

# Civic education in Portugal: curricular evolutions in basic education

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Any discussion of civic education in Portugal should begin by recognising both the specificities of Southern European countries and the communalities with the broader space of the European Union. In Southern Europe the history of democracy is a relatively recent one: only during the 70's Portugal, Spain and Greece experienced the restoration of democracy after living under dictatorial regimes. In Portugal, the so-called carnation revolution in 1974 ended a dictatorship that lasted for fifty years and only in 1976 a Constitutional Democracy was established after a period of some political agitation. This situation helps to understand why together with a recognition of the relevance of the school's role in promoting citizenship, there was an intense scepticism and fear of ideological indoctrination, closely related to educational experiences before 1974: God, Fatherland and Authority were majors themes in the school curricula during the dictatorship, so any new curricular proposal in the domain of civic education was intensely scrutinised, criticised and ultimately abandoned. As a result, civic education remained a strictly rhetorical social concern without agreement how schools should address political issues - and therefore, in practical terms, no space was devoted to it in the school curricula, apart from episodic and small-scale experiences.

The entrance in the European Economic Community in 1985, with the corresponding implications on educational policies, together with the emergence of a period of some political stability allowed for a consensus regarding educational issues with the approval of the 1986 Education Act. Basic (mandatory) education was extended to 9 years, and the Education Act clearly stated the promotion of active and critical citizens as a goal of education. In its article 48 it specifically previewed the creation of an area of personal and social education (PSE) in basic education including themes such as sex and family education, health education, environmental education, and civic education.

It is important to note that PSE was, during the 80's and early 90's, a common designation (1) in Europe (e.g. Italy, England and Wales, Ireland) for approaching social concerns with the role of the school in preventing youth problems (e.g. drugs, adolescents' pregnancy, intolerance, political apathy), preparing youngsters to deal with relevant life tasks (e.g. work-related, consumerism, environmental, interpersonal), and, in general, addressing non-strictly-academic issues (Campos 1991). The typical curricular strategies for operationalising PSE included cross-curricular infusion or dissemination of themes or skills (e.g. Belgium, France, England and Wales, Holland, Italy, Norway, Spain), and/or the creation or reorganisation of specific subjects or project areas for addressing these issues, including ethics or civics (e.g. Finland, France, Germany, Ireland) (Menezes 1999). As Nóvoa (1996) stresses the similarities across countries have to do with the fact that the development of a "European curriculum" (including the promotion of a European consciousness and citizenship, but also issues such as health and consumer education) is an area of particular influence of the European Union in national educational policymaking. These changes result, according to Bento (2000), from a critique of a bureaucratic code of curricular organization (Young 1998), and are a "sign of a transitional approach (...) that seems to incorporate innovation (...) and promote participants' empowerment (...) but might function (...) as measures of compensatory legitimation" (Bento 2000, 39), both from a political and a curricular point of view, since they are used to promote State's legitimacy (Weiler 1985) and still leave the (traditional) curricula intact (Galloway 1990; Sultana 1992). However, it should be kept in mind that stressing the school's role in promoting students' personal and social development is as old as the school itself (Beane 1990; Roldão 1999): in Europe, for instance, school had a central role in the development of national identities (Habermas 1992). It is true, however, that the most traditional curricular strategies

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generally involved knowledge-based subjects (such as Civics or Moral and Religious Education, which still exist in many educational systems today), while the emphasis on Personal and Social Education (or Development), and the concomitant creation of curricular spaces focusing on skills training - either specific or infused in "regular" curricular subjects (e.g. [Hopson, Scally 1980](#)) - was typical during the 80's, strongly under the influence of cognitive-behavioural perspectives ([Bandura 1969, 1986](#); [Meichenbaum 1977](#)) that were dominant in psychological theory during that period ([Martin 1990](#)). Growing concerns with social exclusion and political apathy, together with the recognition of diluted feelings of social belonging and cohesion, of growing phenomena of discrimination towards minority groups, and of youngsters (and also adults) political disengagement ([Torney-Purta, Schwille, Amadeo 1999](#)) gave rise, during the 90's, to a generalized discussion about citizenship in the public and scientific discourses ([van Steenbergen 1994](#)) (2) - and the apparently "new" emphasis on citizenship education after the mid-90's is clearly a consequence of this phenomena.

