Character Education
and
Citizenship Education

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Citizenship Education and Character Education

"Character is the continuously defined way of how man relates to the world" (Herbart 1919, p. 524)

1 Introduction

In discussing citizenship education and character education we intend to make a small contribution to the clarification of the meaning of each area, discuss the connections and disjunctions between them and raise the possibility of developing an academic and professional bridge between them.

  Throughout this issue we are not making an argument for anything other than professional forms of education that help learners to understand and develop the skills and dispositions to take part in contemporary society. It would be an unhelpful and superficial approach if we were to pretend that it would be appropriate to promote citizenship education in ways that were exclusively distinct from character education. Rather what we wish to do is to explore some ideas and draw attention to some issues in order to help in the development of our own and perhaps others' thinking. We see this as a necessary task as otherwise the potential for valuable educational work will be reduced. Without clear thinking about these areas, the "negative stereotyping between the two fields" (Althof & Berkovitz 2006, p. 495), there may also be unfortunate political consequences in which forms of education are practised unthinkingly and unintentionally. We argue for this serious consideration as "in the absence of this clearer articulation a form of character education will develop …. and be titled citizenship education" (Davies, Gorard and McGuinn 2005, p. 354; Suissa 2015). In other words, distinct goals would be

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established and ways of teaching promoted unthinkingly and probably with negative effects.

  A good deal of valuable thinking and action did take place in the early years of the 21st century which led to a very clear characterization of citizenship education. That positive situation, however, may no longer exist and instead we are in 2017 again faced with the shifting sands of definitions and characterizations around citizenship and character. Further, we recognize the institutional and political developments that are always relevant to changing priorities in education. The impact of the economic crisis since 2008 and recent political developments across the world mean that educators operate in contexts that are markedly different from the early years of the 21st century. We aim in this issue of JSSE - in this editorial and in the articles - to explore areas (conceptually and empirically) in ways which will not provide answers but will perhaps highlight where further discussions and actions are needed.

  'Citizenship education' or 'character education' as titles for work in schools and elsewhere may be used variously across particular locations. Of course, it would be inappropriately simplistic to declare that precise and unchanging boundaries exist for character or education. But, very broadly, 'character' is perhaps most commonly emphasised in some circles in northern America and east Asia and 'citizenship' in some European locations (including the Council of Europe's commitment to education for democratic citizenship), in South America and elsewhere. But the picture is complicated by variations within as well as across geographical contexts. East Asia is a very broad context – Singapore, for example, uses both citizenship and character.

  We feel that it would be helpful to ask what lies behind these different terminologies. It is far too easy to assert in generalised (perhaps even stereotypical) terms that a combination of socialism and commitment to traditional, Confucian, values give 'citizenship' a particular meaning in one location, while a Judeo-Christian tradition with commitment to individualism gives 'character' an alternative characterization. We could just as easily make the opposite assumptions (e.g., Buber 1956). Indeed, Osler and Starkey (1999) in a review of European action programmes while praising the value of transnational projects for citizenship education in Europe also raised some questions about whether any of the programmes that they reviewed were covering the key aspects of political education. We need to recognise that within particular locations the meaning given to specific terms

varies, both by choice of term itself and the ways in which the term is applied. This may be illustrated by the choices of words which are linked to intellectual and political framing. In Hungarian, for example, the word *polgár* means 'citizen' but refers rather narrowly to a person living in a democracy with a set of attitudes relevant to an implied social standing (generally a middle class lifestyle). *Állampolgáriság,* on the other hand, can include these matters but also stresses the possibility of a legal relationship with the state and a sense of belonging to a community. What is needed is to go beyond the general labels of citizenship and character and find out what these things are intended to mean and what they actually mean in particular contexts and in general (Davies et al 2004).

In order to gain that clearer and more contextualised understanding of citizenship education and character education we will in the remaining part of this editorial, and prior to a description of the articles that are included by authors from several parts of the world, highlight very briefly some relevant factors. We draw attention to 6 key issues that help us consider the characterizations of citizenship and character: the nature of democracy; the meaning of the public-private interface; the sense of crisis that may drive the agendas for citizenship and character; the commitment by advocates of citizenship and/or character to 'right' answers in educational settings; pedagogical scaffolding; and, finally and in conclusion the alignment between character, citizenship and the fundamental purposes of education and schooling.

2 Six key issues to consider the links between citizenship and character education

2.1 The nature of democracy

This is, obviously, a very broad platform, or arena in which competing discourses meet. In part this debating space is what politics itself is centrally about. Perhaps one of the principal architects of citizenship education in the 21st century, Professor Sir Bernard Crick (1929-2008), argued that politics was the process through which the creative reconciliation of competing interest could occur (Crick 1962). We need to explore the nature of those com-peting interests. Citizenship may be potentially exclusive; character may be potentially limited and limiting. Citizen-ship may be characterised as relating to one's formally established legal position (recognized by birth in a place or through family ties) with rights and responsibilities, a feeling that one belongs, and a disposition to engage. It may also be the means by which (if the emphasis is placed on legal context) a society may easily identify those who do not belong. Whereas human rights are for some seen as universal, citizenship, in certain iterations, is much more closely proscribed. Character may be something that is innately human, the means by which an individual and other individuals, a group and other groups build connections and achieve goals. It may be generated through and for Aristotelian conceptions of the good life. Character may also be - or has been accus-ed of being – "unclear, redundant, old-fashioned, religi-ous, paternalistic, anti-democratic,

conservative, indivi-dualistic, relative and situation dependent" (Kristjansson 2013, p.269). Is citizenship likely to be more aligned with constitutional processes and character more with moral issues? This depends on the characterization of citizenship and character that is being applied. The point is not that one area necessarily must be cast in certain ways. We need to engage in democratic deliberation and promote professional forms of education that are appropriate for a diverse society.

2.2 The nature of the public-private interface

Crick, when explaining the nature of citizenship (e.g., Crick 2000), used to rely heavily on what he regarded as a division between the public and the private. He did not make this argument simplistically but we will here draw some fairly crude distinctions in order to clarify our position. A lesson that covered smoking, if it were to highlight a personal approach about an individual's health, would not be seen – using a Crick-like perspective - as relevant to citizenship education. It would be individually framed in that advice would be given to pupils not to smoke, usually on the grounds that it is unhealthy and expensive. On the other hand, a stereotypical image of a lesson about smoking in relation to character education would perhaps involve a scenario in which advice would be given about doing the right thing and having the optimism, determination and will power not to give in to peer pressure or individual desire in order to resist the temptation to smoke. Of course, things are much more complex. Smoking, when considered from the viewpoint of public health, taxation and the power of persuasion held by multinational corporations, is clearly a public issue and may be understood in citizenship lessons in such terms. Similarly, there may not be simplistic lessons about character from the smoking lesson but rather the interplay between personal decision-making and public engagement could be explored meaningfully. What may emerge is the opportunity to avoid simplistic and artificial division between citizenship on the one hand and character on the other. When Crick spoke of the public-private split it seemed odd to those who adopt feminist perspectives in which the personal *is* political. And certain critical pedagogical perspectives would perhaps claim the character education approach to smoking authoritarian and illiberal – they would criticise the democratic educational imperative as a form of subjection in order to achieve life optimization. Matters to do with power, justice, authority and so on may be seen publically *and* personally. Democratic diversity is to be celebrated (to build on the work of Westheimer and Kahne 2004) through approaches that are personally responsible and participatory and justice oriented. If this is accepted, then there is the opportunity for a clear bridge to be built between citizenship and character education programmes incorporating personal issues, moral issues, social problems, legal regulation and political participation (Reinhardt 2015).

2.3 A sense of crisis

A perception of our living through crisis may be seen in many places and in some ways is a reasonable approach to expectations around education and schooling. If education were not to influence society it would seem as if reasonably anticipated goals were not being achieved. Of course, often the crisis in question may be more imagined than real and the effect of relying upon it may in certain contexts be rather counter-productive (Sears & Hyslop-Margison 2007). But as long as we maintain our commitment to rationality and our sense of what, realistically, schools and others can achieve, then the relationship between individual, social and political goals and education should be elaborated in order to improve individual lives and society. Academics and professionals who are interested in citizenship and character are essentially being encouraged to solve problems; or, to put it more positively, to make the world a better place. There is a good deal of overlap in these endeavours. But there is also difference (including commitment to consider more sceptical considerations regarding the relationships between adults and young people and their education). Citizenship may in its commitment to constitutional politics (if not, for the moment, other things as well) be engaged in issues of democratic engagement broadly and voter turnout particularly. In many parts of the world community is a vitally important matter with many high profile pieces of work asserting a crisis (e.g., Putnam 2000) and politicians around the world are appealing to educators to act. Character may respond to a differently framed crisis. Mental health and well-being are now seen as areas of grave concern. This may be related to the highly competitive nature of societies (including examination preparation within schools); more mobile, and so, perhaps, less traditionally supported individuals and communities; the rise of social media which may encourage a pressurised 24 hour a day lifestyle; a competitive, perhaps neo-liberal, environment in which commitment to welfare (and, by extension, the public space) is shrinking. It is possible that there are meeting points between citizenship and character in the contexts for - and responses to - these crises. Societies and communities are made up of individuals and structural social and political factors are influential. Support for individuals would not be denied by citizenship educators; recognition of structural forces would not be rejected by character educators. Crisis is a cause of the rise of attention being devoted to citizenship and character; it is a determinant of how responses are shaped to those crises; and, importantly, across both fields it is a means of contributing to the management and perhaps even solution of those problems.

2.4 The commitment to 'right' answers

There are connections between citizenship and character over the debate about the specifics of guidance provided by teachers; or, more simply, whether or not students are told the 'right' answers. At times across social studies education unhelpfully firm positions have been established. In curriculum theory, the work of the influential academic Lawrence Stenhouse (1926-1982), for example, was interpreted by some to position the teacher as neutral chair where all contributions to a discussion would be accepted, against the supposedly authoritarian and potentially indoctrinatory politically inspired activist-educator. Issues may also be raised by considering the 4 scenarios given by Reinhardt (2017, 12). Similar debates may relate to character: for example, the proponents of moral inculcation could be positioned against those who supported providing opportunities for moral clarification. Attempts to avoid these accusations are fraught with difficulty. The determination to avoid a "postmodernism of the streets" (Crick 2000) in citizenship discussions does not mean that commitment to procedural (rather than substantive) values (Crick & Porter 1978) were necessarily understood or practised by all. The examples of some US character education programmes in which marks are awarded for 'right' responses in moral situations seem superficial and there is also opposition to more developed moral reasoning systems (such as those proposed by Kohlberg). All these things operate in a context in which increasingly specific thinking and actions are encouraged. Across the world there are initiatives about perceived and actual terrorism. In the UK for example the anti-terrorism, anti-radicalisation strategy of *Prevent* is now firmly embedded in educational policy and school inspection routines as well as within higher education (Department for Education (DfE), 2015a, 2015b; Higher Education Funding Council for Education (HEFCE), 2015). This complex picture is in our minds of obvious relevance to citizenship and character and we need to explore how we can best think and act together.

2.5 The implementation of citizenship and character

Of course, it does not mean if similar problems are faced then the same ways forward may be agreed. But similarly framed challenges do perhaps suggest that there is the potential for shared work. Perhaps the most entrenched challenge is to do with pedagogical scaffolding. Should discrete subjects be created, or we should operate through infusion through longer-established subjects, through the culture of the school and/or in collaboration with a programme of community (local through to global) engagement? The contributions in this issue avoid simplistic responses and encourage creative professionalism. They call for a clearer characterization of the knowledge forms that exist within and across both areas, to give the work a status appropriate to its position as one of the central purpose of all schooling (helping people to understand society and engage in it) and to ensure that the work that emerges has practical, concrete expression rather than the vague commitment of rhetorical support.

2.6 What matters in the development of discussion around citizenship and character?

As in many aspects of what broadly could be referred to as social science education there is not so much a lack of clarity as a lack of consensus. There are coherent, firmly

held positions that may arrange character education and citizenship education against each other. This sort of institutional positioning is not uncommon in many areas of education and is not surprising given political differrences and very concrete matters to do with generating resources for particular initiatives. There are potentially very real, significant and honestly-held differences between citizenship educators and character educators. It will be necessary at times for members of one group to distance themselves very firmly from the other. But while difference is important so are areas of agreement. And even more important is the need to develop each area. Debate in social studies education is always essential; division may be necessary. But neither fragmentation nor uniformity are likely to provide a valuable educational experience; diversity and consensus may be more productive and more an indication of the sorts of character and citizenship we would wish to promote. For those who see one of the prime purposes of schooling and education more generally as the means by which to help people to understand society critically and to have the skills to engage democratically we are ready to explore citizenship *and* character.

3 The contributions to this issue

The articles contained in this edition of JSSE draw from and deal with different regions, including South Korea, Singapore, Australia, U.S., Turkey, Netherlands, Germany and England. All have passed double blind peer review and are result of a kind of collaborative discourse. They give different perspectives about citizenship and/or character and use a range of research methods.

Ben Kisby (University of Lincoln, UK) examines the development of both citizenship education and character education in England in recent years. It shows how the level of legitimation and official support vary over time depending on the ideological and political preferences of governments. The article also illuminates the nature of these 2 fields. Citizenship education, unlike character education, places great emphasis on the development of appropriate knowledge and skills, not just values and attitudes, among young people. The focus of character education is on personal ethics rather than public ethics, and with addressing important moral or political issues at the level of the individual rather than at any other level. It concludes that the cultivation of character is necessary, but far from sufficient, for the preparation of young people for their roles as citizens, and that therefore while character education can support citizenship education it is not appropriate as an alternative.

Sun Young Park (Korea National Sport University) clarifies the characteristics and explores possible collaborations between citizenship and character education in South Korea. There is discussion of the national government's promotion of character education and the work by Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education for democratic citizenship education. It is argued that there are different rationales in which citizenship education focuses on citizens' active participation as a member of society, whereas character education is aimed at educating an individual who has a good character. Professor Park suggests that non-formal education such as youth work can provide an ideal channel to implement both citizenship and character education.

Jia Ying Neoh (University of Sydney, Australia) compares character and citizenship education in Singapore with civics and citizenship education in Australia. This study broadens our focus in its use of 2 countries rather than one and also demonstrates the sort of international and global forces that are shaping educational agendas. Set within the context of globalisation, the paper argues that some approaches to-wards civics, character and citizenship education can inadvertently work towards supporting the goals of neoliberalism, which can be at odds with the classical tradition of democracy.

The following two articles open the German section of our featured topic. '*Politik verdirbt den Charakter*' [politics spoils character] is a saying in the German language, and thus it is hardly surprising that there is a complex relationship between character and citizenship education. Despite a tradition of classical educational theorists such as Johann Friedrich Herbart (Rucker 2014, 17), Georg Kerschensteiner (1912) or Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster (1953), it seems, as if the term character (education) is mostly avoided in recent German discourse in educational science. Today, "character" is attached to old fashioned, "conservative" pedagogical approaches, and by some seen near to racial theories evident in the German pedagogies of the pre-Nazi ideologies of colonialism. The relatively new term *Persönlichkeitsbildung (*education of personality) is being used and a school subject "Glück" (happiness, luck) which is similar to a subject like "social and emotional learning" in U.S. and UK has been introduced in some schools in Germany and Austria, promoted by an initial book (Fritz-Schubert 2014).

Jürgen Budde and Nora Weuster (Europa-Universität Flensburg, Germany) investigate the nature of a class council in relation to the learning of democracy and character education, arguing that the possibilities of a democratic pedagogy are limited. They suggest that participation in class council does not always contribute to democracy, that personal development rather than political or democratic education is emphasized and as a result a class council may camouflage a de-politicization of the school.

Ewa Bacia and Angela Ittel (Technische Universität Berlin, Germany) on the basis of participative action research in 3 Berlin schools, argue that citizenship and character education require constant engagement in relationships. These relationships work well if they are based on the mutual trust, openness and respect that is essential in the context of heterogeneity in democratic classroom.

Jane Lo (Florida State University, U.S.) and Gavin Tierney (University of Washington Bothell, U.S.) explore issues about maintaining students' interest in politics. Drawing from Schwartz and Bransford's (1998) 'A Time for Telling', they write about a case study of three students, who experienced 'engagement first' activities

in a class, and report on their interests about political issues highlighting the need for educational follow-up. Closely connected to our featured topic, Isolde de Groot (University of Humanistic Studies, Utrecht, Netherlands) focuses on formal political participation, and explores teachers' stated intentions and rationales for using mock elections to encourage critical democratic citizenship development in civic education in schools in the Netherlands. All interviewed teachers highlighted the use of mock elections with the aim to introduce and encourage engagement in political practice. The act of participation is of course a matter of citizenship education. In the roles played by individuals and groups, in the motivations and outcomes associated with virtue and in the reactions of the authorities there are obvious strong links with character.

"Turkish nation has a noble character." This quote by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk can often be found in national holidays celebrations in schools in Turkey, accompanied by so called uniting rituals such as flag raising ceremonies and student's pledge. In their cultural study approach and ethnographic documentation, Mehmet Acikalin and Hamide Kilic (Istanbul university, Turkey) explore the role of Turkish national holidays in promoting character and citizenship education. After the recent military coup attempt in July 2016, a new emerging national unity day has been introduced, which is celebrated in schools. National holidays are sometimes seen as not only patriotic, but nationalistic and as such perhaps relate to a biased sort of citizenship and character education. The authors explore whether in a changing social and political context there could be other civic virtues presented implicitly during the national days which may help to foster character and citizenship education. (National holidays at schools and other educational contexts will be the focus of forthcoming issue (JSSE 2019-1), see recent call for papers here: www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/announcement/view/24)

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Endnote

Ben Kisby

'Politics is ethics done in public': Exploring Linkages and Disjunctions between Citizenship Education and Character Education in England*

- A comprehensive discussion of the development of both forms of education in England.
- A detailed examination of how both forms of education ought to be understood.
- A careful analysis of the similarities and differences between these forms of education.

Purpose: This article explores linkages and disjunctions between citizenship education and character education in England.

Approach: The article undertakes a theoretical discussion of what both forms of education are and involve, and a historical overview of their development over the past twenty years, utilising a wide range of primary and secondary sources.

Findings: Citizenship education programmes tend to place much greater emphasis than character education on the development of the necessary knowledge and skills that enable participation in political and democratic activities. The focus of character education is on personal ethics rather than public ethics, and the particular understanding of character education advanced by British politicians has been narrow and instrumental, linking the development of character with individual 'success', especially in the jobs market.

Research implications: Comparative research is now needed to examine the strengths and weaknesses of these two forms of education as they are delivered in other countries, and to explore the similarities and differences between the experiences of different countries.

Practical implications: Policy-makers concerned to ensure that young people have the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes they need to engage in civic and political activity should focus on programmes of citizenship education rather than character education.

1 Introduction

The late Bernard Crick made clear in his classic study *In Defence of Politics*, first published in 1962, his view that politics is a branch of ethics done in public, in which experience plays a central role (Crick, 1992). For Crick – who chaired the Advisory Group on Citizenship, whose report (DfEE/QCA, 1998) led to the introduction of citizenship in the National Curriculum in England – politics is best defined as the activity of citizens freely debating public policy, and where differing interests in society are conciliated peacefully (see Crick, 1992; see also Flinders, 2012).[1] This article examines the development of both citizenship education and character education in England in recent years, setting out also how both forms of education ought best to be understood. It makes clear that whereas during New Labour's years in power citizenship education came to prominence, in the period since 2010, in which the UK has seen first, a

Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition and second, a single party Conservative government, citizenship education has declined in significance to policy-makers and character education has risen in importance on the political agenda.

The article argues that character education has the potential to contribute to citizenship education through the cultivation of the character of the active citizen. It also, however, draws attention to important differences between citizenship education and character education. In particular, that citizenship education, unlike character education, places, or ought to place, great emphasis on the development of appropriate knowledge and skills, not just values and attitudes, among young people; that the focus of character education is on personal ethics rather than public ethics, and with addressing important moral or political issues at the level of the individual rather than at any other level. The article argues that the particular understanding of character education advanced by British politicians is narrow and instrumental, linking the development of character with individual 'success', in particular, in the jobs market. It concludes that this reflects the government's focus on pupils and students as future workers and consumers in a competitive global economy, rather than ensuring that young people are equipped to play a part in the democratic process so as to address issues of general concern through collective action.

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2 Understanding citizenship education

Citizenship is an 'essentially contested concept' and, as such, citizenship education is a contested subject (Crick, 2000, p. 3; Lister, 1997, p. 3; Miller, 2000, p. 82).[2] At a basic level, citizenship can be defined in terms of an individual's membership of a state or of a political community of some kind and the legal and moral rights and duties that this membership gives rise to. Citizenship then has legal dimensions, relating to both national and international law, defining who are and who are not citizens and who are and who are not accorded legal and other rights, and normative aspects, being concerned to specify how an individual citizen should behave and what it is about their behaviour that should be regarded as admirable or worthy of criticism. It can also be seen as relating to individual and group identities, to citizens' possession of particular values and virtues and their rights and responsibilities, broadly conceived.

Citizenship is a concept regularly invoked in discussions surrounding globalization, immigration, asylum and nationality. It may be seen as 'a multi-layered construct' (Yuval-Davis, 2000, p. 117, see also Yuval-Davis, 1999) – and some postmodern thinkers have been concerned to deconstruct citizenship, analysing the signs and symbols that they argue give the concept meaning (e.g. Wexler, 1990). Certainly citizenship 'is not an eternal essence but a cultural artefact. It is what people make of it' (Van Gunsteren, 1998, p. 11) and it has 'multiple meanings' (Van Gunsteren, 1998, p. 13), giving rise to a variety of different perspectives. As such, a definitive conception of citizenship must remain endlessly elusive. Nevertheless, it can be given a more concrete meaning, insofar as it is possible to understand modern conceptions of the citizen and debates about the meaning and nature of citizenship as deriving from two historical traditions: liberal and republican citizenship, with the former emphasising citizens' rights and the latter their civic duties, and there are important contemporary debates around, for example, cosmopolitan, communitarian, multicultural, ecological and feminist conceptions of citizenship, which seek in different ways to critique and/or build on these two core traditions.[3]

Leaving aside those who are against citizenship education,[4] there are considerable differences of opinion regarding the appropriate content of citizenship lessons and modes of delivery to students amongst those who are in favour. The article is concerned principally with citizenship lessons in secondary schools and colleges,[5] as opposed to primary or higher education, or to forms of citizenship education for immigrants that are designed to enable non-citizens to become citizens. Whilst empirical studies can shed important light on the effectiveness or otherwise of particular forms of citizenship education, these issues are clearly, to a large extent, normative, since any attempt to address them necessarily relies on various assumptions about what the aims of citizenship education should be and how these objectives should manifest themselves in the citizenship syllabus, the role of schools, teachers and students, and so on.

From the perspective advanced in this article, democracies need active and informed citizens, willing and able to play a part in the democratic process so as to safeguard and bolster democratic principles. Citizenship education seeks to address issues of general concern through collective action. It is important as a means of connecting young people to the political system, helping them make sense of a complex political world and thereby strengthening democracy. As such, citizenship education can be defined as a subject that is or ought to be concerned to provide students with knowledge and understanding of political ideas and concepts, and local, regional, national and international political processes and institutions; to develop students' skills so as to enable them to engage in decision-making, critical thinking, debate, and (in ways of their own choosing) to participate effectively in political and democratic activities inside and outside school; and to instil in students particular values and attitudes which make it likely they will want to engage in such activities (Kisby & Sloam, 2009, pp. 316-319). Schools can and should act as mini-polities, formative arenas for expression and civic engagement, for practice in social relations and in dealing with authority (Flanagan et al., 2007).

Citizenship classes are most effective when they are underpinned by the core principles of experiential and service learning, whereby knowledge, participation and deliberation are linked together in the promotion of active citizenship (see Kisby & Sloam, 2009). Experiential learning emphasises the vital role experience plays in learning and stresses the importance of the nature of these experiences and is contrasted with more passive, didactic forms of learning. It seeks both to connect learning to students' past experiences and promotes the notion of students actively and collaboratively engaging in participative activities that address issues that are relevant to their own lives – to facilitate what educationalists have described as 'deep learning' (Ramsden 2003). The development of knowledge and skills is facilitated through performance (Kolb, 1984), enabling learners to link theory with practice, to develop their own questions and find their own answers. Service learning is concerned to develop skills for both life and work, and promotes student participation in work-based learning concerned with achieving public goods, and unlike simple volunteering, when done well, should emphasise the importance of participants critically reflecting on and analysing the activities undertaken (Crick, 2004, p. 83).

So citizenship education is not about attempting to create 'perfect' or 'model' citizens. It should certainly be very concerned with issues around rights and pluralism in the contemporary world – key liberal preoccupations. But if the aim is to promote a form of citizenship education that enables and encourages students to think critically about contemporary issues and to engage actively in political and civic participation so as to address such matters, as well as to protect and promote rights rather than to merely be aware of already existing legal rights, then it ought also to be informed by a conception

of citizenship that owes a great deal to the republican tradition, in which citizenship is conceived of primarily as an activity rather than a status (see Oldfield, 1990; Marquand, 1997, ch.2). Citizenship education should inculcate among young people a respect for others and a rejection of all forms of discrimination, for example, on racist, sexist, homophobic or religious grounds, and should involve students discussing and addressing real, concrete issues and events in personal, local, national and international contexts.

3 Citizenship education in England

The history of citizenship education in England can be traced back a long way – perhaps to 1934 and the formation of the Association for Education in Citizenship, which aimed to teach the children of ordinary people, and not just public school elites, about the merits of liberal democracy and the dangers of totalitarianism (Whitmarsh, 1974). In fact, some scholars trace political education in Britain back as far as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to the university education of aspiring elites, which included some instruction in political leadership and patriotism (Batho, 1990; Heater, 2002; Mycock, 2004). Citizenship education became part of the non-statutory personal, social and health education framework at primary level and a statutory subject in secondary schools in England in 2000, with the statutory provision taking effect at the start of the academic year in 2002 so that schools had time to prepare. Prior to this, citizenship lessons had never been compulsory in English schools, although citizenship had been one of five non-compulsory, cross-curricular themes of the National Curriculum since 1990 (NCC, 1990a, 1990b).

The decision to introduce citizenship as a statutory foundation subject in the National Curriculum was made clear by the incoming Labour government in its first Education White Paper, *Excellence in Schools*, published two months after the general election in May 1997.[6] The White Paper announced the formation of 'an advisory group to discuss citizenship and the teaching of democracy' in schools (DfEE, 1997, p. 63). Later that year the then Education Secretary, David Blunkett, announced that the group would be chaired by the political theorist and commentator Bernard Crick, one of the leading figures who had been pushing for the different but related subject of political education in schools since the 1970s. However, Blunkett's view was that political education had too narrow an emphasis (Pollard, 2004, p. 262), being preoccupied with political literacy (Crick & Heater, 1977; Crick & Porter, 1978), and that citizenship education ought to be concerned more generally with how children should be taught to be citizens, and this was reflected in the terms of reference given to the group, which was asked:

'To provide advice on effective education for citizenship in schools – to include the nature and practices of participation in democracy; the duties, responsibilities and rights of individuals as citizens; and the value to

individuals and society of community activity' (DfEE/QCA, 1998, p. 4).

The Advisory Group on Citizenship (AGC) published its report, *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*, in September 1998 and was one of the immediate causes of the inclusion of citizenship in the National Curriculum. The AGC's report provided the framework for citizenship education in England. It defined citizenship education in terms of three strands – social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy:

"1. Social and moral responsibility – learning from the very beginning self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other;
2. Community involvement – learning and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community;
3. Political literacy – learning about and how to make themselves effective in public life though knowledge, skills and values' (DfEE/QCA, 1998, pp. 11-13).

Citizenship education was introduced in England principally because of concerns held by a range of actors, including politicians, academics and pressure groups constituting an ideational policy network, about what they perceived as a decline in levels of social capital in Britain (see Kisby, 2007, 2012). Such individuals and groups were particularly influenced by the neo-Tocquevillian conception of social capital advanced by the US political scientist Robert Putnam, for whom the concept refers to the social networks, such as networks of friends and neighbours and organizations like trade unions, churches, and schools, and the norms and trust that such networks give rise to, which he argues allow citizens to work together to achieve collective goals (Putnam, 2000; Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993). Blunkett, for example, argued that the state must enable citizens to lead autonomous lives, especially through citizenship education. For Blunkett, 'it is clear that weak civic engagement and an absence of social capital deprives democracy of its vitality, health and legitimacy' (Blunkett, 2001, p. 26). Blunkett argued for greater civic involvement by citizens, which, for him, required action on the part of the state to enable citizens to lead autonomous lives, especially through education for citizenship (Blunkett, 2001, pp. 26-29). Blunkett argued: 'If autonomy is dependent on education, and a fully autonomous person is also by definition an active citizen, then there needs to be explicit education for citizenship in the school and college curriculum' (Blunkett, 2001, p. 29).

The impact of the concept of social capital on the citizenship education initiative can also be seen in the normative presuppositions underpinning the AGC report (Kisby, 2009). The normative model of citizenship that best corresponds to Putnam's concerns can be described as a 'republican-communitarian' model, broadly of the kind developed by Michael Sandel (Sandel, 1996, 1998).

This is a model that seeks to promote both civic and political participation and which also emphasises citizens' community membership as the primary constitutive attachment upon citizens. The principal aims of citizenship education in England, as set out in the AGC report, are to teach young people to become well informed, responsible citizens engaged in mainstream political and civic activities, such as voting, and undertaking voluntary work, in particular, at a local community level.

Keith Ajegbo's review of diversity and citizenship in the curriculum (DfES, 2007), published in January 2007 and welcomed by the Government (see, for example, Johnson, 2007), provided impetus to teaching about diversity, emphasising the importance of school children learning about national, regional, ethnic and religious cultures and their connections, and exploring the concept of community cohesion.[7] The Ajegbo report was consistent with New Labour concerns around patriotism and national identity and it marked an important shift of emphasis for citizenship lessons in England. The call by Gordon Brown (2006) and others for a greater focus on 'Britishness' and 'British' values (for a discussion, see Andrews & Mycock, 2008) sparked a debate about the meaning of citizenship in the UK and led to the Goldsmith report on citizenship (Goldsmith, 2008). Its reform proposals focused only on symbolic measures to strengthen British citizenship, such as citizenship ceremonies, and efforts to support volunteering, although it also led to the establishment of the Youth Citizenship Commission, which has undertaken much needed research on young people's understandings of citizenship and on how to increase levels of political participation (YCC, 2009; see also Mycock & Tonge, 2014).

The general election in May 2010 led to the formation of a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government, and following this it looked for a long time as if citizenship would be removed as a compulsory subject in the National Curriculum. Indeed this was the recommendation of the Curriculum Review Panel set up by the coalition government in January 2011. The panel's report was published in December 2011 and it took the very questionable view that citizenship is not a distinct subject as such and therefore its compulsory status in the National Curriculum should be revoked (DfE, 2011). Given that the stated purpose of citizenship lessons was to increase levels of civic engagement and given that the evidence clearly suggested it was having some success in this regard (see e.g. Keating et al., 2010),[8] the logic of the panel seems rather peculiar (Whiteley, 2014, p. 531). To the surprise of many,[9] in February 2013 the then Education Secretary, Michael Gove, rejected the panel's recommendation and made it clear that citizenship would be retained as a statutory foundation subject at secondary school level (Gove, 2013), although unfortunately a great deal of momentum that had previously built up behind citizenship education was lost during the two years of uncertainty, as it was widely believed Gove did not support citizenship lessons. For example, in a speech to the Association of Teachers and Lecturers annual conference in Liverpool in April 2009,

Gove, then Shadow Education Secretary, criticised the 'politically motivated' National Curriculum, singling out specifically the requirement for schools to teach citizenship, asking: 'When it comes to citizenship, community cohesion and a sense of national solidarity, why is it that we imagine a particular subject put on the National Curriculum can address these deep and long standing challenges?' (Paton, 2009). The following year, in a speech to the Conservative Party conference in October 2010, Gove, now Education Secretary, had said:

'We urgently need to ensure our children study rigorous disciplines instead of pseudo-subjects. Otherwise we will be left behind… Our children will never outstrip the global competition unless we know our exams can compete with the best in the world…how many of our students are learning the lessons of history? One of the under-appreciated tragedies of our time has been the sundering of our society from its past. Children are growing up ignorant of one of the most inspiring stories I know – the history of our United Kingdom' (Gove, 2010).

It was widely believed that Gove's reference to 'pseudo-subjects' included citizenship education (Chong et al., 2016, p. 120). Indeed it was reported in the press in October 2012 that the government had considered removing citizenship education from the National Curriculum, but decided against this so as to avoid having to introduce new legislation to do so (Grimston & Lightfoot, 2012, p. 2). Nevertheless, despite retaining citizenship in the National Curriculum, there was a clear desire by the government to revise the Citizenship programme of study. A draft was produced in February 2013 for consultation (DfE, 2013a). This was widely regarded by citizenship education campaigners as very problematic, underpinned by a highly individualised, consumerist agenda – focusing on teaching about personal finance and financial services and products but not providing students with knowledge about public finance and economic decision-making more broadly, for example. It also seemed to regard active citizenship as entirely synonymous with volunteering and was very unclear in its guidance about human rights teaching, amongst other issues. Having successfully campaigned for the retention of citizenship in the National Curriculum, the Democratic Life coalition also managed to positively impact on the programme of study (Jerome, 2014), with the final revised curriculum clearly an improvement on what had been initially proposed, although these issues were not fully addressed (compare DfE, 2013a with DfE, 2013b).

Following the consultation, the new slimmed-down citizenship curriculum was then finalised and published in September 2013 and has been taught in schools in England since September 2014. The National Curriculum for Citizenship at key stages 3 and 4 sets out the following purpose of study:

"A high-quality citizenship education helps to provide pupils with knowledge, skills and understanding to prepare them to play a full and active part in society. In particular, citizenship education should foster pupils' keen awareness

and understanding of democracy, government and how laws are made and upheld. Teaching should equip pupils with the skills and knowledge to explore political and social issues critically, to weigh evidence, debate and make reasoned arguments. It should also prepare pupils to take their place in society as responsible citizens, manage their money well and make sound financial decisions' (DfE, 2013b, p. 214).

And the following are the aims of the programme of study for pupils, who should:

"- acquire a sound knowledge and understanding of how the United Kingdom is governed, its political system and how citizens participate actively in its democratic systems of government
- develop a sound knowledge and understanding of the role of law and the justice system in our society and how laws are shaped and enforced
- develop an interest in, and commitment to, participation in volunteering as well as other forms of responsible activity, that they will take with them into adulthood
- are equipped with the skills to think critically and debate political questions, to enable them to manage their money on a day-to-day basis, and plan for future financial needs' (DfE, 2013b, p. 214).

Although better than the initial draft, the new citizenship curriculum still represented a significant change from the three core strands set out in the Advisory Group on Citizenship's 1998 report, with a shift away from a focus on understanding political concepts and civic and political participation towards constitutional history and financial literacy, and an even greater emphasis on voluntary work. Moreover, whereas previously the acquisition of civic knowledge was linked with the development of active citizenship, the government now promotes volunteerism instead, especially through the National Citizen Service (see http://www.ncsyes.co.uk/). In addition, although citizen-ship remained a compulsory subject in the National Curriculum, Academies and Free Schools – the expansion in numbers of which has been very strongly encouraged and supported by the government – have been given the freedom to, amongst other things, opt out of following the National Curriculum. At the same time, the development of the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) and the focus on the EBacc subjects (English, mathematics, history, geography, the sciences, languages) has had the effect of undermining the National Curriculum and non-EBacc subjects, such as citizenship. As a result of these developments, along with, as will be discussed later in the article, the rise in prominence of character education, citizenship education in England has been sidelined to a significant extent, having clearly declined in importance to policy-makers in recent years following the change of government in 2010.

4 Understanding character education

The notion of 'education for character' can be traced all the way back to the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BCE), who argued that the 'good life' – a life of 'human flourishing' – requires above all the exercise of virtue. Citizens can become virtuous only through the cultivation of certain customs or habits of behaviour. For Aristotle:

"Virtue of character [i.e., of *êthos*] results from habit [*ethos*]; hence its name 'ethical', slightly varied from 'ethos'. Hence it is also clear that none of the virtues of character arises in us naturally. For if something is by nature in one condition, habituation cannot bring it into another condition…That is why we must perform the right activities, since differences in these imply corresponding differences in the states. It is not unimportant, then, to acquire one sort of habit or another, right from our youth. On the contrary, it is very important, indeed all-important' (Aristotle, 1999, pp. 18-19).

Good conduct requires training to instil these habits. So, Aristotle argues, ethics is a profoundly practical discipline that is absolutely essential for ensuring that young people develop various virtuous character traits, such as truthfulness, integrity and determination. For Aristotle, the moral virtues represent a 'golden mean' between two extremes of excess and deficiency. For example, courage is a virtue, but in excess would be reck-lessness and in deficiency, cowardice. Such qualities, Aristotle believes, do not develop naturally in children without such training. It is important to emphasize that while, for Aristotle, the virtues – the practice of acting or behavioural dispositions to act in particular ways – require a vitally important role for habits, these habits are certainly not intended to promote among citizens lives of mindless routine. Quite the opposite. Aristotle makes clear that virtue is not concerned with passive habituation, but rather reflection and action on the part of citizens, who choose to behave virtuously. This is what constitutes good character. The point here, as Broadie says, is that:

"Forming a habit is connected with repetition, but where *what* is repeated are (for example) just acts, habituation cannot be a mindless process, and the habit (once formed) of acting justly cannot be blind in its operations, since one needs intelligence to see why different things are just under different circumstances. So far as habit plays a part, it is not that of autopilot, where we take for granted that we know (without special monitoring) *what* to do to get to the destination; rather, the moral habit is one by which it can be taken for granted *that* whatever we are going to do, it will be what we find appropriate' (Broadie, 1991, p. 109, emphasis in original).

So, Aristotle believes, education for character requires practical experience; of citizens learning through habit rather than simply through reasoning, and through this training they can come to recognise how they should live and are able to live in such a way. They gain the experience and accompanying skills that inculcate in them the dispositions of good character.

Aristotle is certainly an appropriate philosopher to discuss in this context as some forms of character education in the UK, the US and elsewhere are of a distinctly

Aristotelian nature.[10] So character education is a form of education that seeks to cultivate students' social and emotional development, with schools focusing not only on the academic success of their students but also their attitudes, beliefs, behaviour, values and virtues; their students' individual characters. The notion is that schools have a vital role to play in helping develop well-rounded young people; young people of 'good character'. But how should we define 'character'? The American developmental psychologist Thomas Lickona provides the following definition:

"Character consists of *operative values*, values in action. We progress in our character as a value becomes a virtue, a reliable inner disposition to respond to situations in a morally good way. Character so conceived has three interrelated parts: moral knowing, moral feeling, and moral behaviour. *Good character consists of knowing the good, desiring the good, and doing the good* – habits of the mind, habits of the heart, and habits of action…When we think about the kind of character we want for our children, it's clear that we want them to be able to judge what is right, care deeply about what is right, and then do what they believe to be right – even in the face of pressure from without and temptation from within' (Lickona, 1991, p. 51, emphasis in original).

It should be noted that these three different 'interrelated parts' are given different degrees of emphasis in different programmes of character education that are developed by different individuals and organisations. It should also be said that various different labels have been attached to forms of education that are concerned with addressing ethical issues, the teaching of values and virtues, and the moral development of students, such as virtues education, values education and moral education. It is possible to make distinctions between character education and these forms of education. However, there are significant similarities between these kinds of education and, in the contemporary context, any distinctions that one makes are likely to be problematic and open to challenge as character education has become a rather broad field, arguably encompassing these different forms of education to a significant extent. Today, character education is very diverse, so generalisations about, say, the role of theory, ideology, the nature of pedagogical approaches used and so on are not really possible – there are forms of character education, for example, that are driven by religious and/or conservative ideologies that make use of hierarchical methods, and approaches that are much more liberal in terms of promoting individual autonomy and critical thinking among students.

One aspect that many forms of contemporary character education tend to have in common is a focus on the teaching of values that are regarded as widely shared within society. A key aim of character education is then to enable students, informed by these values, to make ethical judgements between the morally right and wrong course of action in given situations and to develop the character to do the right thing; to take the ethically correct course of action. However, as will be discussed below, interestingly, the leading centre for the promotion of character education in the UK, the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham, defines character in terms of four categories of virtues, rather than values.[11] Character education programmes, such as those developed by the Jubilee Centre, focus on developing in young people various character traits, which are often quite wide-ranging and not focused only on moral reasoning. Traits such as perseverance, confidence and motivation (which could, of course, in practice underpin amoral or immoral as well as moral behaviour) are promoted; the notion being that such traits, sometimes described as 'soft skills', are important for success in education and work – and this latter focus has very much been that of a number of politicians and educationalists in the UK and the US, as will be set out in the section that follows. So contemporary character education is concerned then with both the teaching of good character and accompanying moral issues, and with teaching for effective learning and the instilling of traits for success in life more generally.

