelers, W. & O'Hair, M.J. (Eds.) (2005). *Network learning for educational change*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Veugelers, W. & Vedder, P. (2003). Values in teaching. *Teachers & Teaching*, 9(4), 377-390.

ANNEX 1

Questionnaire as part of the policy study on teaching common values

(The most relevant aspects of the questionnaire have been included here)

A. Education policy on Teaching Common Values

1. What is the *education policy* on fostering common values in curriculum and school culture in your country?
 - How does the government stimulate TCV?
 - What are the policy instruments used: formulated goals, regulations, suggestions, formal textbooks, assessments, etc.?
2. How *important* is teaching common values in the education policy?
 - Is there a policy vision on TCV?
 - Compare attention also with attention for other topics/subjects
3. Do schools have some *autonomy* in teaching common values and how are schools monitored/controlled?
 - Can schools develop their own vision on TCV?
 - Do schools need to report their view, methods, practices or results?
 - Are schools accountable for TCV by school inspectorate or local board?
4. How is teaching common values embedded in the *curriculum* (according to the education policy on TCV)?
 - Is TCV or citizenship education a separate subject?
 - Is it part of other subjects like social studies, history, geography, and religion/world view studies;
 - Is it part of cross-curricular activities?
 - Is there a difference in the focus in lower secondary and in higher secondary education?
 - Is there a difference in the focus between pre-university education and vocational education?

B. Content of Teaching Common Values

1.1 How important is *political participation* in the education policy on TCV?

Active participation; knowledge about politics and political institutions; knowledge about different levels of government; commitment to political involvement; active participation in the community

1.2 How important are *democratic politics* in the education policy on TCV?

Different meanings of the concept democracy; knowledge about democracy and democratic institutions; democratic attitude; democracy versus an authoritarian regime; skills to critically analyse politics; skills to participate in debates; skills to participate in decision-making

1.3 How important is *building a democratic society* in the education policy on TCV?

Positive attitude towards freedom of speech; commitment towards consensus building; skills to deal with civic issues; balancing between freedom and equality; commitment to make society more democratic, just, and inclusive

2.1 How important are *respectful interpersonal relations* in the education policy on TCV?

Social competences; empathy; interpersonal contacts; respectful behaviour in public spaces

2.2 How important is *tolerance towards other cultural groups* in the education policy on TCV?

Is the concept tolerance used or an equivalent concept like appreciation or respectful engagement; tolerance towards other social and cultural groups, ethnic diversity, religious freedom, sexual differences/LGBT; respecting the rights of minorities; getting involved with other social and cultural groups; skills to contribute to decision-making in a diverse groups/communities; tolerance towards differing points of view

2.3 How important is *building an inclusive society* in the education policy on TCV?

Knowledge about processes of inclusion and exclusion; knowledge about human rights; knowledge about (in)equality, discrimination, and social justice; commitment to reduce inequality, discrimination, and social injustice; commitment towards making citizens more self-responsible; commitment to contribute to economic prosperity; skills to critically analyse controversial issues in this regard

3.1 How important is a *national orientation* in the education policy on TCV?

Knowledge about the history of own country; a reflective attitude towards own nationality; knowledge about controversial issues in the history of the own country, like colonialism or authoritarian regimes; skills to critically analyse controversial issues in history

3.2 How important is an *international orientation* in the education policy on TCV?

Knowledge about European history and the European Union; a reflective attitude towards political integration in Europe and the EU; knowledge about globalisation, immigration, different cultures, religions/world views; a cosmopolitan orientation; skills to analyse the effects of globalisation for different countries and social and cultural groups

4. Now we ask you to score how important these topics are in the education policy on TCV?

1. *not important*
2. *slightly important*
3. *moderately important*
4. *important*
5. *very important*

