JSSE

Journal of Social Science Education

2022, Vol. 21(1) 4-32

Edited by:
Reinhold Hedtke

Article

Youth participation and citizenship education: An analysis of relations in four European countries

Ana Bela Ribeiro
University of Porto, Portugal

Isabel Menezes
University of Porto, Portugal

Keywords: civic and political participation; citizenship education; NGOs; non-formal education; young people

- Young people are often accused of a lack of interest and disengagement from public affairs.
- Little is known about the opportunities and experiences for youngsters to be more engaged.
- Citizenship education has been at the centre of educational proposals in many European countries.
- The investments made in education policies, concerning citizenship education seem to fall short.

Purpose: We intend to bring into debate what seems to be a paradoxical relation between the lack of youth civic and political participation, and the current disinvestment in the effective implementation of citizenship education policies.

Design: A comparative framework between four European countries concerning youth civic and political participation, and citizenship education policies, including the involvement of NGOs in youth civic education.

Findings: Data shows that young people's (apparent) participatory apathy may have other readings or other meanings. Young people seem to be increasingly looking for more dynamic and less traditional forms of participation, and there is a need for citizenship education policies to be more grounded in this reality.

Implications: Overall, we might be facing a paradox where educational policies seem to be tailor-made for young people who do not actually relate to them.

Corresponding author:
Ana Bela Ribeiro, CIIE - Faculdade de Psicologia e de Ciências da Educação da Universidade do Porto, R. Alfredo Allen, 4200-135 Porto, Portugal, anabelaribeiro@fpce.up.pt

Suggested citation:
Ribeiro, A. B. & Menzes, I. (2022). Youth participation and citizenship education: an analysis of relations in four European countries. *Journal of Social Science Education* 21 (1). https://doi.org/10.11576/jsse-1454

Declaration of conflicts of interests: No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

1 INTRODUCTION

Over past decades, and still today, the dominant vision of civic and political participation is that it is scarce, especially amongst young people. Several studies show that not only in Europe but all around the world, citizens show weak habits of civic engagement and participation, and young people have been accused of a lack of interest and involvement in civic and political affairs (Fahmy, 2006; Menezes, 2007; Putnam, 2000; Theiss-Morse and Hibbing, 2005; Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 2002; Russel, 2004; Braga da Cruz, 1995; Amadeo et al., 2002). However, the fact is that research shows that young people actually demonstrate strong levels of civic and political interest and engagement and reveal great concern regarding political issues like racism, violence, education, (un)employment or drugs, matters with which they identify (Norris, 2002; Fahmy 2006; Menezes 2007; Amna & Ekman, 2014).

Nowadays it is common to hear concerns about young people's low rates of participation and involvement, and that they have little knowledge about political issues. However, at the same time, we are also witnessing a disinvestment in the civic education of young people, particularly regarding citizenship education policies.

Thus, contrary to what one would expect, citizenship education and civic and political participation diverge, moving away from the real life of young people.

Education has an effective role in democracy and civic and political participation, especially regarding the development of civic competences among young people. The school context favours socialization, providing a civic and participatory culture. Education is also a favourable context in the development of cognitive complexity and critical thinking, fundamental characteristics for any individual in a democratic culture (Menezes, 2003; Battistoni, 1997; Stewart & Weinstein, 1997). School has a central role in citizenship education, given its institutional nature. It promotes activities and learning spaces that allow the development of civic skills, since it is organized like a small society, and it is also a place that allows conditions for the development of values and literacy. Thus, school has long been the preferred context for the civic education of young people, namely, through citizenship education (Roldão, 1999).

In this paper, we present some of the outcomes that resulted from a research that worked on citizenship education policies and practices in several European countries, and the levels of youth civic and political participation. Here, we focus on the paradoxical relation that exists between (the low) civic and political participation of young people and the disinvestment of current educational policies related to citizenship education.

Through this paper, we argue that policies do not recognize forms of youth participation, and they also seem to be irrelevant – for example, both in Portugal and in Poland, participation seems to have been more reactive to life (austerity) than to school.

And we believe that if educational policies aim to be effective, they must be grounded in and linked to the reality of young people.

In this sense, the intention of this paper is to bring to the discussion some important questions: Is youth civic and political participation a reflection of citizenship education? Are young people disengaged from civic and political affairs? Is the responsibility for the civic education of young people exclusive to school contexts? What are the views of the various actors involved in citizenship education, particularly NGOs?

In an attempt to answer these questions, we drew up a framework for analysis that included four European counties: Portugal, Poland, England, and Sweden. Our first step was to analyse some official documents and policies of these countries to corroborate their analytic relation. Then, we analysed the participation tendencies of young people aged between 15 and 21 years old, using the European Social Survey database. Lastly, we explored the work and perspectives of NGOs related to citizenship education via an email survey.

As we will see, young people are not disengaged from public affairs, although they show low levels of participation in more conventional activities. We hypothesize that this is due to the fact that they do not identify with traditional forms of participation and seek new and more dynamic ones, aligned with their current lifestyles – not only do they avoid traditional forms of participation, they create new ones (Amna & Ekman, 2014). Also, citizenship education policies seem to lag behind these new lifestyles and suffer from disinvestment from the government. NGOs have a significant role in the civic education of young people, but they should be part of it and not the only place where citizenship education happens. This way, we believe that all actions towards citizenship and citizenship education should become more politicized and systematic.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Why participation matters and how young people are engaged

According to Theiss-Morse and Hibbing (2005), a ‘good citizen’ is usually someone who is highly involved with politics or in the community, and who supports democratic values. Active participation motivates more participation, as well as increasing knowledge and tolerance; and involvement and participation make an individual a ‘good citizen’. However, even if participation is seen as the support of democracy, the formula for participation has not yet been found. Many people can be seen to have no interest in politics, either because of their busy lives or just because they do not understand what participation or politics means. According to Flanagan and Sherrod (1998, 447), “political

participation is a prerequisite for the success of democratic societies" and Amadeo et al. (2002, 24) state that "participation in the community and in the political system is vital in a democratic society", even though its nature may vary. In an attempt to summarize the literature, Menezes (2003, 432) states that

> Participation allows for citizens to develop *personal and social competencies* essential for political action (Battistoni, 1997; Stewart & Weinstein, 1997), to become *empowered* by exerting control over their lives and the life of their communities (Zimmerman, 1995), to improve their *sense of community* (De Piccoli et al., 2002), to get involved in the process of *public deliberation* over citizenship definition and expansion (Habermas, 1999) and to experience *face-to-face interactions* with other citizens who might have different perspectives on the common good, thus increasing both *social pluralism* (Arendt, 1958), *interpersonal trust* and *tolerance* (Stewart & Weinstein, 1997; Morgan & Streb, 2001; Putnam, 2001). Finally, participation experiences during adolescence and young adulthood seem to be a good predictor of political engagement during the adult years (Verba et al., 1995; Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998; Hahn, 1998; Youniss et al., 1998; Roschelle et al., 2000).

The most traditional and mainstream means of adult participation is voting, but Osler and Starkey (2006, 434) argue that this kind of participation is not enough per se in a democracy, even though they recognize that it is the most expressive and common means of participation. The authors support the idea that either 'in established democracies (…), in newly established democratic states (…) [or] in countries taking steps towards democracy, there is a recognition that democracy is essentially fragile and that it depends on the active engagement of citizens'. It is essential to develop and participate 'in sustainable and cohesive communities. This, in turn, implies education for democratic citizenship' (Osler and Starkey 2006, 434). For Verba, Schlozman and Brady (2002), civic participation is the core of democracy, as the latter can only happen when citizens participate in the governance system. 'Voice and equality' are, according to these authors, the main concepts of democratic participation. Most people state that they do not participate because they do not want to, they cannot, or simply because no one ever told them about it. The authors emphasize that voting is the most representative means of participation, as citizens massively mobilize to share a common goal and communicate over a specific instrument. However, Young (2000), on the other hand, understands voting as a primary political act, as it consists of the simple process of choosing one out of a list of candidates. For Putnam (2000), voting and following political events are very

undemanding forms of participation that do not generate social capital, as they are done individually and do not require reciprocity.