5 Character education in England

The history of character education in the UK arguably dates back to the ideas of key figures in the Scottish Enlightenment who believed that human character could be altered through changes to the environment in which it developed (Arthur, 2003, p. 145). Arthur emphasises the importance attached to character education by progressive political and educational thinkers, although also notes 'the activities of some conservative evangelicals in the nineteenth century' (Arthur, 2003, p. 147). He draws particular attention to the work of the industrialist and social and educational reformer, Robert Owen, and his Institute for the Formation of Character. The Institute opened in 1816 and was used both as a school for young people and to provide adult education to the working classes, and was underpinned by Owen's belief that individuals are shaped by their environment and above all by their education. Arthur also points to the work of 'the secular humanists in the late Victorian era and thence the progressives in moral education in the early part of the twentieth century', for whom 'character development' was seen 'as part of a process in reforming society' (Arthur, 2003, p. 147).

The recent history of character education in England should perhaps be traced back to the creation of the National Curriculum, following the Education Reform Act of 1988. This had helped promote the idea of universalism, of all children being taught some of the same core subjects. The Act places a duty on all state schools to promote the 'spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society' and to prepare 'pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life' (HMSO, 1988, p. 1). 'Character' is not explicitly mentioned, but the aim here clearly is to prepare young people for their adult lives as moral citizens. Against a background of concern about a perceived decline in moral standards, in particular amongst young people, the School Curriculum

and Assessment Authority (SCAA) convened a National Forum for Values in Education and the Community in England, which was chaired by Marianne Talbot, a philosophy lecturer at Oxford University, who later became a member of the Advisory Group on Citizenship. The 1996 SCAA conference 'Education for Adult Life: the Spiritual and Moral Development of Young People' considered how spiritual and moral development could be promoted through school subjects and through the ethos of the school (see SCAA, 1996). Arguably, this focus on the importance of values and young people's moral development impacted on the form of citizenship education introduced by the Labour government (see Kisby, 2012, esp. ch.7).

Labour came to power in 1997 and in its White Paper, *Excellence in Schools*, argued that there was a need for pupils 'to appreciate and understand the moral code on which civilised society is based and to appreciate the culture and background of others'. In addition, pupils 'need to develop the strength of character and attitudes to life and work, such as responsibility, determination, care and generosity, which will enable them to become citizens of a successful democratic society' (DfEE, 1997, p. 10). A couple of years later, in the new National Curriculum 2000 for England, the government stated that it recognised 'a broad set of common values and purposes that underpin the school curriculum and the work of schools' (DfEE, 1999, p. 10), and the 'Statement of Values, Aims and Purposes of the National Curriculum for England' includes the following: 'the development of children's social responsibility, community involvement, the development of effective relationships, knowledge and understanding of society, participation in the affairs of society, respect for others, and the child's contribution to the building up of the common good'. The values underpinning the school curriculum are the 'commitment to the virtues of truth, justice, honesty, trust and a sense of duty' (DfEE, 1999, pp. 10-11). Moreover, in its Green paper, *Schools: Building on Success,* the government argued that: 'Character building is a key part of an overall approach to education which values scholarship, endeavour and the idea of a citizen of the future who is self-reliant and simultaneously able to contribute to the wider community' (DfEE, 2001, p. 16). Following on from Labour's *Every Child Matters* strategy (TSO, 2003), the Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) programme was introduced as part of the Secondary National Strategy in 2007 (see DCSF, 2007). This aimed to assist the development of social and emotional skills in schools. Evaluations of SEAL, however, suggested that at the primary level it had mixed effects on outcomes and at the secondary level it had no impact (Humphrey et al., 2008, 2010). It would seem then that the development of 'character' among young people, sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit, was important for Labour during its period in government between 1997 and 2010. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that this was for a particular purpose, namely the development of responsible and active citizenship, and it is important to note the discontinuities as much, if not more than, the

continuities in this area since 2010 and the election of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition, followed by the election of the Conservatives in 2015 and 2017.

The importance of character-building for British policy-makers increased significantly after 2010. Following the riots and looting in parts of the country in August 2011, the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, argued that this was 'not about poverty…No, this was about behaviour…people showing indifference to right and wrong…people with a twisted moral code…people with a complete absence of self-restraint' (Cameron, 2011a). In a speech the following month, Cameron made clear his view that 'education doesn't just give people the tools to make a good living – it gives them the character to live a good life, to be good citizens. So, for the future of our economy, and for the future of our society, we need a first-class education for every child' (Cameron, 2011b). The then Education Secretary, Michael Gove, showed some interest in the importance of schoolchildren learning 'grit'. For example, in February 2014 he claimed: 'As top heads and teachers already know, sports clubs, orchestras and choirs, school plays, cadets, debating competitions, all help to build character and instil grit, to give children's talents an opportunity to grow and to allow them to discover new talents they never knew they had' (Gove, 2014). However, it was Nicky Morgan, Education Secretary until her sacking in Theresa May's reshuffle in July 2016, and who had taken over from Gove two years earlier, who has most enthusiastically embraced character education within government, particularly as a means of promoting social mobility for those from under-privileged backgrounds. For her, instilling character and resilience 'is part of our core mission to deliver real social justice by giving all children, regardless of background, the chance to fulfil their potential and achieve their high aspirations' (DfE, 2015a).[12]

Developments in the UK have been impacted on by initiatives elsewhere, particularly in the US, such as the well-known Knowledge is Power Programme (KIPP). KIPP schools are college preparatory schools that operate in deprived areas in the US and which place character development at the heart of their ethos. In addition, in recent years a number of bestselling books by various north American authors have been published extolling the benefits of the cultivation of character, such as the US-Canadian Paul Tough's *How Children Succeed* (Tough, 2013), the American Carol Dweck's *Mindset* (Dweck, 2012), and the American Angela Duckworth's *Grit* (Duckworth, 2016), and these have also fed into the discourse of British policy-makers.[13] Morgan made character education a key priority of hers and in December 2014 the Department for Education (DfE) announced the creation of a substantial grant scheme to encourage character-building activities (DfE, 2014). Morgan has said the development of young people's characters, including their 'grit' and 'resilience' are absolutely essential for young people's future 'success'. For her:

"These traits are key to succeeding in life and I want to ensure that we are creating the conditions for everyone to proactively gain them…That is at the heart of our drive to ensure England is a global leader in character education – helping every school and pupil to be the best they can be…we want schools to focus on this area because we know that character, resilience and grit are traits that everyone, adults and children alike, can improve and build on and that doing so will help them in later life…All young people deserve the opportunity to develop the confidence, motivation and resilience that will not only complement their academic studies, but will also prepare them for success in their adult lives' (Morgan, 2016).

The DfE defines the 'character traits, attributes and behaviours that underpin success in education and work' as: 'perseverance, resilience and grit; confidence and optimism; motivation, drive and ambition; neighbor-liness and community spirit; tolerance and respect; honesty, integrity and dignity; conscientiousness, curiosity and focus' (DfE, 2015b). It argues that: 'Character education aims to allow pupils to emerge from education better equipped to thrive in modern Britain' (DfE, 2015b).

Interestingly, politicians from across the political spectrum in the UK have embraced character education. One of the most prominent supporters has been former Shadow Education Secretary, Tristram Hunt. Like Morgan, he has also expressed his commitment to schools seeking to develop young people's characters, and indeed Hunt has set out a vision for character education rather similar to Morgan's. In a speech in February 2014, Hunt made clear that Labour wants,

"young people who are confident, determined and resilient; young people who display courage, compassion, honesty, integrity, fairness, perseverance, emotional intelligence, grit and self-discipline. We want our young people to have a sense of moral purpose and character, as well as to be enquiring, reflective and passionate learners' (Hunt, 2014a).

As such, Hunt argues, 'we should encourage all schools to embed character education and resilience across their curriculum' (Hunt, 2014a). For Hunt, the development of young people's 'characters', alongside a focus also on 'literacy', 'numeracy' and 'creativity' by schools, is essential for success 'in an ever more competitive global market-place' (Hunt, 2014a; see also Hunt, 2014b).

It is important to note that much of the focus of British politicians then has been on the promotion of traits like 'resilience' and skills for 'success' in education, work and life. Although clearly not entirely unrelated to the notion of character development advanced by Aristotle briefly sketched out above, neither is such an emphasis entirely coterminous with the Aristotelian notion of human flourishing either. As summarised above, the DfE's list of key character traits is rather broader than simply 'resilience' or 'grit', but politicians have tended to promote a rather narrow, instrumental notion of character development, consistent with the discourse of

advocates of the KIPP schools and of various high profile authors writing in this area. Nevertheless, the understanding of character education advanced by some individuals and organisations, such as the Jubilee Centre, is broader than that advanced by Morgan, Hunt and others. The Jubilee Centre defines character as 'a set of personal traits or dispositions that produce specific moral emotions, inform motivation and guide conduct' (Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, undated), and it identifies four main categories of good character: 'Moral virtues, including courage, justice, honesty, compassion, gratitude, humility and modesty; intellectual virtues, such as creativity and critical thinking; performance virtues, including resilience and determination; and civic virtues, such as acts of service and volunteering' (Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, undated). The Jubilee Centre proposes a much more unambiguously Aristotelian understanding of character education. It advances a virtue ethics approach in which the development of character is an end in itself, not simply a means to some other ends.

6 Exploring linkages and disjunctions
6.1 Linkages
Character education has been subjected to a range of criticisms, although some of these can be dismissed fairly quickly and easily since they rest on caricatures, stereotypes and unjustified generalisations (Kristjánsson, 2013). For example, character education has been criticised for being a form of indoctrination, for being driven by a religious and/or right-wing political agenda, and for utilising hierarchical teaching methods. Character education can be done in such a way that amounts to little more than a form of indoctrination, but then, so can citizenship education too. If done well, character education should help young people to think critically and to think for themselves. Character education can be driven by a religious and/or right-wing ideology, but this is not necessarily inherent within character education. Again, character education can be taught using hierarchical methods or it can promote autonomy. The simple point is that character education can be done well, or it can be done badly, as with other forms of education, such as citizenship education.

The notion of teaching good character in schools will sound rather Victorian to some. The extent to which it is even possible for schools to successfully teach character is open to question. Some psychologists argue that personality is largely genetically determined. But arguably personality and character are not the same and character is more open to change. Nevertheless, many argue that character is best 'caught' indirectly rather than 'taught' directly in schools, through activities such as school sports. Still further, some critics of character education do not reject the idea that character can be shaped but argue that the role of parents is far more important than schools. Yet schools inevitably promote values (Lickona, 1991, pp. 20-21; See & Arthur, 2011, p. 144). As such, they inevitably, directly or indirectly, engage in character development, so the question then becomes not: should

schools teach character? But rather: how best can they do this? Moreover, arguably, since character education is concerned with important ethical issues and with relations between people, it relates in a significant way to citizenship education (Davies, Gorard & McGuinn, 2005, p. 343).

Both citizenship education and character education have been presented by policy-makers, in a British context, as a means of addressing perceived crises (Davies, Gorard & McGuinn, 2005, p. 342). In the case of citizenship education a concern about levels of social capital, and in the case of character education a concern about the moral outlook and behaviour of young people. Earlier in the article, citizenship education was defined as a subject that is or ought to be concerned to do three things. First, to provide students with appropriate knowledge and understanding and, second, skills, that enable them to participate effectively in various political and democratic activities inside and outside schools. Third, attention was drawn to the need for particular values and attitudes to be instilled in young people such that it is likely they will want to engage in such activities. It is this third strand – the cultivation of the character of the active citizen – that character education has the potential to contribute most significantly to citizenship education. Knowledge and skills are not enough for the development of active citizens. As stated earlier, in order for citizenship education to be delivered successfully, it is vital that it is underpinned by the core principles of experiential and service learning. Knowledge and skills must be connected with participation and reflection by young people on these experiences. Service learning can be used in both citizenship education and character education, providing young people with useful participatory experiences and aiding in character development. Through discussion of difficult and controversial political and moral issues and through civic and political participation, and critical reflection on such social action, students can develop the habits of active citizenship.

6.2 Disjunctions
Character education is not the same as citizenship education. Nor does it represent a superior alternative to citizenship education, if we are seeking an answer to the question: how best can schools prepare young people for their roles as citizens in the contemporary world? Character education has a part to play in schools and has a part to play specifically in supporting citizenship education, in particular, in helping facilitate the development of attitudes conducive to civic and political participation. But while knowledge and skills are certainly not enough, an understanding of political institutions and processes, and the development of the skills of political literacy, for example, the ability to critically engage with political ideas and messages, remain vitally important. As noted above, generalisations about character education are problematic because there are different programmes with different aims and objectives. Nevertheless, whereas forms of citizenship education, when done well,

have the cultivation of political knowledge and skills at their heart, such concerns are, at best, peripheral in character education programmes, which, as noted earlier, tend to have a significantly different focus.

While several of the criticisms commonly levelled at forms of character education are unfair, there remain significant grounds for concern. In particular, even the more sophisticated forms of character education that are put forward fail to distinguish between the good person and the good citizen or, as this article prefers to put it, the active, effective citizen, which, as argued earlier, is what citizenship education is or ought to be primarily concerned with developing. For example, for the Jubilee Centre, in addition to the focus on individual morality and resilience, the concern of character education ought to be with 'acts of service and volunteering' rather than active citizenship (Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, undated). One way to bring out a key difference between citizenship education and character education is to reflect on the task the liberal political philosopher, the late John Rawls, set himself in his well-known book, *A Theory of Justice* (Rawls, 1971), where he sought to shift the question from: how should I live? to: how can we live together in society given that there are different answers to the question: how should I live? Whatever the shortcomings of Rawls's magnum opus, this latter question ought in my view to form an important part of the framework within which citizenship education is delivered in modern, highly diverse, pluralistic, liberal democratic societies (see Suissa, 2015, pp. 106-107). It is not that the former question is not also very important, of course, and, as noted above, schools are necessarily in the business of promoting values of one kind or another, whether or not they explicitly deliver lessons in character. But the point is that character education is rather more concerned with the former than the latter question because the starting point for its advocates, such as the Jubilee Centre, is virtue ethics, not liberal pluralism or republican active citizenship. As such, the clear focus of character education is on personal ethics rather than public ethics, and with addressing important moral or political issues at the level of the individual rather than at any other level.

The focus on the individual is problematic for two reasons. First, it is very weak as a means of making sense of the world. Second, it places sole responsibility on individuals for their position in society. In relation to this first claim, let us take as an example a major world event in the last few years: the global financial crisis of 2007-8. Now, without wanting to understate the role of agency as part of an account of why the crisis happened, it is important to emphasise that an adequate explanation needs to do rather more than just highlight the moral failings of bankers.[14] Such an analysis needs to examine a whole range of factors, such as the roles of and relationships between markets, bankers, central bankers, governments, regulators and credit-rating agencies, as well as the ideas driving actors, the institutional cultures within which they operated, the role of incentivisation schemes within banks, and so on; in other words, various

structural as well as agential causes. There is a clear danger that very simplistic understandings of significant events can arise when the focus is placed largely if not entirely on personal ethics.

In terms of the second claim, it should be said that it is absolutely essential that society's problems are not turned into purely individual problems. The narrow and instrumental form of character education advocated by various British politicians, most notably former Education Secretary Nicky Morgan, has been linked with the promotion of social mobility. While focusing on developing 'grit' and 'resilience' can be empowering for some, concentrating on questions of individual character in relation to student 'success' is clearly problematic, ignoring entirely the enabling or constraining role of social structure. Simply exhorting those from under-privileged backgrounds and/or who have suffered forms of discrimination to be confident about their life chances, when their experiences in life have taught them otherwise, is unhelpful. Structural inequalities – affecting, for example, the way resources or opportunities are distributed – based on gender, class, ethnicity, disability etc. need to be seriously addressed. As regards economic disparities, unless really meaningful action is taken by the government to tackle issues of poverty and wealth and income inequality in British society then, given the very well established negative impact of these factors on social mobility (see e.g. Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010, esp. ch.12), statements about the need for students to learn to be resilient, at best, ring hollow, and at worst are insulting, liable to be interpreted by many as suggesting that poor people would be fine if only they were more virtuous.

7 Conclusion

Education for democracy is or ought to be a key aim of education (Crick, 2004). Citizenship education emphasises the importance of students becoming well-informed about political issues, as well as being public spirited, critical and independent-minded. This article has argued that the cultivation of character is necessary, but far from sufficient, for the preparation of young people for their roles as citizens in the contemporary world. Character education can support citizenship education, but even the more sophisticated forms, such as that advanced by the Jubilee Centre, are not appropriate as an alternative because of the focus on personal rather than public ethics, which can lead to the individualisation of important social problems. And this is precisely the direction that the British government has taken character education in. The particular understanding of character education it has advanced, especially when combined with the most recent changes that have been made to the citizenship curriculum, is consistent with a more general trend over the past few decades towards a responsibilization of citizenship (Lister, 2011), with successive governments arguing for the need for citizens to take increasing personal responsibility for their own individual educational, health and welfare needs, and for a significantly greater role to be played by the community (or communities) rather than the state in addressing various societal challenges. And the recent context here, of course, is dominated by austerity and significant cuts to public spending in the UK since 2010.

The article has argued that the understanding of character education put forward by British politicians is narrow and instrumental, seeking to link the development of character with individual 'success', in particular, in the jobs market. It emphasises the individual, moral dimension of issues rather than the collective, social side. It psychologises problems, rather than politicising them, aiming to instil 'grit' and 'resilience' in young people. The form of character education advanced offers a depoliticised notion of good citizenship, reflecting the government's focus on pupils and students as future workers and consumers in a competitive global economy (e.g. Cameron, 2013; Gove, 2011), rather than ensuring that young people have the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes they need to engage in civic and political activity so as to address important issues of concern to them. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that for various British politicians, and others, the idea is not that young people should learn how to bring about social and political change, but rather that they should be compliant. They should simply accept things as they are, and focus on their 'subjective well-being' (Suissa, 2015, p. 107). The message seems to be: be resilient. Put up with things. Don't be political. Don't try and change the world. Change your attitude, your perspective. Change yourself instead.

This article concludes by returning to Aristotle, a key figure for many advocates of character education because of his view, as discussed earlier, that the good life requires the exercise of virtue. However, let us recall one of the best known of Aristotle's sayings – that people are '*zoon politikons*' or 'political animals' or 'political beings'. Aristotle does at times suggest that individual, private reflection on truth represents one way in which humans can realise their highest rational nature. Yet elsewhere he is clear that citizens are necessarily social creatures, not simply engaging in contemplative activities but rather that in order to live well they must live in public, political relationships with others.[15] Certainly, for Aristotle, the good citizen must also be a good person.[16] But he argues that it is through their civic activities in the *polis* that citizens organise society, or at least are capable of organising society, according to their views about how just and rational particular social arrangements are, and it is here that they exercise their supreme capacities.[17] It is citizenship education rather than character education that best addresses *this* Aristotelian perspective.

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Endnotes

* This article is based on my keynote lecture delivered on 29 July 2016 at the 12th Annual CitizED International Conference 'Citizenship and Character: Clarifying Characterisations and Exploring Collaboration', hosted by the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham. I am very grateful to the conference organisers for the invitation and to participants for a stimulating discussion. I would like to thank Lee Jerome, Liz Moorse and Karl Sweeney for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article. I would also like to thank the editors and referees. Responsibility is, of course, mine alone.

[1] Whilst Crick's approach has many merits, politics should be defined more broadly than his characterization allows for. In particular, Crick's definition does not incorporate the feminist insight that the 'personal is political'. In my view, 'politics' should be defined as being concerned with the expression and resolution, or at least mitigation, of significant differences between people – differences of opinions, ideas, interests and values, for example, and about finding ways of co-operating to achieve collective action and decision-making. Politics relates to what happens in a wide range of institutional and non-institutional settings, and formal and informal groups and organizations; to activities in both the 'public' sphere of the state and civil society and the 'private' realm of personal relations, and arises because of the inevitability of disagreement about profoundly important matters, relating to how lives should be lived, how societies should be organized, how resources should be allocated and so on. Politics is concerned, in particular, with issues around power and the consequences for individuals and society of the distribution and exercise of power. For a discussion, see Hay (2002, pp. 2-5).

[2] For a discussion of essentially contested concepts, see Connolly (1983 ch.1).

[3] Due to limitations of space, it is not possible to discuss here the relationship between liberal and republican citizenship or differences within each tradition.

[4] For a free market libertarian critique of the state imposition of such education, see Tooley (2000, pp. 139-160). For an effective rebuttal, see McLaughlin (2000).

[5] In England this refers, since September 2015, to compulsory schooling for 11-18 year olds. Between September 2013 and September 2015 schooling was compulsory for 11-17 year olds, and prior to this education had been compulsory until age 16 since 1972.

[6] For a discussion of the recent history of citizenship in the National Curriculum in England see Kisby (2012) and Moorse (2015).

[7] The report is not without its problems, however. For a cogent critique, see Jerome & Shilela (2007) who argue that by focusing on individual identity and cultural issues rather than connecting citizenship to inequality and discrimination, the report in effect denies some important structural levels of analysis, thereby depoliticising these issues.

[8] For more recent analysis, see Keating & Benton (2013) and Whiteley (2014).

[9] It wasn't a surprise to leading members of the Democratic Life coalition who had been told by Gove in a private meeting that citizenship would remain in the National Curriculum (Jerome, 2014). Democratic Life brought together various individuals and groups to campaign for the retention of citizenship in the National Curriculum. These included politicians such as David Blunkett and the Liberal Democrat peer Andrew Phillips, and some 40 organisations, with the Citizenship Foundation and the Association for Citizenship Teaching as key partners.

[10] See, in a UK context, for example, the various publications produced individually and collectively by members of the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues at the University of Birmingham – http://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk

[11] It is possible to distinguish between values and virtues in the following way. 'Values' can be said to refer to those norms widely shared within a given community or society, for example, conformity or competitiveness, while 'virtues' are more individualistic, referring to a particular person's character traits, and are often said to be more universally admired, such as bravery or truthfulness.

[12] At the time of writing, it remains unclear to what extent there will be continuity or change in this area under Morgan's replacement as Education Secretary, Justine Greening. It should also be noted that, following the 2017 general election, the minority Conservative government is reliant on support from the Democratic Unionist Party on motions of confidence, the Queen's speech, the Budget and other finance bills, and on legislation relating to the UK's exit from the EU and national security.

[13] Morgan referred approvingly, for example, to the KIPP in a *Times Educational Supplement* article in February 2016 (Morgan, 2016), and has endorsed Tough's book, stating: 'There should be no tension between academic success and character education – the two are mutually dependent. Paul Tough's *How Children Succeed* offers an important contribution to the debate around the role of character education in schools and, in particular, the value it can have for disadvantaged pupils. I want all children, no matter what their background, to leave school well rounded, with a range of interests' (TES, 2016). Former Shadow Education Secretary, Tristram Hunt, has also referred approvingly to Tough's book (see Hunt, 2014b).

[14] On this point, I find Bell & Hindmoor (2015) rather more persuasive than Blyth (2013), who goes as far as arguing (2013, pp. 21-22) that 'you could have replaced all the actual bankers of 2007 with completely different individuals, and they would have behaved the same way during the meltdown: that's what incentives do'.

[15] Compare Aristotle's *Politics* (1998) and his *Nicomachean Ethics* (1999). And this also takes us back to Crick whose republican perspective on politics and citizenship was strongly influenced by Aristotle's ideas – see e.g. Crick (1992).

[16] More precisely: 'Aristotle had not envisaged a situation in which a good citizen was not also a good man' (Ignatieff, 1995, p. 62). And 'man' is, of course, what Aristotle had in mind, given the exclusion of women, as well as slaves and those deemed 'outsiders' to the community, from the privileged position of citizen.

[17] For different perspectives on this compare Honohan (2002, p. 23) and Ignatieff (1995, p. 56).

Sun Young Park

Clarifying the Characteristics and Exploring the Collaboration of Citizenship and Character Education in South Korea

- The paper provides the characteristics of citizenship and character education in South Korea.
- It compares the differences and similarities of citizenship and character education.
- It suggests the way of the collaboration and development of the both education..

Purpose: This paper seeks to illuminate the background of citizenship and character education in South Korea in order to better determine a means of collaboration between the two goals.
Method: The paper is based on the qualitative analysis of the official documents and law in relation to citizenship and character education.
Findings: The paper finds the differences and the similarities of citizenship and character education and there are increasing needs for both educational initiatives in terms of social and national development of South Korea.

Keywords:
Citizenship education, character education, democratic movement, national curriculum, young people

1 Introduction

The current Korean government, which is led by the conservative Saenuri Party, proposed the 'Normalisation of School Education' in order to support young people in accomplishing their dreams and capacities through education. One of the major policies from the government is to reinforce character education across the national curriculum. On the other hand, local education authorities, generally having a more progressive political leaning started to introduce legislations to enhance democratic citizenship with the goal of fostering active citizenship and participation (Sim, 2015). Both these new approaches on education seem similar but they are also different. Supporting young people for the future and assisting them to solve their problems are borne of the same intention, but the means through education are different. Whereas the conservative party is focusing on individual and personal development, the progressive parties are interested in social and political development through educating young people (Yang, 2016). In this regard, there are several points of argument (several factors) that lend support to this study and help explain the recent emergence of both character education and citizenship education.

First of all, Korean society is a rapidly aging society due to its having the lowest birth rate among OECD countries as well as the increased longevity of its people (Kim, 2009). The numbers of children and young people's (9-24) population have been fast decreasing over recent years. It is expected that this population imbalance between younger and older generations will cause severe social problems such as financial burdens and inter-generational conflict (Ministry of Family and Gender Equity, 2015). Globalisation and the excessive develop-

ment of scientific technology are profoundly affecting Korean society and leading us to a life we had never imagined. This shifting and unpredictable society will bring pressure upon younger generations and it will require young people who are equipped with certain key competences such as citizenship and character, much more so than was the case for their parents' generation.

Second, there are other features which might disturb young people in making a successful transition from their youth to adulthood. Traditionally, the family has been the first safety net for young people in Korea; however, by the 1990s, with the increasing numbers of single-parent and loosely-tied family relationships, in many cases there has not been adequate support for young people to be able to development sufficiently (Ministry of Family and Gender Equity, 2015). As the function of the family as the nurturer of an individual's personal, social, and emotional development has weakened and is expected to continue so in the future, Lee, Park, and Cho (2014) stress that environmental, specially family changes should be included in planning youth policy. Apart from the various forms of families, with working hours of parental caregivers being the longest among OECD countries, many parents do not have adequate time to help their children in terms of personal, emotional, and social progress. This urgent predicament is one of reasons for the promotion of character education (Ministry of Family and Gender Equity, 2015). Accordingly, extremely busy Korean life does not provide parents with enough time for building their children's character. According to an OECD report, South Koreans work 40.85 hours a week, ranking third among the OECD countries while the OECD average working hours are 30.94(OECD, 2014). This is why the Ministry of Education wanted to include the character education into the National Curriculum in order to compensate for the perceived lack of character building.

Third, there has been a rapid rise of social exclusion among young people. According to the 2015 White Paper

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on Young People in Korea, the physical and psychological health of many young people is threatened because of an overly competitive educational environment, a poor diet, lack of physical exercise, and substance abuse of tobacco and alcohol. The recent global economic crisis affected many segments of the population in Korea, and the high unemployment rates and unstable labour market represent some of the risk factors for young people (Ministry of Family and Gender Equity, 2015). This socio-economic situation directly influences the health and well-being of young people, and which will in turn cause some social exclusion as young people make their transition into adult life. Consequently, this exclusion will hamper young people in their active participation in Korean society. Such social exclusion increases the possibility of there being fewer opportunities for young people with respect to character building and the development of an adequate sense of citizenship.

Fourth, the results of the International Comparative Citizenship Studies 2009 reveal that 16-year-olds in Korea demonstrated high levels of civic knowledge but low levels in the actual practice of citizenship, which clearly implies that education for citizenship, should be implemented both in knowledge and practice.

Fifth, in 2015, the Korean government introduced a Promotion of Character Education Law, which was designed to strengthen human dignity, to secure the values stated in the Korean constitution, and to educate citizens to be better equipped in terms of their character on the basis of the Education Act in order that they may contribute to the development of the society and the nation. The regulations on democratic citizenship education in schools have been legislated in the Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education, the largest local education authority in Korea. It means that both character education and citizenship education are significant issues in Korean society. However, these two aspects of education are being delivered without clear notions as to their effectiveness; they are guided by the same concept even though the aims of these educational projects are quite different. There are overlapped strands and components; so it is necessary to have a vibrant description for each educational stream. In particular, character education suddenly was advanced from the government to deal with children and young people's problems in order to make 'behaving' and 'obedient' good children. However, historically citizenship education originated from the civil society during the democratisation period. Critically, and for this reason, it was bottom-up delivery from society rather than top-down delivery from government.

With the above research background, I will compare the characteristics of citizenship education and character education and explore the most effective ways to implement the two educations. This study begins from the assumption that non-formal education such as the field of youth work and NGOs can play an important role in delivering the citizenship education and character education in collaboration. Firstly, this study looks at the relevant key perceptions and contents within citizenship and character education. Second, it clarifies the similarities and differences between citizenship and character education. The historic background, contexts, and provision will be compared. Third, this study aims to raise the issue for bridging and collaborating with the two educations through both formal and non-formal ways so as to reduce the overlapping concepts and misunderstandings. I argue that citizenship education has many focal points of social and political responsibilities for people as members of their society, but that character education is more related to personal and individual development, which can be built through informal and non-formal modes of learning rather than as a subject in a formal educational site.

2 Methodology
The research methodology for this paper is qualitative involving documentary analysis. While there might be some potential problems and limitations of my understanding of the research, this study proceeds from an in-depth understanding of the recent key documents such as National Curriculum for Social Studies and Government Reports on Character education rather than generalisation. I cannot deny all the possible limitations were removed, but I have tried to minimise the possible limitations and maximise the validity and reliability.

3 Education in Korea
In order to understand the perception and practices of both citizenship and character education, I need to present briefly an outline of education in Korea to demonstrate one of the reasons that citizenship and character education is popular at the moment. The current education system originated after the liberation from Japan in 1945 and education policies were included within the framework of the Constitution (Korea Educational Development Institute, 2007). The Ministry of Education claims that the remarkable and fast economic growth of Korea is due to the investment in human resources through Education and believes that education will play a primary role in national development in the future (Ministry of Education, 2016). It is true that the growth of qualitative and quantitative education and investment in education were one of the significant national developments since the Korean War in 1950; however, we should not forget the negative side-effects of mass education on children and young people. One of the side-effects is the increasing suicide rates among young people. Suicide is the number one cause of death in young people in Korea (Lim, Ha, & S, 2014). Korea has the highest suicide rate among OECD countries in 2015, and unfortunately the death rates from suicide have increased over the past two decades (OECD, 2015). Consequently the happiness index is at the bottom among the OECD countries (Ministry of Family and Gender Equity, 2015).

Korean education expanded in numbers until the 1970s. For instance, there were rapid increases of student population and enrolments as well as the number of educational facilities according to the economic improvement. This rapid escalation of the education system

caused overcrowded classrooms, a shortage of teachers, and rigorous competition for universities (WENR, 2013). With the aim of solving the educational problems, there were several educational reforms for quality education improvement. The qualitative development of education was carried out in the 1980s through education reforms, concentrating on raising wholesome citizens of society (Korea Educational Development Institute, 2007, p. 17).

According to the framework of the curriculum design, the aims of education are

to assist every citizen in building up one's character based on humanitarianism
to manage a humane life by developing autonomous life skills and the qualifications needed as a democratic citizen
to contribute to the development of a democratic country and realize the public idealism of humankind
(Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2009. p.1)

Even though the national curriculum sought to educate a democratic citizen, the 2009 ICCS study presented that Korean students showed the lowest participation rates in social and political issues among the 38 countries (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010). Social studies education was regarded as a citizenship education in the 2009 ICCS studies as the study introduced the different names of education for citizenship education in different countries. Educating a democratic citizen is also one of the aims for social studies education; this is why I debate that social studies education is not sufficient to be substituted as a citizenship education in Korea.

4 Citizenship education

Han (1998) argues that the term of democracy has been used much regarding the political and social controls of Korea. However, Article 1 of the Education Act illuminates the aims of education as Hong Ik In Gan (Maximum Service to Humanity with one another) which means that education should meet the needs of individuals as well as society as a whole, and individual persons should have the right to pursue their well-being. The Education Act lays emphasis on the development of abilities and the forming of character as the path to personal fulfilment since liberation from the Japanese occupation (Han, 1998).

Park (2002, p. 122) draws a distinction between civic virtues from Confucianism and Liberal Democracy in a South Korean context and explains the background of citizenship education in Korea. Since the democratisation movement in the middle of the 1980s, the concept of citizenship and democratic education has been introduced into the school curriculum as an independent subject called 'moral education'. First of all, the virtues from 'moral education' in Korea have been constructed on the basis of Confucianism, which have been a traditional philosophy and a civic virtue in Korea for a long time. 'Moral education' in Korea embraces ten civic virtues which are: law-abidingness, care for others, sensitivity to environmental protection, justice, sense of community, citizens as members of a liberal democratic society, love for the country, love for the nation, sense of

national security, commitment to peaceful reunification, and love for humanity (Ministry of Education, 2016)

There are different reasons for the emergence of citizenship education in South Korea. Han (2002) reveals that citizenship education in the South Korean context has special historical and political roots. Citizenship education in South Korea was established from the demo-cratic movement during the 1970s and 1980s. Since the mid-1990s the Korean civil movement has grown, resulting in citizenship education for adults and young people becoming an important social agenda (Kim et al., 2006).

Officially there is no subject called 'citizenship education' in the national curriculum in Korea. Citizenship education is carried out in diverse forms of education, such as social studies, or moral education in the formal national curriculum (Kim, 2009). Kang (2008) explains that the contents in the social studies and moral education imply citizenship education. This is why social studies as a subject in the national curriculum is also regarded as a citizenship education in Korean context. According to the 2007 revised national curriculum, the main objective of social studies is to help young people to recognise social phenomena and acquire the values and proper attitude as a citizen in a democratic society by learning the knowledge and functions of a society. The national curriculum defines a citizen as follows:

Respects human rights, possesses tolerance and a compromising attitude
Works for social justice, prioritises community,
Participates in social events
Takes responsibility

As stated in the national curriculum, social studies is designed to help young people learn to become and live as a citizen in a democratic society; however, the exam-oriented school system does not allow them time and space to practice their citizenship. In addition, social studies is not taught as a compulsory subject. That is why I argue that social studies cannot meet the full aims of citizenship education. Citizenship education should embed the knowledge, skill, attitude as well as active participation in their community. If the social studies or moral education include the community involvement and student's compulsory participation throughout the curriculum and school activities, it can be regarded as citizenship education. Yet, Kim (2009, p. 231) argues that students participate in debates, discussions or much different type of club activities underpinned by themes including universal values, environment, human rights, anti-war initiative, peace, and welfare. I argue those activities can be easily ignored for the exams or for other school events (Park, 2007). Further, why have Korean students shown the lowest participation will and future expectation of participation in ICCS 2009. Social studies can contribute to develop civic knowledge but active participation ought to be promoted through experiential learning.

5 Character education

The previous Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (2012) introduced its policy for creating a paradigm shift in character education. According to the Character Education Promotion Act, character education is defined as an education which aims to cultivate one's inner life for right and good and develop humane character for others, community and environment. Character education can be conceptualised through key virtues of character such wisdom, courage, integrity, temperance and filial piety, and some of the virtues came from moral and ethical backgrounds(Um, Kim, & Jeon, 2014). The key virtues are different from who defines. The Character Education Promotion Act prescribes key value virtues as the aims of character education: courtesy, filial piety, honesty, responsibility, respect, consideration, communication, and cooperation. Accordingly character education is for developing virtues of character. Another concept of character education is described as an education system for students which cultivate with desirable character (Yang, Cho, Park, Jang , & Eun, 2013). Therefore, character education is an education which helps children and young people to build the key moral and ethical virtues or desirable characters.

Traditionally, families and the society used to fulfill a central responsibility for character education; now, however, schools must assume a leading position with respect to character education, wherein both one's family and the rest of society will take part (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2012). It does not mean that schools played no role in character education. Building character of children and young people were embedded or hidden within the curriculum or school ethos, rather than being a conspicuous part of the National Curriculum. The introduction of character education originated from government's concerns about the increasing likelihood for a lack of good character among children and young people due to the prevalence of knowledge- and competition-centred education (Ministry of Education, 2014). Moreover, the Ministry of Education asserts the need for the expansion of character education to help young people's holistic development and to increase their happiness (Lim, Kim, & Kim, 2015). However, if we need to help the young to be happy and to achieve their potential competencies, the education system should be changed from knowledge-competition based education to children-centred education.

In 2012, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology presented "a strategy for preventing school violence" through strengthening and implementing character education due to increasing numbers of anti-social behavior and youth problems (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2012). However, there has been no evidence that character education was efficient for either preventing or reducing school violence. One of the NGOs called 'Happy Trees' conducted a fact-finding survey across the country and reported that school violence was getting worse and increasing (Happy Trees, 2015). I argue that school violence can be caused from the exam and competition-oriented school environments rather than from a lack of character. Young people need to learn how to protect and respect human rights for themselves and each other. According to the 'Happy Trees' annual report, young people did not have any precise motive for involving themselves in school violence. It seemed that school bullying among students was perceived by students as one of their social activities rather than their having a particular intention to attack others.

The current Ministry of Education also focuses on character education. It suggests strategic promoting plans as follows: *implementing practical education on basic character and virtues on a regular basis, encouraging the participation of students and strengthening cooperative learning, creating a school culture that focuses on character, and others* (Ministry of Education, 2016). Consequently, the curriculum has been revised, in line with the aim to implement character education. However, the foundation of the education system itself is still not completely ready to implement character education in school education (Yang et al., 2013). Particularly, delivering character education within an integrated subject can be a superfluous load for teachers and the preliminary objects of a subject may be confused. Further, there was not enough time for preparation among teachers as well as school governors. Another criticism is that the evaluation about character education lacks clarity. Further, there can be teachers who maintain that character education is already delivered through every kind of activity within school life. Therefore, we have to ask whether character can be taught as a subject or not. Those kinds of obstacles in the provision of character education provide fundamental evidence for the collaboration of citizenship and character education in line with non-formal learning, such as youth work activities. Park (2014) supports my idea that humanity education (character education) can be delivered through extra-curricular activities.

As it is said by the Character Education Promotion Law, the aims of character education should be to secure human dignity and value according to the constitution and contribute to the national development through people who have good character. The law defines character education as an education for developing humane character and competence both in inner life and community and nature. The key virtues for character are: *courtesy, loyalty to parents, honesty, responsibility, respect, consideration, communication, and cooperation.* This definition of character is not clear and often causes confusion. The notion of character is related to the perception of neo-Confucianism, Aristotle's ethic, and even various psychological theories (Yang et al., 2013. p. 2). Kim (2015) explains that character was traditionally developed by virtue education. Even Jung (2015) criticises that character education is dealing with the problems in the society and thus, needs to be reconceptualised in character education and the Character Education Promotion Law (Sim, 2015). In this light, conceptualising the meaning of character or character education can be regarded as very controversial as well

as difficult (Park, 2012). Prior to providing character education through integrated subjects, we need to discuss how to evaluate good character through integrated subjects.

Instead of integrating character education with other subjects, character education can be provided through non-formal learning. There have been youth programs for character education from youth work fields. All of the programs from youth work are not titled as character education; however, a study from National Youth Policy Institute found that youth activity programmes provided by local youth centres encourage young people to develop their competencies for character (Lim et al., 2015). The study also proved that character education in cooperation with local communities such as youth centres were effective in developing positive character traits such as self-esteem, sincerity, concerns for others, social responsibility, courtesy, self-control, honesty, courage, wisdom, righteousness, and even citizenship(Lim, et al., 2015). In this respect, I argue that character education should be presented in diverse forms and that much care must be taken to ensure that character education is not treated as part of a knowledge-based subject through National Curriculum.

6 Discussion: Comparisons between citizenship and character education

Firstly, citizenship education and character education have different implementation methods. Citizenship education is delivered through social studies subject, but character education is delivered through all subjects in the national curriculum. However, the framework of the curriculum design clarifies that democratic citizenship education and character education should be delivered through an integrated subject and educational activities, including extra-curricular activities (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2009. p. 32-33). This can be understood that both citizenship and character education is an important educational issue in Korean society.

Secondly, character education is necessary to specify which elements need to be integrated into the different subjects. Another challenge can be an evaluation, or asking the question how we evaluate whether a subject deals with the very right citizenship and character education. And what evidence is there for good citizens or good character? This leads us to a fundamental question about whether character can be taught in schools. Given this context, provision of both citizenship and character education could be efficient when it is implemented through non-formal learning such as youth work. Youth Work Survey reports that participation of youth work has increased key competencies for young people such as communication, respect, relationship-building, cooperation, problem-solving, citizenship and career development (Moon, Park, Yoon, & Jeong, 2016). Those key competences were part of key virtues for character education and component for citizenship education.