The Portuguese Curricular Reform of 1989 was naturally influenced by these experiences. Surrounded by intense debates and influences from various groups and institutions, including the Catholic Church and the Presidency of the Republic, PSE was finally instituted as a cross-disciplinary theme to be addressed by all subjects, as the object of a multidisciplinary project area, and as a specific subject (Personal and Social Development, PSD) alternative to Moral and Religious Education. Again, this decision was intensely criticised, and once more implementation was minimal. On the whole, only very few schools had PSD as an actual alternative for their students, mainly for lack of trained teachers (3). Research on the other two PSE curricular strategies was equally disappointing: when analysing subjects' syllabus and official guidelines cross-curricular dissemination of PSE goals and themes were present, but teachers, teacher training institutions, and students seldom recognised PSE as an actual practice ([Menezes, Xavier, Cibele 1997](#)); the project area was also rarely recognised as an instrument for promoting personal and social education with intensive complains on lack of teacher training to develop project work (in spite of countless initiatives of teacher's in-service training, see [Campos 1995](#)). The fact that mass schooling - a phenomenon that other European countries had already experienced decades ago - was challenging quality standards also resulted, at the political level, to a "back to the basics" discourse, which ultimately questioned the relevance of PSE.

In 1995, a government supported by the Socialist Party (on the centre-left wing of the political spectrum in Portugal) stated education as a major priority. An intense effort was done regarding pre-school education, and the need to balance the democratisation of education access with quality of learning in a country with persistent high levels of educational failure and drop-out (4) led to a process of "curricular reorganisation" that emphasised integration, diversity and citizenship. However, before addressing the current reorganisation of basic and secondary education, it is relevant to consider briefly some of the debates surrounding the 1989 Reform. The intense discussions that then surrounded the operationalisation of PSE are still influential today, and are essential for an understanding of the political decision making process regarding citizenship education.

## 1. The rise and fall of Personal and Social Education

The 1974 revolution had an immediate impact on education with the renewal of curricular contents, the establishment of a democratic model of school management, and democratising school access ([Grácio 1981](#)). Specific initiatives were developed to promote civic education, including an area of civic and polytechnic education (grades 7 and 8), a subject of Politics (grades 10 and 11) and a year of Civic Service before entrance in higher education. These were initiatives "conceived to consolidate the revolution" ([Stoer 1986, 195](#)) and that, together with the lack of formal support ([Brederode 1985](#)), accounted for their extinction in 1976 with the argument that they were prone to ideological indoctrination. Concerns about civic education were submerged by other topics until the 1986 Education Act (5) when personal and social education was included as an area of basic education. The consensus generated by this proposal might be due to several factors: a generalised recognition of the limits of a strictly academic curricula when it comes to helping students deal with real life problems, the situation of other European countries, and pressures from various social

groups (e.g. political parties, civic associations) and experts in educational sciences (Campos 1992). The problem was, as Barreto puts it, that "each one had a quite different vision of what should be the methods, the contents and the goals" of PSE (1996, 275).

The Commission for the Revision of the Educational System defended cross-dissemination of PSE goals in the various subjects (specially Maternal Language and Social Studies) together with one-hour per week curricular space coordinated by the class tutor and including

"debates, project work, seminars, (...) [PSE should be] an interdisciplinary area that involves all class teachers (6) (...) [conceived as] an open space in two ways: open to the participation of parents and other educational agents, and open to the specific interests of each class (...). This solution guarantees (...) the plurality and the effectiveness of this area (...) since it involves a team of various teachers, from different subject areas and probably with different epistemological perspectives and life visions (7)." (CRSE 1988, 122).

Also within the Commission, a specific work group, "Grupo Fraústo", proposed that PSE should be addressed mainly through curricular cross-dissemination and intentional consideration of the hidden curriculum, rejecting the creation of a specific space, for lack of trained teachers and possible problems regarding the definition of curricular contents; project work and students' involvement in the school management were privileged for operationalising PSE (Silva et al. 1988). In May 1988, the President of the Episcopal Commission of Christian Education considered that "it is unacceptable to create a subject of "PSE" imposed to all by the school (...) since it ignores the option of the majority of parents (...) and the fact that Christian ethic includes the moral principles universally accepted" (cit. in Campos 1992). This position of the Catholic Church restricted the scope of PSE to ethical education, in a clear reduction of the goals stated in the Education Act. This was underlined by the National Council of Education (NCE) that appealed to the various topics included in the Education Act (health education, consumer education, sex education, ...) and considered that PSE involves the development of specific "scientific knowledge, psychological attitudes and processes, and action competencies (...) that should be provided to all students" (CNE 1989, 411), defending the creation of a curricular space and excluding its conception as a "subject".