Table A1.8.1: Importance of TCV in policy

1. How important is <i>political participation</i> in the education policy on TCV?	1	2	3	4	5
2. How important are <i>democratic politics</i> in the education policy on TCV?	1	2	3	4	5
3. How important is <i>building a democratic society</i> in the education policy on TCV?	1	2	3	4	5
4. How important are <i>respectful interpersonal relations</i> in the education policy on TCV?	1	2	3	4	5
5. How important is <i>tolerance towards cultural groups</i> in the education policy on TCV?	1	2	3	4	5
6. How important is <i>building an inclusive society</i> in the education policy on TCV?	1	2	3	4	5
7. How important is a <i>national orientation</i> in the education policy on TCV?	1	2	3	4	5

8. How important is <i>an international orientation</i> in the education policy on TCV?	1	2	3	4	5
9. How important is TCV in the whole education policy?	1	2	3	4	5

C. Attention in TCV policies for school culture and participation in society

- How important is the *participation of students* in schools in TCV policies?
School culture as democratic practice; active student participation; student councils; learning to follow rules and to get disciplined; to live and learn with other students
- What teaching and learning *methodologies* are recommended/prescribed in TCV policies? In a democratic sense, for example, in:
Cooperative learning; dialogues between students and with teachers; project work; simulation of political practices/mock elections
- Is *participation in society* as part of school activities an element of TCV policies?
In civil society/service learning; in political activities; in the local community
- What education policies support/hinder the emergence of a *diverse student and teacher population* in schools?
School choice; different tracks or not; common curriculum

D. History and future of education policy on Teaching Common Values?

- What has *changed* in the policy of TCV in the past 10 years in your country and why?
- What are *current debates* on TCV in your country and are there groups (stakeholders) with special ideas?
- What elements of the TCV education policy are *difficult to realise* in secondary schools in your country?
- What are *future plans* on TCV in the next 5 years in your country?
(Make, if necessary, a distinction between policy plans and your ideas)
- How can TCV be *improved* in your country? Policy, curriculum, schools, teachers
(Make, if necessary, a distinction between policy plans and your ideas)
- How can the *European Union* stimulate TCV?
(Think in particular about the possible influence on your own country)

References

What are the important *documents* on TCV in your country (or which documents have you used to answer these questions)?

What are the important *articles/books* on policy and practice of citizenship education in your country?

ANNEX 2

Design of the Curriculum case studies and interview guidelines

In the case studies, the data and analyses from the questionnaire will be extended by conducting 6 interviews (with a policy representative, NGO expert, and four teachers), in each of the 12 selected EU Member States. For each type of respondent, an interview guideline has been developed, based on the content and the structure of the questionnaire. Each case study will result in a text about one's own country situation with regard to TCV.

The format of this report is:

Policy

1. Some country characteristics
2. Education system and policy
3. Policy of Teaching Common Values/Citizenship Education

Practice of Teaching Common Values

1. Topics in Teaching Common Values
2. Activities and methodologies
3. Support by government policy
4. Constraints and possibilities

Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

1. Conclusion about policy and practice
2. Discussion about current state and future developments
3. Recommendations for schools, national policy and EU

References

Guidelines for interview with policymaker, Ministry of Education

(main points)

Education policy on Teaching Common Values

- Could you give a brief summary of the education policy on fostering common values in curriculum and school culture in your country, and the rationale behind this policy? (formulated goals, regulations, suggestions, formal textbooks, assessments, differences between education tracks; perspective on role of the government in stimulating TCV)
- How important is TCV in the education policy, when compared to attention for other topics/subjects?

Content of Teaching Common Values

- Which of these subdomains are *prevalent* in the education policy?
- Are there subdomains that receive *limited attention*?
- Are there specific *reasons* for a (lack of) clear policy on these subdomains? (for example, because the government emphasises school autonomy)

Attention in TCV policy for school culture, teacher methodology, and participation in society

- To what extent has the Ministry developed TCV policy in these areas?
- Are there specific reasons for (not) defining a clear policy in these areas?