Thirdly, citizenship education and character education have different backgrounds. Citizenship education came from the civil movement background in order to achieve the democracy in Korea in the 1980s and 1990s. However, social studies within the national curriculum used to play as government propaganda during the authoritarian government before 1990 (Park, 2007). However, the social studies do not aligned with government policy after the democratisation. Character education came from the conservative ruling party which is originnated from the authoritarian government before 1990 to prohibit school problems such as school violence, juvenile crime, drop out, etc. It was a top-down provision to resolve youth problems. A good citizen does not mean an active citizen, and vice versa. It is possible to argue that the conservatives do not want to have active citizens who actively participate in their society; they may well prefer citizens who have good character but who lack critical thinking skills and active participation to keep society in order. As I noted earlier, the virtues which form character education mainly focus on an individual's development rather than community perspectives. However, the progressives may want to have active citizens in order to promote their social development because citizenship education highlights community involvement and political literacy as it was written on the Crick report (QCA, 1998). The current conservative Korean government supports character education; we have to think what the hidden meaning is in the political contexts.

Table 1: Comparison citizenship education and character education

	Citizenship education	Character education
focus	Individual's rights and responsibilities as a societal and community members	Individual and personal responsibilities for national development and integration
aims	Changing society and individuals	Good citizens
impact	Participation in the community	Practicing virtues in inner life
Legal status	Not legislated, rules	Legislated (nick name : prevention of captain Sewol)
Political background	Progressive political backgrounds	Conservative political background

In conclusion, I would like to raise issues regarding the characterization and collaboration of the citizenship and character educations. Firstly, the character and citizenship educations share the goal of solving issues concerning young people and Korean society, while there are some contradictory aspects between the two types of education. Therefore, we need to make sure of the differrences, aims, goals, and definition of citizenship and character education in advance. The concept and definition could be different in the different contexts, yet the fundamental goals for both modes of education should not be changed. In this regard, I claim that the definition and concept of both modes of education

should be discussed in terms of young people-centered education.

Second, these two fields take different social and political approaches for the needs of citizenship education and character education. I argue that citizenship education should focus on active participation and youth development, but that character education should encourage individual persons to develop their character through daily life-based activities at home or within informal settings. Consequently, I argue that character education is not a method for anti-violence or anti-social behaviour education; and character education would focus on the virtues which are suggested in the Character Education Promotion Act. Further, citizens are not born into citizenship. They are raised as citizens, and therefore, citizenship education should be expanded both through formal learning and non-formal learning.

Finally, this study suggests that non-formal education such as youth work can constitute an ideal channel to bring together the two fields due to the nature of youth work. As I mentioned earlier, character education has shown to be efficient when it is delivered through non-formal learning through youth centres in the local communities (Lim et al., 2015). The national curriculum does not have enough space for the two educations and the teachers are not prepared with character education. In Korea, there are about 900 youth centres and youth organisations across the countries which provide youth work under the professional youth workers (Ministry of Gender and Equality, 2015). They are trained as youth experts in non-formal learning by the Youth Work Act (1991) which aims to support citizenship education as a fundamental philosophy. Moreover, youth centres and youth organisations have been providing citizenship and character education through extra-curricular activities since 1991. Thus, I have solid confidence that youth work can collaborate with schools in the provision of citizenship and character education. Unfortunately, the values of youth work are not adequately recognised in Korea. By contrast, youth work policies are part of the key policies for young people, and the partnership between schools and youth work are very much encouraged in the European Commission (European Commission, 2009, 2015). Schools are not sufficiently able to deal with all the various kinds of competences needed for assisting young people in our fast changing society. When it comes to delivering the citizenship education and character education, only a solid partnership forged between schools and youth workers can guarantee educational efficiency through working together to help young people to be well equipped with civic competence and good character. In order to have a solid partnership between formal learning and non-formal learning, there should be long-term initiatives for the implementation of citizenship and character education

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Jia Ying Neoh

Neoliberal Education? Comparing *Character* and Citizenship Education in Singapore and *Civics* and Citizenship Education in Australia

- Character education focuses on the development of personal/moral values while civics education focuses on development an understanding of civic rights and responsibilities
- An exclusive character education approach towards citizenship education can inadvertently reinforce the negative effectives of neoliberalism on the society.
- Balance need to sought between developing moral and democratic values, emphasizing commonalities and embracing differences, individualism and solidarity and the extent of politics on civil life
- Advancing critical thinking solely for the purpose of achieving economic competitiveness can cripple citizens' ability to deliberate about societal issues and weaken the democratic base
- Neoliberalism can impact on citizenship education and citizenship education can in turn reinforce the impact of neoliberalism on the society.

Purpose: This paper compares citizenship education in Singapore and Australia. While discussions have been made about education and neoliberalism, few have explored the direct connections between citizenship education and neoliberalism.

Approach: Though a discussion of country contexts, citizenship education policies and curriculum, 'Character and Citizenship Education' in Singapore and 'Civics and Citizenship education' in Australia are examined to explore the meanings of 'Character education' and 'Civics education' and their connections with 'Citizenship education'.

Findings: The distinct use of terms for citizenship education suggests that the two countries hold different citizenship ideals. Set within the context of globalisation, the paper argues that some approaches towards citizenship education can inadvertently work towards supporting the goals of neoliberalism, which can be at odds with the classical tradition of democracy.

1 Introduction

A key goal of education is to prepare individuals for effective participation in democracies (Dewey, 1916; Reid, 2002). This area of learning is commonly known as citizenship education or civics education. Other terms like values education, moral education or character education have also been used to describe curricula that prepare young people for participation in societies. However, some approaches are more effective in preparing for democratic participation than others. Especially when democracy is imprecise and continuously developing (Crick, 2008; Engle & Ochoa, 1988; Giroux, 2004; Reid, 2002), it is possible for a wide spectrum of conflicting groups to claim democracy (Engle & Ochoa, 1988). Even among countries with similar political orientation and within each country, democracy can mean many things to many people (Cook & Westheimer, 2006; Zyngier, Traverso, & Murriello, 2015). Depending on their political ideologies, tensions exist between those who

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view citizenship education as a form of political liberation and democratic emancipation, and those who see it as a necessary form of social control and socialization (Cogan, Morris, & Print, 2002; Crick, 2008).

In recent decades, discourses of citizenship have been influenced by globalization (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). In Singapore and Australia, globalization has impacted citizenship education through the rise of the neoliberal ideology and consequently, the practices of governments (Baildon & Alviar-Martin, 2016; Connell, 2013; Howard & Patten, 2006; Reid, 2002; Zyngier et al., 2015). With the challenges brought on by globalisation, both countries began reconsidering the purposes of education, leading to education reforms taking place around the same time in the last ten years.

Using Singapore and Australia, two countries that purportedly champion democracy in the Asia-Pacific region as a platform for discussion, this paper considers how differences in views about democracy can influence approaches towards citizenship education. This comparison highlights tensions, complexities and contradictions involved in citizenship education by examining the relationships between character, civics and citizenship education. Discussions concur with Howard and Patten (2006) that unless countries are explicitly committed to democratic citizenship, citizenship education will be shaped by the 'dominant ideology' of neoliberalism (p. 454).

2 Conceptual framework

This paper views democracy as desirable and the ultimate goal of citizenship education as effective democratic participation. Reid (2002) stresses that since educational and democratic change are inextricably linked, the way democracy is understood and practiced needs to be considered. While some consider democratic concepts as universal and without an East-West distinction, others challenge this universality with the different interpretations in Asian and Western societies (Kennedy & Fairbrother, 2004). However, Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004) raises Stein's (2002) view that it is crucial to develop critical tools to understand citizenship education from a transnational perspective, suggesting a way exists to understand citizenship education in 'the richness of its local contexts while recognizing its commonalities, shared values and aspirations in developing an intelligent citizenry' (p. 289).

This paper uses Dewey's (1934) philosophy of experience, which mandates the identification of citizenship education goals and the experiences to achieve these goals, to explore the purposes of citizenship education in Singapore and Australia. Stein's view is adopted and citizenship education goals and experiences in Singapore and Australia are discussed.

3 Goals and experiences of citizenship education

Although democracy can take varied interpretations, Engle and Ochoa (1988) suggest that there are basic beliefs that transcend the interpretations and it is possible to identify key competencies that citizens need for democratic participation. Classical conception of democracy has a moral ideal, viewing social life as constituted by the core values of positive freedom and political equality (Reid, 2002). Contemporary discussions about democracy largely revolve around politics and active citizenship (Crick, 2007). The underlying idea is that democratic participation should not be 'a matter of subservience to power or blind loyalty to the state', but should involve 'a willingness to be responsible for the state and to engage at all levels in the decisions that chart its course' (Engle & Ochoa, 1988, p. 18). From this perspective, the civil society is politicised and citizens participate in decision-making.

The implication for citizenship education is a shift from merely teaching knowledge to emphasising individual experience and searching for practices to promote attitudes and behaviours that addresses issues of human rights and democratic citizenship (Audigier, 2000). Giroux (2004) identifies one of educators' challenges as providing conditions for students to address knowledge related to self-definition and social agency. For him,

"If educators are to revitalize the language of civic education as part of a broader discourse of political agency and critical citizenship in a global world, they will have to consider grounding such pedagogy in a defence of militant utopian thinking in which a viable notion of the political takes up the primacy of pedagogy as part of a broader attempt to revitalize the conditions for individual and social

agency, while simultaneously addressing the most basic problems facing the prospects for social justice and global democracy' (Giroux, 2004, p. 36)

In brief, 'skills of reasoning and judgement', 'dialogue' and 'discovery of 'new' knowledge' is necessary to evoke students' critical consciousness (Johnson & Morris, 2010, p. 80). This reinforced the view that democracy is not just a type of government, but also a way of living with people whose experiences and beliefs may differ with one another (Crick, 2003). As such, effective experiences for citizenship education include whole school, cross-disciplinary approaches (Cogan & Dericott, 1998; Reid & Gill, 2009; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Tudball & Brett, 2014), with deliberation incorporated throughout the school processes and curriculum (Cogan & Dericott, 1998; Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999; Tudball & Brett, 2014).

4 Neoliberalism and citizenship education

Since the 1980s, neoliberalism has become one of the dominant ideological discourses developed in response to globalisation (Baildon & Alviar-Martin, 2016). Neoliberal discourses and practices impact government policies for education and training, influencing and reconfiguring school operations in capitalist societies to produce 'highly individualised, responsibilized subjects' who are entrepreneurial in all dimensions of their lives (B. Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 248). A new political contest is created from economic market-driven globalisation, pushing an alternative global civic agenda and challenging the citizenship concept and the structures and practices of democracy (Reid, 2002). Essentially, education becomes the means to prepare students for survival in the global economy (Baildon & Alviar-Martin, 2016). The rise of neoliberalism has strong implications for citizenship education and they need to be identified to frame the analysis of citizenship education in Singapore and Australia.

Neoliberalism can create tensions and contradictions to the goal of advancing individual and social agency towards social justice and global democracy. This is because the 'capitalist economy, the rule of law, and democratic polity do not automatically go hand in hand' (Frazer, 1999, p. 6). Howard and Patten (2006) liken the effects of neoliberalism to the 'shrinking of the realm of the state' through citizen empowerment because while personal and individual freedom in the marketplace is guaranteed, individuals are responsible and accountable for their own actions and well-being (Harvey, 2005). In conflicts, a good business climate is often favored over collective rights, causing proponents of neoliberalism to be 'profoundly suspicious' of democracy (Harvey, 2005, p. 66). When social movements seek collective interventions, neoliberal states often use international competition and globalization to 'discipline movements opposed to the neoliberal agenda' (p. 70).

What then, are the direct impacts of neoliberalism on citizenship education? Broadly, two key influences can be identified.

First, citizenship education for neoliberal ends tends to narrow the realm of politics. The civil society is portrayed as apolitical, beyond the sphere of state authority. Active citizenship in neoliberal societies focuses on developing personal capacities as self-reliant members of the society - someone who contributes through individual enterprise and private voluntary institutions and charity is likely to become a substitute for state intervention (Howard & Patten, 2006).

Second, neoliberalism limits classroom-based exploration of societal issues (Baildon & Alviar-Martin, 2016). Although the skills of innovation, criticality or problem solving may be evident in neoliberal curriculums, these skills are 'couched within rationalisations such as preparation for work or addressing demands in the global economy' (p. 66).

With globalization, Singapore and Australia are not immune to the effects of neoliberalism (Gopinathan, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Howard & Patten, 2006; Zyngier et al., 2015). Neoliberalism has impacted citizenship education in both countries. Equally, the approach and design of citizenship education can reinforce the impact of neoliberalism, creating a cycle of supporting neoliberalism through citizenship education and neoliberalism impacting citizenship education.

5 Country context

Singapore and Australia are located in the Asia-Pacific region. Singapore is an Asian state with a population of 5.61 million. Australia is a Western nation with a population of approximately 24 million. Singapore's contemporary history is summarised as transitions from a British colony to self-government in 1959, being part of Malaysia in 1963 and finally gaining independence in 1965 (Chia, 2015). The Ministry of Education in Singapore centrally controls education and schools mainly work under the directives of the Ministry. Compared to Singapore, Australia has a longer history as a nation, tracing back to 1 January 1901 when the Australian Constitution came into effect. Australia was established as a constitutional monarchy and follows a federal system of government. Powers are divided between the federal and state governments. Constitutionally, state and territory governments are responsible for the regulation of school education, administration and funding of government schools. The federal government however, still maintains significant control on education through support such as funding and financial assistance.

Both nations are characterised by multi-cultural migration and seek to cope with the changing natures of their societies and economies brought on by globalisation and immigration. It is crucial for both countries to stay socially cohesive and economically competitive (Heng, 2012; MCEETYA, 2008; Ministry of Education, 2011). In recent years, Singapore and Australia have been working towards establishing closer economic and social ties. Despite the close relationship shared and largely similar economic and social challenges, the two countries continue to hold very different political ideologies.

Political ideologies influence how democracy is viewed and the forms that citizenship education takes. Australia is a liberal democracy (ACARA, 2015) while Singapore has been alluded with the civic republican (Sim & Print, 2009) or communitarian tradition (Chua, 1995). This means that the society's conception of the good can take precedence over the individual rights of citizens (Peterson, 2011). For Singapore, the conception of the good is rooted in the 'survival' ideology, emphasizing social cohesion and economic growth.

While the Australian democracy is based on the Westminster model (ACARA, 2012), Singapore leaders have consistently emphasized that the Westminster model is not appropriate for all and that nations must be allowed to develop their own forms of human rights – a form that takes into account the cultural context for its expression (Gopinathan, 2007). The neo-Confucian ideology is 'a sensible alternative framework for socio-economic and political organisation' for Singapore (p. 59).

Singapore leaders have also consistently emphasized the 'survival' rhetoric because she is a small island with no natural resources except a strategic location (Gopinathan & Sharpe, 2004). Singapore is heavily reliant on external trade, which forms a major component of her economy. At independence, Singapore was fraught with crises, student unrests, strikes and racial riots and Singapore had to face the 'triple challenges of nationalism, decolonization and communism' (Chia, 2015, p. 31). These challenging experiences provide the context for emphasising a sense of vulnerability and survival in the years that follow. It is this deep sense of vulnerability in Singapore's economic and geo-political milieu and the fragility in social fabric (Chia, 2015), that education becomes an integrative mechanism to serve two key purposes - develop social cohesion 'by ensuring continuing collective commitment to the nation and active participation in the goals of national development' and promoting economic development 'by providing skilled human resources' (Green, 1997 p. 60).

In this way, the neoliberal discourse is reinforced through Singapore's 'survival' rhetoric. Gopinathan and Sharpe (2004) notes two features of Singapore education that are particularly relevant to nation-building efforts – the policy of *meritocracy*, which promised opportunities for everyone based on merit and the *bilingual* policy which is associated with social and moral education programmes in school. However, despite their success in securing economic progress and social cohesion for Singapore, these policies appear to set the scene for either a 'shrinking of the realm of state' or a limitation of citizens' role in thinking critically about social issues.

First, policies of meritocracy are important for wealth generation and ensuring economic competitiveness for Singapore. During the economic crisis of Western capitalism in the 1980s, Singapore policy makers easily identified with the new right conservatives' neoliberal sentiments that the ideology and institutions of progressive welfare states were responsible for inefficient governments and a lack of economic competitiveness

(Gopinathan, 1996). For example, instead of opting for comprehensive schooling to enhance equity, Singapore implemented the streaming system to channel students into different academic pathways according to their academic performances at school (Gopinathan, 1996). This created contradictions between policies of meritocracy and moral/civic education as meritocracy intensify individualism and challenges the formation and action of group allegiances (Gopinathan & Sharpe, 2004). The neoliberal rhetoric is reinforced through 'heightened competition and individualism', and individual reponsibilization reduces social responsibility to produce entrepreneurial subjects best suited for the neoliberal workplace (B. Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 254).

Second, East- West distinctions were drawn early to attribute Singapore's success to a framework of basic Confucianism ethics and tightly-knit Asian family structures (Gopinathan, 1995). The bilingual system was introduced to ensure that Singaporeans knew their traditional Asian values and cultures. According to Chia (2015), the Singapore government believes that mother tongue languages support Asian values and therefore, are the best mediums to teach moral and civic values and instil loyalty and a sense of belonging to Singapore. While English is the medium of instruction in schools, citizenship education was taught in mother tongue languages.

Singapore political leaders believe that Asian cultures and traditions are inimical to Western liberalism and so, Western liberalism is undesirable for Singapore. As revealed by a former Cabinet Minister, 'more and not less authority and discipline are necessary' if Third World societies are not to 'relapse into anarchy as modernization gathers pace' (Gopinathan, 1995, p. 17). This explains why Singapore leaders favour a strong paternalistic government for rapid economic development and view liberal democracy as an impediment to economic growth (Chia, 2015). The use of the 'survival' ideology to control citizen dissent is typical of neoliberal governance. The effect of such beliefs on the Singaporean citizenry is that the population has been 'largely depoliticized in the belief that political argument, debate and opposition are destabilizing and detract from more pressing issues of economic growth and national unity' (Baildon & Alviar-Martin, 2016; Gopinathan, 1995, p. 17). In this way, citizens are discouraged from participating in critical debates about social issues.

Third, nation building based on the survival ideology explains the emphasis on 'moral understanding and promotion of social cohesion through appreciation of national traditions and goals and the meaning of citizenship' (Green, 1997 p. 61). The survival ideology serves as 'the basic concept for the rationalisation of state policies that extend beyond economics to other spheres of life' (Chua, 1995, p. 4). Chua elaborates that if a measure of social control is shown to contribute to economic growth, it is considered as necessary to Singapore's survival. Such approaches are again, typical of neoliberal societies. The survival ideology, based on social cohesion and economic progress, ensures that the integrative purposes of education continue to be reflected in the form that citizenship education takes today. It stresses the importance of survival in the market place by emphasizing citizens' responsibility to self, fellow citizens, and the state, thereby shrinking the scope of state intervention and limiting citizens' critical involvement in society.

In Australia, neoliberal educational policies started emerging more prominently in the early 1990s and impact on Australian education in a variety of ways. Similar to Singapore's policies of meritocracy, the effect of state and national testing contradicts the 'inclusive character of educational relationships' (Connell, 2013, p. 106). Connell (2013) elaborates that 'respect and trust are undermined by the jockeying for position in competitive markets' (p. 106). Instead of working for the common interest and self-knowledge of the society, the education system looks for ways to 'extract private advantage at the expense of others' (p. 106).

Second, Australia's increasing competition between school sectors creates more market-driven imperatives in education, especially when there is considerable distinction in school fees among school sectors (Connell, 2013; B. Davies & Bansel, 2007; Reid, 2002; Zyngier et al., 2015). The neoliberal education agenda is held accountable for developing 'highly individualised, responsibilized subjects' needed in neoliberal societies (B. Davies & Bansel, 2007, p. 248). It threatens to turn public education into a 'residualized' system, which becomes 'a safety net for those who could not afford private education' (Reid, 2002, p. 575). These education initiatives further impact the goals of education, school configurations and the practices of teachers, threatening to break down community values and cohesion in Australia (Macintyre & Simpson, 2009). It also threatens to turn away from the concept of collectively provided and owned community facilities and infrastructures that exist for the benefit of all', challenging the concept of citizenship, the structures and practices of democracy and declining the public sphere (Reid, 2002, p. 578).

However, unlike the Singapore leaders who appear to be unified on their views on national policies, the concept of democracy, citizenship and policies on citizenship education, Australia's policies on civics and citizenship education is characterised by a mixture of 'consensus and division' (Macintyre & Simpson, 2009). The well-documented struggle over the development of suitable content for the history and civic education curricula is an example of neoliberal influence (Zyngier et al., 2015). Yet, there is some comfort in the existence of continuing debates among people with different ideologies, which demonstrates qualities of a liberal democracy that values critical deliberation.

6 Implication for citizenship education in Singapore and Australia

– Educational developments in the last ten years

Responding to the changing contexts of the two countries, education is identified to play key roles in preparing students for the 21st century challenges. The last decade sees Singapore and Australia going through

education reforms around the same time. Both countries recognise that globalisation and immigration bring new challenges and education needs to be responsive to these new demands. (MCEETYA, 2008; Ministry of Education, 2014). Both countries identify the need to prepare students for economic competitiveness and social cohesion and attempt to involve the wider community in this endeavour.

The latest reform in Singapore began with the introduction of the 21st century competencies (21CC) framework in 2009, which underpins holistic education in schools. Similarly, Australia redefined her educational goals in the Melbourne Declaration in 2008. These goals guide the development of the Australian Curriculum. In the 21CC framework and the Melbourne Declaration, 'active citizenship' is emphasised. Both countries identify concepts such as cross-cultural skills, global awareness and civic literacy as important educational goals. However, the concept of 'active citizenship', which guides citizenship education, appears to be interpreted differently in Singapore and Australia. The following sections use the goals of citizenship education and the identified experiences to explore the interpretations of active citizenship in the two countries.

7 Goals and experiences of citizenship education in Singapore and Australia

Recent education reforms in Singapore and Australia are prompted by internal and external transformations happening in both countries. Internally, both countries are experiencing changes to the composition of the population, brought on by immigration and changing demographics. There is increasing pressure to forge a greater sense of national identity. Several significant political and social events brought changes to their economic, political and social structures and orientation. Externally, globalisation increased the sensitivity for both countries to establish stronger ties, socially, politically and economically with each other, and with the rest of the world. Heightened concerns were also raised over national security with increasing threats of terrorism.

For Australia, concerns have also been raised over the legitimacy of her democracy, threatened by a civic deficit among young Australians (Civics Expert Group, 1994). Additionally, tensions exist among those who claim the need for commonalities among Australians in the name of harmony and social cohesion, and those who criticise this emphasis for narrowing the definition of Australian citizenship (Howard & Patten, 2006). It is recognised that while the Australian society has accommodated diversity, it failed to respond to it with a 'new and richer concept of citizenship', which involves a strong grasp of decision-making processes where differences are negotiated and resolved (Civics Expert Group, 1994, p. 4). Nevertheless, the perceived emphasis on commonalities appears to have shifted in the last five years with the introduction of the new Australian Curriculum. Ways to address this concern through Australian schooling have been to teach about democracy in a non-partisan, informed and balanced way to help young people learn about democracy

and its base so that a strong democracy, one resilient to all forms of extremisms can be sustained (Print, 2015).

In contrast, Singapore emphasizes commonalities - the importance of moral values, such as respect, responsibility, care and appreciation towards others to help citizens become socially responsible (Ministry of Education, 2011). The Minister of Education emphasized that a sense of shared values and respect is needed for citizens to appreciate and celebrate Singapore's diversity so that they can stay cohesive and harmonious (Ministry of Education, 2011). He elaborated that Singapore needs values of citizenship and wants 'men and women who are willing to step forward to risk their lives' for the nation. Strong common values and emotional attachment to Singapore will enable citizens to stay successful as one people, one nation.

From this perspective, Singapore differs from Australia in her approach in dealing with the demands of growing diversity and globalisation. While Australia focuses on building a stronger democracy that 'negotiate and resolve' differences, Singapore emphasizes shared values and a commitment to the nation. Interestingly, the concept of 'active citizenship' is stressed in the recent education reforms in both countries. How does 'active citizennship', and consequently, citizenship education compare in both countries?

In Singapore, active citizenship is encompassed in the 21CC framework to provide guidance for the reform. The student outcomes are listed as 'confident person', 'self-directed learner', 'active contributor' and 'concerned citizen' (Ministry of Education, 2014). Although Lee (2015) sees all of these as citizenship outcomes, the 'concerned citizen' outcome provides information most related to this discussion on 'active citizenship'. A *'concerned citizen'* is rooted to Singapore, has a strong sense of civic responsibility, is informed about Singapore and the world, and takes an active part in bettering the lives of others around him (Ministry of Education, 2014). The Minister of Education stresses a strong nation-centric agenda:

"Our education system must…nurture Singapore citizens of good character, so that everyone has the moral resolve to withstand an uncertain future, and a strong sense of responsibility to contribute to the success of Singapore and the well-being of Singaporeans.' (SDCD, 2014)

The reform sees Singapore education transiting from the 'ability-driven' phase to the 'student-centric, values-driven' phase. Two areas are emphasized – developing students holistically (moral, cognitive, physical, social and aesthetic) and 'sharpen[-ing] the focus' on values and character development (Ministry of Education, 2011). The focus on 'character' and 'values' is emphasized by the new subject 'Character and Citizenship Education' (CCE) introduced to replace Civics and Moral Education in the formal curriculum. Together with the 'Values in Action' programme, which aims to 'foster student ownership over how they contribute to the community', CCE cultivates 'values and commitment to Singapore and

fellow Singaporeans' (Ministry of Education, 2015) so that students become 'good individuals and useful citizens' (SDCD, 2014, p. 5).

Without reference to sustain Singapore's democracy in policy and curriculum documents, such as the 21CC framework or the CCE syllabus, one may wonder if Singapore is committed to democracy. However, there are indications to suggest the commitment. In the national pledge that all Singaporean students have to recite every school day, the concept of '*one united people, regardless of race, language or religion, to build a democratic society, based on justice and equality*' shows similar democratic values in the Melbourne Declaration.

The Melbourne Declaration encompasses the development of 'active and informed citizens' in Goal 2. In addition to the qualities of Singapore's 'concerned citizen', 'active and informed' citizens in Australia also need to 'have an understanding of Australia's system of government, history and culture' and be 'committed to national values democracy, equity and justice, and participate in Australia's civic life' (MCEETYA, 2008, p. 9). Australia's concern with sustaining the wellbeing of her democracy is reflected in the Declaration. The reform sees civics and citizenship education developed as an identified subject in the Australian Curriculum. Civics and Citizenship education in the Australian Curriculum (ACCC) emphasizes the understanding of Australia's federal system of government, derived from the Westminster system and the liberal democratic values that underpin it, such as freedom, equity and the rule of law (ACARA, 2015). It aims to help students understand 'how the system safeguards democracy by vesting people with civic rights and responsibilities' and how laws and the legal system protect people's rights and how individuals and groups can influence civic life' (ACARA, 2015).

Both Singapore and Australia recognize whole school, multidisciplinary approaches to citizenship education. Singapore adopts a 'Total Curriculum Approach', in which all subjects work towards achieving the student outcomes, (Lee, 2015). Australia made curricular arrangements to integrate citizenship learning across the curriculum through its cross-curricular priorities and general capabilities, which are key citizenship elements (Tudball & Brett, 2014). This implies that citizenship learning can be integrated throughout, and be supported by the school systems and curricula in Singapore and Australia.

Different interpretations of 'active citizenship' suggest that the two societies see democracy differently. Although citizenship education has nation-centric agendas in both countries, they differ in their purposes. For Singapore, focus is on the nation's economic success and the wellbeing of Singaporeans (Heng, 2012). For Australia, focus is on the wellbeing of her democracy (ACARA, 2015). The different views about democracy influence the approaches to citizenship education. Singapore favours the character development approach by inculcating a 'good sense of self-awareness and a sound moral compass', hence '*Character* and Citizenship Education' (Ministry of Education, 2014). Australia

emphasizes the development of competencies for democratic participation by teaching civic rights and responsibilities, hence '*Civics* and Citizenship Education' (ACARA, 2015).

The next section raises questions about the goals and experiences of citizenship education in both countries, in relation to the goal of enhancing self-definition and social agency to support social justice and global democracy. It discusses how the design of citizenship education may work to reinforce the neoliberal agenda.

8 What values, whose values and for what purpose?

Values are mentioned in the 21CC framework and the Melbourne Declaration. Although values are more explicitly listed in the 21CC framework, it is important to note that in Australia, a set of nine values was identified in the 'Framework for Values for Australian Schooling', introduced to schools in 2005 (DEEWR, 2005). Values such as freedom and equity in the framework are also listed in the ACCC curriculum. Values are deemed important for active participation in Singapore and Australia. However, different purposes are identified for learning values. In Singapore, values are necessary to shape one's character, which shape one's beliefs, attitudes and actions (SDCD, 2014). In Australia, values are needed for democratic participation (ACARA, 2015). While values play important roles in the educative process and the development of democratic societies (Print, 2000), values education has been particularly contentious in Australia. In contrast, values education is more straightforward and less challenged in Singapore.

In the 2014 review of the Australian Curriculum, the issue with 'the lack of explicit values foundation' in the development of the curriculum was raised (DET, 2014, p. 2). In liberal democracies like Australia, values education can be highly controversial as any attempts to define common values in a pluralistic society is also likely to be divisive (Macintyre, 1995). This can explain why Australia has had a history of 'shying away from teaching values, and has clung to the myth of value neutrality' (p. 15). For a lack of explicit values foundation to be raised in a situation where values exist but perhaps, not as explicitly as in Singapore, questions can be raised about the intention of the comment. Suspicions over whether such concerns are politically motivated can exist as it is possible for nations to use citizenship education to support political agendas (Tudball & Henderson, 2014). On the other hand, explicitly stating a set of shared values is less challenged in a civic republican (or communitarian) society like Singapore because it is perceived to be of utmost importance for the nation's survival (Ministry of Education, 2011). Since values and citizenship education are intricately linked, the issue is perhaps, not entirely about how explicit values are in the Australian Curriculum, but to consider how the *commitment* to democratic values to foster the wellbeing of Australia's democracy can be made clearer as the foundation of Australian education so that the teaching of values does not become a piecemeal approach towards citizenship education.

Another issue with values in citizenship education is whether an exclusive commitment to developing moral/ personal values for character development is enough to build democratic citizenship. Although citizenship has a significant moral content (Heater, 1990), moral values are not essentially about democratic citizenship (Westheimer, 2015). While possessing these character traits is desirable and makes one a good neighbour, it is not enough to promote social actions, political engagement and the pursuit of just and equitable policies (Westheimer, 2015). Such approaches make one a good citizen in a democratic state, but not necessarily an active one because citizens are not learning to 'work with others on any matters that effect public policy' (Crick, 2007, p. 243). Such approaches risk positioning citizenship education as part of the broader didactic politics of neoliberalism. Citizenship education can 'be-come a tool for promoting private competencies upheld by neoliberalism' (Howard & Patten, 2006, p. 472). This raises an alarm for Singapore's citizenship education as the country's exclusive focus on developing character may encourage passivity rather than democracy (Westheimer, 2015), reinforcing the effects of neoliberalism.

These issue stems from the different inspirations that character education and citizenship education are drawn from (I. Davies, Gorard, & McGuinn, 2005, p. 348). Character education, as with Singapore's CCE, is primarily concerned with morals while citizenship education focuses on application in social and political contexts. When limited attention is given to political literacy in character education, values are used exclusively for the developing morally upright citizens. Whether an exclusive 'character' focused approach is adequate as citizenship education should be reflected.

9 Curricular arrangements for citizenship education and its implications

Singapore and Australia attempt to implement cross-curricular approaches to citizenship education. However, there are stark differences in educators' reactions to this approach. While it has marked 'a new frontier in how citizenship education could be implemented' in Singapore (Lee, 2015, p. 104), Australian educators raised questions about the effectiveness of a cross-curriculum dimension in all subjects and how it can fit into an already overcrowded curriculum (DET, 2014). How does Singapore cope with Australia's concern?

CCE in Singapore is mapped to '*Civic Literacy, Global Awareness and Cross-cultural skills*' in the 21CC framework. However, relationship was not drawn between CCE and the '*Critical and Inventive Thinking*' competency. Developing 'skills of reasoning and judgment', 'dialogue or argument' and 'discovery of 'new' know-ledge' (Johnson & Morris, 2010, p. 80) have not been raised in Singapore's CCE syllabus. Instead, experiences identified for character and citizenship development are identified as 'instruction, skills practice, role modelling by teachers or peers, and positive reinforcement during structured lesson time and teachable moments' (SDCD, 2014, p. 9).

The implication is that the role of counter-socialisation is de-emphasized in CCE and 'creative and critical thinking skills' are narrowly defined by an instrumental discourse of academic achievement (Lim, 2014). It reveals a pragmatist and instrumentalist intention for promoting critical pedagogy in Singapore - one that 'does not accommodate the critique of the political economy and society (Koh, 2002, p. 263). In this way, the neoliberal agenda is reinforced through the discouragement of critical deliberation of societal and political issues. Students will not be adequately prepared to 'acknowledge fully other forms of identity, agency, affiliation or aspirations available to young people in Singapore' and to 'think critically about complex issues central to living in a diverse global society' (Baildon & Alviar-Martin, 2016, p. 69).

10 What is the role of Social Studies?

Social Studies is 'an equal partner' in educative efforts towards citizenship (Engle & Ochoa, 1988, p. 122). In Australia, civics and citizenship education was mainly delivered through the humanities and social sciences subjects before the Australian Curriculum was implemented. With the Australian Curriculum, ACCC is introduced as an identified subject. In late 2015, a new Humanities and Social Sciences subject replaced ACCC in the primary years, after feedback of an overcrowded curriculum was heeded. A close relationship between Social Studies and civics and citizenship education is recognized.

However, the interrelationships between social sciences, humanities subjects and citizenship education are rarely discussed in some countries (Engle & Ochoa, 1988). This briefly describes the current situation with Social Studies in Singapore. CCE and Social Studies are two subjects that exist together in the Singapore curriculum. Although Social Studies identifies its role as '*aspiring towards the educative growth of the Social Studies learner as an informed, concerned and participative citizen…*', no connection is made with CCE and vice versa, in the syllabuses. CCE and Social Studies appear to be unconnected in their roles towards citizenship education.

The inquiry approach is identified to support the learning and development of critical thinking skills in the Social Studies syllabus documents. While there is minimal reference to developing critical thinking in the CCE syllabus, this gap appears to be addressed by Social Studies. Social Studies, delivered through inquiry, provides 'the focal point for thinking, as pupils will investigate, extract, analyse and synthesize information' (CPDD, 2012, p. 6). One can only speculate why the important role that Social Studies plays in citizenship education is not highlighted in the CCE syllabus documents, especially when such documents are important in guiding teachers' work in citizenship education.

Could the exclusion of Social Studies from the CCE syllabus be to distinguish critical thinking from the development of 'character' and 'citizenship'? After all, what would it look like if students 'investigate, extract,

analyze and synthesize' the core values in CCE? The values are likely to be challenged. Could the exclusion be to delegate different subjects to support the development of different competencies, to make the overall curriculum more manageable? This however, will go against the 'Total Curriculum Approach' as not all teachers will be responsible for developing either the 'active, informed and concerned' citizen in Social Studies (CPDD, 2012) or the 'good and useful citizen' in CCE (SDCD, 2014). This is especially a problem when Social Studies is taught by English-medium teachers while CCE is taught by Mother Tongue teachers and they rely on different syllabus documents for guidance.

11 Conclusion

Citizenship education in Singapore and Australia reinforced the highly contested and contentious nature of citizenship and citizenship education. With globalization, the need to stay socially cohesive and competitive in the global market is paramount. However, simultaneously achieving social cohesiveness, economic competiveness and a healthy democracy can be challenging. The increasingly dominant neoliberal discourse impacts how societies approach citizenship education. Citizenship education can in turn, reinforce the impact of neoliberalism, which in many ways, is at odds with the classical conceptions of democracy. The negative effects of neoliberalism need to be resisted as they can threaten the foundation of democracy, and discourage citizens from exercising self-definition and social agency towards social justice and global democracy.

Singapore's 'survival' ideology provides her political leaders the legitimacy to reject liberal democratic concepts. Citizenship education in Singapore encourages active citizenship through character development. '*Character* and Citizenship Education' replaced Civics and Moral Education in the reform. Although a new term is introduced, civics education, citizenship education and moral education remain 'as one and the same' (Chia, 2015, p. 182). It emphasizes the cultivation of shared values and takes on a depoliticized form. There is danger in adopting the exclusive character education approach. It makes citizenship education highly vulnerable to the negative effects of neoliberalism through the depoliticised portrayal of the civil society, which in turn discourages citizens' critical deliberation and involvement in societal issues. In this way, the democratic base, which requires citizens' active participation in societal issues, can be easily weakened.

In Australia, with concerns over the wellbeing of her democracy, the need to develop 'active and informed' citizens is emphasized. A new *Civics and Citizenship Education* subject is introduced in the Australian Curriculum. In addition to acting morally and ethically, active and informed citizens in Australia must also understand Australia's system of government, history and culture and be committed to the national values of democracy, equity and justice, and participate in civic life. Contrary to Singapore's depoliticized approach, politics is extended into civic life in Australia. However, the teaching of values remains contentious. Questions remain about 'what values' and 'whose values' and consequently, there is a need to emphasize the role of values in supporting the Australian democracy in the Australian Curriculum (Chia & Neoh, 2017).

Citizenship education in Singapore and Australia highlight the tensions between emphasizing commonalities and embracing differences, developing moral and democratic values, promoting individualism and solidarity, and the limits of politics on civil life. An unbalanced focus leads to inefficient approaches to citizenship education for democratic ends. Instead of arguing for an East-West distinction, deeper reflections are needed to consider how a balance can be achieved between the ends of the tensions because exclusive focus on either end is insufficient to prepare students effectively for democratic participation. Citizens need moral and ethical foundations to guide their decisions in effecting social change. At the same time, they need the civic knowledge and skills to put their intentions into action.

Singapore needs to consider how these discourses can be balanced so that the curriculum can facilitate the deliberation of multiple perspectives regarding issues of citizenship and identity (Alviar-Martin & Baildon, 2016). The current approach can inhibit the 'flourishing of a critical type of mentality that challenges entrenched constructions of citizens as economic and nationalistic subjects' and 'risks excluding cultural minority and low-income groups' (p. 20). Critical thinking used only for promoting economic competitiveness reinforces the neoliberal agenda and cripples citizens' self-definition and social agency to address issues of social justice and global democracy.

In Australia, with renewed focus on citizenship education through the new Civics and Citizenship Education subject, cross-curriculum priorities and general capabilities, great potential exists for citizenship education to empower students with competencies to participate actively in her democracy. The challenge for Australia is to negotiate the struggles existing between federal and state policies for civics and citizenship education and with school implementation and practice. Achieving success for civics and citizenship education in Australia will require commitment to the liberal democratic concepts throughout the Australian Curriculum. Additionally, strong and continuing commitment from federal and state government authorities, school leaders and expert teachers is needed to firmly embed citizenship learning within the whole school culture, the curriculum and communities (Tudball & Brett, 2014).

Looking forward, taking a relationalist stance can help to strive towards harmonizing the different discourses to promote a broader range of interests and agendas (Alviar-Martin & Baildon, 2016). The implication is for Singapore and Australia to consider how the important roles that critical thinking and deliberation play in contributing positively to societal improvement can be reiterated through their curricula. Commitments need to be given to promote critical thinking and deliberation as

'a value indicative of an inclusive society', and not for serving the dominant utilitarian agenda of neoliberalism (Alviar-Martin & Baildon, 2016, p. 20). Curricula need to provide opportunities for students to consider how societies can promote inclusion for all individuals. The challenge is for educators to find meaning ways to engage students in deliberations and discussions of a variety of pertinent societal issues so that they can be exposed to diverse perspectives and in the process, learn to negotiate their personal values and construct their own understandings of citizenship through democratic dialogues. This requires citizenship education to balance the development of moral, ethical and democratic values. Both democratic values such as justice, equality and freedom and personal/moral values such as respect, tolerance and compassion need to underpin the processes of deliberation and discussion. From this perspective, character and civics education work together to politicise the 'personal' when citizens commit to negotiating and resolving differences democratically while ensuring that in the process of addressing differences and promoting inclusion, the liberties other citizens are not overlooked.