But even attending to the fact that voting is mainstream (from 18 years of age on) and a basic form of participation, it has its own limitations and people still refrain from using it. Braga da Cruz (1995, 308) distinguishes two major tendencies in electoral participation: the "increase in abstention" and "electoral volatility". However, abstention can have diverse motives – Russel (2004, 348) differentiates apathy from alienation: 'Whereas alienation implies a positive dislike or distrust of politics, apathy implies ambivalence. Alienation is tantamount to exclusion; apathy might even reflect contentment. Alienation might cause sections of the electorate that are normally likely to turnout in relatively high numbers to abstain'. Therefore, one might ask: Does abstention imply apathy? Cannot abstention be a latent means of participation? While political passivity (Amna & Ekman, 2015) is generally considered a problem (Putnam, 2002), there are also researchers who have different ideas of what this passivity may actually be (Norris, 2002). This means that passivity "is not necessarily considered to be a threat in itself to democracy" (Amna & Ekman, 2015:97), considering that this is what is expected from postmodern citizens.

Machado Pais (2005) states that young European people are not satisfied with the traditional means of political participation and the lack of personalization in citizenship. Not only do postmodern citizens avoid traditional forms of political participation, but they also develop new, more dynamic forms, characterized by new demands (Norris, 2002) and show great interest in social and political affairs (Amna & Ekman, 2015). According to a Portuguese study run by Magalhães and Sanz Moral (2008), even though young Portuguese people show quite low participation levels, they participate more than adults. As Menezes (2007) states, we are living a participatory crisis, in a double and contradictory sense: older and more traditional ways of participation are being abandoned and new ways are arising and expanding. Young people seek more dynamic ways of participation which fit their lifestyles and experiences. Amadeo et al. (2002) also hold that young people are involved in civic activities, either in school or in their communities, although the participation opportunities may vary. More recently, Amna and Ekman (2012, 2014, 2015) present a very comprehensive typology that incorporates individual and collective but also conventional and less conventional forms of participation such as signing online petitions, demonstrations, and even anti-political lifestyle movements such as veganism. These authors point out the need to integrate 'latent' forms of participation when looking for the levels of engagement and participation, bearing in mind that "standby citizens" are present in functional democracies (Amna & Ekman, 2015). Therefore, even if a redefinition of the meanings of participation seems to be essential to generate a broad understanding

of these phenomena, it also seems that Kaase (1984) was right when describing the times we live in as a 'participatory revolution'.

The concept of citizenship is a broad spectrum, which may include a wide range of meanings (Beiner, 1995; Benhabib, 1999; Haste, 2004; Menezes, 2005; Abowitz & Harsnish, 2006; Flanagan, Gallay, Gill, Gallay & Nti, 2005; Keating, 2009; Lister, Smith, Middleton & Cox, 2010). It was from the contribution of Marshall (1950) that the concept of citizenship underwent significant conceptual changes, evolving to a more comprehensive and sociological political definition of citizenship, placing the emphasis on civil society. From this contribution, the concept of citizenship defines not only a member of a given state, but incorporates a whole statute related to civil, social and political rights. According to Marshall, it also includes the idea that young people are citizens in the making, or citizens under construction, and this idea is still very much rooted in civil society. However, we know today that the experiences we have had since our early years, in the most varied contexts, also influence us as citizens. This idea brings us to the importance of early learning contexts.

2.2 Citizenship education in and out of school

The experiences of children and young people, whether inside or outside school, have a significant effect on learning and the way they move around in society (Eshach, 2007). This learning, which results from a wide range of contexts and experiences, influences not only the learning itself, but also a series of domains in which we move daily. In reality, the lives of young people happen in a balance between school life and social life (Park, 2007), because the "way in which young people subjectively build their social experience is immediately associated with their own condition of youth as an aggregating situation of multiple meanings" (Palhares, 2008, p. 113).

In democracy, the way in which education can contribute to the formation and maintenance of democratic devices, and the development of a democratic culture is questioned (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). In the 1980s and 1990s, and following the democratization process in several European countries, including Portugal, several educational reforms took place, with a strong emphasis on promoting youth citizenship. In Portugal, citizenship education was introduced into the curricula in 1989, but in recent years and until 2017, citizenship education policies were the target of strong divestment by the government.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, a moment that for Huntington (1992) marks the third wave of democratization in Europe, the Council of Europe initiated the Education for Democratic Citizenship project in 1997 (Hedtke, Zimenkova & Hippe, 2008). The need to

start a project of this nature came about, mainly, due to the political changes that were felt at the time (Birzea, Losito & Veldhuis, 2005). Although the desire to introduce citizenship education into school curricula was not a new idea, the transition to democracy that several European countries have gone through, and which has been happening gradually, has given rise to new attempts to achieve it. In Portugal, the transition to democracy embodied new views of citizenship and, consequently, citizenship education emerged as having an eminent role in educational policies in the following decades.

In established democracies, the issue is similar, but the emphasis is on how to maintain and cultivate democracy and democratic culture (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). All measures related to citizenship status implemented at the European level have given meaning to the emergence of citizenship education in school curricula. However, the main problem of citizenship education in Europe seems to be related to its implementation, as a common policy designed to fill gaps that occur in the political cycle in which they are found (Hedtke, Zimenkova & Hippe, 2008). At a European level, we witness strong inequalities between individuals of, supposedly, the same European identity and citizenship (Benhabib, 1999). Although the Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992, contributed to the ideal of European citizenship, to which all citizens of the member states of the European Union are entitled, there is no standardization among member states. It implies that there is, for example, no common economy or access to the same social rights, such as support in matters of employment/unemployment, health or pensions and reforms.

Hedtke (2013) argues that citizenship education is based on an ambitious and ambiguous policy. The author understands that the idea of educating to participate and to do so in the name of the common good, or simply to fulfil functional requirements, is ambitious. In addition, school (or schooling) is not the only, nor the most effective, means of education, so all expectations of obtaining results in the sense of changing young people's attitudes should not be deposited in it. On the other hand, approaches of naturalization and socialization seem to have more meaning, in the sense of developing critical thinking.

This current flaw in citizenship education can be overcome through a greater fluidity in the contexts of education and learning. Citizenship education in a formal context may face some difficulties, since citizenship and democratic education require more practice outside of school than other subjects (Park, 2007). Thus, citizenship education must be seen as a way of life, since school is already life itself (Dewey, 2007). In this sense, citizenship education can benefit from the intervention and collaboration of other entities, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

2.3 The partnership of NGOs

The influence/importance of NGOs has been growing significantly, and this reflects their role as agents of democracy (Kamat, 2010). They have taken on prominent roles in various fields of society, including education, especially with the goal of filling in existing gaps left by governmental organizations. NGOs make a contribution by intervening in civil society and proposing alternatives (Bebbington, Hickey & Mitlin, 2008) and they are specialists in certain areas, playing an important role in formal, informal, and non-formal education. There are several NGOs that produce their own support materials aimed at students and also show an example of active citizenship through the activities they undertake (Kallioniemi et al., 2010). In addition, NGOs also pay an interesting contribution in the connectivity between school and the community, since non-formal environments represent a highly influential scenario for the development of citizens (Park, 2007). Thus, we understand that NGOs play a dual role in citizenship education of children and young people: either as a specialized contribution in formal education, through the curriculum; or on the ground where NGOs act, in non-formal and informal environments, in their daily activities (Kallioniemi et al., 2010; Park, 2007).

However, although their role is directed towards institutionalizing public interests, it is necessary to take into account the risks inherent to the substitution of the state and replacing it with NGOs, at the stake of diluting the boundary between common good and private interest (Kamat, 2010).

The risks of privatizing the public interest (Kamat, 2010) are related to the phenomenon of NGOization (Lang, 2013; Lavalle & Bueno, 2011). In other words, the fact that everything the state is unable to respond to becomes responsibility of NGOs. This phenomenon cannot ignore some factors such as: 1) the opposition relations between NGOs and civil society; 2) the fact that there are civic interests that are not represented by NGOs; and 3) the fact that many NGOs have become part of a neoliberal service sector, which can be understood as an extension of the state (Lang, 2013).

If, on the one hand, the existence of NGOs enables a functional diversification of civil society, allowing social change and modernization (Lavalle & Bueno, 2011), on the other hand, this phenomenon can also lead to the exclusion of perspectives that represent less organized interests (Lang, 2013). In this sense, NGOs can start to contribute to the weakening of the public sphere (Lavalle & Bueno, 2011; Kamat, 2010), since they are also dependent on non-public agendas and funding.

3 METHODOLOGY

What is the meaning of the (apparent) apathy and lack of civic and political participation of young people considering the educational policies related to education for citizenship in Europe?