In spite of this, in 1989, the Ministry of Education decided to operationalise PSE as a cross-curricular goal, as the object of a multidisciplinary project area (including in grades 7 to 9 a mandatory programme of civic education), and as a specific subject alternative to Moral and Religious Education (Figure 1). This decision clearly limited PSE to a values dimension, thus ignoring the emphasis of psychological processes and competencies that was stressed in various instances. As a result there was a severe opposition from the part of educational specialists: even if there were also divergent perspectives on what PSE should be about, there was a consensus that it should not be a disciplinary space (e.g. Abreu 1992; Brederode Santos 1992; Castro 1992; Lourenço 1992; Marques 1989; Menezes 1999; Oliveira-Formosinho 1989; Pedro 1997; Roldão 1993; Valente 1989b).

<b>Personal and Social Education</b>	<b>Curricular subject areas</b> Including the various subjects during the three cycles of basic education (e.g., Portuguese, Mathematics, Expressions, History, Geography, Natural Sciences, etc.) Personal and Social Development <b>OR</b> Moral and Religious Education (Catholic or based on other Confessions): the students must choose one of these subjects
	<b>Curricular non-disciplinary areas:</b> School Area (a 110 hours space for project development; no specific timetable is assigned – teachers should manage time by using the timetable of their specific subjects) Enrichment activities*

\* optional

**Figure 1**

*Curricular Operationalization of Personal and Social Education*

Bento (2000) identifies two basic visions of PSE on the part of the community of educational sciences: one conceiving PSE as values education (Cunha 1996; Marques 1994; Pedro 1997), emphasising the moral principles that should be promoted by the school (autonomy, responsibility, solidarity, goodness, justice), and advocating strategies inspired in the character education movement (e.g. Lickona 1991; Ryan 1989); the other stressing PSE as the development of personal competencies for active participation in life (Abreu 1992; Benavente 1993; Brederode Santos 1992; Carita, Abreu 1994; Campos, 1991; Lourenço 1991, 1992; Menezes 1999; Oliveira-Formosinho 1986; Reis, Salgado 1993; Roldão 1993; Valente 1989a) and defending a whole-school approach, including the intentional consideration of pedagogical processes, and students participation in the school as a democratic community. For the former perspective there was clearly a prominence of an instructive approach in which teachers "teach young people the best of our past" (Ryan 1989, 15) in order to promote civilizational continuity and prevent moral disruption: emphasis on values and moral principles is conceived as an antidote for social problems. For the latter, a psychological perspective prevailed, emphasising students' autonomy and empowerment for social participation and transformation (in a clear opposition to the stress on conservation that is obvious in the arguments of the former), not limiting psychological development to an intra-psychic dimension but recognising its ecological and contextual nature (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Orford 1992), and therefore the need to intentionally transform school pedagogical and institutional processes.

The implementation of the government decision began experimentally in 1991, but the process of definition of curricular contents was complex, and only in 1995 the Ministry of Education approved the official curricular guidelines for the specific subject (PSD) (8) - and only for grades 7 to 9 (see Menezes 1999, for a discussion of the process). The official program contemplated 5 domains - interpersonal relationships, social life, health, environment and consumption - and was conceived as an "open curriculum (...) with a flexible nature, that presupposes a constant reinterpretation from the part of teachers, taking into account students' development, interests and needs and the pedagogical and social context of the educational process" (IIE 1995, 4). The learning methods suggested include role-playing, debates, project work, and class assemblies.

The other sensitive issue regarding PSD implementation was teacher training. PSD teachers should be qualified teachers from any subject area that completed a specific training course provided by higher education institutions including 150 to 170 hours of theoretical courses plus one year of in-service stage. However, after the initial phase of training of the teachers involved in the experimentation of PSD, the training offer was scarce. Additionally, several initial training institutions included related subjects in their study plans (Bento 2000), even if not accredited as qualification for teaching PSD. All these factors help to explain why, after generalisation of the curricular reform from 1992 forward, PSD was only available for a minority of students [only 1% of basic education students in 1996/97 (CNE 1998)].