Finally, returning to Giroux (2004), educators are reminded of the purpose of citizenship education to support individual and social agency to address basic problems of social justice and global democracy. Experiences are needed to 'revitalize the language of civic education as part of a broader discourse of political agency and critical citizenship in a global world' (p. 36). While neoliberalism have benefitted countries like Singapore in terms of economic progress, and who in turn, argues against the applicability of liberal democratic concepts in Asian societies, discussions in this paper highlighted the vulnerabilities that societies may face for rejecting them totally. Societies risk becoming susceptible to the negative impacts of neoliberalism, which promotes individualism over solidarity, minimises citizens' critical involvement in the society and weaken the democratic base. The challenge remains for these concepts to be accepted as the basis for democracy and for education systems to be explicitly committed to these concepts, lest citizenship education becomes the tool to reinforce the effects of neoliberalism.

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Ewa Bacia, Angela Ittel

Education to Thrive in a Heterogeneous and Democratic Society - A Task for Citizenship and Character Education? Results of Case Studies in Three Berlin Schools

- Citizenship and character education (CCE) requires constant reflection and engagement in relationships.
- These relationships function well if they are based on mutual trust, openness, and respect.
- CCE in the context of heterogeneity in democratic societies implies multidimensional questions.
- The understanding of goals and appropriate means of CCE differs strongly depending on cultural and school context.
- Participative action research is an appropriate method to conduct research on CCE.

Purpose: The main goal of this paper is to analyze how the schools and teachers in three high schools dealt with the challenges of heterogeneity in the classroom using methods of citizenship and character education (CCE).
Approach: To achieve this goal we conducted case studies in three high schools in Berlin, using multiple methodological approaches: observation of lessons, surveys of students, focus group interviews (FGI) and workshops with students, and individual interviews with teachers and with the headmasters of the schools. For the analysis of the data we use the PRIME model developed by Berkowitz and Bier (2014).
Findings: Findings: The results of the case studies provide numerous insights into the issue's complexity and highlight the need to discuss the goals as well as different models of CCE more broadly. Since the understanding of goals and appropriate means of CCE differs strongly depending on cultural and school context, analyzing CCE in the context of heterogeneity in democratic societies implies multidimensional questions.
Practical implications: Future research needs to include more members of the studied school communities in the process of participatory action research: Deeper insight into the field can be achieved by integrating multiple perspectives. At the same time more members of the school community can reflect on the study outcomes, which might facilitate their direct implementation into practice.

Keywords:

Citizenship education, character, character education, civic character

1 Introduction

Over the last decades German society has become increasingly heterogeneous. Every third child in Germany is raised in a family where at least one parent was born outside Germany. In cities with a population of more than 500,000, up to 46% of children come from families with migration background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016). Moreover, the growing heterogeneity of German society stems not only from the diversified nationalities and countries of origin of families but is also a result of the diversified ethnic characteristics within the group of migrants, as well as the host society, where the ethno-cultural identity is only one aspect of *multidimensional diversity* (Vertovec, 2007). Multiple features are used in the literature to differentiate members of groups and society, including gender, ethnicity and religious convictions, nationality, sexual orientation, mental and physical health, social origin, age, and lifestyle (Georgi, 2015). These features are not mutually exclusive: Every person may belong to a number of coexisting groups and develop a pluralist identity.

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The question put forth in this paper concerns the way schools react to the social phenomenon of increasing heterogeneity. According to German educational standards (Bildungsstandards der Kultusministerkonferenz, 2005) schools should educate students to be productive members of society in freedom and democracy. Furthermore, schools are expected to foster tolerance, respect for the dignity of humankind and respect for different beliefs and values as well encourage students toward social engagement and political accountability.

However, the standards do not specify how the goals are to be achieved. Instead it is recommended that methods and didactics are supposed to be specified within the statewide school curricula (Rahmenlehrpläne). The curricula are more specific than the German educational standards developed by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany, but nonetheless do not contain any concrete recommendations. While this is justified by the principle of autonomy of schools and teachers, it implies that a detailed action plan for teachers still needs to be developed.

In this paper we present analysis from case studies which were conducted in three high schools in Berlin, Germany. The studies were a part of the research project "Learning democracy in schools: Tools in international school context" (Bacia, 2015)*,* which was initiated at the

division of Educational Psychology at Technische Universität Berlin in September 2015. The case studies enabled the researchers to identify and analyze many dimensions of citizenship education in schools, such as the institutional dimension, teachers' and students' perspective, or the dimension of transmitted values. One of the goals was to identify the possible overlap of methods and goals of citizenship and character education. Some of the research questions that led us through the case studies are the following:

Do teachers attempt to shape the character of their students through citizenship education to prepare them for living in a heterogeneous democracy? Do teachers believe that it is indeed possible to influence character development through citizenship education at school? Do teachers believe that it is right and morally acceptable to teach the children a certain set of values? Is there a common consensus in schools on what kind of values or attitudes should be transmitted? Does the school community reflect on the given values to be transmitted in class?

In the next section following this introduction, we present the state of the art in the research field. First, we define the keywords of the paper such as citizenship education, character, character education, and civic character. In the next step we present the previous research and contributions in the field of citizenship and character education. Subsequently, we introduce a conceptual model of major character education strategies, namely the PRIME model developed by Berkowitz and Bier (2014) that guided the analysis of the case studies. In section three we give an overview of the methods used and argue for the value of introducing participatory active research into the study. Section four presents the results of the research. We first provide a general description of the three case studies and subsequently present the specific results in detail. Afterwards, we compare the results with the model prediction introduced in section two. In the last section, the key results are summarized, the relationship to existing research is outlined and the contribution of the presented study results to the relevant field are specified. Finally, we present the possible implications of our studies as well as their limitations and desirable directions of future work.

2 The state of the art
Citizenship education and character education can be discussed from many different perspectives. As this paper focuses on analyzing results of empirical research, we will not provide a thorough theoretical discussion that can be found in the literature elsewhere (Nucci, Narvaez, & Krettenauer, 2014; Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008), but rather present some terminological definitions essential in conducting this research. Specifically, we will address definitions for citizenship education, character education, and civic character as bases for the common understanding of the terminology used in this paper.
Citizenship education refers to the practical and scientific initiatives, policies, programs, and activities which aim at

promoting education for democracy (Fauser, 2007, p. 16–41). In a school context it can be effectively used in a broad set of contents, teaching methods, processes of student learning, and procedures organizing the school life of all members of the learning community (students, teachers, headmasters, parents as well as local communities), with special focus on participation as a basis of democratic citizenship (Edelstein, 2014).

Schools not only in Germany but across Europe are encouraged to support students in the development of three core dimensions of citizenship: civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions, understood here as attitudes and willingness to act in a certain way (European Parliament, 2008; Council of Europe, 2010; Hoskins, Barber, van Nijlen, & Villalba, 2011). The attitudes develop in the course of life, as consequence of life experiences and thus changing motivations, perceptions, and self-competence. Berkowitz (2008, p. 399) calls dispositions "enduring tendencies to act in certain ways". This way of understanding dispositions, connecting actions with attitudes, motivations, and perceptions aligns the concept of education for citizenship close to the concept of character.

Berkowitz and Bier define the term character as "the composite of those psychological characteristics that impact the child's capacity and tendency to be an effective moral agent; i.e., to be socially and personally responsible, ethical, and self-managed" (Berkowitz and Bier, 2005, p. 1). Consistently, according to the authors' claims, character education includes all "school-based attempts to foster the development of that set of psychological characteristics, that is character" (Berkowitz, Althof, & Jones, 2008, pp. 400-401).

An additional term that combines character education with citizenship education in its normative approach is "civic character", understood as "the set of dispositions and skills that motivate and enable an individual to effectively and responsibly participate in the public sphere in order to serve the common good" (Berkowitz, Althof, & Jones, 2008, p. 402). The Character Education Partnership (www.character.org) proposed a list of virtues, which are supposed to be *objectively good human qualities:* diligence, wisdom, the pursuit of truth, justice, respect, responsibility, honesty, unselfishness, compassion, courage, patience, and perseverance (Lincona & Davidson, 2005). Preparing for effective participation in the public sphere is a core goal of citizenship education. It does not have to mean that citizenship education has to follow the aims of clearly normative-oriented character education in the version proposed, among others, through the Character Education Partnership. There are versions of character education – those that treat psychological characteristics as facts – that clearly are in opposition to the pluralistic and diverse approach to democratic citizenship education that tends to be prevalent in Europe. "Education for democratic citizenship requires a liberal perspective that incorporates empowerment, debate and critical reflection about both the existing society and the core values of civic life" (Althof, & Berkowitz, 2006,

pp. 508-509). Therefore, citizenship and character education are usually separated in the literature. Nevertheless, in the educational practice in the United States there is a clear trend to combine the two (Althof, & Berkowitz, 2006, pp. 507-508). In this paper, we use the concepts of citizenship and character education to show how they are understood in the studied schools and if they are combined there.

The analysis of the data was conducted in the framework of the PRIME model developed by Berkowitz and Bier (2005). The scientists analyzed 69 research studies about school-based character education to identify certain common features for effective character education programs. Furthermore, they used other meta-analysis and systematic reviews on character (Lovat, Toomey, Dally, & Clement, 2009; Durlak et al., 2011; Berkowitz, 2011) and citizenship education (EPPI, 2005) as well as reviews of academically successfully educational practices by Marzano (2003a, 2003b, 2007) and Hattie (2009). On this basis they developed a conceptual model of major character education strategies, called PRIME. The term refers to five components of optimal character education imple-mentation.

Table 1: PRIME model

Component	Explanation and Implementation
Prioritization	Character education has a high priority in the educational setting, which ideally begins with the headmaster and is school-wide.
Relationships	Essential for character development and optimal education. They should be proactively and strategically nurtured, and this applies within and across all stakeholder groups in the school or district.
Intrinsic motivation	The internalization of motivation should be the primary target of character education. Conversely, modes of extrinsic motivation should be minimized if not eliminated.
Modelling	Models support child development. Ideally all adults in the educational setting should model the character they want to see developing in students.
Empowerment	Pedagogy of empowerment should lead to socialization of youth as future citizens in democratic societies. Flattening governance structures, increasing democratic processes, making space for 'voices' to be heard and honored are core aspects of this element.

Source: Berkowitz and Bier (2014).

There are also other dimensions of citizenship and character education to be found in the literature (Nucci, Narvaez, & Krettenauer, 2014; Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008). The PRIME model is explicitly dedicated to character, not to citizenship education. We deliberately decided to use it in our studies, extending its interpretation on citizenship education. Through this approach, it should be determined if the terms used in character education are appropriate in citizenship education, and if the both are combined or even integrated in the studied schools, as it occurs often in the United States.

3 Methods of research

In this paper we present analyses concerning the issue of citizenship and character education in regard to education for thriving in a heterogeneous and democratic society from three Berlin schools. The case studies were conducted using multiple method approaches: observation of lessons, surveys of students, focus group interviews (FGI) and workshops with students, and individual interviews with teachers and with the headmasters of the schools.

One trained researcher visited different classes in the selected schools between November 2015 and July 2016. In schools A and B classes were visited twice a month during half a year during the class council. In school C one class was visited from November 2015 to May 2016 twice a month in the lessons accompanying the service-learning activities of the students. To get a broader view of class and school culture, the researcher visited each class twice in lessons of other school subjects. She was also present during the open-house days and special school events, organized with the students' participation. The research was conducted with a group of students who were between 12 and 15 years old. In school A students from this age group learn together in joint classes, while school B organizes the education of children enrolled in different grades in separate classes. For that reason, the case study in school A was conducted in one joint class with 26 students. In school B there were two classes visited by the researcher: one class with 23 children age 12-13, as well as one class with 20 students age 14-15. The research in school C focused on the organization of service-learning, which is offered only to students in grade 7, age 12-13. During the research period three groups consisting of seven to eight students were visited regularly. Because the focus of research in school C does not address the formulated research questions as precisely as the other two schools, in this article we only present complementary results of the participating observation from this school.

In schools A and B, after three months of participating observation, recorded through field notes, the first surveys with students were conducted, with the goal to ask them for their opinions on heterogeneity in the society as well as in their school and class. We asked 10 questions with 18 items in both, closed and open format. A number of questions related to the heterogeneity as a social phenomenon while others concerned the atmosphere and the conflict situations as well the ways of solving them in the classes[1]. The questions were tested in advance in a group of 10 students, age 13-15, enrolled in a school in Berlin, which did not participate in the research. The results of the surveys were presented in the participating classes to reflect and discuss them with the students in the form of a workshop with their active participation. The results of these workshops were used in classes to describe students' ways of solving problems and improve the atmosphere between students and teachers.

The decision to introduce the approach of participatory action research, combining participation, action, and

research (Chevalier & Buckles, 2013) resulted from the general aim of the project "Learning democracy in schools", which was depicted as "supporting the proper selection and use of methods for citizenship education in schools and promoting citizenship education among teachers in different school contexts" (Bacia, 2015, p. 1). Since the goal of the project was defined as supporting school communities in the development of citizenship education, it is a necessary step to invite the members of these communities to discuss and reflect upon the results as well as include the participants in finding possible ways of solving the identified problems. The studies conducted with the students were followed by the individual semi-structured interviews with the class teachers as well the headmasters of the studied schools. The questions in the interviews concerned school culture, cooperation among different members of the school community as well as methods used to deal with the heterogeneity in school[2].

The data material, in the form of interview transcripts, field notes from observation, protocols from workshops and completed surveys was evaluated by means of a qualitative content analysis according to Mayring (2000).

4 Results

The results of the studies in all three schools are consistently presented according to the following pattern. First, a general description of the school is presented (type of school, number of students, features of students with regard to the heterogeneity). Second, we outline how the school presents itself publicly in regard to heterogeneity: Is it an issue in the school program, what are the public statements of the headmaster as well the teachers? Third, we give examples of the observations in classrooms which show the way the school and its teachers handle difficult situations resulting from the challenges of heterogeneity. Finally, we present statements and opinions of the students and teachers, with whom we discussed the issues as a part of the studies at schools.

4.1 School A

School A is an integrated high school, teaching students from grades 7 to 12 (A-level exam). This private school was founded 10 years before the study by an association connected with the Evangelical Church and organized according to the Church's Education Act. It is recognized by the state as an *Ersatzschule* (literally: substitute school), indicating that the school offers degrees recognized statewide. It requests a moderate tuition fee from students and is co-financed from public funds. In the school year 2015/2016, 550 students were enrolled in grades 7 to 12. The high school cooperates directly with a primary school on the same school campus (community school). This means that children from the primary school belonging to the community school may pass to school A without additional conditions, if they wish to. In consequence, there are not many places left for students from other primary schools.

Students from school A are not a very heterogeneous group in regard to the aforementioned criteria of diversity (esp. nationality and religion). Some students grow up with a parent who stems from a country other than Germany, but most if not all speak German at home (information from the interview with the headmaster). Almost all children are of Christian denomination, the majority belonging to the Evangelical Church. In the school year 2015/2016, school A received about 35 refugee children, most of whom were not German-speaking, belonging to the Muslim denomination. The headmaster appreciated the "automatic growth of the heterogeneity among students through the arrival of refugees" (quote from the interview with the headmaster)[3].

The process of integrating the refugee students is based on the assumption that the integration will happen automatically with time. The newcomers had first been sent to intensive German language courses organized at the school. After a few weeks they participated in some regular classes with the other children from school A. Two refugee students were present in lessons visited by the researcher. The researcher noticed during the participating observation that the guest students were two or three years older than the oldest students in the host class. They could not follow the lesson because of the insufficient language knowledge. Occasionally children from the host class helped the guests, explaining them in English the course of the lesson. Most of the time the newcomers seemed to be bored and tired, having no real opportunity to participate in the lesson.

About 20% of all students are exempt from school fees, due to the very low income of their families (information on the school published by the Bertelsmann Stiftung). In around 15% of all students, psychosocial problems were identified by the special pedagogues. These students receive additional professional help. Other relevant criteria that contribute to the students' heterogeneity are, according to the headmaster and interviewed teachers, their different hobbies and dressing styles. Heterogeneity in the understanding of headmaster in school A results from different psychosocial and personal attitudes of the students.

School A participates in and initiates many social projects with external partners. This is the way the school tries to prepare children to live in a heterogeneous society, even though the school community is not as heterogeneous as the current society in Germany, the headmaster explained. In the school-based *Project Responsibility* (Projekt Verantwortung), which is obligatory for students in grades 7 and 8, students choose organizations or individual persons in need and commit to voluntary work for the common good of these organizations or persons. Once a student has chosen the organization or the person he or she will support, they visit this organization or person once a week for two hours. The experiences gathered through this kind of engagement are discussed in individual conversation between each student and their personal tutor with whom they meet every second

week to reflect on their learning process. Tutors are teachers responsible for supervising about ten students. The meetings between students and tutors last about ten minutes, allowing only a limited amount of time to focus on the learning outcomes obtained through the Project Responsibility. Twice a year a teacher who coordinates this project leads a reflection-meeting for all children engaged in the project activities. At the end of the school year the individual student projects are presented in front of the school community. School A attaches great importance to these school events, where student achievements in-school and outside of school are recognized.

Each Friday afternoon all students and teachers meet in a weekly assembly. During these meetings the Christian prayer Pater Noster is read in two languages: in German and another language. The assemblies are prepared in classes. During a lesson, the researcher observed the situation where a refugee student was asked to read the prayer in Arabic. First the student agreed, but then he wanted to know what kind of prayer it was exactly. After it was explained to him, he said that he couldn't read Pater Noster in public as he is Muslim and this prayer does not belong to his religion. The issue was not reflected on further, either during the lesson or in the weekly assembly of the school community.

The second obligatory part of the assembly is a presentation about important global issues, prepared each week by one class. The researcher participated in three of the weekly school assemblies. Each time the students showed a video on one global issue (human rights, environmental protection, and peace between the world nations). After the short presentation, the issues were neither commented on nor discussed. The assembly was closed and the researcher noticed that the students were pleased to go home.

School A is often presented in public as a best practice model in the field of citizenship education. The headmaster of this school gives lectures to national and international audiences explaining the advantages of the innovative pedagogical approach adopted in school A. One of the pedagogical principles of the school is to discuss with the students current global issues, like human rights and their abuse in different national and cultural contexts. Students are expected to be aware of global problems and prepared to engage for a better world. The in-school and out of school activities are aimed to educate students to thrive in a heterogeneous democratic society.

School A has introduced many learning methods and programs aiming at strengthening the social and democratic competencies of students. However, not all teachers felt prepared to use these methods. A teacher talked about her experiences:

"When I came to this school, I learned that we should have a class council in our class every week. Unfortunately, nobody explained to me what it is and how it should be done. I had to find out everything on my own. Starting this activity was quite stressful.

Regular visits in one class in school A confirm that social and global issues, concerning democracy, social and cultural heterogeneity, human rights, or discrimination, are a recurring element of the learning curricula. The issues were introduced into the lesson of global education, social learning, history, and foreign languages. However, students seemed to be bored when the researcher attempted to discuss with them the issues of heterogeneity or discrimination. They claimed to know everything about this topic and to be convinced that heterogeneity is good and discrimination is bad. From their perspective it made no sense to talk about it again (data taken from students' statements).

Nevertheless, during the months the researcher accompanied the class, she witnessed many unresolved conflicts and discriminating incidents among students. Here are some examples noted by the researcher:

1) A student insults another student, telling her: "You are so ugly because you don't eat meat."
2) A girl is called 'fat' by three boys. As soon as they notice that she feels strongly affected, they intensify malicious comments and search for new reasons to make fun of her, such as teasing her about the color of her shoes.
3) A student made angry by another student takes the revenge saying: "Actually, I should forgive you your stupidity. It's not your fault. You are as stupid as all other Catholics."

In the survey conducted in the class council, the students were asked if they could solve the conflicts occurring in their class. Only two out of 24 persons replied affirmatively. In the open questions concerning the general atmosphere and personal well-being in the class, some students claimed that they do not dare to express their opinion freely in front of the class community, because they are afraid of being abused or ridiculed by some people. Answering the question on the possible reasons to be abused, a student said: "It can be everything. This is the problem of people, not of some special features. These are especially the sensitive persons who are put down. This is a minority who discriminates another minority. But the majority does nothing against it. Eventually, as a discriminated person you are alone."

The problems of bullying and discriminating behavior in the group of teenagers is common and prevalent in most high schools, probably worldwide. Interesting and relevant for the described studies is the way the studied schools and their teachers react to these incidents. The class tutor, who participated in the workshops that included the presentation of the survey results and the following discussion, was surprised to learn about the negative mood in her class and how often children feel discriminated against by other students. She has repeatedly analyzed the issue of discrimination with the students as a global problem, but she never tried to deeply reflect on the relationships within the class. The students did not report the problems to the tutor. Why? One student explained it in the discussion during the workshop: "This is the problem of the society, not only of

our class. In the society people are discriminated against. Why should it be different at our school?"

After the workshop the researcher discussed the issue with the tutor and the school headmaster. Both communicated that they needed to pay more attention to shaping the citizenship and character education in the school. Participative action research motivated them to rethink the strategy of introducing citizenship and character education in their school. The headmaster concluded:

"We have to be better models for the students, and better leaders as well. Children should understand – with our help – that they are our future. It depends on them how the future society will be. If they see something is wrong and say to it 'that's what our society is', then nothing will change. However, the democratic approach and the respect for heterogeneity should be brought to the classroom. In some cases it's difficult to achieve, because children learn primarily from their parents, and not all of them are respectful toward other social and cultural groups. In the coming school year, we will focus more on this issue and invite professional trainers to work with us on identified problems.

4.2 School B
For five years preceding this study, school B has been developed as a community school. Community schools teach students from grade 1 to 10. In the school year 2015/2016, the total number of students exceeded 1100. School B gives the opportunity to learn in bilingual classes, with English or Turkish as the second teaching language. The school offers a full-day program with numerous activities beside regular curricular class session, some of which are organized in cooperation with external partners.

Nearly 90% of students speak a language other than German at home. About 20% have a non-German nationality. In the bilingual classes with Turkish as the second language, 98% of students have an Arab or Turkish migration background in the first, second, or third generation. The group of teachers is similarly heterogeneous. All classes have two coordinating teachers. In the bilingual classes there is always one teacher who speaks the same mother tongue as the majority of students. During an open house a Kurdish teacher said: "I find this school so good, because it reflects the German society. We have students and teachers of different cultural backgrounds. And with our new headmaster we managed to create an atmosphere of support and cooperation."

The quoted statement reflects the sentiment of the official school profile posted on the school webpage, with declarations of the headmaster as well as other interviewed teachers and students, interviewed by the first author of this paper. According to the School Program, school B focuses on *community, heterogeneity, motivation, participation, and cooperation with parents, educational partners, and institutions*.

The school's webpage points out that

"Our school is the place of peaceful coexistence of people of different cultures and worldviews. We educate our students to be independent people, we promote democratic awareness, the willingness to take responsibility as well as mutual understanding and acceptance."

For many years the school had been identified in Berlin as problematic in terms of school climate and development. It did not have a good reputation, and parents did not want their children to attend this school. Seven years ago the previous school headmaster was replaced by the current headmaster, who successfully introduced new rules. The new headmaster explains in an interview her approach to the school management:

"My understanding of school management is due to the fact that I don't assume that I'm the one with the best ideas. As I came here I couldn't know school better than its students, their parents, and teachers. So the first thing I did was to ask them for their opinions to understand their points of view with the aim to set the right goals and methods for the school development. My role is to help the school community to achieve these goals.

Regular teachers, social workers, and special education teachers in school B work in teams responsible for students of particular grades. They have their designated rooms to meet regularly and discuss current affairs, problems, or plans. The teams are in regular contact with the school management as well as in exchange with the other teams. Parents are invited to regular cooperation and consultation meetings.

Great importance is attached to the student-student and student-teacher relationships. To promote mutual trust and understanding, school B introduced under the leadership of the new headmaster so-called *class project time* in all classes from grades 7 to 10. It takes place for five hours each week and gives the class community the opportunity to get to know each other better, to discuss current affairs and to learn the ways to solve problems and find solutions in a respectful and democratic way. There are always at least two classroom teachers present during the class project time, which is organized in different work forms. For instance, students in grade 7 are prepared to take responsibility as educated "fairplayers". That is the name of an established program (http://www.fairplayer.de/) encouraging children and training skills to react appropriately and with civil courage in conflict situations. Students from grade 7 may also be trained to become school mediators.

Another working form for all students in the class project time is the class council. The students in all middle grades meet weekly to discuss and decide on self-selected topics regarding learning and living together in class and school, current problems and conflicts as well as plans and activities. The students have the time to discuss ethical issues in the class project time. At that time they are not separated according to their religious or cultural affiliation, so that everyone can bring their

own experiences from their families and environment. The class project time is used also for self-reflection. What did I learn the last week? What is already working well? Where do I need to do more? Students regularly make notes in their school diaries which should be signed by the parents. In this way the parents can also stay in contact with the teachers.

The class project time is often used to discuss problems and conflicts resulting from the heterogeneity of the student body. Heterogeneity in school B results not from the diversity of nationalities among the students, but from the common differences between the system of values and norms in the family and at school. Children from traditional families, some of which still have very authoritarian structures, are confronted with democratic values and norms at school, according to which the conflicts are solved differently than may be the case in their families. This gives rise to a dissonance that is not easy to overcome. An example from the visited class: Children were asked to propose rules they wished to introduce to society if there were completely free to decide. One student asks if it is all right to react with aggression if somebody is treated aggressively. The student is beaten by his father at home (information from the teacher) and is not sure which kind of reaction would be appropriate. He feels enough confidence in the class to ask this question and discuss it in public. The question is for him not a theoretical one. It is based on very personal and painful experiences. The class community gives him the framework to talk about his personal doubts in the ethical and social context. The topics of values, norms and social rules are discussed and reflected on regularly, in relation to one's own experiences or real conflicts in the class.

The teachers try not to judge students' opinions and statements but rather encourage students to discuss different views. They present their own opinions without pressuring students to take on their views. An interviewed teacher explained her approach, talking about diverse social perspectives that she wants to be heard in her class.

"Our society gives the opportunities to live differently than some family patterns show. When the children grow up, most of them get rid of the family ties. In that moment, it is important that they know that there are many possible ways to live one's own life.

This kind of approach, where children are encouraged to be open and take their own decisions, is appreciated by the students. The teachers care about the students.

"They communicate with us on an equal footing. If I am missing in a class, I am asked if everything was OK. In the old school I would be automatically suspected to be lazy and skipping the school", explained a student from grade 9. "I feel encouraged to learn and the teachers make me believe that I might achieve a lot.

The teaching personnel of school B get support from the headmaster and from outside experts to learn how to deal effectively with the challenges of citizenship and character education as well as with the challenges of heterogeneity. One of the new challenges is the integration of refugee children into the school community.

In the school year 2015/2016, welcoming the refugee students was a current issue in many classes of school B. Regular students were prepared to meet the refugee children while the issues of the refugees' situation, needs as well as different attitudes towards refugees in Germany was discussed in the class project time. A group of teachers and students developed a working group, whose participants prepared activities for and with the refugees to help them to integrate better in the school community. Students were free to decide about the activities they wanted to participate in.

4.3 School C

School C is an integrated secondary school, with classes in grade 7 to 10 and about 300 students in the school year 2015/2016. More than 20% of students are of a non-German nationality, and more than 70% speak a language other than German at home. The school community is also heterogeneous regarding cultural habits and the religions of the students' families.

C is regarded as the school of "second chance". Many children assigned to this school had not been accepted in other schools because of bad grades, insufficient learning progress or unacceptable behavior. The average school achievements of the students in school C are clearly below the average for Berlin schools (information drawn from the statistical data from the school profiles on the webpage www.berlin.de).

School C declares the preparation of students for professional life as its main working orientation. The focus of the work with the students lies in professional practice. The description of the school model and school goals on the webpage stresses the meaning of the well-being of all members of the school community. "We recognize and respect both the cultural and social diversity in our school as well as the individual requirements of all members of the school community. We are committed to non-violent and respectful coexistence in an atmosphere of fairness, trust and esteem." School C declares to support the democratic forms of communication and to foster participation of the students both at school and beyond. In the educational setting and goals expressed on the school webpage, citizenship education is explicitly called out as one of the school principles:

"We accompany and support our students to become self-confident and considerate persons who manage their lives independently with all uncertainties. Decisive for the personal development of our students is not only to provide them with knowledge, but to combine at work the head, heart, and hand. That's the way our students acquire

technical, social and cultural skills." (Taken from the school's webpage)

The researcher first visited school C during the open house. In two other schools the open houses were prepared with the active participation of the students, who guided tours showing the school building, telling about the school life, and answering the questions of the guests. At school C there were few students present during the open house. They offered coffee to the also very few guests. As the researcher asked one of the teachers if it would not have been better to organize the open house in the evening, when most of parents have more time (this open house started already at 1 p.m.), the teacher answered:

"It would not have made a difference. This is a bad school for bad students. Everybody knows it. Parents do not send their children here because they choose this school. Children are placed here if they don't manage at other schools. And why did you (the researcher) actually come here?

After the winter break a new student joined the class visited by the researcher. The teacher asked the boy to introduce himself and to say in which school he had been before the winter break. As the boy said that he had learned at a 'Gymnasium'[4], some students were impressed and they expressed their admiration, saying: "Wow, it means, he is more intelligent than we are!". The teacher did not react to this comment.

Another teacher conducted lessons accompanying service-learning activities with the students of grade 7. Service-learning at school C is regarded as the preparation for professional practice, obligatory for all students of this school. Children are asked to identify institutions placed not far from the school building, where they should be involved socially two hours a week after school. Most of children do not like this subject and ask why they have to work without being paid. Many children do not look for the matching institutions. Some institutions in the school area had already made bad experiences with undisciplined, unreliable students obliged to do service-learning and they are not willing to take responsibility for the children from school C anymore.

Ignoring these problems, during the lesson about service-learning the teacher asked the students about the social strengths they already possess and might use in their service-learning activities. A boy, who regularly caused problems, abused others, and initiated conflicts in the class, called "respectful behavior" as his main strength. The teacher did not discuss it further. After the class the researcher asked the teacher for an explanation. For the teacher the situation was completely clear. "I know the family of this boy. I taught his parents at this school. This is one of these conservative Muslim families functioning according to a hierarchical model. For this boy respectful behavior means that he obeys his father. He doesn't understand that respect might be defined in a broader way and

concern also other people." The teacher was asked if it would not be pedagogically useful to discuss with students the differences in understanding values in the context of living in democratic heterogeneous societies. She answered that she would do this the coming week. The researcher accompanied the teacher till the end of the service-learning course. However, the teacher did not come back to the question of values, concentrating mainly on technical topics regarding the organization of service-learning, like deadlines or formal requirements for the final report.

During the year in which the researcher visited school C, the teachers responsible for the service learning classes changed three times. The first teacher retired after five month into the school year. In the last half year of her school activities another teacher was prepared to take over the service learning classes. Eventually the headmaster chose yet another teacher at a very short notice, who started the classes to service learning without understanding the concept. After three months once more a new teacher, who was also about to retire, was chosen by the headmaster to support students in service-learning. The teachers could not explain the decisions of the headmaster. They were neither asked if they wished to take the responsibility for the service-learning classes nor if they had been introduced into the method.

At school C the researcher did not manage to talk to the headmaster personally. It was the only one from the studied schools where the headmaster did not find the time for the interview, although she agreed to conduct the research at her school.

5 Comparison of empirical data with the PRIME model

In this section results of the three case studies are compared with the PRIME model, presented in section two. All five elements of the model are discussed here regarding the analyzed schools, in relation to both citizenship and character education.

Table 2: Comparison of empirical data with the PRIME model

	School A	School B	School C
Prioritization	Both character and citizenship education are declared and presented as crucial elements of the school-program. The headmaster who developed the school vision and its educational setting regards character and citizenship education as the most important educational goals. They were also implemented in the school curricula. Nonetheless, common understanding and broad discussion of designated goals are missing. Teachers are not professionally prepared to work in the fields of citizenship and character education.	Citizenship and character education have a high priority for the headmaster. The particular goals and methods have always been discussed with the teaching personnel. The headmaster is in continuous contact with the teachers, who also exchange information among themselves. Trainings for teachers in the field of character education are offered by outside experts. Character education is implemented across the entire organization. Its understanding is liberal and critical. Norms and values are discussed with students, without giving them easy answers and solutions based on distinction between good and bad ways of living.	The main priority in this school has been given to professional education and practice. Even though citizenship and character education is indeed mentioned as a part of the school profile, it is neither implemented across the entire organization nor are the teachers internally or externally trained in this field. The teaching staff does not have the common understanding and terminology for the values or methods of character and citizenship education.
Relationships	Methods of interactive pedagogy, like peer tutoring, cross-age initiatives, and cooperative learning, are broadly introduced. The school tries to cooperate with families and communities. Because of the lack of time or engagement on at least one side, in many cases the relationships remain superficial. The main identified problem in the relationships is the missing trust among the students as well as between the students and teachers. This makes it difficult to foster healthy relationships and to manage the classes effectively.	The school invests much effort in relationship-building based on mutual trust, openness, and respect. If problems occur, they are discussed in the class community. Special programs aiming at fostering healthy relationships, like "fair-player" or school-mediations, are implemented school-wide. Classroom management is coordinated by the pedagogical teams. While teaching and talking about values and norms, teachers take into account the different family and community contexts the students come from.	Communication between the headmaster and the teachers is weak. The school management is not transparent. The school has a negative reputation, which also influences the student-student and student-teacher relationships. Some teachers do not try to motivate their students or to discuss with them the issues of values or norms. They often assume that their efforts would be pointless as the students and their families are difficult to cooperate with.
Intrinsic motivation	There are many programs for students involving their service for others, which theoretically increases the likelihood that students will internalize pro-social values. As the preparation and coordination of the programs is not sufficient, many students perceive their participation in these programs as an external obligation. In this sense, the concept of making the education relevant for the students is not quite successful, as they do not really identify with the programs. Example: The weekly assemblies which are obligatory for all students were classified by the researcher as rituals, with no deeper meaning for the students. Rituals and events defined as essential by the headmaster have no importance for the students, as they do not feel intrinsic motivation to engage in the activities.	Teachers try to activate students' intrinsic motivation, while talking with them in an open way about their needs, problems, and wishes. In the lower grades, character education focuses particularly on individual attitudes as a part of character development. By students of higher school grades there are also social and political issues discussed in classes. Teachers do not force students to take part in particular programs or engage in a special way. Much more, their goal is to show the students different opportunities to handle, leaving the decision on the students' side. The assumption is that the teachers should try to give the students the chance to take decisions and be active, but these are the students who decide if they will act, when and in what way.	The school has a service learning program which theoretically should make education personally meaningful for students. But neither the teachers nor the students as participants in this program identify themselves with its goals and means of action. Students are not motivated to engage additionally outside the school, and teachers perceive the program as not very useful and quite stressful. It is increasingly difficult to find external partners for the program, as many of them have already had poor experiences and are unwilling to cooperate and unmotivated students.
Modelling	For many teachers it is important to stay in good relations with the students. But being a model with power of imitation in child development is not typical in this school. Many young teachers find it personally easier to present themselves more as the friends than as models for the students.	Openness and respectful behavior towards persons representing different opinions, which is the dominant attitude of teachers in this school, is clearly appreciated by many students. Teachers declare that they try to teach by giving a good example through their own behavior and presented attitudes.	The researcher talked to teachers who do not try to be models for the students and observed students who do not perceive their teachers as models.
Empowerment	There are many programs introduced with the goal of student empowerment, but there are also students afraid of saying their opinion in the classroom.	Teachers invest their energy and pedagogical competences to present students the opportunities to decide freely on their lives. They encourage students to use these opportunities.	Democratic processes are superficial, and students are perceived by many teachers as "the difficult ones", with only weak chances to become empowered adults.

6 Discussion

Case studies from the three high schools in Berlin provided numerous insights about the complexity of citizenship and character education regarding education for living in heterogeneous and democratic societies. Heterogeneity is understood in many different ways by the headmasters, teachers, and students: as diversity of nationalities, cultures, and religions (school C); diversity of personal attitudes and lifestyles (school A); or as a plurality of possibilities to take decisions and act in liberal, democratic societies (school B).

The participating schools claim to utilize instruments of citizenship and character education to deal with the challenges of heterogeneity. Corresponding issues are parts of school programs in all three schools. In school A the school vision and its educational setting base indicate character and citizenship education as the most important educational goals. At the same time, the exchange between teachers and the headmaster on one side and between students and teachers on the other is not deep enough to identify current problems and to have the opportunity to handle them. Citizenship and character education are discussed at a level of abstraction that it makes it difficult for students to identify with. The school community does not reflect deeply on the concrete values to be transmitted in class.

In school B the aims, methods, and processes of citizenship and character education are discussed school-wide on a regular basis. This attitude makes it possible to work constantly on relationships based on mutual trust, openness, and respect. Teachers take into consideration the different family and cultural backgrounds of their students. They do not depreciate them, but try to present and discuss alternative ways of living that are possible to choose from in a democratic society. In this way, teachers try to support the students in the development of their personality, which is typically part of character education. The understanding of character education is however a liberal one, as the psychological characteristics are not treated as facts and the main aim of the teachers is to bring students to critical reflection of the core values of life. Teachers do not try to teach the children a certain set of values. Much more, they present different possibilities. In this sense, citizenship and character education in school B are lived in the classroom. School C does not pay great attention to citizenship and character education in practice. There is no common understanding of the goals of citizenship and character education in this school. Members of the school community seldom feel empowered and motivated to engage and act according to democratic values. Educational processes in the citizenship and character education field are often of a random nature. Reflection, constant work on relationships, modelling, and empowerment are missing. The attempt to shape the character of the students through citizenship education to prepare them for living in a heterogeneous democracy hardly exists at this school. Teachers who tried to act differently from the majority in this school context would find themselves in a challenging situation.

Citizenship and character education at schools in the context of heterogeneity in democratic societies imply multidimensional questions. Individual initiatives are difficult to push through if the headmaster and the majority of teachers do not support them. Discussing the understanding of goals of citizenship and character education, consequent work in constant exchange, interactive pedagogy, family, and community participation, promoting trust, modelling and empowerment: These are crucial elements needed as a set in the context of citizenship and character education. If one of these elements is missing, it influences the educational context in general. That is the reason why the questions of factors influencing citizenship and character education should be analyzed with regard to their interdependence.

The study results described in this paper refer to the analysis of research studies and reviews conducted by Berkowitz and Bier (2004). To analyze the results of our studies in relation to citizenship and character education in the context of preparing for living in heterogeneous democracies, we used the PRIME model with its five components. Our studies contributed to the field of citizenship and character education by analyzing specific factors building up the educational context of three schools in Berlin. The study results showed differences in defining citizenship and character education between the studied schools. They also revealed a gap between the teachers' perception of character education in different cultural models. Literature on character education describes models from the United States, where character education is strongly normative-oriented. Teachers from the studied schools talk about personality development through character education in the liberal sense of motivating to critical thinking and discussing values.

The study opens new possible directions of research. For instance, the observed forms of bullying and discriminating behavior in the group of teenagers could be further interpreted using Isabell Diehm's distinction of different forms of direct and indirect discrimination (Diehm, Kuhn, & Machold, 2017) or the concept of intersectionality. In the context of the German system of education we could further analyze the ways of dealing with heterogeneity in schools through the three principles of the Beutelsbacher consensus and the concept of the deliberative education.

From the methodical point of view the conducted studies were challenging because of the use of the participatory action research. This approach is difficult for both scientific and ethical reasons. It is a challenge for a researcher to keep the balance between the scientific distance and objectivity on the one hand and the involvement in searching for optimal solutions for and with the community on the other hand. To minimize the risks, the researcher presented and discussed the idea and the participative design of the research with the teachers and students before beginning the research activities. The problems arising from the double role of the researcher (as the researcher and an engaged

initiator of a social change) were discussed with the scientific mentors of the researcher as soon as they appeared. The required modifications were implemented up to date.

The PRIME model as the conceptual background was useful to organize the study findings. The participatory action research as the research method made it possible to include some members of school communities into the process of reflection, which may be used for the further development of these communities. For the future it would be desirable to continue these kinds of studies on citizenship and character education in a broader context. Participative research could include more groups being a part or cooperating with the school community, such as parents, social workers, or organizations cooperating with schools. Studies conducted in participation with more partners would make it possible to identify and analyze more factors playing a role in the processes of citizenship and character education in schools.