In the 1970s and 1980s, Europe watched many of its countries' transition to democracy, after periods of dictatorship. In education, these changes also brought the need to implement formal citizenship education, as a way of responding to the new political situation: 'by the time of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, "education" was formally recognized as a major responsibility of the EU' (Nóvoa and Lawn, 2002, 3), which led to a reorganization of EU education programmes. The construction of a European space and identity depended on citizenship education (Nóvoa and Lawn, 2002). In this paper, we present the analysis of four European countries: Poland, Portugal, Sweden and England. We highlight these four European countries for various reasons, taking into special account their differences and, at the same time, their similarities in terms of citizenship education policies and practices, civic and political participation of young people, and politics.

At the end of the 20th century, both Poland and Portugal experienced a transition to democracy: Portugal in 1974 and Poland in 1989. Both countries came out of dictatorial regimes, in Portugal a fascist regime and in Poland a communist regime. After the transition to democracy, both countries felt the need to introduce citizenship education into the school curriculum. Currently, in Poland, the subject of civic education has been mandatory at all levels of education since 2002 and since 2016 the history programme has been extended to include classes and study visits related to the memory of the events that marked the regime. In Portugal, citizenship education was introduced with the Education Act of 1986 and has undergone numerous changes. In 2012, citizenship education became the responsibility of schools, invoking policies of decentralization and autonomy; however, a new government published a National Citizenship Education Strategy in 2017, and started its implementation as part of the Curricular Autonomy and Flexibility project, through the discipline of citizenship and development.

Both Sweden and England are countries with a long democratic history and are both constitutional monarchies. It was in the late 1980s and early 1990s that both countries included citizenship education in their school curricula, with England having the Crick Report as its basis. Recently, and interestingly, Sweden has adopted more conservative, more rigid educational models with a greater emphasis on core subjects. In England, there was also an attempt to withdraw education for citizenship, but a public initiative led by the Citizenship Foundation opposed the change and, in 2013, there was a revision of the curriculum.

Nevertheless, we are able to find similar approaches to citizenship education policies in countries where, at first glance, we would only see differences, as is the case with Portugal and England. This is a particularly interesting case, with a significant political contrast and, at the same time, similar orientations for citizenship education policies.

	Portugal	*Poland*	*England*	*Sweden*
Political contexts	1974 – transition to democracy (from a right-wing regime)	1989 – transition to democracy (from a communist regime)	Constitutional monarchy with long democratic tradition	Constitutional monarchy with long democratic tradition
Introduction of citizenship education in formal education	1986 Education Act	1991 Education Act – compulsory civic education since 2002	1870, 1902, 1944 – Education Act 1998 – Crick Report 2002 – statutory entitlement to citizenship education	1985 Education Act
Citizenship education current contexts	2012 – school autonomy 2017 – National Citizenship Education Strategy	2016 – extension of the programme of the subject of history	2013 – Citizenship Foundation	2017 – More conservative educational models and primacy for core subjects

Also, as some NGOs assume a significant role in young people's citizenship education and engagement, we also decided to include them in our research, to understand what is being done in terms of citizenship education policies and practices. In all four of the countries selected for our analysis, we found NGOs who carry out work in the field of citizenship education, namely activities for young people, and in partnership with schools. We contacted a total of 25 NGOs via email in Portugal, England, Poland and Sweden to answer a survey, with the goal of assessing NGOs' conceptions of citizenship education in

these four European countries and comparing how the partnership dynamics between NGOs and schools happen in those countries. We requested the contacted NGOs to fill in a survey. The contacts were drawn from existing databases of European NGOs who mentioned work within the citizenship education field, such as Networking European Citizenship Education, Democracy and Human Rights in Europe, European Network of Political Foundations, and Euro Partners Development. The survey consisted of six open-ended questions, in which we asked the organizations to describe their role and projects regarding citizenship education; what the dominant vision is of citizenship education in educational policies and practices in the country; which the major barriers are to implementing citizenship education in the country and what the most positive experiences of the organization are regarding citizenship education activities/projects; and on the whole, how they evaluate the work done so far, either by the organization or by specific schools. From the 25 NGOs that participated, we selected eight for this paper, considering two per country. They were all NGOs with work related to citizenship education and youth.[1]

To understand the participation tendencies of European youth, we analysed data from the European Social Survey (ESS) on young people between 15 and 21 years old in these four countries – this age range was defined considering the literature that indicates it as important to understand possible changes in civic and political development, before and after the voting age (Menezes et al., 2012a; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Barrett & Zani, 2015). We selected data from seven rounds (2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016) and proceeded with a secondary data analysis. The analysed data corresponds to the answers given by the respondents in the four countries, concerning three major subjects: 1) satisfaction with the country's economy, government and democracy; 2) trust in institutions, either national and European, such as the country's parliament, politicians and the European parliament; and 3) participation either in the last national elections for each year as well as several kinds of civic and political participation in the last 12 months.

4 RESULTS

4.1 Policy framework

4.1.1 Poland

Until 1989, citizenship education was part of the curriculum and had several denominations, like 'citizenship education', 'social studies', 'teaching about Poland and the contemporary world', and 'learning about the Constitution'. However, the Polish

curriculum was a means of dissemination of socialist values 'that were alien or antagonistic to the values respected by many Poles' (Leek, 2016, 51). The Polish Education Act dates from 1991, with further amendments, and education is compulsory until the age of 18. This led to a significant change in Polish society and the importance of education increased, 'as a possibility for better living standards and a source of knowledge and skills for active citizenship' (Leek 2016, 70). There is a citizenship education programme in Poland which is part of the national curriculum of the Ministry of National Education and in accordance with 'The decree of Ministry of National Education and Sports from 26th February 2002', civic education is mandatory at every level of education: from primary school, through gymnasium to high school. Nevertheless, there are two kinds of citizenship education: (1) the one 'created by the ex-Ministry of Education led by a leader of a far-right coalition party'; and (2) the one 'created by non-governmental organisations' (Radiukiewicz and Grabowska-Lusinska 2008, 25). The most used citizenship education programme in gymnasium (the equivalent to middle school) is KOSS, 'Civic Education at Local Government Schools', and 'the objective of this project is to encourage students towards active learning through discussions, simulations, case studies, individual and group projects' (Radiukiewicz and Grabowska-Lusinska, 2008, 26). Yet, in general, NGOs play a very significant role in the development of citizenship education programmes and materials, in partnership with schools and the curriculum.

In June 2016, the new Polish minister of education announced an educational reform. One of the measures consisted of supporting disadvantaged families and increasing the weekly hours for history classes and the funding for school trips to sites of memory, as 'the instruments in this battle for citizenship is the critique of precarity and the historical and memory politics that help define the citizen and the non-citizen as a subject of state's welfare and care' (Cervinkova, 2016, 51).

4.1.2 Portugal

Attempts were made to implement citizenship education in a newborn democratic state, after the fall of dictatorship. However, the time between 1974 and 1976 was a hiatus of uncertainty in a revolutionary climate. This was a revolutionary period characterized by intense social turbulence and only in 1976 was the constitutional democracy settled. In this period, there was an attempt to introduce specific curricular areas in the Portuguese curriculum, such as introduction to politics or civic and polytechnic education (Bettencourt, 1982; Brederode Santos, 1991; Stoer, 1986), but due to all the scepticism felt then, the idea was dropped (Menezes, 1999; Menezes, 2003). In 1986, Portugal joined the EEC (European Economic Community) and, in the same year, the Education Act was

approved by Law no. 46/86, of 14th October. Here, civics reappeared as central in education, which also introduced the area of personal and social education in basic education, including education for participation in democratic institutions and civic services. The Education Act was inspired by democratic principles, such as freedom of education, public provision of services, equal opportunities, equity, secularism and free participation (Figueiredo and Silva, 2000), with citizenship education always present as its backbone. In 1989 there was an educational reform, through which the non-subject area Área-Escola (School-Area) was introduced in all of the basic and secondary education system. It mobilized all subjects and all teachers, and explored the connection to the social context of the school. Nevertheless, it did not succeed either, especially in secondary education, due to the curricular pressure of the other subjects. This pressure was imposed by the lack of time to accomplish the other subjects' programmes, and it was hard to manage as its cross-curricular nature needed the contribution of all the other subjects (Figueiredo and Silva 2000, 19). This reform also brought the subject of personal and social development (PSD) as an alternative to moral and religious education (MRE). However, PSD was only available in a limited number of schools (Menezes, 2003). In 2001 Law no. 6/2001 of 18th January presented a curricular reorganization. The focal point of this reorganization was citizenship education, a cross-curricular area, which was materialized in three non-subject curricular areas: civics, project area and supervised study. Civics was meant to be the privileged space for work in terms of citizenship education, aiming at the development of students' civic awareness as a fundamental element in the process of training responsible, critical, active and intervenient citizens, in particular through the exchange of experiences and their individual and collective participation in the life of the class, school and community (Law no. 6/2001). The curricular review of July 2012, through Law no. 139/2012 of July 5th, made citizenship education a cross-curricular area. Civics ended up being a controversial curricular area and the minister of education at the time ended it under the argument that it was not serving its real purposes. In reality, there was no real systematic evaluation even if there were complaints that civics was used for more administrative tasks and teachers complained about their lack of training. Still, according to this law, schools had the autonomy to manage projects and activities regarding citizenship education (Law no. 139/2012, article 15) and each school was able to decide whether they wanted to offer a specific subject to accommodate civics or not.[2]