The implementation of the remaining two curricular strategies of PSE was similarly disappointing. Although several studies reveal the effectiveness of cross-curricular dissemination at the level of the enunciated curriculum (e.g. Menezes, Xavier, Cibele 1997), there was a tendency for non-recognition of these issues when it comes to the implemented curricula, "namely at the level of pedagogical practices and (...) the school climate" (Bento 2000, 62). As for the multidisciplinary project area, that supposedly integrated a program of civic education during grades 7 to 9, it was only episodically intentionalised as a context for promoting students' personal and social development. This is why Bento argues: "there was an evident failure in implementing an area whose strategies (cross-curricular, multidisciplinary and disciplinary) would never surpass invisibility on most schools" (265). However, even if nothing essential changed as a consequence of the creation of PSE, it is true that the debates surrounding the process, namely the opposition between a strictly moral perspective (limited to values education) that favoured a disciplinary approach, and an emancipatory psychological vision (emphasising knowledge, competencies, attitudes and action) that preferred cross-curricular and institutional strategies (Bento 2000), framed the subsequent developments of citizenship education.

## 2. The reorganisation of basic education

The so-called process of "participatory revision of basic education curricula" was initiated in 1996, with the involvement of teachers and schools, the educational scientific community and relevant social partners in the discussion and reflection over basic education (Roldão, Nunes, Silveira 1997); the process intended to articulate bottom-up and top-down approaches to curricular revision (Alonso, Peralta, Alaiz 2001) and to give schools and teachers ownership over the curriculum. Underlying this project was a critique of a "single size ready-to-wear" curriculum (Formosinho 1987), similar for all students, and the recognition that diversification and adaptation to heterogeneous groups of students was mandatory if success was to be promoted for all. Autonomy was seen as essential for educational change, giving schools "the opportunity to establish variations in the curricular structure defined at the national level, namely regarding study plans and the managements of school hours" (Afonso 1999, 60), and including the organization of non-disciplinary curricular spaces.

Within the main critical areas identified were the civic dimension of the school and students' personal and social education, and the role of the multidisciplinary project-area as a context for PSE; the recommendations included the reinforcement of the cross-disciplinary nature of PSE, the need to create a specific space (disciplinary, non-disciplinary or extracurricular) dedicated to PSE, probably conceived as a space for debate and dialogue between teachers and students, the emphasis on teacher training, and the redefinition of the multidisciplinary project area by stressing its role as a context for citizenship education and by defining a weekly timetable for its implementation (Segurado 1998). On the whole, the results stressed the need for "a curricular project that promotes, since today, the fundamental competencies of tomorrow's person and citizen" (57).

In the sequence of the participatory revision, the Department of Basic Education launched, in 1997, the project Flexible Management of the Curricula defined as "the possibility for each school to organise and manage the learning process autonomously" in accordance with "the core knowledge and competencies to be developed by the students" but enabling its "adequacy to the differentiated needs of each school context" as well (Annex to the Dispatch n. 9590/99 of May 14). The project aimed to place at the centre of the curricula

"the learning of essential competencies and attitudes for learning to learn and deal with change, as well as to learn how to cooperate and participate in the improvement of society, through the exercise of an informed and active citizenship" (Alonso, Peralta, Alaiz 2001, 13).

A group of schools were experimentally involved in the project until 2001, and the experience informed the curricular reorganisation of basic education (9) that assumes

"the need to overcome a vision of the curricula as a set of norms to be followed in a supposedly uniformed way in every classroom, and to support, in the context of the growing autonomy of the schools, the development of new practices of curricular management" (Decree-Law n. 6/2001 of January 18).

The revised national curricula is conceived as the set of competencies students are expected to develop during basic education, integrating knowledge, skills, attitudes and values; however, in the frame of schools' autonomy, the curricula should be adapted to the specific context of each school and class. These general and specific competencies (10), conceived as "knowledge in action" (Abrantes 2000, n/p) are based on several fundamental principles:

"the construction and consciousness of a personal and social identity; the free, responsible, in solidarity and critical participation on civic life; the respect and valuing of individual and group diversity (...); the construction of an ecological consciousness leading to the valuing and preservation of natural and cultural patrimony; the valuing of relational dimensions and ethical principles that regulate one's relationship with others and with knowledge" (DEB 2001, 15).