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Endnotes

[1] Examples of open survey questions:
- What are the advantages for you when your class is diverse? In which situations are you looking forward to diversity? Try to give concrete examples. [in German: *Welche Vorteile kann es für dich haben, wenn deine Klasse vielfältig ist? In welchen Situationen freust du dich über die Vielfalt? Versuche konkrete Beispiele zu geben*].
- And what disadvantages can the diversity in the class have for you? In which situations are you annoyed by the diversity? Answer as concretely as possible. [in German: *Und welche Nachteile kann die Vielfalt in der Klasse für dich haben? In welchen Situationen ärgerst du dich über die Vielfalt? Antworte auch möglichst konkret*].
- In each class there are sometimes conflicts. Someone makes fun of someone else or makes him angry. Somebody offends another or takes something away from the other. If it happens in your class, for what reasons and in what situations are persons laughed at or offended? Whom does that concern? (You should not give here concrete names, but describe situations in which someone is treated unkindly). [in German: *In jeder Klasse kommt es manchmal zu Konflikten. Jemand macht sich über einen anderen lustig oder ärgert ihn. Jemand beleidigt einen anderen oder nimmt einem anderen etwas gewaltsam weg. Wenn es bei euch in der Klasse passiert, aus welchen Gründen und in welchen Situationen werden Personen ausgelacht oder beleidigt? Wen betrifft das? (Hier geht es auf keinen Fall um konkrete Namen, sondern um die Beschreibung der Situationen, in denen jemand unfreundlich behandelt wird)*].

[2] For more detailed information on data collection, see: E. Bacia "Democratic approaches in education in an international context" (forthcoming).

[3] All quotations from interviews were translated by the authors of this paper from the German transcripts.

[4] Gymnasium is a school type in the Berlin education system giving the possibility to pass the A-level exam, generally more demanding for students than an integrated secondary school.

Jürgen Budde, Nora Weuster

Class Council Between Democracy Learning and Character Education

- Logics of the school and logics of social pedagogy clash in class council.
- Possibilities for a democratic and social pedagogically framed school are inevitably limited.
- Participation in class council does not always contribute to democracy.
- Class council focusses on personal development, not on political or democratic education.
- In social practice class council camouflages a de-politicization of the school.

Purpose: Class council has become a popular approach for character education and democracy learning in German schools. However, it is not clear if the expectations are met in social practice.

Approach: The data was gained with an ethnographical multiple method approach within three contrasting secondary schools. The study is informed by practice theory, theory of school and theory of social pedagogics.

Findings: Logics of the school and logics of social pedagogy clash in class council. Opportunities for a democratic and social pedagogically framed school are inevitably limited. Class council focusses more on personal development and character education and much less on political or democratic education. Certain forms of class council subtly aim at student's approval of undemocratic practices; therefore, class council sometimes camouflages a de-politicization of the school.

Research Implications: A comparison of democracy learning and character education in different pedagogical institutions is recommended for further research. The methodology of reconstructing logics of school and logics of social pedagogy from a practice theoretical and ethnographical perspective should be elaborated.

Practical implications: Teachers need reflective competencies in order to recognize the limitations of participation in practice. While aiming at the ideal of the mature, civically engaged and socially competent citizen, the limitations of participation and the responsibilities of societal institutions like schools should be made subject of learning, as well.

Keywords:
Character education, democratic education, participation, class council, school theory, ethnography

1 Introduction: Democracy and character education as pedagogical topics

Democracy is a very sensitive issue within society at present. The analysis of prevailing circumstances often shows a twofold focus: On the one hand, democratic states and their institutions are currently challenged by political developments of various kinds, whether it be the rise of right-wing populism in Western democracies, dealing with the refugee crisis, or regarding international conflicts like those in Turkey or Ukraine. On the other hand, traditional forms of participation within a parliamentary democracy, like exercising one's voting rights or engaging in a political party, seem to be increasingly unattractive. Thus, decreased political trust and general disenchantment with politics are currently prevailing in

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society. At the same time, alternative approaches like liquid democracy or social media are gaining access into the political sphere. These approaches might enable people, who are hesitant to engage in public formations of opinion, to join in and shape socio-political debates. Accordingly, the Shell Youth Study documents an increasing number of young people who show an interest in politics that is also associated with a willingness to take part in political activities. However, disenchantment with 'traditional' forms of politics remains strong and young people place little trust in political parties (Shell Deutschland, 2015). These highly simplified remarks are merely to focus attention on the fact that democracy is a current and controversial topic within the public discourse at present. In the course of the latest developments, democracy has almost automatically been declared as a global issue for educational processes (prominent e.g. in the OECD-program 'The Future of Democracy'). By this, democracy becomes a subject of learning processes and in this process a specific pedagogical area has evolved. Democracy learning and development of democratic competencies become a task for schools, which – as public institutions – are always an effigy of transformations within society and are being held accountable for solving (alleged) problems of society with regards to educational policy.[1] This perspective on educational science is in the center of our text.

Edelstein currently warns about "the corrosion of the socio-moral resources of democracy" (Edelstein, 2011, p.

1) and demands that democracy ought to be put in the center of schools' responsibilities (Edelstein, 2010, p. 323). Busch and Grammes (in a critical perspective) also assume that didactics of political and civic education is driven by the fear that the democratic function of society will be undermined, if the socialization into the political or economic system does not succeed sufficiently (Busch & Grammes, 2010, p. 95). However, concepts of democratic education, in which the idea of children's self-determination and participation as well as a democratic way of life in general play an important role, have a long history in the tradition of progressive education, as the works of John Dewey, Siegfried Bernfeld, Hugo Gaudig or Alexander Sutherland Neill, for example, show. Their concepts were similar reactions to (assumed) social or educational crises.

Keeping this in mind and with regard to assumed deficits within society, the current demand for encouraging character education and teaching social competencies in schools does not come as a surprise. There are certain assumptions behind these demands, e.g. that more and more parents are failing to raise their children appropriately, that children are increasingly being raised in individualized contexts and fragmented families, leading to the fact that their social skills are developing poorly. Also, companies and employers complain about lacking personal and social skills of young employees.

All of this leads to a pedagogic demand for schools to promote social learning and character education. Huffman defines character education as "planned and unplanned things that adults do to nurture the development of moral values in youngsters" (Huffmann, 1995, p. 7). This pedagogic approach has become more and more important: "Since the late 1990s character education grew worldwide" (Edmonson, Tatman, & Slate, 2009, p. 15). The aim is referred to as "balancing the demands of producing both smart and good students who will be the ethical and productive citizens of tomorrow" (ibid.). However, this approach seems problematic in the sense that it lacks sufficient focus on contents of didactics of political education and procedures of parliamentary democracy. In fact, the focus is put on the individual student, whereas societal conditions are being ignored. Another point of criticism, especially expressed in American discourse, is an emerging conservative backlash going along with moral education as part of character education. By addressing the individual's responsibility for society, conservative values are being promoted. Semantics appeal to the individual's responsibility, as well as to general values.[2] Claimed are "key virtues as honesty, dependability, trust, responsibility, tolerance, respect and other commonly-held values important for Americans" (ibid., p. 4).

Both strands of criticism – the lack of democratic culture and values due to scarce participation, as well as the lack of social competencies due to missing character education – are countered by pedagogical measures, which implicitly and explicitly promote the ideal of a mature, socially engaged and democratic citizen. Schools are supposed to enable "a democratic form of life" (Edelstein, 2011, p. 3), comprising "learning about democracy", "learning through democracy", and "learning for democracy" (ibid.). Therefore, "social competencies" (ibid.) are needed in order to help students develop a democratic habitus (Edelstein, 2008, p. 1). At this point, both strands are linked to each other.

Against this background, the emergence of democracy pedagogics that has been established in German schools, predominantly by the federally funded programs "Demokratisch handeln" (literal translation: 'Acting Democratically') and "Demokratie lernen und leben" ('Learning and Living Democracy'), becomes understandable. In contrast to school subjects like political or social sciences, political engagement is supposed to be experienced in a more direct and authentic way and to be a matter of personal engagement. The idea is to foster students' willingness to actively participate and engage in the democratization of classes and school life in general. The key assumption is that schools have the opportunity to educate students into becoming mature and responsible citizens through authentic and direct experience of democracy. Special emphasis is put on occasions of direct participation within school, because according to Coelen, participation is a limited, yet indispensable aspect of democracy (Coelen, 2010, p. 37). This argument is connected to the criticism that schools themselves are not democratic institutions because traditional forms of codetermination in schools are always faced with systematical limitations (ibid., p. 40).

From a democracy pedagogical perspective, there is strong criticism regarding the ideal of a student committed to actively participate in civil society, which is strived for by pedagogical measures. Leser, for example, states that participation in schools does not automatically lead to democratic consciousness. Instead, the permanent experience of limited participation rather leads to democratic pessimism (Leser, 2009, p. 77). In this context, some representatives in the field of didactics of political education criticize the emphasis on actions and practice of democracy in democracy pedagogical approaches that are often inspired by the ideas of John Dewey. Thus, a critical reflection on democracy and politics fades into the background. Next to action-oriented political education in schools, processes of cognitive understanding of democratic politics as a condition of society, as a way of life, and as a form of rule, are needed as well (for a brief summary of the dispute see, for example, May, 2008). Therefore, these educational programs and approaches are in danger of recognizing participation solely as an academic subject-matter regarding individual development of competencies, while missing political dimensions of the school system (Coelen, 2010). Furthermore, the causal assumption that experiences of participation will encourage students' political activities, which will then form them into democratic citizens, is criticized. Busch and Grammes summarize that so far, democracy pedagogics seems to be programmatic, idealistic, and little analytical (Busch & Grammes, 2010, p. 102). From a quantifying perspective and with regards to theories of competence, it is argued

that moral education as part of character education, e.g. discussing ethical dilemmas in class, does not directly go along with political science or democracy pedagogics because political questions are often more complex than mere moral questions (Weißeno, 2016). Furthermore, an empirical verification of knowledge and skills regarding didactics of political education is requested (Weißeno, 2012).

2 Class council in theory and empirical analysis

An outstanding instrument of democracy pedagogics is the class council, which has become popular in schools (and beyond, see Wyss, 2012) since elements of the federally funded program 'Learning and Living Democracy' have been established in many German schools. The class council's main objective is to shape students' personalities in the sense of developing and improving skills regarding conflict management, communication and reflectivity. It aims to strengthen students' democratic competencies through direct and authentic experiences of participation. The main idea is to provide a platform or opportunities for students to solve conflicts within their peer group. Overall, class council takes social pedagogic principals, such as orientating on the individual and individual cases, referring to students' living and social environments, as well as spontaneity and codetermination into account (Olk & Speck, 2009; Coelen, 2007). It is supposed to be *something different* than regular classes or school lessons, an alternative to hierarchically structured, one-sided, cognitively oriented teaching approaches with no reference to the students' environments. Thus, programmatic contributions and articles evaluate class councils as a democratic way of life very positively (Edelstein, 2008, p. 4).

Scientific findings, however, are more critical and point out limitations regarding the theory of school. Especially ethnographic studies analyze the discrepancy between the commitment to students' self-determination and autonomy on the one side and institutional heteronomy on the other side. This seems to be constitutive for class councils, thus Budde refers to 'simulated participation' (Budde, 2010). This constitutes a difference between teachers and students. On the part of the students, this might lead to considering participation as a task required by school (de Boer, 2006). The teachers in turn are trapped in the contradiction of providing opportunities for participation, while at the same time limiting these opportunities (Budde et al., 2008). Another difficulty arises out of the antinomy between autonomy and heteronomy (Helsper, 1995). Even though a form of non-academic, social pedagogic learning is intended by providing opportunities for autonomy, self-determination, and participation – driven by the aim of increasing students' ability for reflection – institutional framing with the context of school remains in force. Wyss captures some key issues and concludes, "The gap between ideals and practice is a constitutive characteristic of class councils" (Wyss, 2012, p. 59).

The expectations regarding democracy learning and character education – as a measure inspired by social pedagogic methods within the institution of school – do not seem to be met entirely. Therefore, in the following, we analyze and evaluate empirical data and examine what kind of possibilities, but also what kind of limitations and de-limitations (i.e. the blurring of boundaries) can be found in class councils with regards to its focus on character education and democracy learning through participation. Behind this lays the assumption that, from a school-theoretical perspective, the central premises of social pedagogy (like orientating on the individual and individual cases, referring to students' living and social environments, as well as spontaneity and codetermination) are limited by schools' societal functions, like selection and allocation. Based on these (critical) empirical findings, it has to be analyzed what students can learn with regards to democracy as well as to their personality within class council. With this work, we follow up on the desideratum that "further research is needed to reconstruct in detail the extent and quality of deliberations in class councils" (Whyss, 2012, p. 60).

3 Empirical research on class council

The analysis is based on data (participant observation, interviews) from an ethnographic research project PeBS, which focuses on pedagogical practices in three schools in Germany (Budde / Weuster, 2016). The research project presumes that human activities are based on practices, which are expressions of social orders. With regards to practice theory, the focus of analysis is on space- and time-bound activities in their materiality (Schatzki, 1996; 2002). We define schools as organizations which are, according to Schatzki's practice theoretical account, composed by interconnected practice-arrangement bundles – just as any social phenomenon (Schatzki, 2005; 2006). We aim to identify the actions that compose the school as an organization which also means to identify the net of overlapping and interacting practice-arrangement bundles of which the actions are part of. Additionally, we try to identify other nets of practice-arrangement bundles to which the net composing the school is tied closely, such as educational boards or local governments. Furthermore, studying an organization like the school needs to take its material arrangements into account, i.e. the ways humans, artifacts, organisms and things are ordered in it (Schatzki, 2005, 476 f.).Besides class councils (where research was conducted in 5th grade), the research project also analyzes schools' project weeks, vocational orientation programs, as well as different workshops dealing with character education and democracy learning. This was conducted in a sample of three contrasting schools. The first school is a traditional-humanist secondary school (the German 'Gymnasium'), located in a medium-sized city. The second one is an urban comprehensive school with a very heterogeneous student body. The third one is a secondary school with a focus on principles of progressive, reform-oriented education, located in a medium-sized city. The research design is based on the concept of an 'ethnographic collage' (Richter & Friebertshäuser, 2012), which focuses on collecting and

evaluating data with a multiple methods approach regarding different measures for character education and democracy learning. Participatory observation was used in order to analyze the practices. The main interests of ethnographical observations are the implicit, unconscious activities and routines. Participatory observation is based on the assumption that the researcher can learn about the discursive and physical practices that constitute social orders by observing and participating in the natural setting of the people under study (Troman, Jeffrey & Walford, 2005). The observations are written down in form of field notes and protocols and can thereupon be transformed into analyzable data (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). In order to explore and evaluate the students' and teachers' perspectives, focused interviews were conducted (Friebertshäuser, 2010). Document analyses supplement the analyses of students' and teachers' practices and views in order to analyze the programmatic objectives.

3.1 Traditional secondary school

At the traditional secondary school, topics to be discussed in class council are always chosen the day before. In form of homework assignments, students are asked to reflect on topics by themselves and write down their thoughts in a chart, as described in the protocol:

"The teacher reminds the students of the three topics that were chosen for discussion the day before. The topics are written down one below the other in a chart on the blackboard. Lengthwise, there are three headings: current state, target state and measures.

Mr. A. addresses Sue and Matt, who are in charge of moderating class council today, "Alright, you know about your responsibilities, right?" Sue and Matt agree by saying "yes". Mr. A. continues, "And you also know: discussing one topic takes no longer than five minutes, which means Matt has to watch the time. If there is a lot to discuss, you may extend for one minute, of course, but it is not allowed to do it longer."[3]

One of the characteristics of this class council is the use of a structure originating from the field of economics or business administration. The desired mode of solving problems is strongly regulated: there is exactly one way, resulting in the exclusion of any other possible way of solving problems. The term "measures" implies that all topics and problems can be solved, whereby a strong emphasis is put on the manageability of arising problems. However, manageability is not only suggested, it is also demanded. A "current state" that is not being transformed into a "target state" by means of "measures" is not designated. Furthermore, the path model suggests that via measures, a causal relationship can be established between current state and target state. By this, current state and target state are complementary placed towards each other. The focus is not on a profound search for causes of problems, but on the development of measures in order to change practice. What is interesting, is the suggestion of linearity: starting

from the current state, one reaches the target state via measures. Associated with this is the assumption that every process can be clearly defined. As a pedagogic model, this is a quite causal concept. Possibilities for participation, for approaching and solving different problems, and also for subjectively different character education are strongly limited due to a standardized procedure. Overall, this model is shaped by a clear rationale relying on causal solutions of problems by putting resolved measures into practice.

Another characteristic is the assigned homework before class council. Students have to write down their thoughts on specific topics into the given structure of current state, target state and measures and have to bring their notes to class council. The focus is not on spontaneity and collective reflection and discussion of topics and problems, but rather seems to be on the easiness to plan this process and task, which appears to be a form of academic assignment due to the requirement to write down thoughts into charts at home.

Roles, positions and time structure are clearly defined in advance as well. The teacher reassures himself that Sue and Matt know their responsibilities as moderators and determines that every topic may be discussed for five minutes only. This limits the possibility for a profound process of deliberation. Every topic is treated equally, at least concerning the time perspective, no matter what the students' individual interests and needs are.

Sue says, "We now start with class council. And we have a topic. It is bullying and offending students in other classes. Does anyone have to say anything about this?" Some students raise their hands, while Sue adds, "So, what is the current state?"

Matt directly picks John, who is raising his hand. John states, "So, at the moment, some of the students of the parallel class get teased by their classmates. And insulted, as well. Yes." Matt asks, "Does anyone else want to say something about the current state?" Nobody says anything, so Matt asks, "Then the target state, does anyone have to say something about this?" Several students raise their hands and Steve gets picked. Steve says, "Umm, it should be that no one feels somehow uncomfortable at this school. There should be harmony, so to say, between the classes." Tyler interrupts Steve, "That is, if I may interrupt shortly, these are the measures." Several students say "no" and Steve also says, "No, that is the target state." Tyler concedes, "I see, okay, yes."

Without any difficulties, Sue and Matt take over the position of moderators. Sue names the topic and asks the students to share their thoughts. Several students show their willingness to participate by raising their hands and Matt calls on the students to express their opinions. Matt and Sue assume responsibility, which could be interpreted as a learning experience with regards to character and democracy education. They can try themselves in a new position and practice to moderate a conversation with authentic topics, while also having the responsibility to actually reach results. At this point, however, the

prefiguring structure comes into effect, as can be seen by Sue's added question regarding the current state. This leads to a strong limitation of Sue's self-expression because she does not really have any other choice but to transform into a teacher-like position. The case of students performing like teachers, being acknowledged as such, and for rules and routines being followed accordingly, can be seen in this class repeatedly. This means that the logic of school – which is supposed to be transformed during class council – persists, but exactly in this, the project works out well, yet in a simulated arrangement: In the end, Sue and Matt can only act like teachers – as students. The mode they act in, is the mode of the teacher, and thereby one that only cites institutionally provided positions. The freedom of expression is limited. Sue and Matt execute their task within an academic context in the form of (assistant) teachers. This can be a precarious undertaking, if it creates a distance between Sue and Matt as 'teachers' and 'their' students. At the same time, it can be interpreted as a reasonable course of action because what kind of an out-of-school position could possibly be established here? Class council remains within the academic context. Therefore, it can also be seen as a 'protection' from dissolution of boundaries in order to not be forced to show oneself as 'whole person'.

The current state is quickly identified: a short description by John is enough. There is no reaction to Matt's question, if there is anything else to say. Then, the target state is discussed. In Tyler's opinion, Steve's suggestion that there should be harmony between the classes, is not the target state but a measure. The expectation of a clear model due to the precise procedure is not met in practice because the articulated problems are much more complex than current state, target state and measures suggest.

In the course of the protocol, several students complain about students from other classes who are not present. Different measures are discussed. The scene ends as follows:

> Jessy asks if they should go to the students of the other classes. Matt suggests that he himself and Sue could go to two of the bullied students and ask them what they think about the problem.

> Mr. A. interrupts and says, "Alright, my suggestion is that you keep out of this completely. You've already passed this into my hands. I spoke to Mr. B. and he is already taking care of it. So you don't have to do anything to fix this issue."

While Jessy and Matt suggest different options on how to deal with the issue, the teacher interrupts their discussion. His suggestion is for the students to "keep out of this completely" because the issue has been delegated to him and he took care of it already. The students "don't have to do anything to fix this issue". This raises the question, why the topic was discussed at all – obviously the corresponding measure was clear beforehand.

What is striking in other council sessions of this class, is that the taken measures are usually neither controlled, nor ever put into action. Thereby, the processing model maintains a simulative character. Apparently, deciding on measures in class council is more important than ever putting them into practice. In the case under analysis here, students' non-participation is obvious and can be demonstrated by the teacher saying that the students are not supposed to do anything and that this was clear from the beginning. Therefore, the participation procedure in situ is predominant in the council sessions of this particular class. The mere focus is on practicing a particular way of working things out, whereas the results in their content are less important than the fact that a procedure for deciding on measures took place at all.

3.2 Urban comprehensive school

At the urban comprehensive school with a particularly heterogeneous student body, teachers play an important role, as well. The opportunities for participation are also strongly limited, as the following scene documents:

> Both teachers stand in front of the class. Mrs. C. says, "Alright, next topic, umm, the class representative, I just mentioned it. If the class representative himself gets into trouble too many times, so that we as teachers have to take care of it or need to address it during class council, then he is in the wrong position. Unfortunately, Sam behaved badly during the last weeks. So we as teachers have decided: we have to revote. Of course, you may now shortly express your points of view on this issue and say, well, I don't feel good about this decision because I think, he did this or that, or, yes, I think it's good, I believe it is good for someone else to get the chance to carry out this position in a different way. So for now the decision that we are going to revote is final, but still, I would like to hear a bit about how you see this."

This scene describes how the teachers let their class know that they will dismiss Sam from his office as class representative. Considering the objective of becoming a (more) democratic school, this course of action is highly problematic. Sam has been democratically elected class representative by his classmates. This includes representing and defending students' interests against teachers and the institution in general. All of the students inevitably must feel powerless, with their voices not being heard and not counting. The teachers do not disguise the prevailing structures of power, in fact they declare that they are the ones who decide upon dismissing class representatives in social practice in a very transparent way. As a crucial factor for their decision, the teachers state that Sam himself has gotten into trouble too many times. This is not being clarified any further, therefore it does not become clear what exactly it is in the eyes of the teachers that disqualifies Sam in his position. The teachers allow that the students "may now shortly express" their points of view. This, however, is a weak opportunity for participation because the decision is already "final" anyway.

A remarkable turn can be identified in the teacher's phrase, "[…] and say, well, I don't feel good about this decision because I think, he did this or that […]". At this point, the offer to express one's agreement or disagreement with the teachers' decision shifts into a request to position oneself emotionally. This is heightened by the fact that the teacher shifts into the narrative perspective of a student ("I don't feel good"). The request strongly prefigures the way in which the students may react to the dismissal of Sam: requested is a statement about one's own emotional condition. Not requested is an (oppositional) statement about the decision itself, let alone a debate on the question if it is generally legitimate for teachers to dismiss class representtatives in a highly undemocratic manner. Even though students may express their impressions and feelings, the decision is final. Regarding the dismissal of Sam, the students' opinions do not matter, but obviously do with regards to the acceptance of the decision within the class (Leser, 2009). Therefore, in the sense of an affirmative educational concept, this also contributes to the legitimation of power structures.

> Several students raise their hands. The teacher picks Pat, who says she agrees with the decision because Sam has sometimes been bickering with Liam and also did not always have the strongest interest in ensuring the rules, but preferred playing instead. It is Amelia's turn. She turns to the teacher and says that Pat said something about playing but in her opinion Sam has every right to play. The teacher turns to Sam and tells him that he can also say something about the issue if he likes, he is not left out in any way. Sam slightly nods with a neutral expression on his face.

> Now it is Fabienne's turn. She says that Sam has helped her several times. The teacher comments, "This was a statement in favor of him, that's great, too!" Another boy mentions that one time it was very loud in front of the classroom and it was Sam who took care of it by telling the students to be quiet. The teacher asks, "Alright, so you think that he did take his position seriously at that moment?" The boy confirms that. It is Tam's turn and she says, "I like that Sam sometimes helped me when I had difficulties." After that, the teacher picks Nancy, who says that she likes it that Sam was never bossy and never acted as if all the other students had to do whatever he said. Some of the other class representatives would actually act this way.

The only student approving the teachers' decision is Pat. The reason she mentions, Sam preferring to play, is questioned by Amelia right away. All the other students argue that Sam did a good job by giving various examples to substantiate their points of view (helping, imposing order, not acting in a bossy manner). However, no one deduces that he or she does not want to accept the teachers' decision. Accepting the decision while insisting that Sam did a good job, reveals a high level of resignation and self-marginalization. Considering the clarity, in which the teachers mark their decision as final, this might not come as a surprise. Nevertheless, complaining about young people and their (alleged)

disenchantment with politics seems quite inexpensive, if – like in this case – students are not granted the chance to experience self-efficacy within a federal institution that is as relevant to them and their future lives. The teachers end the discussion as follows:

> The teacher says, "Alright, this is our decision, we will stick to it and revote after the holidays. Decisions can be revoked and if the next one doesn't work out as well, then we'll keep on going according to our concept. We gave you a precise description of the tasks you have to fulfill as class representative and if someone is not acting accordingly, then it is just like that and we have to revote. We will do it after the holidays, that's the decision, too many things have happened within the last few weeks, that's why the decision was made quite fast."

> Sam asks if he is allowed to vote, as well. The teacher confirms that he is.

The teachers do not take the students' viewpoints and arguments into consideration at all. Instead, the teacher mentions that they provided the students with a precise description of a class representative's tasks and that too much has happened in the past. The phrase "if the next one doesn't work out, as well, then we'll keep on going according to our concept" includes the announcement or threat that the next class representatives will be dismissed as well, if they do not behave accordingly. This message strongly limits the class representative's possibilities to shape this position in an individual way. In this class, rules seem to be more important than participation. Certainly, various rules have to be applied in school life, just as in any institution or society in general. That these rules – at least in democracies – are always subject to debates and are negotiable, cannot be learned in this class council. There is no critical, reflective discussion and students are not given any room for negotiation, possibly due to the fact that it is not clear, what exactly went wrong with Sam. Finally, for Sam to consider the possibility of not being allowed to participate in the revote due to his dismissal, shows the obvious failure of democracy learning in one single question.

3.3 Secondary school oriented on principles of progressive education

A completely different type of class council can be found at the third school of our sample. The responsibility for the course of action is mainly put into the hands of the students. During the week, students can put written notes about their problems or complaints into a box that is set up in the classroom. At class council, they discuss the topics more or less by themselves. Striking is the fact that it is one student in particular, Don, who is made the center of discussions over and over again.

> A student complains that Don was fidgeting with his sandwich in front of her face, which was totally disgusting. Don denies this, whereupon many of the classmates shout "of course you did" and "yes, you did". Another student

says that it smelled really bad and Aiden adds that afterwards, Don threw it into the paper bin.

Sophie, who is in charge of moderating class council today, picks Jason. He explains that at first, Don put his lunch box into the sink. He then went up to Clara and Piper and there he was fidgeting with his sandwich in front of their faces. Again, Don defends himself and says that this is not true. Many of the other students interrupt him by shouting collectively "no" and "of course", sounding like a choir. For a while it is so noisy, it is almost impossible to understand a single word. Olivia shouts out, "Don, we all saw it!" Sophie picks Piper. She explains that Don came up to her and Clara. They asked him what the matter was. Then he started fidgeting with his sandwich in front of their faces. Don denies this, "I was not fidgeting with my sandwich!" Don's body is full of tension, he places his hands on his thighs and his upper body leans forward. He looks around the circle in a frantic way, always at the person who is accusing him of things the loudest. Whenever he catches something, he tries to argue against it. One student for example says that the sandwich was mushy and disgusting, whereas Don answers, "Well, that is why I threw it into the bin." This answer, however, leads to the discussion that he threw it into the wrong bin and that he always throws things into the wrong bin. One student adds that Don always sharpens his pencils in the bin for waste paper and this is wrong, as well. Another student says that Don was once running water over his sandwich, whereupon the choir yells, "ugh" and "yuck". This continues for quite a long time, more and more accusations against Don are brought up, Don tries to defend himself, but the choir is always louder than him, yelling "yes, you did" and other things. At one point, Don shouts, "You are just trying to make me look bad!" This is denied by the choir immediately. Olivia says, "Now he is just trying to make excuses!" Others add that all students were witnesses of what he did.4

In this class council, a problem with Don is discussed. The starting point of the complaint is that Don had been fidgeting with his sandwich. The accusation, however, is quickly extended by various details. It is criticized that his sandwich smelled, that he poured water on it, that he used the wrong dustbin. It is obvious that Don broke several implicit and explicit rules and that his classmates perceive his behavior as disgusting. Taking the approach of class council seriously, in the sense that it should provide the time and place to bring up problems as well as to enable students to collectively take responsibility and participate, a legitimate case is being discussed in this scene. However, in the course of social practice, an interesting phenomenon becomes apparent. This scene hardly represents an appropriate school's approach for democratic education, but rather a lesson in exclusion. Due to the permanent shifting of accusations, as well as the collectivizing "choir" of his classmates, which rejects or ironizes all of his explanations, Don is denounced in a tribunal-like way. His tense body posture is a figurative expression of the scene, he "looks around the circle in a frantic way, always at the person who is accusing him of things the loudest". There are no moments of under-standing or clarifying things, instead only permanent re-petitions of similar accusations. Many of Don's class-

mates use the situation to confront him with accusations and then disappear in the crowd of the "choir".

The exclusion takes place in full public. Class council increases the precarious character of the situation due to the fact that the entire class becomes witness of this spectacle. It is not possible to escape the situation. Additionally, the situation becomes extremely precarious for Don because the mode of the course of action is indeed legitimate. The students do exactly what they are supposed to do, which is 'speaking about problems'. While the other two class council examples demonstrate the limitations for participation due to the strong control of the teachers, in this example, the complete opposite can be shown. There are two teachers present in this situation but they do not intervene. On the contrary, they hand over the responsibility to the students. By doing this, they undermine their pedagogic obligation to ensure a fair and rational discourse based on arguments and they do nothing to prevent the 'tribunal'. In accordance with this, the moderator Sophie organizes the course of the spectacle and ensures the formal legitimacy of class council since participation is ensured – at the expense of Don.

4 Conclusion

In different ways, these three cases illustrate how the expectation of contributing to character education and democracy learning by promoting participation in class council is not met in social practice. The first example shows that the discussion within class council does not result in a participative solution because the measure was already predetermined in advance. Especially at this point, the students are not only not involved, in addition, they are explicitly denied participation. Here, class council has the sole purpose of collectively raising com-plaints against students, who were not even present, and which have to be without consequences. To put it blunt-ly, students can learn that sharing feelings of disa-ppointment will not lead to a possibility to take action.

The second example also reveals strong limitations for students to participate. The teachers' drastic inter-vention of dismissing the democratically elected class representative is not made subject of discussion. Instead, the teachers strive for an affective acceptance of their decision within the class. The focus is not on limiting participation, but on the emotional approval of it. What can be learned in this situation, is that school hierarchies override democratic procedures. Subject matter is not justice or political participation but the acceptance of the decision.

The third example shows practices that – unlike the other examples – are characterized by the absence of heteronomy. The teachers pass responsibility over to the students. Out of this participative arrangement, an environment of bullying emerges, which is even support-ed by the institutional arrangement of the class council. The school hierarchies are not out of order but trans-ferred onto the students.

Our results corroborate critical findings regarding possibilities for participation in class council. Due to the

fact that difficulties were found in all three schools, it is not likely that this can be explained by coincidence or individual inabilities of the teachers. The analyses of the practices particularly point out an empirically based criticism of normative pedagogic programs, like class council, in a particular manner. By taking a look at the presented ethnographies, the *fundamental* failure can be documented in the course of the social practice. Therefore, argued from a school theoretical perspective, it can be plausibly assumed that the possibilities of a democratic and social pedagogic school are inevitably limited. The attempt of dissolving school hierarchies within an approach like class council seems to be destined to fail: Either traditional structures remain in force, or it is the students who adopt the institutional hierarchies themselves. The absence of a generational order does not lead to a democratic room but instead to rooms in which the 'right of the strongest', shaming and exclusion prevail. The students – at least in the third school – obviously do not meet the expectations of assuming responsibility.

There are at least two reasons for this. The impact of occasional activities and learning opportunities is limited – one hour of class council a week can hardly change established conditions. School remains within its logic and this cannot be easily irritated by a social pedagogic addendum. On the contrary, in social practice it even leads to radical restrictions of participation and self-determination caused by the teachers who decide on the measures in advance, suggest them and carry them out themselves, or suspend democratic rights. To put it bluntly, one could argue that this externally controlled form of class council aims at organizing students' approval of undemocratic and non-participatory practices. Even if schools succeeded in systematically integrating social pedagogic principles of democracy pedagogics, the societal functions of schools would most likely still prevent extensive participation because schools are specific forms of institutions. Due to their educational purpose, they are necessarily built upon generational hierarchies and differences in knowledge.

At this point, another contradiction becomes apparent: Due to their obligation to symbolic learning, schools' opportunities to follow social pedagogics logics are institutionally limited. Yet, the institutional limitations can also be seen as a form of 'protection' because schools – unlike a tribunal or individualizing social pedagogics – are a universalistic good, not a particular one. Modern schools have to be measured by the (primordially democratic) claim for equality, even with reference to the fact that schools cannot meet this demand (OECD, 2010; Mehan, 1992).

It is not only the limitation of participation that one can study at schools as institutions, but also societal institutions' universal and equal demands. At this point, the discrepancy between political education and the ideal of a competent, politically engaged student becomes clear as well. To put it bluntly, one could argue that democracy education within class council is primarily focused on personal development and character education, not on political or democratic education. Thus, one can venture

the hypothesis that in social practice, class council serves less as a practice for participation, but in fact to camouflage a de-politicization of school. This is due to the fact that the focus is not on societal questions of power but on individual questions and personal attitudes. Behind this lies a general development in society that can be described as governance techniques of the self. These are participative only in the sense that they aim at self-activation, not at involvement and criticism (Lemke, 2001; Fejes, 2010). There is a tendency that students are supposed to take responsibility for social interactions themselves – while neglecting social and hierarchic contexts.

It can be criticized that a certain form of social-pedagogization of schools rather encourages neoliberal techniques of self-governance, especially because the individual and its ability to act are the center of attention of social-pedagogic premises like orientation on the subject and on the particular case. Therefore, social and collective, as well as structural conditions of the subject are lost sight of. Individualization necessarily depoliticizes democracy learning because social contexts are not being dealt with. Thereby a governmental regime (Foucault 1991) becomes obvious: in this, individualization ensures larger amounts of freedom to act. However, this is accompanied by larger amounts of individual responsibility, as well. Individual responsibility, again, submits the freedom to act under the limiting regime of self-regulation.

Therefore, there are less perspectives regarding a shortened ideal of a mature, civically engaged and socially competent citizen, but more regarding two other aspects. At first, teachers need reflective competencies in order to recognize the limitations of participation and excessive external control in practice. Furthermore, it is necessary to reflect on the contradiction that students are supposed to solve conflicts in a democratic and participative way, while still learning how to do so at the exact same time. The underlying confidence in the students comprises the opportunity for personal *development* in the sense of accessing new areas of responsibility, while getting accessed by those at the same time, as it could be put in regards to the educational theory. Learning, in this case, would be learning in the "zone of proximal development" (Wygotski, 1971) and not learning in the 'zone of the last development' (first two schools) or learning in the 'zone after next development' (third school). However, the empirical findings show that this is not fulfilled, and instead, learning opportunities are shaped in a different way.

Secondly, out of a democracy theoretic perspective, it would be reasonable to make a societal institution's – particularly a school's – limitations of participation and responsibilities the subject of learning. In this way, the teachers of all three schools could have broached the issue of this problematic practice and therefore, could have provided opportunities for (political) education. Instead of naïvely undermining academic orders by formally establishing social-pedagogically-inspired participation, a discussion regarding the public, conflicts, co-

mmunity or institutions would have probably contributed much more to the development of a politically oriented 'democratic habitus' than the choice between simulation and tribunal.

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Endnotes

[1] This also holds for preventing violence or teenage pregnancies, teaching health education, implementing gender responsive pedagogics, etc. Schools are expected to solve an enormous variety of social problems. Considering this, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that Hamburger (2010), for example, argued that pedagogics cannot replace politics.

[2] Therefore, it is not surprising that character education was especially approved in the era of George W. Bush.

[3] The translation of the protocol was predominantly done literally but still tries to capture the sense of the scene.

[4] Note that the sequence is much longer in the original protocol. The accusations against Don and his attempts to justify or defend his actions fill a couple of pages.

Jane C. Lo, Gavin Tierney

Maintaining Interest in Politics: 'Engagement First' in a U.S. High School Government Course

- Putting students in roles can help trigger students' interests in political issues.
- While role-play can help trigger students' interest in politics, maintaining interest is tricky.
- Disciplinary specific scaffolding is an important part of maintaining triggered interest.
- To maintain political interest, students need follow-up opportunities to engage with political issues.

Purpose: Increasing students' political interest has been a longstanding goal of civic education. One way to trigger students' interests in political issues is by engaging them first in an attention grabbing activity (i.e., assigning them to roles). Because it is important to examine not only how roles may trigger political interest, but also students' political interest afterwards, we asked: What happens to students' interest in political issues after engagement first?

Methodology: Drawing from Schwartz and Bransford's (1998) *A Time for Telling*, we conducted a case study of three students, who experienced 'engagement first' activities in a class, and report on their interests about political issues in one particular activity.

Findings: While role-play can help trigger students' political interest. Our findings show that for students to maintain political interest, they need follow-up opportunities to engage in meaningful activities around politics.

Research implications: Role assignment is a good way to trigger political interest, but productive disciplinary engagement can be coupled with engagement first to extent students' political interest.

Practical implications: Classroom activities that hope to support students' political interest may need to include both 'engagement first' and further scaffolds for students to engage productively with politics.

Keywords:
Civic education, interest development, political interest, youth political participation

1 Introduction

The problem of low voter turnout, especially among young adults in the last few decades, has prompted scholars to examine how education might influence an individual's political behavior (e.g., Converse, 1972; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Niemi & Junn, 1998). Specifically, some scholars argue for a kind of "enlightened political engagement" (Parker, 2011), where students know disciplinary knowledge well enough to engage politically. Findings from these studies has led scholars to look more closely at how education not only influences adults' political behavior but also youth's future political behavior (e.g., Kahne & Westheimer, 2003, 2006; Torney-Purta et al., 2007). While past studies have found data for a connection between schooling and political behavior to be lacking (Langton & Jennings, 1968), more recent studies have found correlations between formal education, along with political knowledge, and political participation in adults (e.g., Converse, 1972; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996). Large-scale studies sought to better understand the relationship between political knowledge and political engagement. They found that education plays an instrumental role in influencing this correlation (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Nie et al., 1996; Niemi & Junn, 1998). This means that education can play a significant role in how much political knowledge individuals acquire, and subsequently, how much they engage politically.

While the political science literature touts education as an important predictor of political knowledge and political engagement in adults, does this trend apply to adolescents? More importantly, why should scholars care about adolescents' political knowledge and engagement if they are not yet part of the electorate? Positive Youth Development (PYD) (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004) suggests what youth know about politics and how they feel about political issues can determine how they behave politically as adults. Knowing how youth feel about political issues and what they know about politics is especially important for democracies, where youth are already members of a society that can be shaped and changed by their actions. To be true members of a democratic society, youth need opportunities to experience what it means to be a member of a community so that they might feel compelled, interested, and empowered to be a part of, and participate in, governance (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010). This means that education and classroom practices might pique students' interest in politics and help them engage as members of the political community.

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Helping students engage with political issues has been a longstanding goal of civic and political education (e.g., Levinson, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). In recent decades, scholars have sought to address the well-documented decline of youth political participation (in terms of voter turnout) by studying how coursework and classroom practices may influence students' commitments to participate politically (e.g., Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Nie, Junn, & Stehlik-Barry, 1996). Subsequent studies suggest engaging classroom practices (e.g., debates, simulations, and decision-making) can foster students' political knowledge and action (e.g., CIRCLE, 2013; Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008). Project-Based Learning (PBL) incorporates many of these classroom practices as a way to help foster students' interest (Feldman, Pasek, Romer, & Jamieson, 2007). While PBL instructional practices are generally considered to be engaging for students (e.g., Darling-Hammond et al., 2008), little is known about what that engagement looks like and the ways it may help maintain student interest in politics. If a goal of engaging civic classroom practices is to help students learn more about political issues, it becomes important to examine how students' political interests can be developed through classroom activities. Data for this paper came from a larger Design-Based Implementation Research (DBIR) (Fishman, Penuel, Allen, Cheng, & Sabelli, 2013) study on the effectiveness of PBL in Advanced High School Coursework (Parker et al., 2011). Specifically, a PBL Advanced Placement U.S. Government and Politics course was designed with 'engagement first' in mind, where students were given reasons to learn before participating in the classroom projects (Schwartz & Bransford, 1998). Using a four-phased model of interest development, this paper reports on the ways students' interest in politics may be maintained following the moment of triggered interest.