4.1.3 Sweden

In 1842, general elementary school was introduced in Sweden and the church had a significant role in spreading literacy in the country. The Swedish Education Act dates from 1985 and recently, in 2011, the New Education Act was approved and implemented. According to the New Education Act, 'the Swedish national school system is based on democratic foundations' and 'Education should impart and establish respect for human rights and fundamental democratic values on which the Swedish society is based' (Lindström, 2013, 28). In Sweden, civics is a specific subject in the Swedish curriculum. Until 2011, in upper secondary school, civics was a compulsory, 'core subject' and since then, civics has been a compulsory subject for a student to be eligible to attend the economics, humanistic or social science programmes in upper secondary school. The Swedish curriculum emphasizes contact with real life as the meaning of citizenship education, as there 'is an expectation that pupils in Swedish schools should be given the opportunity to actively take part in the development of their citizenship' (Lindström, 2013, 33) and 'belonging to a voluntary association is an inseparable part of a Scandinavian public life style' (Amnä, 2006, 3). Recently, school politics in Sweden has 'moved in a conservative direction, emphasizing the importance of conventional school subjects, stronger teacher authority and more discipline in the classroom' (Fredholm 2017, 7). As a way to stop disturbing student behaviours and raise the standard of attainment, Swedish education has become more focused on tougher school discipline, in a more conservative pedagogical approach. However, 'progressive politicians, on the other hand, prefer inclusive and participatory ideas with less emphasis on discipline in a traditional sense' (Fredholm, 2017, 10). This conservative approach may even be reflected in a lack of commitment by students, influencing them in terms of the development of civic skills and, more generally, in academic terms.

4.1.4 England

Citizenship education became a curricular priority in England in the 1990s. Nevertheless, according to Kerr (2003), citizenship education was non-statutory, had a cross-curricular approach, and each school chose the number of weekly hours to devote to the area. Citizenship education only became a statutory component in September 2002 (Best, 2003), although it was already an aim in Education Acts from 1870, 1902 and 1944.

Until 1989 there was no national curriculum in England. It came out of the discussion that all children should have equal education opportunities. Concerning citizenship, the curriculum was based on the Crick Report, from 1998, emerging as a national right, based on the concept of 'national citizen'. Active citizenship was the central aim in the Crick

Report, 'which described citizenship education as involving three related stands: community participation; political literacy; and social and moral responsibility' (Jerome, 2011, 61). The participation of the students was highly suggested in the report, both inside and outside of the school grounds, participation in the local community was very much valued, and 'without this experiential element, as Crick says himself, the subject would have likely been turned into a "safe and dead" area of the curriculum' (Jerome, 2011, 61). In 2002, citizenship education became compulsory in the UK and a competence that consisted of 'developing skills of participation and responsible action' was integrated into the curriculum (Jerome, 2011, 61). However, in 2008, a revision of the curriculum changed the denomination of that competence to 'taking informed and responsible action', and for which students should be able to:

> (a) explore creative approaches to taking action on problems and issues to achieve intended purposes; (b) work individually and with others to negotiate, plan and take action on citizenship issues to try to influence others, bring about change or resist unwanted change, using time and resources appropriately; (c) analyse the impact of their actions on communities and the wider world, now and in the future; and (d) reflect on the progress they have made, evaluating what they have learnt, what went well, the difficulties encountered and what they would do differently. (QCA 2007). (Jerome 2011, 61)

In 2010 there was a change in the United Kingdom (UK) government, and several changes were also made in terms of education policies. 'There has been an ideological shift towards smaller and less directive central governance, providing more responsibilities and opportunities for institutions at a local level' (Bamber et al., 2016, 2), for example, regarding curricular structure and school staff. One of the main problems of this measure may be that it 'has reduced the space for engagement with research-informed knowledge or study of the foundational disciplines of and new cognate fields deriving from these' (Bamber et al., 2016, 2). Once again, citizenship education arises today as a priority in political and educational discourses in England. And this happens, according to Best (2003), due to the fact that young people demonstrate ignorance concerning politics and the democratic process, and a lack of interest and involvement. Currently, in England (similarly to Portugal) a new curricular structure was designed and implemented in different phases from September 2013 until September 2015. Some organizations, like the Citizenship Foundation, have struggled for citizenship education to continue in the curriculum and take a great part of the responsibility for developing citizenship skills by supporting schools and teachers and influencing policies through their action with policymakers or with young people through their activities in the community.

4.2 Current provision of NGOs on citizenship education

The selected NGOs' *target audiences* are young people, students, schools, the general society, local civil society organizations and student unions. 'The student unions are established in about half of all the secondary schools in Sweden and almost everyone is a member. We have about 400 student unions as members right now, and that equals about 80000 pupils' (SWE1).

The majority of the NGOs surveyed *work in the field* of citizenship education and cooperation, with work, for example, in the field of 'diversity, non-discrimination, environmental and sustainable consumption' (POR1) and on 'promotion of gender equality in the respect for rules and guidelines of the United Nations and the European Union' (POR2).

Some NGOs *seek* to raise awareness and provide information about different topics. They promote knowledge and skills, and strengthen the culture of citizenship and active participation: 'Aims to encourage and enable individuals to engage in democratic society' (ENG1); 'Our work focuses in particular on developing young people's citizenship skills, knowledge and understanding of the law, democracy and public life' (ENG1); 'Encourage participation and social inclusion' (ENG2); '[Our] aim is to build the comprehensiveness and interest in public affairs at the local, national and international levels' (POL1). They promote citizenship education in all the diverse levels of education, as non-formal and informal means of education, in partnership with schools. These NGOs promote several activities, in different contexts and directed to a wide range of the population, like 'projects for non-formal education of youth association leaders in areas such as diversity and non-discrimination, courses about environmental and sustainable consumption, seminars and campaigns that address participatory citizenship of youth association leaders directly and very actively, and also general population' (POR1) with a focus on leading 'young people to develop a range of social skills that includes negotiation, problem-solving, communication, working with others etc.' (ENG2). NGOs seek to promote welfare and social transformation, working with other social agents and organizations of a varied nature: 'seek a more just and equitable society regarding youngsters and adults' participation in many areas of life (social, economic, political, educational, family, etc..) and the practice of their rights, universally prescribed, pursuing an equal citizenship' (POR2).

The most *frequent citizenship education activities* are conferences, workshops, roundtables, meetings, debates, discussions, presentations, and visits. They also provide programmes and professional training courses aimed at different audiences, 'supporting teachers, schools and colleges with the delivery of citizenship education' (ENG1). Some NGOs conceive and publish educational materials such as books, textbooks, guidelines,

campaigns, newspapers, magazines, documentaries, educational films, multimedia and Internet tools and information points, providing a 'comprehensive toolbox with texts, manuals and exercises (without copyright) that you can use as you wish, in your personal life or professional work' (SWE2). They design and promote activities with and for youth groups: youth clubs, simulation of parliaments, role plays, annual field work, sports and academic competitions, 'working with young people in community settings on issues that concern them' (ENG1); 'we have been doing several tour campaigns in schools throughout the country, through which we take information to young people about contemporary issues affecting them' (POR1).

Overall, NGOs think that *citizenship education is being implemented* in a reductionist way or is not being treated as a priority in the formal education system. The concept of citizenship is difficult to define, as are its key concepts, due to the fact that there are no consensual guidelines for citizenship education: 'different schools have different ways of delivering citizenship education: some are delivering this subject at high standards and others at lower standards' (ENG1).

NGOs identify several *barriers in citizenship education*. Some mention that in schools, it is neglected and not considered relevant when compared with other curriculum areas: 'recognition of citizenship as a serious subject – sometimes it can be misunderstood and not considered as relevant' (ENG1); and the fact the national curriculums are more focused on the accumulation of theoretical knowledge about citizenship, with no real possibilities for practice. NGOs also make reference to the fact that there are gaps in the training of teachers: 'Some schools do not have a dedicated citizenship department/citizenship teacher so other teachers who do not necessarily have the knowledge/confidence to deliver the subject are teaching citizenship' (ENG1).