The general skills at the end of basic education include the capacities to understand reality and solve daily problems and situations, to express oneself clearly, to act in an autonomous, responsible and creative way, to cooperate with others in common tasks and projects. The development of these skills supposes a concerted action of the various teachers as well as a specific work in the various subjects.

Additionally, the curriculum includes citizenship education, Portuguese language, the human dimension of work, and using information and communication technologies as transversal goals of basic education, and creates three new non-subject curricular areas: project area, guidance study, and civic formation (11). Citizenship is therefore instituted both as a cross-curricular goal (as happened with PSE in the 1989 Reform) and as the object of a new curricular area coordinated by the class tutor during 1 hour per week (12). Civic formation is considered

"the privileged space for citizenship education, aiming the development of students' civic conscience as a fundamental element in the process of forming responsible, critical, active and intervening citizens, appealing, namely, to the interchange of the experiences students live and their individual and collective participation in the life of the class, the school and the community" [article 5, 3c)].

However, policy documents emphasise that in order to ensure the students' whole-development "the school needs to assume itself as a privileged space of citizenship education" (Abrantes 2001). Citizenship education

"is not the responsibility of one teacher or one subject, but crosses every knowledge [domains] and every situations lived in the school (...) [involving] the work in the various curricular subjects and areas. Aspects such as health education, sex education, traffic education or environmental education, among others, should be considered both in the non-disciplinary curricular areas and within the various subjects".

This definition of "aspects" that might be addressed as contents of citizenship education clearly shows obvious similarities between this new "citizenship education" and the old "PSE". This is also reinforced by the suggestions of the NCE when considering that the "topics (...) should include those that were identified in the Education Act for personal and social education" (23). However, the curricular design defined for basic education (Decree-Law n. 6/2001 of January 18) is, in this respect, peculiar (see Figure 2), in the sense that PSE appears as a sub-domain of citizenship education, involving all the non-disciplinary areas (including Civic Formation) and Religious and Moral Education. This leads Alonso, Peralta, Alaiz (2001) to question: "What is the relationship that one wants to establish between [PSE] (...) and others of similar epistemological nature, such as Citizenship Education, Civic Formation, and, even, Moral and Religious Education?" (58) (13).

<b>Citizenship education</b>	<b>Curricular subject areas</b> (including different subjects during the three cycles of basic education: e.g., Portuguese, Mathematics, Expressions, History, Geography, Natural Sciences, etc.)	
	Personal and Social Education	<b>Curricular non-disciplinary areas:</b> Project Area Guidance Study Civic Formation
		Moral and Religious Education*
		Enrichment activities*

optional

**Figure 2**

*Curricular Components of Basic Education Curricula*

However, the curricula now combine a cross-disciplinary approach and the creation of a specific one-hour per week non-disciplinary space coordinated by the class tutor. This means that Citizenship Education is a universal curricular component (vs. the optional character of some

curricular strategies of PSE), with a specific time allocation in the students' and teachers' timetable (vs. the diffuse regulations for some PSE strategies), and not dependant on specific teacher training (one of the reasons that accounted for the failure in the generalization of PSE), factors that clearly overcome some of the critiques that surrounded the operationalisation of PSE in 1992 and that were deemed responsible for lack of generalisation. Could this mean that the subject-dominant perspective that prevailed in the implementation of PSE and accounted, in the end, for its failure, is surpassed by this curricular reorganization? Nonetheless, since 2001, the major editors of educational textbooks - and previous research on PSE shows how influential their interpretation of the curricular guidelines can be (see Menezes, Xavier, Cibele 1997) - have begun to publish several textbooks on various non-disciplinary areas, including civic formation. This phenomenon did not occur during the 1989 Reform (probably because the specific subject was, as mentioned above, optional and dependant upon teacher training) and might account for two interrelated but paradoxical developments. On the one hand, the availability of textbooks and teachers manuals can be essential for the survival of Civic Formation, since teachers have now specific materials on which to rely for the organization of this curricular space, especially since specific training is not a necessary condition. On the other hand, these textbooks necessarily present an interpretation of the relatively scarce curricular official guidelines that might eventually reinforce a "similar to a subject" conception of the non-disciplinary areas, particularly if the public and scientific debates are less manifest and there is a relative absence of teacher training in this domain - and given the relatively novelty of non-disciplinary spaces in a subject-based curricula, this is a tangible risk.