According to Hidi and Renninger (2006), "interest is a psychological state that, in later phases of development, is also a predisposition to reengage content that applies to in-school and out-of-school learning" (p. 111). Outside of the school context, interest has also been investigated in the cognitive and social psychological literatures (e.g., Sansone, Weir, Harpster, & Morgan, 1992; Silvia, 2001). As a psychological state, education scholars have long suggested that interest can help determine students' effort and behavior (e.g., Dewey & Jackson, 1991; Hidi, Renninger, & Krapp, 2004). Interest occurs when students' affect (strong feelings) and knowledge build on one another as two main components of interest development (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). The four-phased model of interest development suggest that in order for triggered interest to be maintained, classroom activities need to support both affect and knowledge in the domain (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Although interest can be triggered by practices like engagement first, sustained personal interest only develops if triggered interest is maintained (e.g., Hidi & Renninger, 2006; Nolen, 2007). For students to develop long-term interest in politics, their triggered interest in political knowledge and participation must be maintained over time. While triggering and sustaining student affect has been more broadly studied within the motivation and engagement literature (e.g., Efklides, 2006; Pekrun, Goetz, Titz, & Perry, 2002; Pintrich, 2003), little is known about how students' interests can be maintained after they initially engage with the domain.

2 Background
2.1 Civics curricula in classrooms and schools
When exploring how civics curricula may influence students' political knowledge and participation, studies have shown that certain educational practices in the classroom help increase students' political knowledge (Niemi & Junn, 1998). This means that school and classroom practices could be important factors in supporting students' engagement with politics. Studies have also found that certain types of curricular approaches and opportunities could impact students' commitment to civic participation (e.g., Campbell, 2005; Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). These curricular approaches provide students opportunities to practice civic participation and simulated political participation firsthand. For instance, Kahne, Chi, and Middaugh (2006) examined the impact of certain engaging practices (including features such as simulations, role models, service learning, learning about problems in the community, learning how local government works, and personal relevance) on three forms of students' social capital: norms of civic participation, social trust, and knowledge of social networks. They found that these practices have the potential to increase students' disposition and capacity toward civic engagement. Interest development theory offers a unique way to examine how these engaging practices may influence students' political dispositions and capacities (Lo, 2015).

2.2 The Four-Phase model of interest development
Hidi and Renninger (2006) offer a four-part framework of interest development that may be used to examine how students might become more interested in political knowledge and participation. As a motivational variable, interest "refers to the psychological state of engaging or the predisposition to reengage with particular classes of objects, events, or ideas over time" (Hidi & Renninger, 2006, p. 112). It is important to note that interest also results as an interaction between individuals and a specific content (Hidi & Baird, 1986; Krapp, 2007; Krapp, Hidi, & Renninger, 1992; Lipstein & Renninger, 2006), meaning interest is always tied to a specific subject area even for students who are generally motivated (Krapp, 2000; Renninger, Ewen, & Lasher, 2002). For this paper, we are especially interested in the specific disciplinary focus of interest development, creating citizens that are both knowledgeable *and* interested in politics— *enlightened* political engagers.

The four phases of interest development are sequential and distinct: triggered situational interest, maintained situational interest, emerging individual interest, and well-developed individual interest (Hidi & Renninger,

2006). The present study focuses on the first two phases of Hidi and Renninger's (ibid) four-phase model, triggered situational interest and maintained situational interest, specifically. According to Silvia (2001, as cited in Hidi & Renninger, 2006), interests are defined as:

"Self-sustaining motives that lead people to engage in certain idiosyncratic and person-specific activities with certain objects and ideas for their own sake…. Interests serve long-term goals of adaptation such as cultivating knowledge and promoting diversified skills and experience. (p. 119)

These skills and experiences can help students continually re-engage with the content of interest. As students' interests in political issues develop, not only will they know more about politics but they will also be more likely to engage in political activities.

Knowledge and affect interact together to prolong an individual's personal interests in a domain, as her interest level enters the later phases of the model (Hidi et al., 2004). In the later phases of interest development, the interaction between knowledge (in terms of how much a student knows about a domain) and affect (the strong feelings a student has towards a domain) can lead to an increase in the amount of work students complete in a content area, and also help them engage with that content in new ways (Renninger, 1990; Renninger et al., 2002; Renninger & Hidi, 2002). Examining students' civic participation through this four-part framework allows consideration of how certain classroom practices can support the development of students' interests in politics as a way to increase their political knowledge. Within the four-phase model of interest development, the triggering and maintaining of interest has the potential to help students develop personal interest in disciplinary areas. For this study, we recognize that students have varying individual interest in politics when they enter into a course. However, we are interested in the interaction between specific disciplinary thinking and how students' interests are triggered and maintained, rather than their general interest in things related to politics.

Triggered situational interest can be characterized by short-term positive changes in students' feeling towards and thinking around a certain subject area (Hidi & Baird, 1986; Mitchell, 1993). Environmental features that appeal to the individual can often trigger situational interest (Hidi & Baird, 1986; Hidi, Weiss, Berndorff, & Nolan, 1998). We view triggered interest not just as something that pulls students into specific disciplinary content and practices, but as moments when students are active participants in the process with pre-existing interests, opinions, and identities in school. Classroom practices like 'engagement first' can trigger situational interest for students because of how it invites students to engage with the disciplinary content. In a civics classroom, assigning students to roles as a way to give them a reason to learn about political issues could trigger their situational interests. The roles help students inhabit aspects of the discipline, pulling on their individual experiences and knowledge to make the roles their own. Once this interest is triggered, it can be sustained or

maintained if activities continue to be meaningful to the students (Hidi et al., 1998; Mitchell, 1993; Renninger, Ewen, & Lasher, 2002). However, the maintaining of triggered interest inhabits a tricky space between situational triggering of interest and internal development of personal interest—a space that may be mitigated by supporting students' affect towards and knowledge of the specific subject. Additionally, while there is value in triggering interest through 'engagement first' and giving students disciplinary roles, student agency in these roles also creates a tricky space where students may develop some interest, but not interest that is directly tied to the specific disciplinary content and practices of the lesson. In short, general interests might be developing through the roles, but these interests might be outside the targeted disciplinary context of the lessons. It may be viewed that any political interest that is developed is of value; however we emphasize the connection between stu-dents' political interest and their disciplinary knowledge.

Hidi and Renninger's (2006) framework suggests maintained situational interests can help students increase their knowledge about a subject, which can help foster prolonged personal interests in specific subject areas (Harackiewicz, Barron, Tauer, Carter, & Elliot, 2000; Hidi & Baird, 1986; Lipstein & Renninger, 2006; Mitchell, 1993). To the extent that situational interest is maintained, students can move into the emerging individual interest phase, where individuals become more curious about the domain and seek to engage with it (Renninger, 1990; Renninger & Hidi, 2002). For civic education, if students move into this third phase of interest development, they begin to develop their own interests in politics that are grounded in disciplinary knowledge—interests that are sustained by the students themselves. Students who reach the fourth phase of interest development, well-developed individual interest, can sustain their curiosity over time as they engage and reengage with the domain (Hidi & Renninger, 2006; Pressick-Kilborn & Walker, 2002; Renninger & Shumar, 2002). When students reach this level of interest in political issues, they exhibit high levels of political knowledge and active civic participation. Since maintained situational interest may be a precursor to more developed and stable forms of interest (Lipstein & Renninger, 2006), engaging practices might lead students to develop more stable individual interest in political matters by creating multiple opportunities to participate in situationally interesting activities. A more stable interest in politics may contribute to a student's capacity for and commitment to civic participation.

While each phase has the potential to lead individuals to the next phase of interest development, the progression is not guaranteed (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Most learners require external supports to help them maintain interest in objects, even when interest has been triggered long enough for individual interest to develop (Csikszentmihalyi, Rathunde, & Whalen, 1996; Renninger, 2000). Multiple triggers and meaningful opportunities to engage with the disciplinary content are likely to be

required to maintain situational interest. One potential trigger is the use of 'engagement first.'

2.3 Engagement first

'Engagement first' occurs when students begin project work and role-play *before* they are presented with lectures and readings. In this model, students ask questions about the topic through their roles, which may help them develop a need to know important content information (Schwartz & Bransford, 1998). Since students take on roles first, the roles can serve as a trigger for situational interest in the topics that students will simulate throughout the tasks, providing them with reasons for learning information. Each project also includes tasks and activities that can serve as triggers for situational interests (e.g., videos, debates, and group work). In this paper, we examine the ways triggered interest play out following the initial engagement first via role assignment in a political debate.

In *A Time for Telling*, Schwartz and Bransford (1998) suggest that giving students reasons to know something before telling them (or giving them more information) about it is an important way to prime students' learning. In a sense, students who have reasons to know information tend to create a space for that information so that when they come into contact with the information, they recognize its importance. This differs from traditional lessons where teachers often give lectures or tell students to read a chapter *before* they participate in an activity. In other words, 'a time for telling' challenges teachers to present students with information during a perfectly timed moment when it matters most to students' learning, rather than before they need to know it. We also see this set up for 'a time for telling' as a way to trigger students' interest in the subject matter, because a reason to know can pique their interest in the subject that they are to learn about. A well-timed lecture is an easy way to understand a 'time for telling'. For example, a student who is asked to build a winning soap-box car will pay close attention to a lecture on gravity, mass, force, and friction. In order for the student to succeed at her task, she must know how the weight, shape, and materials of her soapbox car will help her win.

While lecturing is a useful form of 'telling', there are other ways for information to be presented to students at a well-timed moment. For example, if a student needs to act out the historical Lincoln and Douglass debate, she will attentively research what actually happened during that debate. In this case, the 'telling' of information comes not from a teacher's lecture, but from information that the student gathers herself. Other forms of telling can include information that students learn from one another or experiences through participating in activities that inform students' learning about a topic. The format of the 'telling' is not as important as the timing of the telling: it generally occurs *after* students have been primed for the information. In other words, students need to have reasons to pay attention to the 'telling' no matter what form it takes. Through engagement first, the project design provides students with these reasons for

knowing so that the 'telling' (information) can be most meaningful, much like the metaphor of striking the iron while it's hot.

In an effort to examine whether interest is maintained after engagement first, we investigated student interest and engagement in political issues *after* their interests were triggered by engagement first. This study extends the work of Mitchell (1993) and others in investigating both supports and barriers for students sustaining interest in discipline-specific ways. While maintained situational interest does not necessarily lead to the development of personal interest in political issues (Harackiewicz et al., 2000; Hidi & Baird, 1986), it can help focus students' attention toward the information they are learning and increase their acquisition of political knowledge. In the context of civic education, if engagement first can trigger situational interests in politics and political issues, while meaningful activities maintain them, students could be more likely to learn the content (political knowledge) and develop value for that content. This developing interest in politics might explain how an increase in political knowledge could lead to civic participation. For this study, we wanted to know: What happens to students' interest in political issues after engagement first?

3 Methods

Drawn from a larger study of Project Based Learning (PBL) in advanced high school coursework (Parker et al., 2013), we analyzed the interactions of three students in this paper. In this case study, students participated in classroom activities after an initial engagement first moment of being assigned to roles in a historical debate.

3.1 The course

This study was completed as a part of a larger Design Based Implementation Research (DBIR) project examining how PBL can contribute to deeper learning in an advanced coursework platform (Parker et al., 2013). Using ideas from *How People Learn* (Bransford, Brown, & Cocking, 2000), the team worked with scholars and teachers to iteratively design, implement, and test a PBL U.S. Government and Politics curriculum. True to the DBIR framework, the goal of the research was to iteratively refine and test an implementation within the classroom setting that addressed the needs of multiple stakeholders and developed theories related to learning (Penuel, Fishman, Cheng, & Sabelli, 2011). The goal of the broader research study was to use an iterative approach that provided adjustments to a curriculum and its implementation to address the practical needs of classrooms. At the same time, the researchers hoped to develop practical theory about PBL and how students learn. The course was structured with projects as the spine, where students learned all content in the context of five major projects. Each project provided students with a role and multiple simulated tasks that mirror actual political processes (e.g., students as legislatures going through the process of how a bill becomes a law). The course also utilized engagement first as a design

principle, taking every opportunity to provide students with reasons to learn *before* they were introduced to the activities or materials. Often these reasons are given through the role assignment, other times they are provided through the introduction of the activity and strengthened by the role assignment. This was often accomplished through assigning students to integral roles or providing them with enticing classroom activities. The analysis for this paper occurred during a period of time when the overarching research project was examining the implementation of the project-based AP course in urban settings (the course having originally been designed and implemented in a well-resources suburban school district).

3.2 Setting and Participants

Data for this study were collected during the first unit of a PBL Advanced Placement (AP) Government and Politics course at Taft High School. Taft is a diverse, urban public high school in Greenville Public Schools, a large metropolitan district in the northwestern U.S. The unit, "Founders' Intent," introduced the constitutional underpinnings of the government of the United States, including the structure and function of the U.S. branches of government through a variety of activities, including lectures, watching videos, reading, and small group debates. We chose to focus our analysis on the "Founders' Intent" unit in order to understand interest development at the beginning of the course, when students were new to the content and the project-based learning design features, such as 'engagement first'. A key concept that students grapple with in this unit is federalism, the sharing of powers between the national and state governments. To help students understand federalism, activities in the unit include discussions of political issues around states' rights. In the larger study, our research purpose was to analyze students' participation in activities to determine how their engagement was supported or constrained. This information then fed into the main DBIR effort, informing the ongoing modification of the curriculum and materials. In the course of this analysis, we attended to the ways in which students' interest was triggered and maintained. The findings of this study contribute to the ongoing redesign of the curriculum as well as teacher training.

   The case study consisted of three African American students who were seniors at Taft High School: Amanda, Ian, and Tim. The teacher was Mr. Perez, a Latino male in his 12th year of teaching and his second year working with the PBL curriculum for this course. Mr. Perez allowed the students in this multi-racial class to self-select their groups. The group was originally selected for filming due to its unique make-up of all African-American students.

3.3 Data Collection

We filmed all interactions of the focal group during the first unit of the course (approximately 15 hours over 3 weeks). Data included video recordings of whole class and small group work, completed as part of the Founder's Intent unit, using one camera with a remote microphone. In order to focus, in depth, on the process of student engagement and interest development, we selected one case study group from the class, collecting video data and documents from the case study group, as well as video data of whole class activities, lectures, and discussions. Through researcher notes and video of whole class activity, we captured data to compare the case study group to the other students in the class. We also conducted brief interviews with students immediately following some group activity and interviews with the teacher. Artifacts including handouts and PowerPoint slides used by the teacher were collected throughout the unit. Video and audio records were transcribed verbatim.

3.4 Analytic strategy

There were two distinct phases of analysis. In the first phase, we utilized a grounded theory approach (Corbin & Strauss, 2007), focusing on task negotiation and student engagement as foundations for beginning codes. Coding began with open coding the video recorded class, from the beginning of the course and leading up to the mock debate. We focused in particular on moments of group work, since those moments provided the most student discourse and, thus, examples of student thinking. This coding included defining episodes and determining the nature of the activity in which students were engaged. Episode boundaries marked significant shifts in activity. We then included an initial set of code categories based on our initial research question, including *interest, negotiation, positioning, tool use, and teacher moves.* We identified students' triggered interest based on affective and cognitive evidences. For the affective component, we noted physical posture, hand gestures, voice intonation, and attentiveness that all suggested students were interested in the classroom activity. For the cognitive component, we noted prompted and unprompted on-topic discussions among students about the content that were reoccurring. From the larger case study analysis, we then identified an episode of group work, where the engagement first design principle had been used, seeking to trigger students' interest by assigning them roles and then deepening their learning and maintaining their interest through a debate. The episode exemplified students' experiences with classroom activities in Mr. Perez's class and also captured what students did after situational interest was triggered by engagement first.

   In the constant comparative method (Creswell, 2007) phase, we recoded the episode with attention to content objectives to understand how classroom activities after engagement first supported or constrained the maintaining of student interest. Coding was iterative and collaborative, with research group members proposing new codes and code categories, negotiating codes and their definitions, and co-producing analytic comments and memos. Analysis proceeded until no new codes were needed to characterize the data. Since triggered interest is not always maintained, nor is it discipline specific (one

can imagine students who are interested and engaged in things that are not associated with learning goals), we looked for student conversation and behavior that were indicative of maintained interest in the specific content topic. In remembering that maintaining triggered situational interest often involves meaningful tasks and personal involvement, we looked for evidences of students bringing in on-topic information to the task from their own background knowledge.

4 Findings

The case study examines subsequent classroom activities following an 'engagement first' moment, where students were placed into roles. The roles provided students with a need to know information about a historical political debate. In examining the engagement first moment and the following debate, we did not seek to make causal claims about engagement first and interest development, but instead to uncover some of the complicating factors that exist when political interest is being developed in a complex social environment, such as a PBL classroom. However, this case does exemplify the experiences of students in the PBL course in our study, being put into roles and asked to complete classroom activities in those roles. The case shows that 'engagement first' helped trigger the case students' political interests in the issue of states' rights and their engagement in the activity; however, students' interests in the issue were not maintained and shifted through subsequent activities, due to a combination of complicating factors, which we will discuss.

4.1 "We were getting down!"

We videotaped the students participating in a simulation of the Hamilton-Jefferson debate on the establishment of a national bank. The historical debate showcased a power struggle between the national government and state governments during the first decade after the creation of the United States. The main question of the debate was whether the national government had a right to create a national bank? The essence behind this question continues to be debated today in contentious issues like the legalization of marijuana and same-sex marriage. The activity spanned two days with a day in between where students did an unrelated activity.

On the first day, students were introduced to the debate. In groups of three, the students were first asked to collaboratively read and discuss the Hamilton-Jefferson debate, with a goal of everyone in the group understanding the arguments that were made. As the groups finished their small group discussions, the teacher randomly handed out a small piece of paper to some of the student as a way to pique their interest. On the pieces of paper were an odd number, an even number, or nothing at all. The teacher left the meaning of these pieces of paper hanging in the air as the whole class discussed the debate, attempting to make sense of the arguments that were made and what was at stake in the debate. The teacher then led a whole-class debrief of the Hamilton-Jefferson arguments. A few students partici-

pated, but most of the class remained silent. Just as the class period was ending, the teacher pulled the trigger on his engagement first moment by writing "Odd, Even, and None" on the board and then wrote the roles next to them: Odd - Thomas Jefferson, Even - Alexander Hamilton, and None - George Washington. Students in the class spontaneously began talking about their roles in their small groups, a noticeable shift from moments earlier in the whole-class debrief. Their interest in the topic had been triggered because they now had specific roles to play in the debate.

True to the engagement first principle, the roles and the role-assignment were designed to engage students and trigger their interest in the debate around the concept of Federalism (or the division of powers between the state and federal governments). Students playing Hamilton and Jefferson in each group were given the task of debating, while the student playing Washington moderated and decided who won the debate. Even though students participated in a different activity the next day, they were given a debate planning sheet, as homework, to help them organizes their knowledge of the topic and the main arguments. The homework stressed the importance of using Constitutional reasoning and evidence for the basis of their arguments. Amanda and Tim were both present when the teacher handed out the homework and gave directions on how to use it. Ian happened to be absent on the day of instruction and did not realize homework had been assigned in preparation for next day's debate.

On the day of the debate, Tim (as Jefferson) opened the debate with a Constitutional argument, claiming that the Constitution says that the U.S. does not need banks: "Under the United States Constitution, the government is not allowed to create a bank to collect taxes. It is completely unnecessary and unconstitutional." Additionally, Tim engaged in the disciplinary skill of Constitutional reasoning to craft his arguments:

> Tim: So I was looking at the good old Constitution a couple of days ago and do you know what Amendment number 10 says? It says that the powers are reserved to the states to create their own banks.

Tim presented Jefferson's perspective, while engaging in Constitutional reasoning, explaining the ways in which the Constitution does not support the adoption of a national bank.

All three students prepared for the debate and participated enthusiastically, suggesting that the engagement first role assignment triggered their interest, while their homework guide may have helped sustain their interest in the disciplinary content and the activity. As Tim presented some pre-planned Constitutional points, Ian spoke 'off the cuff,' relying heavily on his 'real world' knowledge of banks and banking rather than the Constitution. This ultimately moved the group's debate away from disciplinary engagement in Constitutional argumentation:

Ian: I believe that we need a bank because what happens if you lose money? What happens if the government loses money?
Tim: (With disbelief) What do you mean if we lose money?
Ian: If we put money in a bank, it would be safe.
Tim: We already have banks, operated by the people.
Ian: But, you never know, they could get robbed, they could lose money. You never know what could happen. If you keep it in a government, a federal government bank, it would be safe... A federal government bank, with top-notch security, I think it would be much more safe.

In this exchange, though Tim (Jefferson) had presented a Constitutional argument, he quickly joined Ian (Hamilton) in a back-and-forth style of debating in which each student responded to the last statement, based on a general knowledge of how private sector banks work. At one point Amanda (Washington) intervened, reminding the students of the required format of each student presenting a full argument:

Amanda: Oh no, pause, pause, pause. I'm sorry. Aren't we supposed to do this more structured?
Tim: We were getting down! We were getting down...
Ian: [Giggles] We WERE getting down.
Amanda: Ok, excuse me. [To Tim] Let's hear your whole argument and then we'll go to him. You guys don't talk while you're debating.

While Amanda's reminder of the structure helped refocus both sides, the disciplinary content of the debate was again derailed by Tim and Ian discussing ideas that did not draw on Constitutional reasoning. This is can be seen when Tim expanded his argument by bringing in subject matter he had learned elsewhere, perhaps in the Economics class he took concurrently with AP Government:

But the economy and the way banks work and they give out loans and, you know, they make profits off that, right? Because the way to stimulate an economy is through giving money to the people to encourage consumer spending, right? But if the government is holding up all the money, how are we going to get that consumer spending back in?

While engagement first triggered interest by placing students in roles, the debate task, in practice, was not sufficient to maintain their triggered interest in the disciplinary content. As the debate unfolded, Ian and Tim may have been developing their general interests, but it was focused more on debating and not on constitutional reasoning. The use of the argument organizer homework may have provided that support to Amanda and Tim by helping them focus somewhat on constructing disciplinary arguments for the debate, it did not fully scaffold their participation in the debate activity. This can be seen when Tim brought in ideas he had learned from economics class about banking and personal finance, a valuable skill, but one not aligned with the focus of the lesson. This scenario highlights the importance of disciplinary scaffolding when students take on agentic roles in class. Even though the goal of the debate was to help students better understand the powers shared by the National and State governments, the students ended up participating in extemporaneous, non-disciplinary arguments that sidetracked the debate. By the end of the

activity, the group was no longer engaged in Constitutional thinking about federalism, which was the disciplinary goal of the task and the unit. We do not argue for narrowly confining students to specific activities; instead, to maintain specific disciplinary interest, activities need to guide students to wrestle specifically with the content and disciplinary practices that are aligned with the goal of the lessons.

While Amanda's role (as George Washington) in the debate was different (i.e. questioning the debaters and ultimately deciding which argument was most persuasive), her interest in the disciplinary activity also appeared to have been triggered. Throughout the debate, she actively listened and was not shy about interrupting when the debaters strayed from the debate protocol or used a spurious argument. It was also evident that she brought forth her completed homework as a guide to help her ask pertinent questions. The following excerpt shows how her knowledge about the disciplinary topic sustained her interest to such a degree that she was eager for a re-debate, where she would get to play a non-neutral role:

Amanda: [to teacher] Do I get to debate next time?
Teacher: Yeah, we'll switch up so you don't...
Amanda: We're going to do the same argument?
Teacher: Yeah, you won't be the judge next time.
---moments later---
Amanda: [to Ian] If you had studied better you could have knocked him down because, like, in the end you win. Like right now we have a federal bank. And all the stuff that the federal bank does. And people hate taxes, I can't stand taxes.

In this case, we see how giving students a reason to learn (i.e. engaging them first with the role assignment) helped trigger their situational interest in the historical federalism debate. However, the debate roles, functioning as reasons to learn, did not help maintain their interest in federalism very well.

It seems that the argument organizer helped maintain some of students' interest in constitutional issues; however, it did not support students' re-engagement with the political issue at hand. Even though engagement first may have triggered students' interest in the political issue, in order for their interest to be maintained, the knowledge that students acquire must be relevant and purposeful towards future endeavors. There is a potential for tools (the argument organizer homework) to help students sustain triggered political interest, providing the disciplinary scaffolding needed to accompany agentic student roles, however sustaining that interest and helping students become more personally interested in the issue is challenging. Better scaffolds (i.e. the argument-organizing tool and better framing of the activities by the teacher) may be ways to tackle these challenges.

5 Discussion

While the literature suggests schooling and classroom activities can help bolster students' political efficacy and proclivities toward political participation (e.g., Kahne, Chi, & Middaugh, 2006; Levy, 2011), the four phases of

interest development show that students may become invested in political participation if they develop personal interests in politics. Even though the literature has often used political interest (or interest in politics) as a predictive variable on many civic and political engagement measures (e.g., Bekkers, 2005; Torney-Purta, et al., 2001; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996), little is known about how students may develop interest in politics through classroom activities. The case presented here shows what happens to students' interest in a political issue (states' rights and federalism) after their situational political interest had been triggered by engagement first.

Data analysis revealed two major findings. First, engaging students by providing them with reasons to learn seems to trigger students' interest in political issues. Second, even though engagement first has the potential to carry students' interest in a political issue into additional activities, if they are to maintain that triggered interest, subsequent activities need to support students' re-engagement with the topic. These findings can help scholars who wish to investigate how classroom activities may contribute to students' political interest and eventual political participation.

The case in this paper provides insights to how the four phases of interest development can be used to analyze students' developing interests in politics. In this case, we found that engaging students first in the debate roles triggered their interests in finding out more about the bank issue that was being debated. Not only did the role-assignment give students reasons to learn about the political issue, the students seemed excited about taking on their roles and bringing the debate to life. The role assignment created a perfect 'time for telling' students what they needed to know about states' rights and federalism. Unfortunately, the subsequent debate preparation and debate itself (i.e. the telling—or activities through which students learned information) did not seem to help maintain students' triggered interest in the states' rights and federalism. We want to emphasize that general interest may have been developed in this episode. It is possible that even political interest was further developed, but we saw no evidence that the interest being developed was linked to the disciplinary knowledge and practices connected to states' rights and federalism. We focus on this nuance because we want students to be both interested and knowledgeable, not just interested. To reach this objective, we focus on specific content and practices that were the goals of the lessons we analyzed. In this way we're focused on aligning the learning objective, targeted disciplinary content, and developing political interest. Through this study, we hope to further raise the question of how to scaffold political interest within targeted disciplinary context. Content matters in that we're interested in in knowledgeable political active individuals and not just active individuals.

The argument organizer assignment seemed to help two students organize and scaffold discipline specific knowledge. We observed them using and re-engaging with the argument organizer as they attempted to move the debate activity forward, when it deviated from the content of interest. However, even the organizer seemed to distract students from the concept of federalism because it did not specify the kinds of constitutional arguments they needed to use. Furthermore, the student who did not have access to the organizer (Ian) was not able to contribute meaningful knowledge to the activity. Even though Ian engaged deeply with the activity, his lack of meaningful content knowledge about the topic of interest (federalism) moved the activity away from disciplinary content. This resulted in the group maintaining interest in the activity of debate generally, but not sustaining their political interest in the content.

While engagement first did help trigger students' political interest in what seemed to be a pretty bland political issue (i.e. rights of the national government to establish a national bank), we found that the 'telling' following engagement first plays an important role in helping to maintain students' triggered political interests. It seems that in order for triggered political interest to be maintained, the 'telling' after engagement first needs to foster more disciplinary engagement in the students. Specifically, this case shows how triggering students' political interest with engagement first is not enough. Instead, if we hope to maintain students' political interests (and subsequently bolster their personal interests in politics), engagement first need to be followed up with activities that help students organize their disciplinary thinking around that issue and prepare students for future disciplinary practices.

The case shows how engaging students in roles triggered students' situational political interest and provided them with meaningful reasons to learn information about a political issue. At the same time, purposeful assignments and activities may help maintain political interest by scaffolding students' knowledge about the discipline, once it has been triggered. The role-play triggered students' political interest, while the homework assignment sustained some of the students' political interest by helping them prepare for the debate. The organizer had the potential to help Tim research and organize more information and knowledge on the banking issue around Constitutional reasoning. However, it is possible that the instructions for the organizer were not specific enough to Constitutional reasoning around states' rights, it did not help maintain students' political interests, and instead curtailed the debate into a conversation about banking.

This case also shows how an activity may impact students' thinking and interest around politics. The two members of the group who maintained their political interests the most though the class activity used the argument organizer as it was designed. However the third member (Ian), who did not use the tool, showed great interest in the *activity* but his triggered *political* interest was not maintained. Amanda and Tim's usage of the argument organizer helps us see that tools that prepare students for later participation can help maintain interest. However, it also shows that interests in the topic or activity are not uniformly beneficial. The

students were all interested in the debate; however, they needed tools and support to guide their political knowledge and affect, which was unfortunately lacking. Ian did not engage in the debate in a way that demonstrated maintained political interest. Instead, he demonstrated interest in economics by sharing his content knowledge on that topic. This suggests that he was still engaged in the affective dimension of the debate in terms of enjoying it and wanting to participate, but he was not engaged in the knowledge dimension in terms of knowing about and sharing Constitutional reasoning with his peers. At the same time, Amanda and Tim were able to use the organizer as a guide, but only for a short period. It is important to note the argument organizer served as an important tool that maintained some of the interest and knowledge development of the two students who were prepared. In the long run, it is possible that the organizer did not provide enough support for the students to maintain their interest in the political issue in significant ways. While the students thought the debate was fun, they ultimately did not make the crucial connection between the debate and federalism, as was intended by the teacher.

Eventually, the debate discussion became sidetracked from the disciplinary focus as the two students tried to correct Ian's misunderstandings about banks in general. While the argument organizer worked partially as designed, the debate activity required all students to have more instructional support in order to maintain their political interests and function within the discipline. In short, the 'telling' that occurs after engagement first may be more important to the maintaining of triggered interest than the initial engagement. Engagement first primes the students for learning by triggering their political interest, but the 'telling' can help maintain their political interest if it provides students with the disciplinary knowledge and skills that they need to be successful in the activity. In our case, the activity did not maintain as much political interest or knowledge accuracy as we hoped.

5.1 Implications and conclusion

In the past decade, many studies have sought to understand the low level of youth civic and political engagement that we see in our polity (e.g., Macedo et al., 2005; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Delli Carpini, 2006). While there are some promising curricular activities that may help support youth civic participation (see CIRCLE, 2013; Kahne & Middaugh, 2008), *how* theses classroom activities contribute to youth civic participation is less transparent. The four phases of interest development offers researchers a way to examine how classroom activities may trigger and maintain students' political interest, and how situational political interest may help lead to students' commitment to political participation in the future (Lo, 2015). Specifically, this study elucidated some ways that a classroom activity can help support students' knowledge and interests in politics after interest has been triggered, which may lead to eventual political engagement. Since

we are reporting on findings from a larger research project in this paper, our analysis has implications for both the redesign of the curriculum in the DBIR study and a broader understanding of maintaining triggered political interest in civic education.

First, there are implications for DBIR. Recognizing that outside knowledge and unfettered enthusiasm can become distractions if they do not contain a purpose (that is meaningful to students' disciplinary goals) beyond knowledge acquisition, redesign work on the curriculum has included the development of more robust tools aimed at supporting the maintaining of students' political interests through meaningful knowledge development. At the same time, the researchers have worked with teachers to rethink the roles and tasks involveed with the Founders' Intent unit so as to ensure all the engagement first moments are followed up with meaningful 'telling' activities that helps maintain triggered political interest. One change to the curriculum is the recreation of the Jefferson-Hamilton debate into a deliberative model that requires more intentional and scaffolded political knowledge collection and tool use. Other changes to the curriculum are forthcoming based on the analyses of other data sets.

Second, our analysis shows that while engagement first can help trigger students' interest in political issues, if this triggered political interest is to be maintained, follow up activities that require students to be disciplinarily engaged in the content may be more useful. The analysis shows that when triggered political interest is not supported by purposeful and functional activities geared towards the discipline, the initial triggered interest may not be maintained. If researchers and educators hope to understand how students develop political interest and engagement through classroom activities, it may be worthwhile to investigate the triggering and maintaining of their interests in political issues longitudinally. At the same time, researchers that hope to examine and develop ways to maintain students' triggered interest in political issues would need to consider what activities are used to maintain interest development and how these activities are used in the classroom. The current study shows the complexity of this task but also suggests that it is possible.

5.2 Limitations and Areas for Future Research

This case study is limited in its generalizability, because it is only one case study embedded in one classroom. At the same time, we sought to examine "engagement first" in a bounded context in order to better understand the nuances of how interest might progress from being triggered to being maintained. This means that the study may not be generalizable to other contexts, necessarily; however, we hope the findings promote the design of curriculum and learning environments that aim to trigger and maintain political interest.

Since a progression between the four phases of interest development are not guaranteed (Hidi & Renninger, 2006), the current findings are unable to determine whether or not students actually develop personal interest in

political issues based on their participation in the classroom practices. However, since maintained situational interest may lead to developing personal interest, a longitudinal case study may further elucidate the connection between classroom practices and students' personal interests in politics.

Furthermore, one interpretation of the case data would be that the students were not all prepared, nor did they follow the debate format provided by the teacher. The assumption of this interpretation is that had the students been prepared and followed direction that their interested would have more likely been maintained. While this may be true, our goal for this analysis was to recognize the complex realities of a classroom and to uncover the complicating factors that may disrupt maintaining situational interest.

Even though this paper reports on whether interest was maintained by classroom activities after engagement first, another way to investigate how students are engaged in the curriculum is through Engle and Conant's (2002) concept of Productive Disciplinary Engagement (PDE). Engle and Conant define PDE as making intellectual progress or getting somewhere (productive), a connection between what the students are doing and the practices and discourse in the discipline (disciplinary), and making substantial coordinated contributions that include emotional displays and spontaneous re-engagement over time (engagement) (Engle & Conant, 2002, p. 402). Since the literature on interest development suggests that interest is subject-specific, it is possible to use the PDE framework to think about 'engagement first' as discipline-specific engagement rather than just general engagement. Additionally, PDE may better highlight the ways in which students' interest and engagement is an interaction between individual students and the contexts in which they participate, expanding the roles that teachers, activities, and specific disciplinary content and practices play in the development of individual interest. Discussions about this framework are outside of the scope of the current study, but a PDE framework can be used by researchers to study how students engage with politics-specific classroom activities.

Since some studies suggest interests are important parts of an individual's identity (Hidi & Ainley, 2002), it is possible students' developing interest in political issues can influence their identities as citizens. This theory of interest-identity development is outside the scope of this current study, but it could further explain how classroom practices may influence students' civic engagement. Further study of best practices in civic education that use the four-phase model of interest development could help test or unpack the relationship between interest, identity, and civic engagement.

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"Turkish nation has a noble character" **(M. Kemal Atatürk)**

The Role of Turkish National Holidays in Promoting Character and Citizenship Education

- This paper presents the history and developments of Turkish national holidays including an emerging new national day.
- It describes how national holidays celebrated in Turkey and some aspects that emphasize civic virtues within these celebrations.
- It discusses several aspects of these national days that may promote character and citizenship education in Turkey.

Purpose: This article introduces the history and development of Turkish national holidays. It also describes how these holidays being celebrated overtime in Turkey. Thus, the purpose of this article is providing fundamental information regarding Turkish national holidays and discussing possible role of these holidays in promoting character and citizenship education in Turkey.

Design/Methodology/Approach: The article is created based on literature review, document analysis and qualitative observations of the authors with the support of several audiovisual materials that show the celebrations of these national holidays. In order to provide the fundamental information (history, development, and etc.) regarding to the holidays, relevant literature presented and synthesized. Also relevant official documents (laws, regulations, and orders) analyzed. Finally, observations of the authors based on their experiences of these national holidays included in the article with the aid of several audiovisuals materials that provided as hyperlink in the text.

Findings: After analyzing all materials described above, we concluded that national holidays in Turkey has some aspects that promote character and citizenship education while these national days may have been lost their spirits and passions comparing their early years.

Keywords:
Turkish national holidays, school rituals, character education

1 Introduction

National holidays and rituals reveal many fundamental aspects regarding architecture of a society or nation (Etzioni, 2002). These occasions are the events for people to show their commitments to the values of their nation. According to Gillis (1994) national holidays and comme-moration days could be considered "national memory practices" and have critical functions in the construction of public memory and national identities (Çınar, 2001). Thus commemorative activities are useful in terms of providing sites where national identities express them-selves (McCrone & McPherson, 2009; Zencirci, 2004). These identities might include beliefs, traditions, and

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values which can be considered foundational aspects of a nation. These aspects can be tied up with the founding moment of nation which often celebrated as the day of independence or the national liberation day (Çınar, 2001). The founding moment of Turkish Republic is 29th of October 1923 and it has been celebrated since 1925. Ottomans who are the ancestor of Turkish Republic did not give much importance to celebration of national days until the beginning of the 20th century. The first accepted national holiday during the Ottoman time called *national day [İd-i Milli]* which is 10th of July 1909 when the second constitutional monarchy [Meşrutiyet] has been declared (Akbayrak, 1987; Öztürk, 2015; Yamak, 2008). Almost all national holidays in Turkey are related to various events that took place during the Independence War of Turkey (1919-1923) and the early years of Modern Turkish Republic (Çınar, 2001). These national holidays, in Turkey, have been celebrated over the years with the assistance of a state-controlled education system (Öztürkmen, 2001; Zencirci, 2004). The celebration of commemoration days are including official ceremonies, ritualistic dramatizations of historical events, parades and festivals and other performances such as singing and reading poems in the public sphere (Çınar, 2001).

2 National days in Turkey

In Turkey, there are four major national holidays that has been celebrated to date. As stated above these days are the important events that took place at the transition

stage of Ottoman Empire becoming the modern Turkish Republic between 1918 and 1923. After WWI, Ottoman Empire was one of the losing parties of the war. Ottoman Empires surrendered by signing Armistice of Mudros on 30th October 1918. According to this agreement and Serves Treaty signed by the Ottoman government on 10th of August 1920, most of the Turkish territory would have been occupied by the victorious countries including British, French, and Greeks. While Ottoman Sultan and his government surrounding, one of their general, Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] has started a national movement and organized meetings with the local people in order to form a national front against the occupation forces. General Mustafa Kemal thought there was not anything that could be done in Istanbul so he decided to start this movement in Anatolia [Asia Minor] which was the rural territory of the Ottoman Empire then. He started his journey of liberating this nation from the occupation forces on 19th May 1919 when he landed in Samsun [a city at the shore of Black Sea]. This day is accepted as the first day of the Independence War of Turkey and it is celebrated as *19th May Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth, and Sports Fest*. On 23rd April 1920, the Turkish Grand National Assembly [Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi - TBMM- the Turkish parliament then] re-opened itself in Ankara as they could not operate in Istanbul anymore; and this day is celebrated as the *National Sovereignty and Children's Day*. The Independence War ended on 30th August 1922, which is celebrated as the *Victory Day.* Finally, Republic has been declared by the TBMM on 29th October 1923 which is celebrated as *the Republic Day* (Öztürkmen, 2001).

Students, from kindergarten through end of high schools from all levels, have been taking major parts in celebrations of these national holidays except the Victory day (30th August) as it falls in the summer term and the schools are not open until mid of September. Thus, in this paper, we only will focus on the other three major national holidays in which students take parts; and we discuss and evaluate the celebration procedure and how it might help students to build civic virtues. We also discuss the new emerging national day after the 15th July coup attempt.

19th May Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth, and Sports Fest [19 Mayıs Atatürk'ü Anma Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı]: The main theme in this fest is the youth doing sport activities and physical exercises. In fact, this fest gets its roots from last few years of Ottoman times. This fest has started in 1916 under the name of [sport] exercise / work out fest [idman bayramı] and only celebrated two consecutive years. After 11 years break, in 1928, this fest resumed and celebrated under such different names as exercise / work out fest [idman bayramı] and *gymnastic carnival* [cimnastik şenlikleri] until 1938 (Güven, 1999). Then a legislation was passed by the TBMM declaring the current name of this fest and it has been celebrated every 19th May since then. The main focus of the celebration of this fest is high school students' sports and exercise shows done in public. All high schools in Turkey are required to organize shows consist of basic

sport exercises done with participation of all students in the schools.