In spite of the barriers and difficulties, NGOs mention many *positive experiences*. They highlight those that enable young people to participate actively in their own learning processes: 'Young people learn what it means to be a citizen through discussions and debates in the classroom and participation in the life of the school or college and in the wider community' (ENG2); '[Students] are given opportunities both to develop their learning and to put it into practice in "real life" situations' (ENG2). They also state that schools show an increasing interest in citizenship education and in involving the community: 'Schools that are taking this subject seriously and have a dedicated citizenship department deliver the subject at very high standards having positive impacts not only within the school but on the community outside the school as well' (ENG1).

4.3 Apathy or engagement? Analysis of ESS data

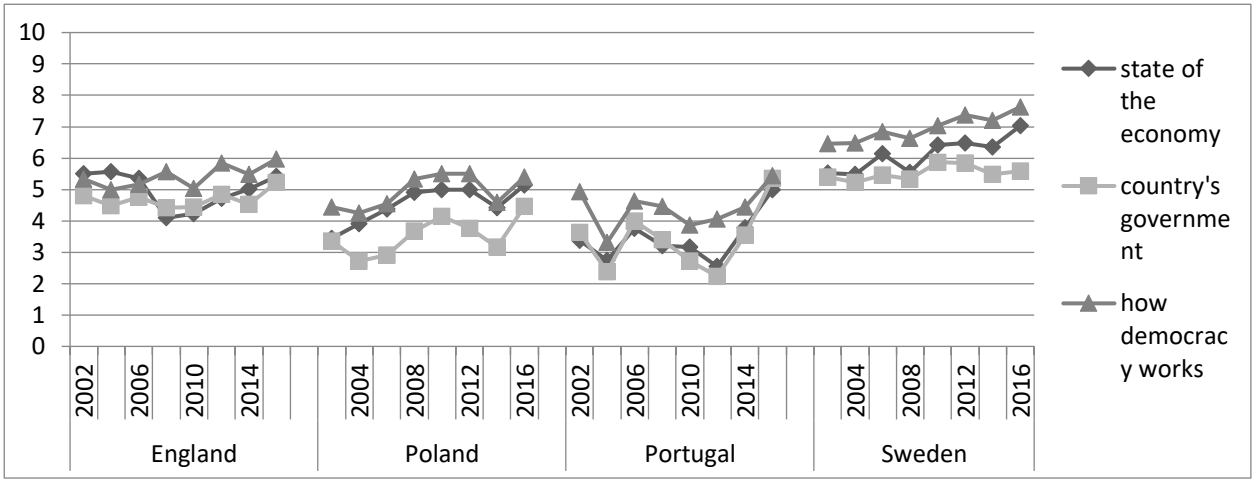
Concerning satisfaction, and as shown in Graph 1 (on a scale from 0 to 10), results suggest that there are noteworthy differences between countries and several variations over the years (with an rising tendency until 2016), which can only be understood individually for each country.

Sweden stands out of the four as the country with the highest levels of satisfaction and Portugal as the country with the lowest levels. Even though we can find some variations in the different levels of satisfaction, they did not happen the same way in the four analysed countries, particularly for Portugal and Poland. In these two countries we can see a curve of increase and decrease of the levels of satisfaction that happen almost simultaneously, but with less intensity and slower in Portugal than in Poland.

In the case of Portugal, 2004 is a year that stands out, registering the lowest levels of satisfaction. Young people's participation during the austerity measures implemented in the country (see 2012 and 2014) due to the economic crisis is also noteworthy.

In 2012, an increase in satisfaction levels was registered in three out of four countries (Poland being the exception).

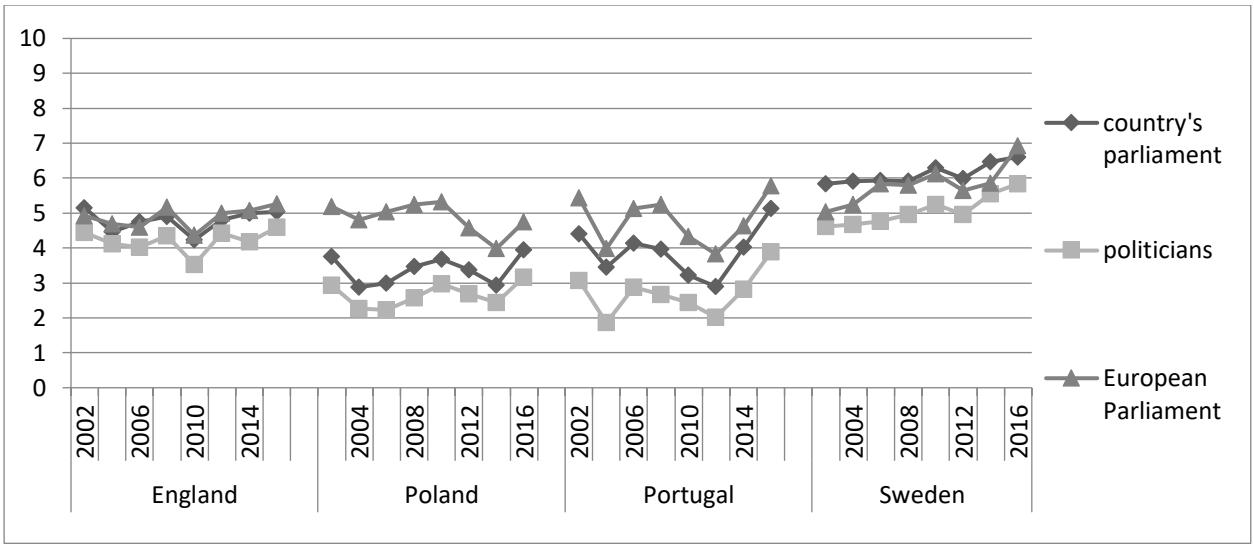
Graph 1: Satisfaction levels of young people between 15 and 21 years old



Regarding trust in institutions, as we can see in Graph 2 (also on a scale from 0 to 10), out of the four, Sweden is once again the country that stands out, showing the highest average levels. Overall, in the four countries, the European Parliament is the institution in which young people trust the most, even though England shows quite stable levels of trust for all the institutions considered. Young people trust politicians less, especially in

Portugal and Poland, the two countries where also young people trust European institutions more than national ones.

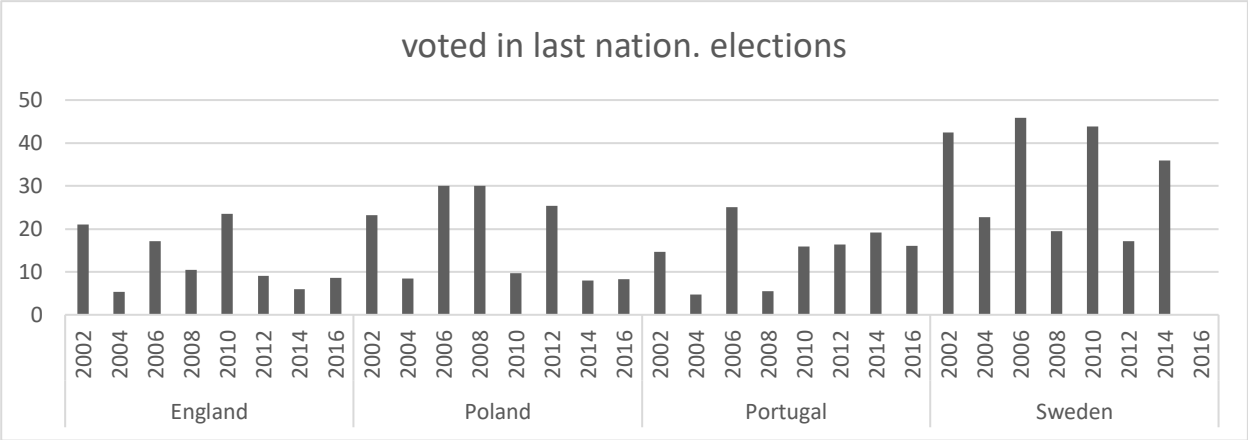
Graph 2: Levels of trust in institutions, young people between 15 and 21 years old