The process underlying the definition of this "new" curricular area was, in fact, less subject to open disagreement and theoretical debate. In revising the documents produced during this process one has the impression that "citizenship education" is a consensual goal. However, there are some signs that this consensus might be only at the surface level, and that beneath the surface the same tensions and debates that surrounded the conception of PSE still exist. For instance, the NCE considered that

"school education should intervene systematically and intentionally in the process of education in values and for students' values since this process is (...) connected to the school life, including both exhortations (14), examples, expectations and activities, the syllabus of the various subjects (contents, methods), and the school organisation" (2000, 7).

Additionally, according to the Council, the contents should also include "ethical and religious dimensions in the context of civilisations and culture" (23). The moral dimension was also emphasised by Madureira Pinto (2000) who, in the final key-note of a meeting during the Portuguese Presidency of the European Union, considers that

"the diffusion of values related to citizenship education is (...) in Europe, reason for concern and central topic of curricular reform projects. (...) [Stressing, however, that] inculcation of structural values will be achieved, in the school, (...) more by the development of activities in which all will necessarily be 'active-actors' than through the contact, even if frequent and abundant, with a universe of hetero-produced discourse" (n/p).

Therefore, even if not as evidently and publicly as during the early nineties, the tension between conservation and emancipation is still present, even if, unfortunately, the educational policy documents are, in this sense, less clear than it was the case in 1989.

This accounts for the sensitivity of another issue discussed in some of the reports: teacher training. The NCE regards consideration of teacher training as essential for the effectiveness of the changes now defined: "if the teachers did not have the instruments that enable them to analyse the conceptual frames underlying these proposals, why should they commit themselves?" (2000, 26). In particular, Alonso, Peralta, Alaiz (2001) even consider that there is an inadequacy between the curricular changes and the curricular plans of initial teacher training, and the current modalities of teacher in-service training, which raises the risk of "interpreting the new 'non-disciplinary' areas as something to be added to existing areas" (64) thus ignoring the central changes that the reorganisation wanted to introduce in the curricula.

### 3. Central issues and prospects

The fact that citizenship education emerged, in the last decade, as an apparent consensual goal in the public and political discourse about basic education, in Portugal as well as in other European countries, tends to elude the fact that it is far from being a one-dimensional concept. What do we mean by being a citizen? Do we expect citizens to play by the rules, and conform to current legal dispositions, or do we expect them to take an active part in the redefinition of citizenship itself? One should keep in mind that citizenship involves a formal set of rights and obligations defined by the State (Janoski 1998), but to reduce citizenship to this formal dimension might result in conceiving education for citizenship as "a mere mechanism of diffusion, socialisation and recognition of rights" and duties (Gentilli 2000, 146). Citizenship also involves the social practices that frame our sense of belonging and integration in a community (Benhabib 1999): therefore, it is through participation in the public and private spheres that citizenship is construed - a process that might lead us to question, confront and redefine what citizenship is. If this is so, citizenship education must appeal to active participation in social life (including political associations, social institutions, voluntary organisations, ...) and to the recognition that citizenship rights and duties are conventionally defined and imply inclusion and exclusion (15) (Santos 1998; van Steenberg 1994). This is why "if the goal is to promote students' civic and democratic participation, one should begin to consider the opportunities students actually have for experience democracy in the schools" (Campos, Costa, Menezes 1993, 15). Therefore, a project of civic education that does not

"take into account the school's structure and organisation, the networks of relationship within the school and the community, the power resources, the hidden curricula, risks becoming a measure of compensatory legitimation with no implications in the rest of the curricula, and thus in the life of students" (Menezes 1999, 32).