National Sovereignty and Children's Day [Ulusal Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı]: On 23rd April 1920 the TBMM, which governed the Independence War with leadership of Atatürk, was reopened in Ankara. This day was accepted as a national holiday on 1921 by the TBMM and celebrated more than a decade every year just as a national day. In 1935, a new legislation passed by the TBMM officially named this day as *National Sovereignty Holiday* [Milli Hakimiyet Bayramı] (Akın, 1997). While there had not been issued any official name for 23rd April until then, in 1927 *Youth / Children Protection Society* [Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti] declared 23rd April as ''children's day'' for the purpose of raising money for the orphan children of the young Turkish Republic (Akın, 1997). In 1933, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself invited group of children to his residential office as a part of the celebrations of 23rd April and children visiting high level officials such as governors and mayors become a tradition applied in all cities. This was also the day of *[students' pledge](#)* [Andımız / Öğrenci andı] was recited by the children for the first time (Akın, 1997). Thus, National Sovereignty Holiday was being celebrated until the 1980's as children's day although the word "children" was not included in the official name of this holiday. Just after a year of the military coup, the militaristic regime changed the name of this national day for the last time. Thus, in 1981, the current name for this day was adapted and called *National Sovereignty and Children's Day* since then (Meşeci-Giorgetti, 2016). Although the name of this holiday has been changed few times, except the early years of the celebration, the focus of these national holidays always have been the young children. Atatürk himself has given this day as a symbolic gift to the Turkish children for celebrations (TBMM, n.d.).

Republic Day [Cumhuriyet Bayramı]: After, the Independence War had ended and Turkish peoples' army had defeated the occupation forces, on 29th October 1923 the Republic has been declared. Two years later on 19th April 1925, the TBMM, passed a legislation that accept *Republic Day* as a national fest. This fest has been celebrated since then every year nationwide. All students from kindergarten to high school level take part in the celebration of this national day.

3 Celebrations of national days in Turkey

Although there were some slight changes in the celebrations and ceremonies of these national holidays overtime, the general structure of these ceremonies mostly remains the same and they become fundamental rituals in the Turkish schools. According to Filiz Meşeci-Giorgetti (2016), the celebrations of these national holidays and other rituals taking place at Turkish schools such as *[student's pledge](#)* and *[flag raising ceremony](#)* [bayrak töreni] can be considered as "*uniting rituals*" because these rituals unite the community of the school including students, teachers, and administrators with people who come to watch the rituals and promote solidarity among them. While student's pledge abolished in 2013, flag

Picture 1: Elementary school students in the parade and the city officials are saluting them (29th October, 2011, Şile-İstanbul)

raising ceremony along with singing national anthem is still applied in all Turkish schools every Monday for opening and Friday for closing the ceremonies.

There always have been two different venues in which these days are celebrated. The first is the celebration organized by the state officials and the latter is the ceremonies organized in each and every school in Turkey. Both ceremonies have something in common while there are some distinctions. Both ceremonies have not changed much and been repeated every year with very similar fashion. We will give the details about the celebration procedures below.

Picture 2: Soldiers in the parade and the city officials are saluting them (29th October, 2011, Şile-İstanbul).

State Officials' Ceremonies: All state offices are closed on the national days. But Republic day officially starts at 12:00 pm, just one day before. Thus, on 28th of October at 12:00 pm all schools and other public offices are closed until 31th October. While private businesses can stay open during a national day, they are required to hang a Turkish flag somewhere in their shops or offices. Activities related to the national holiday celebration are done for 24 hour periods by the state officials. Some activities done in daytime while there are some events that need to be done in the evening. The highest official person in a city, governor or mayor, is responsible to organize all programs and s/he is considered as the host of the organization. The day begins by putting wreath to Atatürk's monuments in the city center, and giving speeches that emphasize the historical importance of the day. The participants to this event are governor, mayor,

police chef, highest level military officer in the city, school principals, and other high level state officials. After leaving the wreath, a minute of silence is followed by singing the national anthem.

One the most important event in these celebrations is official parade ceremony. This parade usually is done in one of the main street or stadium of the city. The stadium or the streets where the parade take place are decorated with Turkish flags and Atatürk's posters. Soldiers and selected students from the schools in the city are the main actors in the parade. Both military and school bands march with other students and soldiers. They sing marches, and read heroic poems and Atatürk's important quotes [see examples below in the text] repeated frequently during these parades. People, mostly the parents, usually are sitting in the stadium or standing up at both sides of the main street and cheering the students and soldiers as they waive the Turkish flags. Picture 1 and 2 are good examples of celebration from a small suburban district near Istanbul.

After the parade is completed the governor gives an evening reception for the high level officials. Meanwhile, in the main street of the city night torchlight parade is held by the Turkish army (TSK). Like the day time parade citizens stay at the sides and cheer the soldiers. Nevertheless, in the recent years people also have begun to take role in the night torchlights parade. Picture 3 is taken from Antalya in one of the recent years Republic day celebration with 150,000 participants according to the local news (Antalyada tarihi cumhuriyet kutlaması [Remarkable Republic day celebration in Antalya], 30 Ekim [October], 2012).

Celebrations in Schools: Students have always played a major role in the ceremonies of these national holidays as long as they are within the academic calendar. Other than the ceremony held by the state officials, every single school in Turkey is required to organize a ceremony in their schools to celebrate that day. The Ministry of National Education has a *guideline* that explains how the organization will be held. Thus, all ceremony programs are very similar in every school.

Picture 3: Evening light torch parade organized by people on Republic day (29th October, 2012, Antalya).

Students are gathered in the school garden in a certain order and always stand up during the whole ceremony which may take up to two hours. Students and teachers

have to be dressed up very neatly (Öztürkmen, 2001). Depending on the national day, students may have to wear a unique type of clothing. For example, male students have to wear shorts and shirt and female students have to wear skirt and shirt for the 19th May Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth, and Sports Fest so that they could do the sport activities and exercises. Usually Turkish literature, social studies, physical education, and music teachers take major roles in organizing these events. The ceremony always starts with minute of silence for remembering Atatürk, his comrades and who-ever lost his life saving this country. Just after this minute ends, all crowds sing the national anthem. Then, the host - usually the Turkish teacher - shout "at-ease" so that students can put their hand behind their back and move their right leg to the right side for 30-40 cm which is what the soldiers do in the training.

Picture 4: Girls high school band performing (19th May 1973 -Nevşehir)

After a minute of silence and national anthem, usually a social studies or history teacher makes a speech that emphasizes the importance of the day in the Turkish history. These are often followed by loudly recited heroic poems, enthusiastic folk dance performances, costume parades and shows (Öztürkmen, 2001). School bands and choir also take important part in the celebrations. Choirs sing national marches and bands play militaristic tones that help other students to walk properly during the parade within the school. Picture 4 is taken from Nevşehir located in the central Anatolia represents one of many bands performances in these celebrations.

While the activities mentioned above are performed in all national days celebrations in schools, some national days have their unique activities. For instance, on 23rd April National Sovereignty and Children's Day, elementary and middle school students decorate their classrooms with colorful ornaments and flags which stay at least a week in there. Students also may wear costumes based on theme or performance they will do. For instance, in this video Cumhuriyet [Republic] elementary school students did a dramatization of reopening of TBMM in Ankara. The most distinguished activity in the celebration of children's day is the participations of students from all over the world to the ceremonies with their folkloric dances. This feature to the celebration was added by Turkish Radio and Television Foundation [Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu] [TRT], n.d.; Akın,

1997) in 1979 which have brought intercultural perective to this day. TRT have been organizing this event since then every year with sponsorship of other state departments and private companies. While number of participant countries varied each year, 31 countries participated in the 38th TRT International April 23 Children's Festival in 2016. To date almost 30.000 children from 118 different countries visited Turkey via this event (TRT, n.d)

These students usually perform folkloric dances or sing folkloric songs. The address of this event always had been Ankara until 2000. After that, various big cities of Turkey such as İstanbul, Antalya, İzmir, Bursa, Konya and Gaziantep hosted the TRT International April 23 Children's Festival until today. The performance of these students is broadcast live by TRT both nationally and internationally. These guest children stay at the houses of volunteer families who have children at the similar ages with the invited guest.

Another noteworthy tradition of the children day is that selected students assume the role of president, prime minister and other ministers for one day. In fact, these selected students get to sit on the real chair of this high level official. While this is merely a symbolic gesture for a very few students, it is also a tradition for selected students from every school to visit the city governor, mayor and other high level state officials that day (see picture 5).

Picture 5: Elementary school students visiting the city governor (23th April, 2016- Antakya) [a city at the South of Turkey].

Picture 6: One of May 19th celebration in a stadium (place unknown, 2007).

This event always makes the evening news and broadcasted nationwide and even internationally. While

it is a symbolic gesture for these students, it can be considered as encouragement for all students all over Turkey to work hard and perhaps to get these chairs in the future for real. Another common tradition in this day which involves much more students than the former activity is that selected students from every school visit the city governor, mayor and other bureaucrats that day. As most of schools in a city participate in this activity, in total many students get to see and talk with the city governor, mayor and other state officials. This activity has been repeated for years and even to date. Thus, many students have had this experience so far. This experience also can be considered as an opportunity for the students to learn more about administrative structure of Turkey.

19th May Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth, and Sports Fest also has some uniqueness. Participating in the 19th of May celebrations means for most students that they grow up and it means they are up for more challenge. High school students for the celebration of this day do some acrobatic and sportive shows as a whole group. Sometimes they write their school name or a quote from Atatürk by just standing in a specific order in the field. *This recent video* is a characteristic example of how 19th May celebrated.

Another important aspect of these ceremonies is using quotes from Atatürk during the whole ceremony. Many times, in the area where the ceremony takes place, it is easy to see quotes from Atatürk written on several posters hanging out. Besides these posters, it is also very common to have students *listen to these quotes from Atatürk's original voice using a loud speaker.* One of the most famous quotes is that "Turkish nation has a noble character, Turkish nation is hardworking, Turkish nation is smart!" [Türk milletinin karakteri yüksektir, Türk milleti çalışkandır, Türk milleti zekidir!] (see Kocatürk, 1999). It is known that Atatürk said these exact words on the tenth anniversary of Republic day on 29th October 1933 when he gave his famous speech to the Turkish nation. Tenth anniversary celebrations of the *Republic day* could be considered one of the most dominant image of the national holiday celebrations (Öztürkmen, 2001) as the government tried to make people understand the virtue of the republican regime by distributing booklets and organizing theatrical shows nationwide about the new republic and reforms (Demirhan, 1997; Öztürk, 2015).

We also would like to present two more other quotes from Atatürk we think are connected to essence of these national days and have emphasis on values and character education. "I like sportsman who are intelligent, agile, and with high morality." [Ben sporcunun zeki çevik ve ahlaklısını severim] (see Kocatürk, 1999). This quote is often used in 19th May Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth, and Sports Fest as it suits the essence of the event. Another famous quote is "Turk!, be proud, work hard, trust" [Türk, övün, çalış, güven] (see Kocatürk, 1999). This quote is not only used in all national holidays but also it is written on the walls of most of schools in Turkey. Especially, this quote has been recited loudly by the students during these ceremonies when students are marching on the field. While there has been some criticism toward the way national days celebrated along with these quotes, we will discuss these issues at the end of the article.

4 An Emerging National Day: Democracy and National Unity Day [Demokrasi ve Milli Birlik Günü]

Finally, we also would like to provide information about an emerging national day as a result of the recent military coup attempt in Turkey. On 15th July 2016, a fundamental religious group nested in the Turkish Military took a drastic action in order to take over the Turkish Republic. Troops occupied streets and tried to control strategic locations such as the Bosphorus Bridge, Istanbul City Municipal, Ataturk Airport, and police headquarters including other locations in Ankara, the capital city. F-16 jets did low attitude flights over Istanbul and Ankara all night in order to scare and intimidate the people so that they stay at their homes. Some of the Jets even bombed the TBMM and Police Special Team headquarter in Gölbasi near Ankara where nearly 50 officers killed immediately. Helicopters and some of the troops on the ground fired at the people who were protesting and trying to stop the coup attempt. There are many pictures and footages that show people climbing on the tanks. Also some people were run over by tanks as they were standing up in front of them. Meanwhile, there were shootings between the soldiers that were supporting the coup attempt and the soldiers trying to prevent it within several military bases in the country. Several military personal killed each other from both sides. Eventually, by the next day in the morning, people, police, and military forces altogether were able to defeat this coup attempt. But with very high cost! 248 people who were against this coup attempt got killed in action.

According to the Turkish laws and regulations martyrdom [şehitlik] is an official state given to the police and military personal who were killed in the line of duty. Nevertheless, the government made and exception and announced all 248 people as martyrs and named many locations after this day including Bosphorus bridge. The bridge is now called *15th July Martyr's Bridge* [15 Temmuz Şehitler Köprüsü].

On the other hand, the Ministry of National Education issued an order for all schools to do activities in the first week of academic calendar of 2016 for remembering the fallen that day. The order requires schools to do several types of activities under the general name of 15th July Democratic Victory and Commemorations of Martyrs events. [15 Temmuz Demokrasi Zaferi ve Şehitleri Anma Etkinlikleri] (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı [Ministry of National Education], [MEB] 2016a). This is a detailed program covering information about the type of the activities, the specific application date, and who are responsible for planning and execution of the events. For example, every class requires to create a panel board within the first week of the school (19-23 September, 2016) including pictures, news, or stories regarding 15th of July on the classroom wall and the class teacher is responsible to organize this board with his/her students. We present

two examples of these boards created by elementary and high school students.

As can be seen from picture 7, in this board the central person is Ömer Halis Demir who was senior master sergeant on 15th July and he became a hero as he killed one of the top generals who were leading the coup attempt. Unfortunately, he also was killed by the other soldiers around the general. His action is considered as very important breaking point in preventing the coup as the general he killed was going to taking over the special army forces. His action is also very brave and heroic as he acted alone when he infiltrated into the coup forces and killed the general.

Picture 7: A Panel board created by Ataturk Elementary School students, Derik- Mardin [a Southeastern city] regarding 15th of July, 2016.

Picture 8: A Panel board created by Hacı Mehmet Cömert Anatolian High School students, Sarıyahşi- Aksaray [an inner city at South of Ankara] regarding 15th of July, 2016.

The panel board presented in picture 8, created by the high school students, was entitled as "15th July Democratic Victory" [15 Temmuz Demokrasi Zaferi] and included pictures of Atatürk and Erdoğan at the center. The students also added several pictures of people who died that day. There are also some handwritten materials, seem to be poems and/or other types of students' work on the board.

There are many other activities mentioned in the order (MEB, 2016a) such as Turkish literature teachers in all classes must have their students write letters to the

heroes of 15th July and express their feelings about this event. According to the order, Turkish literature, social studies, history, and religious education and ethic teachers are supposed to focus on topics such as democracy, martyrdom, a nation's will, and defense of [Turkish] country in their classes during the first week of the schools. MEB (2016a) also has included activities that need to be done during the whole academic year based on each schools choice or convenience. Organizing one or more contest in the school with the theme of "15th July from students' perspectives [Öğrenci gözüyle 15 Temmuz]" is one of them. The contest can be in various forms such as painting, poem, essay, poster, photo, maquette, website design, theatre performance, and short videos created by the students. Taking students to field trips to the scenes where struggle took place between the coup forces and the people [if there is any in the city where the school located] are among the activities that need to be organized by the school districts. School districts also need to build a forest in memory of martyrs of democracy [Demokrasi Şehitleri Hatıra Ormanı] in their city within this academic year.

These are only some of the highlights of the commemoration of the 15th July for the first time in the Turkish schools. Thus, it is clear that there is a very detailed and comprehensive program to be applied in a whole year. MEB, (2016b) also issued another program for the commemoration ceremony itself. This program is very detailed and even included school headmaster's speech and all poems and speeches to be read by the selected students in each school. Thus, every headmasters and the selected students from each school read the exact same speeches and poems in the first week of the school year during the commemoration ceremony of 15th July. These speeches included heroic stories of 15th July, quotes from Atatürk and famous Turkish poets.

We have given summary of the first year of the commemoration which took place in the Turkish schools in September 2016. Just after a month, on 25th October 2016, a new national day was issued by the TBMM for remembering 15th July and it is officially named *Democracy and National Unity Day* [Demokrasi ve Milli Birlik Günü] (Law number, 2429). Although, until that day 15th of July called *"Martyrs day"* [Şehitler Günü] the official name turn out to be different. We do not know much about the commemoration activities of 15th July 2017 at this point. Normally, it should be state official ceremonies on that day and we expect that the next year first week of the school is going to be the time of 15th July is commemorated in the schools.

5 Character and civic virtues emphasized in the Turkish national days

We have presented the general structure and some specific features of national ceremonies in Turkey. Generally in such national days, patriotism and nationalism are emphasized as it is the case here as well. While conceptualizing of Turkish nationalism is considered as a difficult task (Canefe, 2002), Tanıl Bora (2003) divides Turkish nationalism into four main fractions. These are;

(a) official nationalism (Atatürk's nationalism): focusing on building a nation state; (b) Kemalist nationalism (ulusçuluk): left wing Kemalism; (c) Liberal neonationalism: focusing on economic growth, prosperity, and developing modern country; and (d) Turkish radical nationalism: racist-ethnicist nationalism developed against Kurdish movements. Although there always have been different fractions of nationalism, the Turkish state has adapted an official nationalism called Atatürk's nationalism from the beginning. Atatürk's nationalism is mainly based on citizenship and territoriality (Bora, 2003; Özdoğan, 2010; Ürer, 2009). In this sense as officially stated in the constitution *"everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship is a Türk"* (Constitution of Republic of Turkey, 1982, Article, 66). According to, Atatürk's nationalism, Türk merely is the name of the nation and does not refer to the ethnic identity, and rather it has uniting character (Ürer, 2009). This notion also is criticized as, "*Türk*" is also the name of ethnic and cultural identity itself (Özdoğan, 2010). Nevertheless, Atatürk's nationalism has been alive within the Turkish state although it starts to become fuzzier within the last decade. As we have laid out the fractions of the Turkish nationalism and the meaning of the mainstream nationalism, we will discuss the criticism toward Atatürk's nationalism through national holidays and school rituals at the end of this section.

But, before getting to this issue, first we would like to discuss the role of Turkish national days on promoting character and citizenship education. We believe that many aspects of the celebrations of these national days in Turkey support development of character and citizenship education. When it is analyzed thoroughly, several elements of moral and civic virtues can be found in all of these national ceremonies. Some of these virtues can be found by analyzing the general structure of these ceremonies, some may be found on a poster hanging out in the ceremonies where the national day is held. Thus, we would like to point out and discuss character and civic virtues that we believe are the main focus of these national days in Turkey.

When general celebration structure of these national days are analyzed, it is apparent that "respect" is one of the main themes of these celebrations. In Turkish philosophical terms dictionary respect is defined as special feeling which arises from giving high value toward a person, idea, action or success. [Bir kişiye, bir düşünüşe, bir eyleme, bir başarıya yüksek değer vermekten doğan özel bir duygu] (Akarsu, 1975). As stated above, all of these celebrations begin with a minute of silence for paying respect to Atatürk, his comrades, and anybody who lost his/her life defending this country. The last part of this sentence does not only refer to the people who died during the Independence War of Turkey, but also people who have died recently in fight with terrorism. In these ceremonies students have to walk in form of military troops in accordance with school band and they have to behave almost like a soldier during the ceremony. This discipline in the whole ceremonies also could be considered as a sign of respect. Respect is one of the

central values cited in the current social studies curriculum in order to be integrated in appropriate instructtional units (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Talim Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı [Ministry of National Education – Curriculum Division][MEB], 2009a; 2009b). Although there is not any definition of respect in the current social studies curriculum, the term is associated with human rights and diversity in the curriculum. There are several citations in the curriculum such as "respect to diversity", "respect to human rights", and "respecting different perspectives and ideas". Respect was also one of the central values within the *student's pledge.* The second sentence of the pledge starts as "my principle is to protect my youngers and respect my olders" [ilkem küçükleri korumak, büyükleri saymaktır].

Other aspects of character education vividly presented in the quotes from Atatürk that always has been parts of these ceremonies. For instance, the famous quotes that were first said on Tenth anniversary of *Republic day* by Atatürk himself ("The Turkish nation has a noble character, the Turkish nation is hardworking, the Turkish nation is smart!") could be a great example for character education. It is interesting to see Atatürk used the word "character" [karakter: written and pronunciation form in Turkish]. In the Educational terms dictionary published by Turkish Language foundation, character education is defined as a concept that focuses on moral aspects of education and students' developing good behavior [Eğitimin ahlaksal yönüne önem veren ve öğrencilerin özellikle davranış bakımından iyi nitelikler geliştirmeleri üzerinde duran eğitim] (Oğuzkan, 1974). Thus, in the Turkish educational context, character education mostly refers to moral education.

Atatürk by saying "Turkish nation has a noble character" not only gave pride to the nation, but also emphasized importance of noble character for the nation. The second part of the quote also put emphasis on being hardworking as a quality of the Turkish nation. Similarly, the other quote we have mentioned above ("Turk!, be proud, work hard, trust") also clearly suggest to the Turkish nation to work hard. It is kind of one of his legacies to pass to this nation. Finally, the quote mostly used on 19th of May clearly focuses on the importance of morality ("I like sportsman who are intelligent, agile, and with high morality"). Atatürk here also used the word "morality" [ahlak] which may indicate that he had selected those exact words to promote character education in Turkey. Diligence [çalışkanlık] is also one of the values cited in the current social studies curriculum (MEB, 2009a; 2009b) and it can be associated with working hard as Atatürk emphasized in one of his quotes. Thus, it is clear that some of the civic virtues emphasized in these national days are still taking place in the Turkish educational system. Although it is difficult to measure how these quotes, national days or other school rituals such as *student's pledge* and *flag raising ceremony* influence students' civic values, they may have had affected people to some degree through all these years.

On the other hand, these quotes and *student's pledge* have been receiving criticism from time to time by the

different groups for various reasons. One of the prominent opposing group is the Kurdish people among other different ethnic groups living in Turkey. The other major group is the right wing fundamentalist religious groups who oppose Atatürk, his reforms and secularism. There are also few "left wing" or so-called "liberal" or "intellectual" people standing in the opposing line of Atatürk' nationalism. Their main objection is that everybody is referred as Türk in these quotes and other minorities are not recognized at all. They had also opposed *student's pledge* for the same reason until it abolished in 2013 (Meşeci-Giorgetti, 2016). The first word of *the student's pledge* was *"I am a Turk* [Türküm]*"* and having all elementary students to recite it every morning was the main criticism. However, people who stay at the other side of this argument has provided an explanation to the criticisms. According to the nationalist, Kemalist, and some of the groups of left wing people, "Türk" is the name of the nation and it does not refer to the people's ethnic identity. Thus, every citizen of the Turkish Republic is called Türk regardless of their ethnicities. Some of these groups consider people's ethnic or other types of background such as religious, denomination, language and others as subcultures living within the Turkish society. Thus, they claim that labeling minorities as subcultures, they already recognize people's ethnic and cultural differences and this type of nationalism is not racist at all. Therefore, after *the student's pledge* was abolished many people protested this decision. Reciting *the student's pledge* as groups by grown people in public sphere and uploading videos to show that on the social media become one of the common protesting methods these days.

6 Conclusions

We have tried to describe the celebration of Turkish national days among the new emerging national day and discuss the meaning and some foundational aspects of these days in the Turkish republican history. Although there were some minor changes in the process of the celebration of these days, the general structure of the celebrations mostly has not changed. Nevertheless, the celebrations have lost their sprit and become like a formality each and every year. Some might say the current political environment expedites this vanishing sprit. As stated above, there is a formed pact opposing Atatürk' nationalism which consists of right wing fundamentalist religious groups and nationalist Kurds along with few "left wing" or so-called "liberal" or "intellectual" people. These groups have been very active in the last two decades as they have supported the current administration. Thus, we believe this political environment has prominent influence on the diminishing spirit of the national days and eventually abolishing *student's pledge.*

In conclusion, while the celebrations of these national holidays have changed overtime and may have lost their early zeal (Öztürkmen, 2001), we believe they always have hold universal values that is fundamental for all nations. We have presented some examples from these celebrations that show fundamental civic values such as respect, diligence, and tolerance may promoting high morality in the nation which is one of Atatürk's vision for Turkey. We also have presented how these days may help students build civic knowledge.

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Pictures

Picture 1: Şile Belediyesi [Şile Municipality], 29 Ekim [October], 2011 www.sile.bel.tr/Mobile/Detail/5668 Photo credit: Burç Civan

Picture 2: Şile Belediyesi [Şile Municipality], 29 Ekim [October], 2011 www.sile.bel.tr/Mobile/Detail/5668 Photo credit: Burç Civan

Picture 3: Antalya Güncel Gazetesi [Antalya Timely Newspaper], 29 Ekim [October], 2012 www.antalyaguncel.com/haber-46472-Antalyada_tarihi_Cumhuriyet_kutlamasi_

Picture 4: Fibhaber Nevşehir [Fibnews Nevşehir], 19 Mayıs [May], 1973 www.fibhaber.com/gundem/gecmisten-gunumuze-nevsehir-de-milli-bayramlar-h58901.html

Picture 5: Antakya İlkokulu [Antakya Elementary School], 23 Nisan [April], 2016 antakyaio.meb.k12.tr/icerikler/yasasin-23-nisan_2543698.html

Picture 6: Tarihte bugün [Today's history], 19 Mayıs [May], 2007
www.tarihtebugun.org/belirli_onemli_gunler/19_mayis/ataturku_anma_ve_genclik_ve_spor_bayrami.html

Picture 7: Derik Atatürk İlkokulu Mardin [Derik Atatürk Elementary School]- Eylül [September], 2016
derikataturkilkokulu.meb.k12.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/47/04/718141/icerikler/icerikler/icerikler/listele_332026_Haberler

Picture 8: Hacı Mehmet Cömert Anadolu Lisesi [Hacı Mehmet Cömert Anatolian high School] Sarıyahşi-Aksaray, Eylül [September], 2016
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Isolde De Groot

Mock Elections in Civic Education: A Space for Critical Democratic Citizenship Development

- This article shows that education related to mock elections varies widely within the Netherlands and internationally.
- It reveals that five elements of critical democratic citizenship development are commonly advanced in the Dutch schools under study.
- It presents teacher rationales for fostering limited elements of CDC-literacy, competences and identity in ME-related education.
- It shows how the limited emphasis on pursuing elements of CDC-development in ME-related education can be understood in the larger educational context.
- It calls for further research into students' political identity development processes during political simulations in different political and educational contexts.

Purpose: Preparing citizens for participation in pluralist democracies also requires a type of citizenship education that fosters critical democratic citizenship (CDC). This study inquires into an educational activity with a long history in many EU-countries: mock elections. It explores the extent to which elements of CDC-literacy, competences and identity are commonly fostered in education related to mock elections in the Netherlands, and teacher rationales in this regard.
Methodology: A qualitative study was conducted. Data from semi-structured interviews with teachers from eight schools were analysed using thematic analysis.
Findings and implications: Data analysis revealed an emphasis on offering a participatory experience. Five elements of critical democratic citizenship were commonly advanced in mock election related education in these schools. Teacher narratives also revealed how teachers had different understandings about political identity and their role in advancing identity development. Findings suggest that there is ample opportunity to intensify attention to CDC-development in education related to mock elections in Dutch schools. Further research into students' political identity development processes during political simulations in different political and educational contexts is required to further academic debate about desirable support by teachers and governments in high-quality political education projects.

Keywords:
Political education, mock elections, political identity, critical pedagogy

1 Introduction
Citizens do not naturally develop a democratic attitude. Fostering citizens' capacity to contribute to sustainable democratic communities in a globalized and pluralist environment requires a certain type of citizenship education. A type of education that moves beyond the cultivation of basic political knowledge, participatory skills, and that helps students to position themselves in the political spectrum (e.g. Beane & Apple, 2007; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Nussbaum, 2010; Parker, 2003). In secondary education, critical components of political literacy, skills and identity can be advanced with many types of educational activities (e.g. role-plays, political advocacy projects, political simulations). One such activity in civic education with a long history in many European countries is mock elections (MEs): the shadow elections that schools can organize in conjunction with the official elections. In Europe, ME-policies and practices vary widely amongst countries. In some countries (e.g. Norway), all schools hold MEs for their upper-secondary students (Ødegaard, 2016). In others (e.g. Germany, the Netherlands & the UK), participation of schools is optional.

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This study focusses on ME-related education in one of these countries: the Netherlands. Mock elections were introduced in the Netherlands in 1963 to familiarize future voters with the concept of elections (Van Detl, 1986). Since 1994, MEs are facilitated by the national institute for democracy (ProDemos), an NGO that receives governmental funding for organizing educational activities (e.g. school visits to the House of Parliament) and public events on democracy. To promote and facilitate the MEs in schools, ProDemos offers a digital platform where students from participating schools can cast their votes at local, national and European elections as well as national referenda and (even) the US-elections. ProDemos also develops lesson materials and election newsletters that teachers in primary, secondary and vocational education can use, and it organizes a national media event where ME-results are presented. All materials, including a manual for holding the MEs in school, are available on its website.

In the 2012 national elections, MEs were held in 436 schools. The majority of participating schools were high schools. Overall, 117,650 of the 929,100 Dutch high-school students participated (ProDemos, 2012). Studies of these -and prior- ME-results by researchers and ProDemos have shown that, apart from the fact that students more often vote for parties at the extremities of the political spectrum, student outcomes are a good

predictor for the general election results (Van Detl, 1986; Nuus, Habben Jansen & Dekker, 2002). In the Netherlands, no prior studies have been conducted into the educational activities that are offered in conjunction with the MEs, and the political literacy, skills and identity development that teachers intend to foster in this context. Also internationally, few scholars have examined MEs and election simulations so far. Previous studies (published in English) typically evaluated particular political simulation programmes (Davies, Gray & Stephens, 1998; Pappas & Peaden, 2004; Parker & Lo, 2016; Shellman, 2001), or examined the extent to which MEs, election simulations and related activities are held in schools (Haas & Laughlin, 2002; ICCS, 2009; Syvertsen, Flanagan, & Stout, 2007). In the US, Kahne and Middaugh (2008) additionally studied the opportunities of different student populations to engage in MEs and related civic education practices.

This qualitative study[1] set out to explore the extent to which critical democratic citizenship (CDC hereafter) literacy, skills and identity development is fostered in ME-related education in eight schools in the Netherlands, and teacher reasoning in this regard. By gaining an insight into the current attention given to CDC-development in ME-related education in the Netherlands, the study intends to stir academic debate about the CDC-developments that one can – and maybe should – foster in ME-related education. Findings will also be used to reflect, together with educational professionals in the Netherlands, on the ME education that they want to offer in conjunction with the upcoming national elections, which are scheduled for March 2017.

The main question addressed was: What elements of CDC-development did social studies teachers intend to foster with the ME-related education accompanying the 2012 national elections? ME-related education, in this study, is defined as a more or less distinctive educational project that consists of the ME itself and the learning activities organized prior to students casting their votes (e.g. lessons that provide an understanding of the political landscape) as well as afterwards (e.g. lessons in which students learn to analyze the ME-results).

2 Theoretical framework

To contextualize the study, this section first presents the underlying theoretical notions: learning objectives and political development. It then sketches the socio-political context of the study and the organization of civic education in the Netherlands.

2.1 Learning objectives and the aims of civic education

In educational research, setting clear and challenging learning objectives is considered pivotal for meaningful education (Hattie, 2009). The objectives that teachers develop depend, amongst others, on their pedagogical views and their views on the aims of education. This study builds on the work of critical pedagogues and education philosophers like Biesta (2011) who have argued that civic education should aim at preparing students for their role in the co-construction of future societies. These scholars have stressed that citizenship needs to be envisioned as a process rather than an accomplishment, and that educators need to connect with the socio-political developments and democratic learning experiences from students' everyday lives that impact their ability and willingness to participate in the civic and political domain (Biesta, 2011; Osler & Starkey, 2005). A learning objective in civics that resonates with this pedagogical view concerns the development of students' capacities to discern current cultural narratives on good citizenship and the good society (Levinson, 2012). Another objective concerns developing students' capacity and willingness to contribute to the amelioration of current narratives on the good society and the viability of current democratic procedures and practices (De Groot, 2013; 2016).

2.2 Political development of citizens

As this study explores the extent to which participating teachers cultivate critical and elaborate elements of political citizenship development, this section presents key elements of critical and elaborate political citizenship as identified by scholars who specialize in democratic citizenship education (e.g. Beane & Apple, 2007; Beaumont 2010; Carretero, Haste & Bermudez, 2015; De Groot & Veugelers, 2015; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Nussbaum, 2010; Parker, 2003; Veugelers, 2007; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Before presenting the key elements, some underlying notions are explained: What is meant by political in this study, the distinction between critical, elaborate and basic political development, and the main components of political development that this study distinguishes.

The term *political* has multiple meanings in democratic citizenship education research. Sometimes, it refers primarily to the domain in which development occurs (e.g. knowledge about formal political bodies). At other times, the term points to a variety of contents, ranging from the negotiation of different interests (De Winter, 2012) to the negotiation of power structures and images of the good society in the civic and political domain (Biesta, 2011; Hess & McAvoy, 2015). In line with CDC-research, *politics* in this study is understood as the negotiation between power and images of the good society and good government in the civic and political domain as well as in people's everyday lives at home and in schools. As a consequence, the notion of critical political development in this study resembles the notion of critical democratic citizenship development as defined in CDC-education research (e.g. De Groot & Veugelers, 2015).

In education research on political or democratic citizenship, scholars also commonly distinguish between engagement in institutional politics and participatory politics: the political actions that people undertake in the civil domain to address practices and policies that do not align with democratic principles (e.g. Allen & Light, 2015). As this study examines an educational practice that is primarily designed to advance informed and conscious *electoral participation*, this study mainly builds on notions and distinctions as defined in research that aims to advance critical political development in election

processes. Future studies can complement the current (preliminary) framework for political electoral partici-pation with insights from related fields (e.g. participatory politics, student voice and intercultural education).

To gain an insight into the political development that teachers want to advance in ME related education, this study discerns three main components of political deve-lopment: political literacy, skills, and identity. Further-more, key elements of critical and elaborate political development are distinguished from basic elements of political literacy, skills and identity. In line with an understanding of democracy as a political system, and of voting as the main political responsibility of citizens, basic political literacy in this study is understood as one's knowledge about political procedures and practices. One's capacity to vote and participate in campaigning activities are examples of basic skills, and one's party affiliations and party ideology are perceived as basic components of political identity. These basic political de-velopments are typically examined in international survey research on citizenship development (ICCS, 2009). *Critical*, on the other hand, refers to higher-order thinking skills that enable engagement in complex, nor-mative activities. *Elaborate* refers, for example, to skills that are prerequisite to engaging in additional political activities that do not necessarily require critical thinking skills (e.g. skills to develop campaign materials, or to organize a protest).

Critical political literacy

Critical and elaborate components of *political literacy* as stressed in citizenship education research typically in-clude an understanding of the interrelatedness of democracy and diversity (Parker, 2003; Hess & McAvoy, 2015) and the interrelatedness of democracy and the addressing of social injustices (Carr, 2011; Osler & Starkey, 2005; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). They include an understanding of the philosophy behind, and history of, political procedures and political parties, and they include the deeper knowledge about (inter)national civic issues and democratic deficits that is needed to engage meaningfully in civic and political deliberation at the local and (inter)national level (Nussbaum, 2010; Parker, 2003). In this study, political literacy is understood as the conglomerate of the technical and ethical under-standings mentioned above.

Critical political skills

With regard to fostering critical and additional *political skills*, citizenship education scholars typically stress the need to pursue students' higher-order thinking skills (Ruijs, 2012) and their ability to analyze political issues, social justice issues and democratic deficits (Jeliazkova, Bernaerts, & Kesteren, 2012; De Groot, 2013; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Veugelers, 2011). They also advocate fostering 'skills of influence and action' (Beaumont et al., 2006) like learning to engage in political deliberations (Parker, 2003; Morrell, 2005). Enhancing students' ability to question -and develop-personal and cultural narratives about good citizenship

and the good society is also emphasized (Haste & Abrahams, 2008; De Groot, 2016). As political issues are defined in relation to a certain normative context, critical skills typically involve ethical and political reasoning and positioning skills.

Critical political identity

Inspired by John Dewey's (1916) idea of democracy as a way of life, citizenship education scholars have also identified critical and additional elements of *political identity*. Elements that are more commonly examined in this regard are a sense of political and/or civic efficacy (see e.g. Carretero Haste, & Bermudez 2015; Beaumont, 2010), and a sense of politically engaged identity (Beaumont, Colby, Ehrlich, & Turny-Purta, 2006). In addition, scholars have argued that civic educators need to support identification with multiple political commu-nities (Nussbaum, 2010; Osler, 2005) and a sense of political friendship (Allen, 2004; Hess & McAvoy, 2015): a preparedness (and ability) to engage with strangers in our own communities and built trusting relationships. Allen has specifically pointed to the required commit-ment of people and institutions to "slip loose of habits of domination and acquiescence" in this regard (Allen, 2004, p. 183).

The 2009 ICCS study also examined civic identity, defined as a combination of civic self-image and civic connectedness (IEA, 2007, p. 18). Building on this notion of civic identity, Biesta's (2011) notion of learning demo-cracy and De Groot's (2013) empirical research on Dutch adolescents' democratic engagement, De Groot (2016) also came to distinguish two additional elements of democratic citizenship identity: one's narratives about one's democratic citizenship philosophy and one's narra-tives about one's democratic citizenship experiences. Cultivating these narratives, De Groot (2016) argued, can generate mental and emotional resilience amongst stu-dents against essentialist narratives on civic or political identity and the exploitation of identity towards violence which, for example, is a pressing and global issue described eloquently by Amrita Sen (2006). As an overarching framework on political identity does not seem to exist, this study, for now, defines political identity as the conglomerate of the elements mentioned above. Furthermore, in line with dialogical and cultural identity theories (Hermans & Hermans-Konopk, 2010; Carretero, Haste & Bermudez, 2015), political identity is understood as culturally embedded, multi-vocal and contingent: as continuously evolving through intra- and interpersonal dialogues, and embedded in available narratives on cultural and political identity.

Together, these CDC-elements provide the framework that was used to analyze discrepancies between teacher objectives and the CDC-elements that education scholars consider indispensable to preparing young citizens for participation in pluralist democratic communities.

2.3. Democracy and civic education in the Netherlands
The Netherlands can be defined as a constitutional democracy, a democratic political system that is

supported by a constitution that aims to protect the sovereignty of the people and several liberal rights that are deemed key to democracy (Thomassen, 1991). Dutch democracy can also be defined as a consensus democracy, because of its multiparty system and a political culture that aims to develop policies that also serve and protect the interests of minorities (Spruyt & Lijphart, 1991). Furthermore, it is known as a stable democracy. Academic discussions on democratic deficits in many Western democracies have revealed that the adjective stable does not automatically coincide with the quality of the political system in a country, the strengths of its civil society, the level of polarization in political and public debate, and the democratic ethos of its citizens. Instead, it points to the time span for which a certain democratic political system has been in place and the subsequent participatory dynamics (Haste, 2004). While the Dutch democracy is relatively stable, political and cultural polarization in the Netherlands has increased in in the last two decades (RMO, 2009; Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken & Koninkrijksrelaties, 2008). This implies that many adolescents develop their identities in a polarized context, and encounter essentialist narratives on political and cultural identity on a day-to-day basis in school and on social media.

In Dutch high schools, civic and political engagement is mainly fostered in social studies classes and in school projects. *Study of Society* (Maatschappijleer), a one year subject in upper secondary education, was introduced in 1962 in order to complement the existing social studies curriculum (history and geography) with a focus on participation in social and political life. In 2006 the Dutch government introduced a law that obliges schools in primary, secondary and vocational education to foster the *active participation and social integration* of young citizens. In line with the Dutch freedom of education legislation, schools are free to decide how and within which subjects they stimulate the civic and democratic literacy, skills and identity of students. In practice, the 2006 legislation on civic education has led to an increase in explicit attention to (world) citizenship in mission statements (Peschar, Hooghof, Dijkstra, & Ten Dam, 2010). Although (advanced) subjects in social studies currently prioritize (assessable) academic content and approaches, and are wary of prescriptive approaches (Wilschut, Hoek & Landelijk Expertisecentrum Mens- en Maatschappijvakken, 2012), the legislation on citizenship education did lead to increased attention to participatory experiences, civil service trajectories, political deliberation, debating and dialogical learning activities in educational practice and policy. In some schools, the 2006 legislation also led to expansion of the civics curriculum (i.e. additional projects or subjects). Findings from recent studies on citizenship development and education in the Netherlands, however, indicate that students in lower levels of secondary education still have limited opportunities to engage in participatory activities in school when compared to other countries in Europe (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, Burge & ICCS, 2010), and that attention to civic identity in schools is limited (De Groot,

2013; Nieuwelink, Dekker, Geijsel, & Ten Dam, 2015; Veugelers, 2011).

3 Research design

To gain an understanding of the extent to which CDC-development is commonly fostered in ME-related education in the Netherlands, and teacher rationales in this regard, a qualitative study was conducted. This type of research is particularly useful to gain insight into people's experiences and reasoning. To answer the main question 'What elements of CDC-literacy, skills and identity did social studies teachers intend to foster with the ME-related education accompanying the 2012 national elections?', three sub-questions were developed:

1) Which CDC-elements did the teachers commonly mention (in relation to ME-related education or in relation to the general curriculum)?
2) To which extent were CDC-elements specifically pursued in ME-related education?
3) Are there discrepancies between the CDC-elements as discerned by CDC-scholars and the elements mentioned by the teachers?