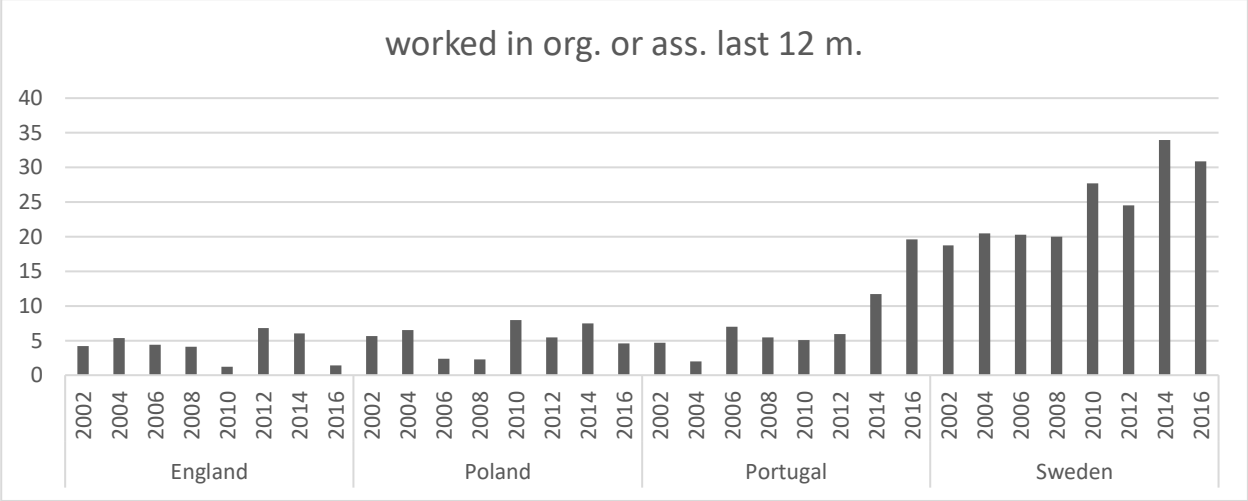
Regarding participation (Graphs 3, 4, 5 and 6), in all four countries, voting is the most noticeable expression, although we must be aware that the minimum age for voting is 18. Youngsters show stable participation rates, as there are no major differences between countries, or great fluctuations over time. The exception, once again, is Sweden, which registers the highest levels of participation, clearly standing out among the four countries. In Portugal, 2004 provides some evidence again as the year with the lowest participation rates. Curiously, 2012 registers an increase in participation in Portugal and Poland, and a decrease in Sweden and England. 2014 is generally a year of high participation in the four countries, but we must highlight the Portuguese case, which shows a significant increase in participation, coming closer to the English levels. This was a very significant year in terms of participation in relation to the austerity policies applied in Portugal. In this particular year there was an increase in non-traditional forms of participation, such as petition signing and public demonstrations concerning the dissatisfaction regarding these austerity policies.

We would like to call attention to Graph 6, where it can be seen that participation in lawful public demonstrations has become more common in Portugal over the years. In this item, participation levels are very close to (or even higher than) the Swedish. And what is also curious is that the Swedish advantage does not occur in all of the four forms of participation analysed (again Graphs 3, 4, 5 and 6), which is rather interesting.

Graph 3: Levels of participation of young people between 18 and 21 years old – *voted in last national election*



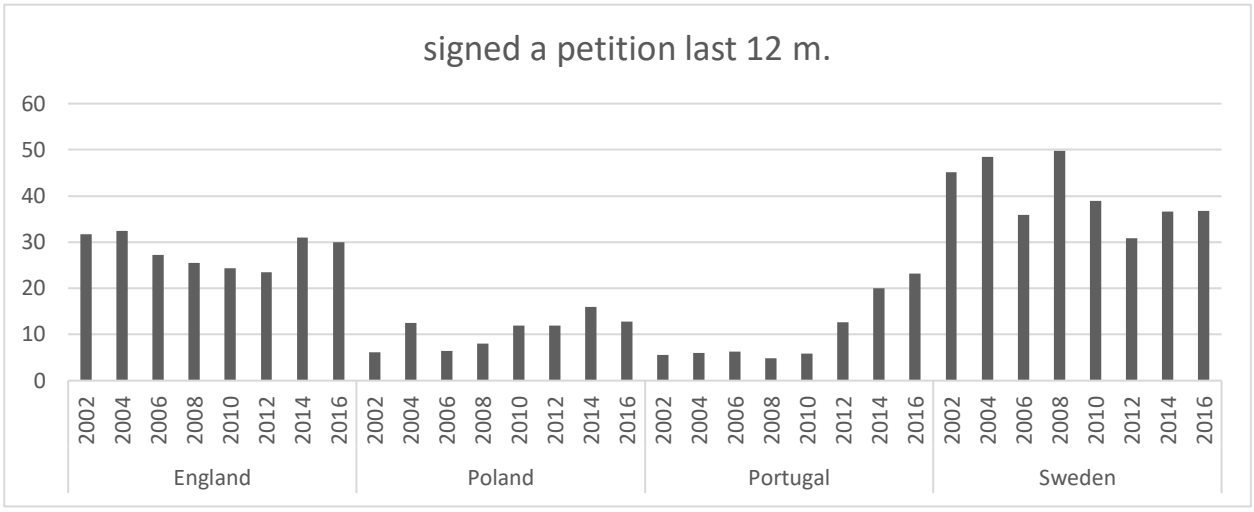
Graph 4: Levels of participation of young people between 15 and 21 years old – *worked in an organization or association in the last 12 months*



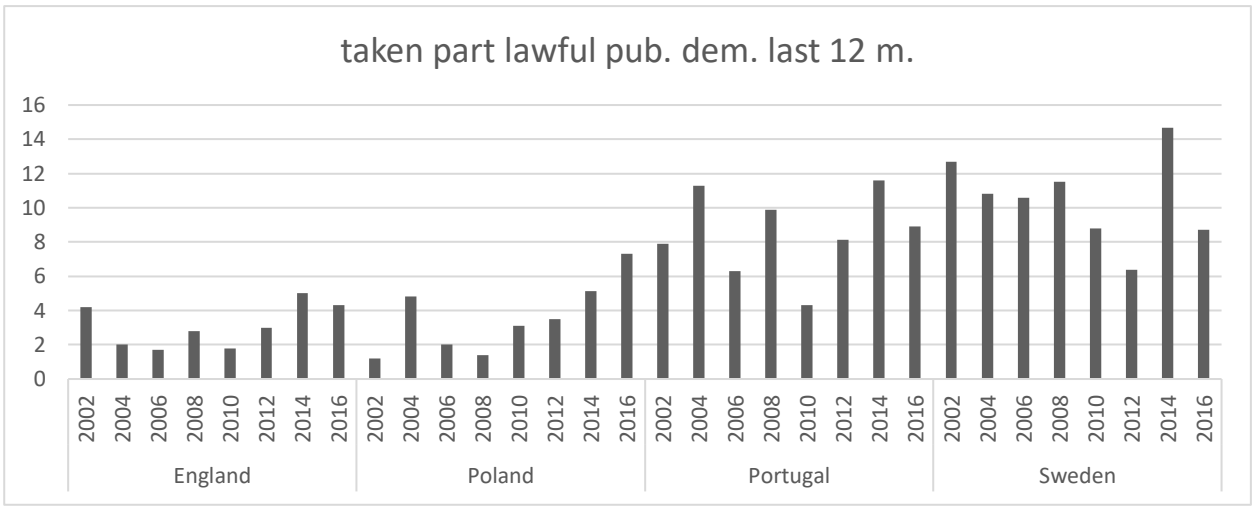
Overall, young European people between 15 and 21 years old from the countries we selected for this analysis show a proactive, interested and participative attitude. Even though they still demonstrate low levels of participation, with the exception of Sweden, we can recognize that young people are avidly seeking newer and more dynamic ways of participation. The year 2012 demonstrates an increase in participation in Portugal and Poland, probably in view of the social events that occurred, and we can identify new means of participation such as public demonstrations or those arising from new platforms like petitions. Thus, the data does not suggest that young people are alienated or

disinterested, but rather are seeking out new ways and means to participate. 2014 continues the tendency of increasing participation, especially in Portugal, where levels of youth participation come closer to the English ones.