The fact that the Curricular Reorganisation currently being implemented in Portugal stresses the relevance of the school as a locus of citizenship and citizenship education as the common mission of all teachers might help the development of this emancipatory and action-oriented perspective. But, as we know, the distance between curricular policy documents and actual practice is large, and the presence, even if below the surface, of divergent visions of what citizenship education is about, might also contribute to a praxis that stresses conservation by the dissemination of knowledge and values about citizenship, resulting in having "students adapt to actual [social] conditions without questioning the morality of these same conditions" (Beane 1990, 99), and thus making citizenship education play a function of mere social control (Sultana 1992). The analysis of the implementation process currently in motion, under changed political conditions, together with the options and discussions surrounding the extension of citizenship education to secondary education, will certainly allow us to see how this tension will be addressed by teachers and schools.

### Notes

(1) A designation that would be subsequently substituted for "citizenship education" in the mid 90's: European educational policy documents and educational reforms during the 80's always included citizenship as a topic of personal and social education.

(2) However, as we will discuss in more detail in the final part of this paper, the tendency to use citizenship so extensively tends to avoid confronting the fact that it has different and even contradictory meanings (Ferreira, Menezes 2002; Gentilli 2000; Torres 2001).

(3) The extension of PSD to secondary education was never accomplished, even if there was proposal for a syllabus that failed to reach consensus. In this process, the fact that the subject was clearly unavailable in basic education due to lack of teachers, and that academic concerns are prevalent in secondary education, due to a highly selective process of higher education access, played a decisive role.

(4) According to 2001 Eurostat data Portugal has the highest rates of school-drop out of the EU

(<http://europa.eu.int/comm/eurostat>).

(5) Although significant efforts were made regarding "the degree of democracy of organizational environments and the relevance of teaching syllabus and practices to the values and skills that make up democratic civic culture" (Azevedo, Santos Silva; Fonseca 2000, 15).

(6) It should be noted that from grades 1 to 4 there is only one class teacher; from grade 5 upwards each class has several teachers involved in different subjects, with one of these playing the role of the class tutor that involves mainly bureaucratic tasks and the interface with the students' family. The class tutor is also supposed (and this is reinforced in current policy documents) to act as the coordinator of the team of teachers that works with a specific class, and therefore as the coordinator of the class educational project.

(7) One should note that the reinforcement of pluralism is directly related to the fears of inculcation mentioned above.

(8) Until 1995 teachers involved in PSD rested in curricular guidelines that were developed by the services of the Ministry of Education during the experimental phase, but were not the object of a governmental decision.

(9) This Government also approved the Curricular Reorganisation of Secondary Education; however, in March 2002, a right-wing coalition won the elections and a new Government emerged, and as a result this Reorganisation was suspended, and then re-approved. However, the analysis of the changes in secondary education is beyond the scope of this paper.

(10) This is also a common strategy in European countries since the 90's, and was reinforced by the Delors' proposal that opposes "a purely quantitative" approach based on more knowledge, that is considered currently inadequate, to a more instrumental vision of education that emphasises the development of competencies that are necessary to the never-ending process of "actualising, deepening and enriching knowledge and adapting to a changing world" (1994, 77-8). One must recognise that this proposal is not only appealing by itself, but also, from an educational political point of view, it enhances the possibility for accountability of the educational system.

(11) The designation of this area was initially "Class Tutoring", but the Government followed the recommendation of the National Council of Education (NCE) for a re-designation more adequate to the goals of the area. However, the NCE proposed that it could be coordinated not by the class tutor but by the teacher "whose profile, interest and training is more adequate" (2000, 31).

(12) The similarities with proposal of the National Council of Education in 1988, reinforced by the position of the educational scientists community during the discussion of PSE following the 1989 Reform, are evident.

(13) Since this was a last-minute inclusion, which did not appear in any of the preparatory documents, it might be due to the fact that the proposal had to comply with article 48 of the Education Act. However, the fact that PSE is only linked with non-disciplinary areas, and that its relationship with Citizenship Education was never clarified in policy documents (in spite of the obvious overlapping we have been referring to) makes this option strange and confuse.

(14) Again, these are typical formulations of the character education movement.

(15) Benhabib (1999), for instance, points out how voting rights of immigrants inside the European Union are based on conventions that might collide with human rights: for instance, a Turkish immigrant in Germany, independently of his/her integration in the community, is not allowed to vote in a regional election, whereas a Italian or Portuguese immigrant is. The same example could be applied to all non-EU immigrants in a EU member State.

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