- From the perspective of tolerance: is there an education policy that supports, or hinders, the emergence of a *diverse student and teacher population* in schools? (School choice; different tracks or not; common curriculum).

History and future of education policy on Teaching Common Values

- What are *recent changes* (<10 years) in education policy on TCV, in particular with regard to fostering democracy and tolerance? What instigated these changes?
- What elements of the education policy on TCV are *difficult to implement* in the schools?
- Does the Ministry have any concerns with regard to the current degree of *autonomy of teachers* and schools?
- What are *current debates* at the Ministry concerning desirable changes in education policy on TCV, concerning democracy and tolerance in particular? And which stakeholders are involved in these debates?
- What are *expected developments* in education policy on TCV (<5 years), and what has instigated these developments?
- What does the Ministry expect from the *European Union* in (further) stimulating TCV?

Guidelines for interview with head of education at an NGO

This interview focuses on developments in TCV policy from an NGO perspective.

Developments in TCV policy from an NGO perspective

- Which of the following subdomains are well covered in education policy, in your view?
- Which of the subdomains receive (too) little attention, in your view? And why?
- What were important changes in TCV policy in the last 5-10 years, in your view?
- What are important debates on TCV policy at the moment, in your view?
- What are desirable developments in TCV policy in this regard?

The influence of the NGO(s) on TCV policy & practice

- In the development of which subdomain(s) has this NGO been involved in the last five years?
- What challenges did the NGO face in this regard, if any?
- What plans does this NGO have on influencing TCV policy in the next few years?
- How would you characterise the role of the NGO(s) in the process of policymaking (relative influence; receptiveness to NGO perspectives)?
- Is there anything in particular that you would like to see different in the process of policymaking?
- Which NGOs have a significant impact on the development of TCV practices in our country?
- What type of activities do NGOs typically employ in our country?

Guidelines for interviews with expert teachers

This interview focuses on developments in TCV practices at the school level.

Developments in TCV practice

Democracy

- In which *subjects and extracurricular projects* do you and your colleagues explicitly foster democracy in your school?

- What *(sub)domains* are emphasised in the curriculum?
- What is an *example course/project* in your school?
- What *learning methodologies* are used in this context?

Tolerance

- In which *subjects and extracurricular projects* do you and your colleagues explicitly foster tolerance in your school?
- What *(sub)domains* are emphasised in the curriculum?
- What is an *example course/project* in your school?
- What *learning methodologies* are used in this context?
- Are democracy and tolerance predominantly *presented as national/European/ global values* in the curriculum?
- How are democracy and tolerance fostered at the level of the *school culture*?

Changes, challenges, and desirable developments in TCV practice and policy

- Which *changes* have occurred in attention to democracy and tolerance in your school over the last 5-10 years? What caused these changes?
- What *challenges* do you – and your colleagues – face when organising education for democracy and tolerance in your school?
- What *changes* would you like to occur in current practices in your school?
- To which extent are current *government regulations and guidelines* regarding citizenship education (democracy and tolerance in particular), helpful to you as a teacher?
- What would you like change in current *(inter)national education policy* on democracy and tolerance?

General information

School information: large/medium size city – rural area; educational tracks offered

Teacher: which subjects he/she teaches, and in which tracks

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES

POLICY DEPARTMENT **B** STRUCTURAL AND COHESION POLICIES

Role

The Policy Departments are research units that provide specialised advice to committees, inter-parliamentary delegations and other parliamentary bodies.

Policy Areas

- Agriculture and Rural Development
- Culture and Education
- Fisheries
- Regional Development
- Transport and Tourism

Documents

Visit the European Parliament website:

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses>

PHOTO CREDIT: iStock International Inc., Photodisk, Phovoir



ISBN 978-92-846-0764-8 (paper)
ISBN 978-92-846-0763-1 (pdf)

doi:10.2861/159922 (paper)
doi:10.2861/339926 (pdf)