Graph 5: Levels of participation of young people between 15 and 21 years old – *signed a petition in the last 12 months*



Graph 6: Levels of participation of young people between 15 and 21 years old – *taken part in lawful public demonstrations in the last 12 months*



5 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION - CITIZENSHIP LEARNING IN AND OUT OF SCHOOLS

Summing up, and regarding youth participation rates, voting is the most notable expression in the four countries, although we must be aware that the minimum age for voting is 18 years. Young people show stable participation rates, as there are no great differences between countries, or large fluctuations over time. The exception is Sweden, which has the highest levels of participation and clearly stands out. In Portugal, 2004 stands out negatively as the year with the lowest participation rates. However, 2012 shows an increase in participation in Portugal and Poland and 2014 was generally a year of high participation in the four countries, but we must highlight the Portuguese case, which shows a rather significant increase in participation. This was a very expressive year in terms of participation, perhaps due to the austerity policies implemented in Portugal. There has been an increase in non-traditional forms of participation, like lawful public demonstrations, which have becoming more common in Portugal over the years, bringing it closer to the levels of participation registered in Sweden.

In general, there is disinvestment in citizenship education in all countries. Data shows, as also corroborated by some authors (Braga da Cruz 1995, Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehman, Husfeld and Nikolova, 2002, Fahmy, 2006, Menezes, 2007), that young people are interested in civic and political issues and are aware of civil society, although participation levels are still low. Given this mismatch between policies and real contexts, we ask: why do we see so many political interventions aimed at young people, but which are ineffective in practice? The answer may lie in the fact that the policies which are systematically implemented are not aligned with reality. Thus, we propose citizenship education that is grounded and truly committed to the real world and that represents the civic and political involvement and participation of today's young people.

There are NGOs working with young people in the four selected countries, with the main goal of promoting and developing citizenship education. These organizations promote citizenship education at all levels of education, in non-formal and informal education contexts, and in collaboration with schools. NGOs promote conferences, workshops, round tables, meetings, debates, discussions, presentations and visits, promote training courses and produce materials.

The NGOs consulted claim that citizenship education is being implemented in a reductionist way or is not seen as a priority in the formal education system. They claim that there are still serious barriers to citizenship education, such as the fact that it is not considered a relevant subject in comparison with others, and the curriculum is oriented towards theoretical knowledge. In the four countries, NGOs report having very positive

experiences, especially due to the fact that schools and communities show an increasing interest in citizenship education and the work of the organizations.

Is there a relationship between (the lack of) citizenship education and (the lack of) civic and political participation? Would greater investment in citizenship education policies be reflected in higher levels of civic and political participation among young people?

Data on civic and political participation of young Europeans aged between 15 and 21 years of age demonstrated that the participatory apathy that has gained emphasis in recent decades may have other readings or other meanings. The means of participation also deserve our attention, since young people seem to be increasingly looking for more dynamic and less traditional forms of participation, such as demonstrations or petitions. We also understand that these new emerging forms of participation, namely through digital media, such as the Internet, with access through devices such as computers, tablets, and smartphones, came to impose sudden changes on the ways of being a citizen. We also believe that the increase in the participation rates of young people involves greater awareness, acceptance and monitoring of the evolution of forms of participation, namely by civil society and policymakers.

If we look at levels of trust in institutions and youth satisfaction, for example, in relation to democracy, we can see that, in the Portuguese case for instance, young people's satisfaction with democracy is inversely proportional to participation rates in 2012, although in 2014 satisfaction increases with participation. Perhaps this expression also has an important meaning which should be borne in mind: from our point of view, it may be the feeling of empowerment wakened by participation in raising levels of satisfaction with democracy. There is a sense that democracy effectively depends on citizens and on their participation and that this causes rising levels of satisfaction, as citizens feel they are contributing to and are part of the system. The level of trust in institutions also increased between 2012 and 2014 in Portugal, particularly in national institutions. Even in 2014, the level of trust in European institutions is surpassed by national ones. Our reading goes again towards citizen power, as a participant in the democratic system and in the strengthening of national institutions.

In the majority of European countries, citizenship education is presented as a curricular priority, even if it is not later reflected in effective academic schedules or systematic work. In fact, citizenship education encompasses a wide range of concepts and content, from the most traditional, such as moral values, to emerging ones, such as entrepreneurship. On the whole, and this is rather curious, in all the analysed countries there seems to be disinvestment in this area, although young people do not seem to be very politically disinterested (even if the opposite is not actually true either). In Europe, the emergence of citizenship education policies took place during the democratization process of the

countries that constitute it. Curiously, England, a country with a long democratic tradition, has some parallels with the Portuguese case and what can be seen today is an effective absence of education for citizenship in school practices. Recent education policies in Portugal (2012) have transferred the responsibility for citizenship education to schools, grounded on autonomy. The new measures (2017) plan a strategy for citizenship education to happen in a more structured way, under the present (and growing) autonomy (and decentralization).

If, on the one hand, we understand that citizenship education must happen within the school, we also understand that the same school must be open to the community, allowing greater fluidity between the different educational spaces and allowing young people to develop their citizenship skills by doing it (Biesta & Lawy, 2006) through their effective involvement.

European NGOs argue that policymakers show no interest in promoting young people's civic and political participation and that educational policies neglect political knowledge, critical capacity, and citizens' involvement in political issues. Most European NGOs mentioned that citizenship education practices are geared to the transmission of theoretical knowledge related to the formal functioning of democracy and to the discourse of respect, rights, and duties of citizens.

To conclude, it is important to point out that, in our understanding, there are two factors to take into account for citizenship education to actually happen: on the one hand it must be given a space and time in the curricula, emphasizing coordination with experiences, projects, community service; and on the other hand, specific training of the teachers is fundamental. According to the results of our research, these two aspects are crucial for citizenship education, giving it actual meaning and providing the opportunity for implementation of the educational policies.

Given the mismatch between policies and real contexts, why do we witness so many political interventions which are aimed at young people, but turn out to be ineffective? (Machado Pais, 2005). Machado Pais (2005) questions (through the title of a novel from Salmon Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath her Feet*) what makes good ‘paper’ policies (in terms of legislation) not adequately achieving their role (in practical terms). The answer may rely on the concept of grounded policies, meaning policies that refer to the ground they walk on (Machado Pais 2005), policies that consider and respond to reality. Therefore, we propose grounded citizenship education, truly committed to the real world and that represents the civic and political engagement and participation of the young people of today.

REFERENCES

Abowitz, K.K. & Harsnish, J. (2006). “Contemporary Discourses of Citizenship”. *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 76, No. 4, 653–690

Amadeo, J., Torney-Purta, J., Lehman, R., Husfeldt, V, and Nikolova, R. (2002). *Civic Knowledge and Engagement: An IEA Study For Upper Secundary Students In Sixteen Countries*. Amesterdão: IEA.Amnä, E. and Ekman, J. (2014). “Standby citizens: diverse faces of political passivity”. *European Political Science Review* 6 (2): 261–281

Amnä, E. and Ekman, J. (2015). Standby citizens: understanding non-participation in contemporary democracies. In *Political and Civic Engagement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Martyn Barret and Bruna Zani, 96–108. East Sussex: Routledge.

Barrett, M., & Zani, B. (2015). Political and civic engagement: Multidisciplinary perspectives. London and New York: Routledge

Battistoni, R.M. (1997). “Service Learning and Democratic Citizenship”. *Theory into Practice*, vol.36, nr3, 150–156

Bebbington, A.J., Hickey, S. & Mitlin, D.C. (2008). Introduction: Can NGO make a difference? The challenge of development alternatives, in: A.J. Bebbington, S. Hickey & D.C. Mitlin (Eds) *Can NGO make a difference? The challenges of development alternatives*. London: Zed Books

Beiner, R. (Ed.). (1995). *Theorizing citizenship*. New York: State University NY Press.

Benhabib, S. (1999). “Citizens, residents and aliens in a changing world: Political membership in the global era”. *Social Research*, 22, 1–24.

Biesta, G. J. J., & Lawy, R. (2006). “From teaching citizenship to learning democracy: Overcoming individualism in research, policy and practice”. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 36(1), 63–79.

Bîrzéa, C., Losito, B., & Veldhuis, R. (2005). “Introduction”. *Journal of Social Sciences Education*, 3. Retrieved March 10, 2012, from http://www.jsse.org/2005/2005-3/jsse-special-issue-european-year-of-citizenship-through-education.

Braga da Cruz, M. (1995). *Instituições Políticas E Processos Sociais* [Political Institutions and Social Processes]. Venda Nova: Bertrand Editora.

Crick, B. (1998). *Education For Citizenship And The Teaching Of Democracy In Schools: Final Report Of The Advisory Group On Citizenship*. London: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

Dewey, J. (2007). *Democracia e Educação* [Democracy and Education]. Lisbon: Didáctica Editora

Ekman, J. & Amna, E. (2012). Political Participation and Civic Engagement: towards a new typology. Human Affairs, 22, 283–300

Eshach, H. (2007). “Bridging In-school and Out-of-school Learning: Formal, Non-Formal, and Informal Education”. *Journal of Science Education and Technology*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 171–190, DOI: 10.1007/s10956-006-9027-1

European Social Survey (2006). ESS Round 3: European Social Survey Round 3 Data. Data file edition 3.5. Norway: NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

European Social Survey. (2002). ESS Round 1: European Social Survey Round 1 Data. Data file edition 6.4. Norway: NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data.
European Social Survey. (2004) ESS Round 2: European Social Survey Round 2 Data. Data file edition 3.4. Norway: NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data.
European Social Survey. (2008). ESS Round 4: European Social Survey Round 4 Data. Data file edition 4.3. Norway: NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data.
European Social Survey. (2010). ESS Round 5: European Social Survey Round 5 Data. Data file edition 3.2. Norway: NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data.
European Social Survey. (2012). ESS Round 6: European Social Survey Round 6 Data. Data file edition 2.2. Norway: NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data.
European Social Survey. (2014). ESS Round 7: European Social Survey Round 7 Data. Data file edition 2.0. Norway: NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data.
European Social Survey. (2016). ESS Round 8: European Social Survey Round 8 Data. Data file edition 2.0. Norway: NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data.
Fahmy, E. (2006). *Young Citizens: Young People's Involvement In Politics And Decision Making*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate.
Flanagan, C.; Gallay, L.; Gill, S.; Gallay, E. & Nti, N. (2005). "What does democracy mean? Correlates of Adolescents' views". *Journal of Adolescent Research*, Vol. 20 No. 2, 193–218
Flanagan, C. A., and Sherrod, L. R. (1998). "Youth Political Development: An Introduction." *Journal of Social Issues* 54 (3): 447–456.
Haste, H. (2004). "Constructing the citizen". *Political Psychology*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 413–439
Hedtke, R. (2013). Who is Afraid of a Non-Conformist Youth? The right to Dissent and Not to Participate. In Hedtke e Zimenkova (Eds.) *Education for Civic and Political Participation. A Critical Approach*. New York: Routledge
Hedtke, R.; Zimenkova, T. & Hippe, T. (2008). "A Trinity of Transformation, Europeanisation, and Democratisation? Current Research on Citizenship Education in Europe". *Journal of Social Science Education*, Volume 6, Number 2, 5–20
Huntington, S. (1992). "How Countries Democratize". *Political Science Quarterly*, 106(4), 579–616.Kaase, M. (1984). "The Challenge Of The 'Participatory Revolution' Democracies." *International Political Science Review* 5: 299–318.
Kallioniemi, A., Zaleskiene, I., Lalor, J., and Misiejuk, D. (2010). "Towards active citizenship: Cooperation between universities and NGOs in developing curriculum." *Socialinis Ugdymas* 12 (23): 5–20.
Kamat, S. (2010). The Privatization Of Public Interest: Theorizing NGOs Discourse In A Neoliberal Era. *Review of International Political Economy* 11(1): 155–176.
Keating, A. (2009). "Educating Europe's citizens: moving from national to post-national models of educating for European citizenship". *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 13, No. 2, 135–151
Kerr, D (2003). Citizenship Education in England: The Making of a New Subject. *JSSE-Journal of Social Science Education*, 2, 1–10

Lang, S. (2013). *NGO, civil society, and the public sphere*. New York: Cambridge University Press

Lavalle, A. G. & Bueno, N. S. (2011). "Waves of Change Within Civil Society in Latin America: Mexico City and São Paulo". *Politics & Society*, 39(3), 415–450

Lister, R.; Smith, N.; Middleton, S. & Cox, L. (2010). "Young People talk about Citizenship: empirical perspectives on theoretical and political debates". *Citizenship Studies*, 7:2, 235–253

Machado Pais, J. (2005). "Jovens e Cidadania"[Youyh and Citizenship]. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas* 49: 53–70.

Magalhães, P., and Sanz Moral, J. (2008). *Os Jovens e a Política*. [Youth and Politics] Lisbon: Centro de Sondagens e Estudos de Opinião da Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class and other essays*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Menezes, I. (2003). Civic Education In Portugal: Curricular Evolutions In Basic Education. *Journal of Social Science Education* 2. Accessed 23 February 2005. http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/download/474/390

Menezes, I. (2005). De que falamos quando falamos de cidadania? [What are we talking about when we talk about citizenship?] In Pintassilgo, J., Carvalho, C. & Sousa, F. (eds) *A educação para a cidadania como dimensão transversal do currículo escolar*. Porto: Porto Editora & CIEFCUL, 13–22

Menezes, I. (2007). *Intervenção Comunitária: Uma Perspectiva Psicológica*. [Community Intervention: A Psychological Perspective] Porto: Livpsic.

Menezes, I., Ribeiro, N., Fernandes-Jesus, M., Malafaia, C., & Ferreira, P. (Eds.) (2012a). Agência e participação cívica e política: Jovens e imigrantes na construção da democracia [Agency and civic and political participation: Youth and immigrants in building democracy]. Porto: Livpsic

Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press

Nóvoa, A., and Lawn, M., eds. (2002). *Fabricating Europe: The Formation Of An Education Space.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Osler, A., and Starkey, H. (2006). "Education For Democratic Citizenship: A Review Of Research, Policy And Practice 1995–2005." *Research Papers in Education* 21 (4): 433–466.

Palhares, J. A. (2008). "Os sítios de educação e socialização juvenis: experiências e representações num contexto não-escolar" [Youth education and socialization sites: experiences and representations in a non-school contexto]. *Educação, Sociedade & Culturas*, n.º 27, 109–130

Park, S. Y. (2007). *Citizenship Education Through NGOs*. Accessed 23 March 2012.http://www.citized.info/pdf/commarticles/Citizenship%20Education%20through%20NGOs%20-%20sun%20young.pdf

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse And Revival Of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
Roldão, M. C. (1999). "Cidadania e Currículo" [Citizenship and Curriculum]. *Inovação*, vol. 12, n.º 1, 9–26
Russel, A. (2004). "The Truth About Youth? Media Portrayals Of Young People And Politics In Britain." *Journal of Public Affairs* 4 (4): 347–354.
Stewart, E., & Weinstein, R. S. (1997). "Volunteer participation in context: Motivations and political efficacy within three AIDS organizations". *American Journal of Community Psychology,* 25(6), 809–837
Theiss-Morse, E., and Hibbing, J. R. (2005). "Citizenship And Civic Engagement." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 227–249.
Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Oswald, H., & Schulz, W. (2001). Citizenship and education in twenty-eight countries: Civic knowledge and engagement at age fourteen. Amsterdam: IEA.
Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., and Brady, H. E. (2002). *Voice And Equality: Civic Voluntarism In American Politics*. Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press.
Young, I. M. (2000). *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: University Press.

LEGISLATION

2001 – DL 6/2001, 18th January
2012 – DL 139/2012, 5th July

ENDNOTES

[1] The selected NGOs are also very active in the educational field: 1) England: NGOs related to citien,ship and youth involvement; 2) Portugal: NGOs related to youth associations and gender equality; 3) Poland: NGOs related to civics and citizenship education; 4) Sweden: NGOs related to students' unions and inclusion, mediation and conflict management.

[2] In 2017 the National Strategy for Citizenship Education was defined and is being implemented in public and private schools, through the subject of citizenship and development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported by National Funds through the Portuguese research funding agency (FCT—Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, IP), within the multi-year funding awarded to CIIE [grants no. UID/CED/00167/2019; UIDB/00167/2020; and UIDP/00167/2020] and PhD grant SFRH/BD/78829/2011.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Ana Bela Ribeiro, PhD in Educational Sciences from the University of Porto, is Invited Professor at the Department of Educational Sciences and Supervision of the Polytechnic Institute of Bragança, where she teaches in the fields of Sociology of Education, Didactics and Social Sciences. She is full researcher at the Centre for Research and Intervention in Education of the University of Porto, and her main research interests are citizenship education, civic and political participation, and educational policies.

Isabel Menezes, PhD in Psychology from the University of Porto, is Full Professor in the Department of Educational Sciences, University of Porto. She is a member of CIIE, research centre in educational research and intervention, and teaches in the fields of Educational Research, Educational and Community Intervention, Political Education and Political Psychology. Her research deals with the civic and political participation of children, young people, and adults, with a special interest in groups at risk of exclusion on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, disability, and migrant status, and the ways formal and non-formal education (including artistic) experiences can generate more complex ways of relationship with the political.