The insights gained in this qualitative are used for the development of a survey study in March 2017. This follow-up study, which aims to gain insight into the intentions and rationales of all teachers in Secondary education in the Netherlands who organize ME in their schools in conjunction with the national elections of 2017, also examines how intentions and rationales relate to different school, student and teacher characteristics.

Selection and recruitment of teacher participants
The teachers were recruited using the ProDemos database, which contains all 433 persons coordinating the 2012 ME in their schools. In order to generate rich data, several criteria were set: teachers had to have over four years of teaching experience in civics and an interest in the topic at stake, teachers also needed to be working in different areas of the Netherlands. 47 teachers who matched these criteria were approached. Eight teachers from four different provinces agreed to participate. Nine teachers actively declined the invitation, and thirty did not respond. Reasons for declining ranged from 'no time' to the idea that they did not have much to say since their school had not organized complimentary educational activities in conjunction with the 2012 ME.

The study thus examined the CDC-developments that teachers in eight different schools pursued with ME-related education. Of the participating teachers, one was a primary school teacher, teaching grades two to seven. The other seven were high school teachers, all teaching Study of Society, a subject often offered two hours a week in the pre-exam year. These teachers particularly spoke about the learning objectives formulated for their students in the five-year Higher General Secondary Education track (havo) and/or the six-year Pre-university Education track (vwo). Most of the participating schools only offered the regular one year of classes in the subject Study of Society in upper secondary education. Because

elections do not take place annually, ME-related education is not embedded in the general Study of Society curriculum in Dutch schools. Also, the magnitude of the ME-project that teachers organized varied. Among the participating teachers, two organized MEs for the whole school, two organized MEs only for students attending the one year obligatory Study of Society classes, and the others participated with students from multiple levels. Some teachers hardly organized any ME-related educational activities, apart from classroom conversations about the (upcoming) elections; others organized activities for all students and/or for specific student groups.

Research instruments and data collection
To collect teacher narratives on the CDC-developments that they pursue, a semi-structured interview design was chosen. Information about teacher objectives was elicited with the following interview questions: What did you (and your colleagues) hope that students would take home from the ME-related educational activities? Did you intend to foster political literacy, skills, and identity with these activities, and if so, could you elaborate on this? Interviews lasted between 40 minutes and 1.5 hours, and were conducted between December 2015 and March 2016. Teachers thus had to rely on their recollection of the educational activities offered during the national elections in 2012 (and the local and EU-elections in 2014), and archived documentation. To stimulate the recollection process, the interview guidelines were sent in advance, and teachers were invited to email relevant lesson materials and documents. As not all teachers organize education activities in conjunction with the elections, and because of the small sample size, I decided not to conduct a separate analysis of the teaching materials. When available, the materials were used to examine the reliability of the data provided in the interviews.

Analysis
To gain an understanding of the educational contexts in which the teachers advance certain components of CDC-development, I first developed vignettes that envision per school: a) how ME's are organized and b) what type of education activities are organized in conjunction with the elections. To illustrate the different education contexts included in the sample, I here present two of the vignettes (School A and School B). These vignettes were selected because they envision how the organisation of ME and related education activities vary among schools in the research sample with a similar student population, in terms of size (approximately 2100 students) and cultural background (mostly non-migrant students).

In school A the decision to organize the ME is made in, and supported by, a teacher section with 19 teachers who teach various related subjects, e.g. History and the Study of Society (2 hour subject during 1 year). Several teachers coordinate the ME (in conjunction with the national and regional elections). The participating teacher organized

the ME for the first time in 2012. To prepare students, teachers (in history/social studies) at all levels spent one lesson on this issue: in this lesson, students were informed about the elections, the voting process and the political parties. Through assignments, students received help selecting a party that matches their personal interests. During one school day, students from 2 classes per hour were directed to the 'polling station' in the school to cast their vote (administrators developed a schedule and arranged the ICT-facilities). This process was guided by several students (who handed out codes they could use to cast 1 vote) and a former intern. Afterwards, the results were discussed in the Social Studies classes. A brief report about the results and how they relate to the results of the national elections was published in the school's newsletter (in 2012, the electronic learning environment did not yet serve as the main communication channel).

In school B there are two teachers who teach Study of Society in general and pre-university education (3 hour subject during 1 year). Both organize the ME (in conjunction with each election) for students from their own classes. To prepare students, the participating teacher walked students through the voter application and discussed different interpretations of some of the questions asked. Students casted their vote throughout the lesson, one at a time, on a computer in front of the class. During the event, the teacher pointed students to the rules of the game (e.g. discussion is not allowed at that very moment and place; you have the right to ask a person whom he/she votes for, but one does not have to respond truthfully). In the next lesson, the teacher asked students to comment on the election results. He also briefly discussed the results in terms of (un)likely outcomes of the formation process. In 2012, a brief report about the school results and how they relate to the results of the national elections was published in the school newsletter.

After the preliminary categorization of the transcribed interviews in relation to each research question with the help of software for qualitative analysis (Atlas-ti), a thematic analysis was conducted per question (Joffe, 2012). To answer the first research question, segments that contained information about teacher objectives were first attributed to one of the three main categories: CDC-literacy/skills/identity. Each interview segment was then re-examined in order to discern subcategories per category, and the segments were reread to list which subcategory of objectives each teacher fostered. In the tables presented in the results section, an x indicates that teachers mentioned this objective explicitly as an objective, X indicates that teachers explicitly defined an objective as most prominent in their own teaching, / signifies that there was some attention to this type of development, but it was not explicitly defined as an objective, and finally, C signifies that the objective was explicitly mentioned, but (primarily) advanced elsewhere in the civics curriculum. An empty spot indicates that a particular element was not pursued by a certain teacher.

CDC-objectives were qualified as common when they were clearly defined as an objective by four teachers or more. The second question was answered by examining the extent to which elements were advanced predominantly in ME-related education. Question three was answered by identifying the objectives that were not commonly mentioned by teachers as well as objectives that added to the elements as defined in the literature.

4 Results

This section first presents the study's findings with regard to an overarching value that was repeatedly emphasized by the teachers, the value of introducing students to political practice. It then describes which CDC-elements were commonly mentioned by the teachers, the extent to which these elements were specifically fostered in ME-related education, and teacher rationales for (not) emphasizing certain elements. To conclude, it lists the main discrepancies between those CDC-elements mentioned by the teachers and those discerned in CDC-literature.

4.1 Focus on engagement in political practice

Data analysis revealed how, apart from fostering (critical) literacy, skills and identity development in ME-related educational activities, teachers particularly highlighted the value of introducing students to political practice. They commonly explained, for example, that participation in the MEs enables students to become aware of their (future) political rights, to get a taste of what it feels like to decide with which party they identify most, to cast their vote, and to learn about the results: "It does not really matter if twelve year olds have an understanding of politics or not […] I just think it is important that they are confronted with the fact that it will only take a couple of years before they will start casting their votes". Teachers also commonly appreciated the opportunity that the ME, and its related learning activities, offers to arouse students' interest in what happens outside their personal lives and to recapitulate basic (and advanced) knowledge about political institutions and procedures.

Some of the teachers did not pursue any specific political developments with the ME-related education that they offered. As one teacher said: "There is no masterplan behind it". Teachers also regularly referred to the objectives of the general Study of Society and/or Social Sciences curriculum: "When thinking about our learning objectives in ME-related education, I think about the overall objectives for this subject: developing the students' opinions [about political and civic issues], argumentation skills and listening skills". The following sections reveal the extent to which CDC-developments were particularly advanced in ME-related education.

4.2 Critical political literacy

With regard to the development of critical political literacy, two objectives that transcend basic literacy objectives (i.e. knowledge about the political system and knowledge about the agendas of the main political parties) were commonly pursued by the teachers in ME-

related education. The first concerns fostering students' knowledge about the politics behind party programmes. This objective also included promoting student knowledge about how party agendas – and voting behaviour – can vary pre and post elections. As one of the teachers explained:

"In my classes with pre-university students I explain more about things that one needs to understand to develop a balanced opinion about party agendas and actions. I, for instance, point to discrepancies between the official party agendas on a certain issue and the way (coalition) parties have voted on this issue and possible explanations. That coalition parties, for example, have other interests to take into account when voting than parties in the opposition.

The second objective concerns fostering students' understanding the interrelatedness politics and quality of own life. With regard to this objective, one of the teachers explained:

"I want them to be able to look beyond appearance and me-dia skills of politicians. I want them to understand the bigger picture behind the things that politicians say, and how this picture relates to them. This is still rather abstract of course. To make it concrete, I ask students to imagine themselves as a shop owner, a Muslim, or a person who has recently been through a divorce, and think about the implications of a certain policy for their lives.

Next to fostering students' awareness of the impact of certain policies on the everyday lives of different social and cultural groups, teachers also talked about advancing their students' imagination with regard to how the quality of the roads and the presence of community facilities in their neighbourhoods are impacted by decisions made in local and (inter)national politics: "I want them to realize that politics is also about your neighbourhood, about where you live […]. That the government has a say in many of the things you encounter during the day".

Three other objectives were also commonly mentioned, but were predominantly advanced in the general civics curriculum. The first of these objectives concerns furthering students' understanding of the philosophy behind, and history of, political procedures and parties, in line with Parker's (2003) work on democratic enlightenment and democratic education. As one of the teachers explained:

"Civic and political events just happen, but political theory doesn't change overnight. So, for my pre-university students, my aim is to achieve a robust understanding of political theory. This way they are capable of interpreting what they observe, what is happening, and why it is happening.

The second objective resembles Carr's (2011) work on critical media literacy and social justice education and concerns advancing students' understanding of the use

and impact of spinning and framing by political parties and stakeholders in the media.

Table 1: Elements of critical political literacy

Critical political literacy	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Knowledge about politics behind party programmes	x*		xC	xC	x		x	x
Understanding the interrelatedness of politics and quality of personal life	x	x	xC	/C	x	x	X	x
Understanding philosophy behind, and history of, political procedures and parties	/C	/	/C	xC	XC	/	/C	X
Understanding of the use and impact of spinning and framing by political parties and stakeholders in the media	x		xC	/C	xC		x	x
Understanding background & complexity of civic/political issues and knowledge about multiple perspectives	x			/C	xC	/C	xC	x

*x = explicitly mentioned as an objective; X = defined as key objective; / = some attention, but not explicitly defined as objective; C = fostered primarily elsewhere in the civics curriculum

Fostering students' understanding of the background and complexity of civic and political issues, and their insight into multiple perspectives is the third common objective that was predominantly pursued in the general civics curriculum, an objective that resembles the idea that students should be introduced to multiple perspectives on a civic issue (Parker, 2003; Lange, 2008).

Teachers' main explanation for primarily attending to certain critical literacy objectives elsewhere in the civics curriculum related to the isolated character of the ME-project. Teachers, for instance, explained how they cover the philosophy behind, and history of, political procedures and parties in another semester, and how they use the ME to animate this knowledge. This might also explain why only two critical literacy objectives were, by several teachers, referred to as key objectives. Other teachers explained that they put limited emphasis on advancing critical literacy altogether, because of the student levels that they taught and students' low level of political interest and literacy in primary/general secondary education.

4.3 Critical political skills

With regard to critical – and elaborate – political competences, two objectives were more commonly pursued in ME-related education. The first concerns cultivating students' ability to analyze political and civic events, with the help of their knowledge about the (rationale behind) checks and balances that are built into the democratic system, and their knowledge about democratic procedures like the formation process and the interests of various stakeholders. One teacher, for example, explained how, with her pre-university students in the higher grades, she used the elections to explain about the formation process, the issues at stake, and the interests involved: "I want them to realize that people's actions are always linked to certain interests. Students do not like this idea, but I want them to be conscious about it". Another teacher explained how she wanted her pre-university students to understand the value of political immunity for ambassadors, like how this means that ambassadors can even get away with not paying their parking tickets.

The teachers also commonly fostered two elements that are related to the ability to analyze political and civic events. These concern fostering students' abilities to critically read and evaluate the questions and outcomes of Voting Advice Applications (VAAs) and to critically examine the viability of political stances as presented by politicians. The following segment illustrates how one of the teachers fostered both skills simultaneously:

"I cannot assist students individually in developing an informed understanding of their position in the party spectrum. So what I do is I walk through the Voting Advice Application in class. During this process, I discuss their understanding of the different items. Afterwards, I point to certain elements that explain some typical outcomes, and limitations. How students have a tendency to opt for expensive rather than realistic solutions, for example.

'Co-organizing the MEs was the second objective that was more commonly pursued in ME-related education. The level of student participation in the organization of MEs varied though. Several teachers invited students or the student council to become co- or main organizers. Others gave students a facilitating role, e.g. monitoring the voting process in the school. In the schools that organized MEs at the classroom level, students had no role in their organization and facilitation.

Two other objectives were also commonly mentioned, but predominantly pursued in the general curriculum. The first of these objectives concerns learning to voice one's opinion in a respectful manner in class, and to provide arguments for one's opinion, an objective that has been emphasized by Parker's (2003) work on classroom deliberation. For example, when asked what skills teachers intended to foster, they explained: "I hope that students will learn how to engage in critical thinking, how to voice their opinion, and present their opinion before an audience", and, "Students know this from the first grade: that they are never allowed to just say 'I like

this', or I think this is stupid'. If they do so I always probe them to continue by saying 'because???'". Several teachers also explicitly talked about addressing students' abilities to deal with anger and frustration in conversations and public deliberations in a responsible manner.

Table 2: Elements of critical and elaborate political skills

Political/democratic skills	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
(Critical) analysis of events	x		XC	xC	X	x	X	X
- Critical evaluation of VAA-questions and outcomes			x	xC		/		x
- Ability to question 'facts' and stances of politicians	x		x	xC	x		x	x
Co-organize ME	/	x		x	x		/	X
Develop & voice one's opinion in respectful manner in class and public deliberations, and provide arguments	x	x	xC	xC	x	/C	XC	XC
- Listen to each other		X	XC				XC	xC
- Critical reflection about judgments/ preferences prejudices	XC	X	xC	/C	/C	/C	XC	xC
Design and analyze campaign materials			xC	/C	/C		xC	

Teachers commonly mentioned two elements that are related to the objective of learning to voice one's opinion. The first also relates to Parker's work on classroom deliberation and concerns fostering an ability to listen to each other. From the teachers who explicitly mentioned this objective, several also presented it as a key objective, and considered this skill quintessential for creating a space where everyone can share their fears about civic and political events. The second element resides with De Groot's (2013) work on key dimensions of democratic citizenship and concerns fostering critical reflection about personal judgments, preferences, and prejudices. With regard to fostering critical reflection, some of the teachers specifically mentioned thematizing scepticism with regard to the use of casting one's vote, a theme that Beaumont (2010) has written about more extensively in her work on fostering political efficacy in US schools. This objective was not commonly mentioned though.

The second objective that was more commonly mentioned but primarily pursued in the general civics curriculum concerns designing and analyzing campaign materials. This elaborate participatory skill was typically fostered in the context of a political school debate or in the context of a simulation project in which students make up their own political parties.

Analysis also revealed how attention to CDC-skills varied widely among the teachers. Four objectives were mentioned as key to their teaching by several teachers. The empty spots in table 2 on the other hand also show that some of the teachers gave very little attention to advancing CDC-skills in ME-related education. Only one teacher, for example, explicitly aimed to advance listening and debating skills in her lessons prior to the ME (see table 2). A common teacher explanation for putting limited emphasis on cultivating critical and elaborate political skills was that political simulations, debates and the like are organized elsewhere in the curriculum. Other explanations concerned the limited scope of the project, lack of facilities to organize the project, and a focus on the participatory experience.

4.4. Critical political identity
Analysis revealed one critical political identity objective commonly mentioned in ME-related education: advancing an embodied value of political rights. Here, teachers repeatedly stated how, using video and role play, they introduced students to political rights and political identities of people in countries with other regimes:

"I always stress the value of having the option to cast our votes, to have that right. And how important that is. We watch movies about countries with other regimes and discuss the impact of these regimes on people's lives. We also do one of ProDemos' simulation games, in which several countries deliberate about homo-emancipation and the like. This way, students gain an understanding about the decisions that these governments would make, and what it means to not have the opportunity to speak up.

Two other policy identity objectives were also commonly mentioned, but predominantly attended to in the general curriculum instead of specifically in ME-related education. The first objective concerns fostering a sense of identification with local and (inter)national political communities, a component of citizenship development that many scholars have addressed (e.g. Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Osler & Starkey, 2005). As one of the teachers explained:

"Political identity is about being part of a political system and about locating themselves on the political spectrum. The first is complicated already. The idea that we are a household of 16 million people… it is all rather abstract to them. But I do try to help them understand: 1) you are part of a community. Whether they position themselves on the left or right of the political spectrum I leave to them. That said, I do want students to understand that it is important to cast one's vote.

Teachers commonly mentioned two other related elements in the context of this particular objective: the first resides with Hess and McAvoy (2015)'s work on the political classroom: positioning oneself in relation to mental frames about the good society. The second concerns development of a sense of commitment to broader range of civic issues. In order to connect her

students to a range of civic issues, the primary school teacher that was interviewed, for example, not only discussed party stances on issues that were popular among students (like animal rights), but also on issues that her students often have not yet thought about (like the quality and accessibility of education for different student groups).

Table 3: Elements of critical/elaborate political identity

Political/democratic identity	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8
Embodied value of political rights (vs political rights/identity in systems that do not function/lack checks and balances)	X	x	/	/	xC	/	X	X
Identification with local and (inter)national political communities	/	/	/	/C	xC	x	xC	x
- Positioning in relation to mental frames about the good society			/	/C	X		x	x
- Sense of commitment to broader range of civic issues	x	x	xC	/C	x	/	xC	/C
Sense of political efficacy		x	XC	/C	xC		XC	
- Inclination to engage in political discussions and deliberations	/	/C	xC	xC	xC		xC	X
Political friendship and/or valuing fairness and tolerance	/C	/C	/C	/C	/C	/C	/C	/C

The second objective that was commonly attended to in the general civics curriculum instead of specifically in ME-related education concerns fostering a sense of political efficacy, a sense that one can participate in the political realm and have an impact, as defined in the work of scholars like Beaumont (2010) and De Groot, Goodson & Veugelers (2014). As one teacher explained: "The main thing that I want students to take home from the MEs and the other participatory experiences that I organize is that they feel they can have an impact. That once you have faith, and you put an effort into it, you can change things that you dislike". In this regard, the teachers who organized activities where students could meet (youth) politicians also commonly stated that they aimed to foster students' inclination to engage in political discussions and deliberations.

Analysis of the pursued critical and elaborate political identity development objectives also revealed how elements of identity were more often mentioned indirectly, when compared to elements of political literacy and skills. Simultaneously, it showed that all three common objectives were defined as key by several teachers.

A possible explanation for attending to a limited number of elements of CDC-identity in the ME-context can be found in the different conceptualizations of political identity that underlie the teachers' views. Some teachers, for example, defined political identity as one's understanding of one's position in the political landscape

and/or one's political ideology. Others also talked about additional components like one's identification with the (inter)national political community, and the extent to which one feels politically engaged.

A second explanation relates to the teachers' pedagogical views. The teachers often defined their task as supporting students' political orientation process with relevant knowledge, i.e. knowledge about political processes and bodies, party programmes, and inconsistencies between certain combinations of stances of a certain party, or the financial implications. This task resembles more basic political identity development objectives like fostering students' orientation in the party landscape. A type of objective that requires a "neutral" stance of teachers. In line with this neutral or coaching role, teachers seemed to be inclined not to directly thematize identity development in their lessons.

A third explanation relates to teachers' views about the impact that they can have on their students' identity development. As one teacher explained: "Fostering students' identity development is important I think, but it is not something I explicitly cultivate. The lessons that I give can impact students' political identity, but I do not have the illusion that my teachings will foster the development of personal political identities in students".

4.5. Implicit and additional CDC-objectives
Analysis revealed that several elements mentioned in CDC-literature were not (or not explicitly) fostered by the teachers in ME-related education. In addition the teachers also mentioned elements that receive little attention in the literature. These elements primarily concerned political identity. In the ME context for example, the teachers did not explicitly aim to enhance political friendship or fairness and tolerance amongst students (Allen, 2004; Hess and McAvoy's, 2015) in this context. Teacher narratives, however, also suggest that an active appreciation of the multiplicity of voices in the political landscape was promoted elsewhere in the programme (e.g. when preparing for political debate) and indirectly, by advancing students' political literacy and deliberative skills. Teachers also did not talk about cultivating students' narratives about their democratic citizenship experiences (De Groot, 2015). This suggests, for example, that the teachers provided limited space for students to develop and question their personal narratives about the impact that participation in these elections might have (had) on their political skills, and their sense of efficacy towards negotiating the multiplicity of voices in the Dutch multiparty system.

On the other hand, teachers also mentioned three CDC-identity elements that -to my knowledge- have received limited attention in civic education research so far. The first element was pursued by some of the teachers who organized political events in the general curriculum, and concerns fostering "a sense that politicians are just like us": a sense that politicians are approachable and that not all politicians have excellent communication and debating skills. The second was mentioned once, and concerns localising oneself politically within multiple

communities, i.e. the school population, or various religious and political communities:

"I think for instance that, for those adolescents who do not want to vote because of their faith, it is quite a thing. Negotiating the demands from the different communities that they belong to is also part of their identity development I think.

This objective can be tailored to notions such as "civic self-image" (IEA, 2007), "a sense of (political) belonging" (Putnam, 2000) and the notion of "political friendship" (Allen, 2004). The third was visible in one teacher's hope to provide students with "a sense of pride about their own political literacy/maturity". Although not defined in the literature as such, this notion can also be tailored to notions of political agency, efficacy and self-esteem (Beaumont, 2010). Future cross-disciplinary theoretical research will have to provide further insight into the interrelatedness of these notions and their value for political development theory.

5 Conclusions and discussion
This article reported a qualitative study into mock election (ME) related education in eight schools in the Netherlands. The main aim was to gain an insight into the extent to which critical democratic citizenship (CDC) development is advanced in ME-related education in the Netherlands, and teacher rationales in this regard. After distinguishing multiple elements of CDC-development as defined in CDC-literature, the study examined: 1) which elements of CDC-literacy, skills and identity teachers in the eight schools commonly mentioned; 2) the extent to which these elements were specifically pursued in ME-related education; and 3) discrepancies between the CDC-elements as discerned by CDC-scholars and those mentioned by the teachers.

Thematic analysis of qualitative interviews with the teachers about the educational activities that they organized in conjunction with the 2012 national elections revealed how the teachers repeatedly highlighted the value of introducing students to this political practice. Altogether, five elements of critical literacy, skills and identity development were commonly (i.e. by four teachers or more) advanced in ME-related education. Out of these two were elements of critical literacy (viz. knowledge about the politics behind party programmes, and an understanding of the interrelatedness of politics and the quality of one's own life), two were elements of CDC-skills (viz. the ability to analyse political and civic events, and to co-organize MEs), and one was a sub-component of CDC-identity (viz. an embodied value of political rights). Several other CDC-elements were also commonly mentioned, but predominantly fostered in the general civics curriculum (e.g. understanding the complexity of civic/political issues, voicing one's opinion in respectful manner and a sense of political and/or civic efficacy).

The largest discrepancy between the CDC-developments cultivated by the teachers and the CDC-

elements as discerned in citizenship education research was found in relation to CDC-identity development. In ME-related education only one element of political identity was commonly advanced. Some other CDC-identity elements were fostered implicitly, e.g. a sense of political friendship (Allen, 2004; Hess & McAvoy, 2015). Others were mentioned occasionally, or not at all, e.g. thematizing scepticism with regard to the use of casting one's vote (Beaumont, 2010) and narratives about one's democratic citizenship experiences (De Groot & Veugelers, 2015). This suggests, amongst other things, that the teachers hardly guided the co-construction of students' narratives about how, for example, the 2012 ME experience influenced their sense of efficacy towards negotiating party programmes in the Dutch multiparty system.

Together these findings reveal that ME-related education in the participating schools puts limited emphasis on advancing elements of critical democratic citizenship. It also suggests that elements of CDC-identity, in particular, receive limited attention in the general civics curriculum, when compared to elements of CDC-literacy and skills. Typical teacher explanations for paying limited attention to CDC-development in ME-related education concerned the limited scope of the ME-project, limited teacher facilities, a focus on ME as a participatory experience, and attention to CDC-knowledge and skills elsewhere in the general civics curriculum. Furthermore, limited attention to elements of CDC-identity can be explained by the variety in teachers' understandings of what political identity entails, teachers' preferences for a "neutral" role, and teachers' views about their (limited) impact on students' development.

The limited emphasis on pursuing elements of CDC-development in ME-related education can also be understood in the larger educational context. It resides with the autonomy of schools and the limited space in the curriculum for organizing events. It aligns with the scarce teacher facilities for organizing participatory projects in many schools (ICCS, 2009), and it aligns with the fact that political simulations are not primarily organized to stimulate meaningful learning on key objectives, but typically function as a "side dish" in the Dutch civics curriculum (Parker & Lo, 2016).

Further empirical studies can shed light on the generalizability of these findings for the larger Dutch and European context, and inspiring practices in this area. In March 2017, a follow-up quantitative study examines the extent to which elements of CDC-development are pursued by all teachers in secondary education in the Netherlands who organize ME in their schools in conjunction with the national elections in 2017. This study also examines the interrelatedness of teacher intentions and school and student characteristics and teacher facilities in this context. The interrelatedness between the formal and operationalized curriculum and students actual learning experiences will be examined by conducting additional case studies.

Another limitation concerns the study's focus on political development at the individual level. As a democratic way of life cannot be accomplished through the development of individuals, CDC-education scholars have also stressed the need to formulate objectives on the level of the class, school or community. They have pointed, for example, to the need to create a positive learning climate and a space for dialogue and development of civic (counter) narratives (Diazgranados & Selman, 2014; Levinson, 2012). Future studies can further our understanding of possible and desirable CDC-objectives of ME-related education and other political simulation projects. It is important in this regard to also theorize about how teacher support in such projects might need to vary under different conditions, e.g. the quality of the teachers, the school climate, its civic profile, the student population, the national culture of political participation and the political climate (see also Hess & McAvoy, 2015).

Overall, findings suggest that there is ample opportunity to intensify attention to CDC-development in ME-related education in these schools. With additional educational activities, for example, teachers might cultivate additional elements of CDC-identity, e.g. the development of an active appreciation of the multiplicity of voices in the political landscape, students' narratives about the impact of participation in the ME-project on their appreciation of their right to vote, or their identification with multiple political communities. To further ME-related education practices, however, we also need to know more about the actual teaching practices, the learning experiences of students, the interrelatedness of teacher intentions and the actual learning experiences of students and related questions: How do specific contexts (i.e. limited facilitation, political polarized societies or school environments) impact teacher decisions on what activities to organize? How can teachers take account of the interplay between students' political identity development processes during MEs and a specific political context (e.g. political polarization processes in schools)? What support from school leaders and the government do teachers and scholars recommend in specific educational and political contexts? Further theoretical and empirical study is needed to answer these questions and advance high-quality political education projects in pluralist democracies.

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Endnote

Katharina Propst

Civics and Social Science Education in the Nordic Conference on School Subjects (NoFa 6)[1]

1 Introduction

On May 29-31, 2017, the University of Southern Denmark in Odense hosted the sixth Nordic conference on school subjects (NoFa-6). This conference, held regularly every two years, can now look back on an eight-year tradition. Previous hosts were Oslo (Norway, 2007, although it was not named NoFa at that time), Middelfart (Denmark, 2009[2]), Karlstad (Sweden, 2011), Trondheim (Norway, 2013) and Helsinki (Finland, 2015, see Löfström 2015).

The abbreviation NoFa originates from the Norwegian and Danish 'NOrdisk' 'FAgdidaktik(k)', for Nordic subject didactics. This is also understood in Swedish, although they don't use the term 'fag', they understand the term. In the meantime, the NoFa is very well established as the central place to exchange ideas between the scholars scientists of the Nordic societies in the area of didactics, as well in the school context as in the broader context of general education. The regional specificity of the conference, which is already evident from the name, can be traced back to the long-standing common history of these countries in a global context, the cultural and political analogies, common educational interests, and, last but not least, spatial proximity. This has led to intensive and progressive cooperation in the education and research sector over recent years.

This NoFa 6 conference took place under the title: "*Interplay between general and subject specific knowledge about teaching and learning in school and teacher education - perspectives and challenges.*" Accordingly, the task was to connect insights and experiences about the general conditions of school education with the specific requirements of individual subjects, and to discuss challenges and possible developments that lie ahead. The urgency of this topic has already been substantiated in the conference program, with perceptible tensions between the two research areas and their partly

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separate character. The detailed presentation of the conference theme can be found on the conference homepage, www.sdu.dk/en/om_sdu/_institutter_centre/ikv/konferencer+og+seminarer/2017+-+nofa+6/konferencens+tema (Read Jul 20, 2017).

Furthermore, participants were invited to consider in how far the research results of other subjects would be applicable to their own subjects. This question aims at developing a comparative didactics (Sammenlignende fagdidaktik, in Danish language) in the future.

This year's 250 participants from 11 countries were composed of renowned professors, academics, researchers, teachers and doctoral students. In whole about 171 papers were submitted, which can be found under the following link on the homepage in the abstract book, www.sdu.dk/en/om_sdu/institutter_centre/ikv/konferencer+_og+seminarer/2017+-+nofa+6/program (Read Jul 20, 2017).

Overall, the conference offered three options for participation. In the 25 90-minute symposia, which were mostly scheduled in parallel slots, the focus was on presenting a thematic focus from different professional perspectives, followed by a discussion in the plenum. The 98 paper sessions provided the opportunity to present one´s own research projects and to get into conversation with the other participants. For each session, 3 projects were presented in 20 minutes and subsequently discussed in the plenum for 10 minutes. In the poster session, which was held once, 6 posters were presented on partly completed or current projects. Afterwards, in a sort of gallery walk, there was the possibility to get in contact with the speakers and to ask them questions. Fundamentally, all forms of contributions offered enough space to enter into an intensive exchange of experience and to discuss joint research interests.

The linguistic diversity of the conference has again increased with the NoFa 6. The contributions were not only held in English, as in the last NoFa 5 in Helsinki[3], but also in Nordic, which is a mixture of the languages Danish, Swedish, Finnish and Norwegian.

2 Keynotes

This year, there were four keynote speeches at the NoFa 6 conference which are to be briefly described in the following, due to their importance for the field of Civics and Social Science Education.

Prof. em. Karen Risager, who is a member of the Department of Communication and Arts, in the field of Cultural Encounters at the University of Roskilde, Denmark, started off with her contribution to the topic:

"Representations of the world in learning materials: What directions for intercultural competence?" She presented an excerpt from her research into teaching materials for the English language teaching, in which she evaluates intercultural competence as a non country specific dimension. In doing so, she confronts the teaching materials on a total of five levels with questions such as: How detailed and in which way are the student's own country and other countries represented in the text book? What cultural and social identities are represented? How is intercultural learning promoted among pupils? How are the relations and historical connections of the countries represented among each other? She noticed that in many cases the E. U. was represented either insufficiently or not at all.

The second speaker was Prof. Dr. Marte S. Gulliksen, chair of Culture Education, Cultural Production and Aesthetical Practice at University College of Southeast Norway (USN). She dealt with the topic, *"Making matters: Unpacking the role of practical aesthetic making activities in the general education through the theoretical lens of embodied learning"*. In her presentation, she shared the experience of her research into the process of "making", as a learner's way of accessing their entire environment, their immediate community and society in general. In doing so, she emphasized the role of practical learning in the learning process and that this process becomes again very important in our digital world.

Prof. Dr. Candia Morgan, who is faculty member at the Department of Mathematics Education at the University College of London Institute of Education, spoke about the topic, *"The specialised language of subject and subject pedagogy: a discourse analytic approach to studying curriculum change – the case of mathematics"*. Despite the exemplary reference to mathematics, emphasis was placed on the disclosure of the general structure of specialized linguistics. In this context, she highlighted which features and components (for example symbols, vocabulary, models) make a certain form of expression into subject specific expert language. Furthermore, the specific developments and the forms of specialization were discussed. By looking at these aspects, teachers are able to recognize, understand and resolve the problems of the students at an early stage.

The fourth contribution, directly related to the field of Civics and Social Science Education, was provided by Prof. Dr. Tilman Grammes, professor of education with a special focus on social science education at Universität Hamburg, Germany. He spoke on the topic: *"Contested democracy - how to develop knowledge about controversial issues in a pluralistic school culture"*. With an introduction to the principles of the Beutelsbach consensus as well as their reference to current projects in German schools, he illustrated the necessity of the critical self-reflection of the own role understanding as a teacher in social science in relation to the needs of the pupils. Every generation comes with its individual views and deals with politics and democracy in its own specific way. Our task as a teacher is to enable our students to take a critical look at these issues and to accompany and

support them in their opinion-forming process according to their needs. Furthermore, it is important for teachers to realise at which point it becomes necessary to intervene on behalf of the democratic idea, and to act accordingly (see Kamp, 2017).

All lectures clearly reflected the "connecting character" of the conference between school education in a general and specific sense, thus opening up new points of connection between the individual disciplines to their listeners. For more information on keynote speaker publications, please visit the conference homepage, www.sdu.dk/en/om_sdu/institutter_centre/ikv/konferencer+og+seminarer/2017+-+nofa+6/keynote+forelaesere (Read Jul 20, 2017).

3 Research on civics/ social science education: topics and methods

Compared to NoFa 5, the number of papers and meetings in the field of Civics / Social Science has increaseed. In total, there were 23 reviews under the title "Social Science" (1 symposia, 21 paper sessions, 1 poster), made by 32 participants. This shows that the urgently needed research in this area is slowly increasing in the Nordic countries. Nevertheless, in some countries, social science as a school subject still has to struggle to establish itself as independent and necessary field of research, and to free itself form the mistaken view that it was only a branch of another subject or, at best, a minor field of study. In the corresponding symposium "Social Science, Samfundsfag", the representatives of Denmark (Anders Stig Christensen & Torben Spanget Christensen), Sweden (Cecilia Lundholm), Finland (Jan Löfström) and Norway (Kjetil Børhaug) discussed the current state of the school subject and the related teacher training. According to Sweden, the subject of social science is defined by the task of explaining the issues and connections of social coexistence to the pupils and making them tangible. The questions about the competences required for this, as well as the role and task of knowledge in the educational process, are still unresolved. The overall objective of educating pupils to become educated and politically mature citizens is unquestioned in all countries. In this context, Finland focuses particularly on the principle of student orientation and would like to examine the connections and approaches that the subject offers to the students' living environment. In Norway, one would like to find out how the school subject can be combined with science and how the academic knowledge can be usefully connected with actual practice in school and with didactics. Another open problem, according to the representatives from Denmark, is the prevailing name confusion between social studies and social science. While social studies, for teachers of the secondary level in Denmark, is based on a parallel formation of theory and didactics, in social science at the university, the master degree is without any educational and didactical elements. Accordingly, the qualified teachers of the two divisions have a different knowledge and competency. Basically, it is agreed that the research field of teacher training and the school

subject in the field of social science is still in its infancy and has to be pushed forward.

The diversity of the topics of the paper sessions at the NoFa 6 also highlights the problems in education and society as well as the relevance of their research.

The papers raised questions on the understanding and characterization of political problems at 16-year-old pupils (Nora E.H. Mathé), influence factors on the party selection of first voters (Niels Nørgaard Kristensen & Trond Solhaug) and the gender-specific choices of pupils at matriculation examination questions (Jan Löfström).

A large part of the papers was directly related to the events in the classroom and the teacher-student interaction. It was investigated how pronounced the phe-nomenon of gatekeeping and the fight for recognition really are in social science education (Katarina Blennow), how current topics and societal problems can best be integrated into the lessons (Ylva Wibaeus & Max Strandberg), from which the motivation for participation in community teaching is dependent (Mona Langø), which effects mock-elections have on students (Julie Ane Ødegaard Borge) and how best to deal with con-troversial issues in community teaching (Lars Larsson).

In the area of the development of new teaching-learning methods, questions were asked about learning methods for connecting the scientific and everyday knowledge of pupils in upper elementary schools (Gabriel Bladh, Martin Kristiansson & Martin Stolare), the use of virtual simulations for the understanding of complex economic contexts (Charlotta Hilli) and the use of skrivedidaktik (writing didactics) for the support of opinion-forming processes and the practice of argu-mentations (Peter Hobel).

The spectrum of methodology is varied. Mostly, there were qualitative analyses in the form of telephone interviews (Larsson), interviews with pupils and teachers in school (Mathé, Langø), interviews with students (Lundholm, Hilli), classroom observations (Blennow, Lundberg) and the use of case studies (Wibaeus & Strandberg).

In summary, research in the field of social science has increased in comparison with the past few years and we can look forward to the project of developing a com-parative didactics (Sammenlignende fagdidaktik), deve-loping core didactical principles from the numerous subject matter didactics and compare the meaning and use of them (see Nordidactica/Nordic Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education, www.kau.se/nordidactica).

The next NoFa conference (NoFa 7) is expected to take place from 13th to 15th May 2019 in Stockholm.

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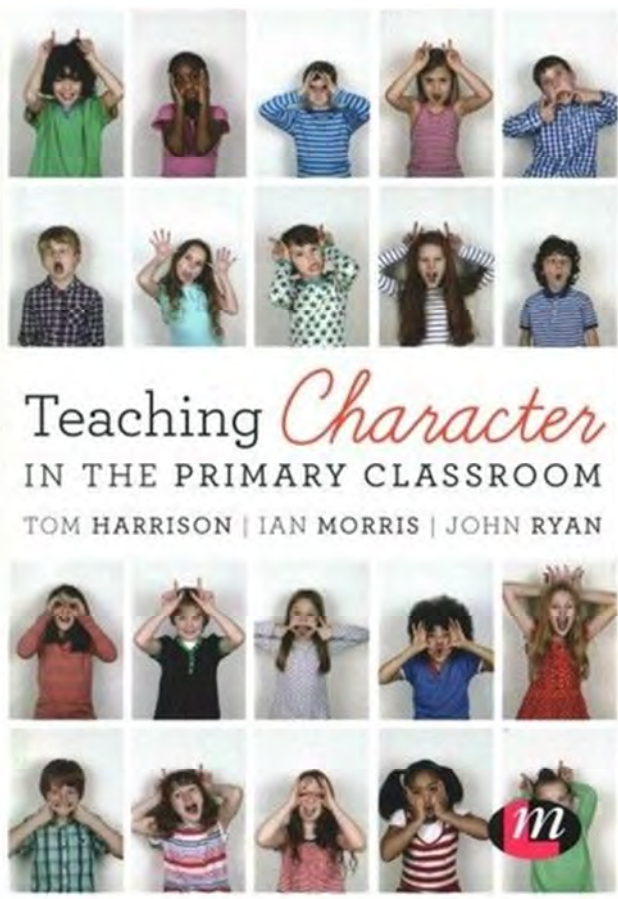
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Endnotes

[1] Special thanks to Torben Spanget Christensen for his support and help with this conference report.
[2] The second NoFa conference was held in Middelfart, organized by University of Southern Denmark (SDU) and University College Lillebaelt (UCL). The name was NoFa 2. And this was the first time the name NoFa was used.
[3] Finnish is not an official conference language at NoFa, because hardly nobody except the Finns themselves speak it. Therefore English for the first time was introduced as an official conference language at NoFa 5. This was in line with the ambition of opening the conference up towards non-Nordic speakers.

Review of the Book:

Harrison, Tom, Morris, Ian, Ryan, John. 2016. Teaching Character in the Primary Classroom, London, Sage. ISBN 978-1-4739-5217-1, 185pp, £22.99.

This book has been written in recognition of the "resurgence of interest [in character education] amongst educational policy makers, researchers, teachers, employers, parents, children and young people" (p.1x). That level of interest is said to exist alongside a lack of knowledge among teachers about relevant research and practice. The authors suggest that in order to avoid the potential of character education to become damaging the authors aim to provide "clear, accessible advice on how teachers and other educators can successfully enhance character education provision in their schools" (p. ix).

There are 4 parts to the book: introducing character education (character matters; what is character education; theory and measurement; taught and caught); character education – taught (a taught course; teaching character through the curriculum; assessing and evaluating character education); character education – caught (whole school approaches; teachers as character educators; building character through co-curricular programmes working with parents and the community); and appendices (how to become a school of character – self audit; a framework for character education in the UK; character education teaching resources).

The core messages in the book are said to be summed up in the acronym FACT: i.e., education is about flourishing; being adaptable; good work being caught through the ethos of the school; and through explicit teaching - taught. The authors explain that the term "character education relates to any educational activity, implicit or explicit, that encourages young people to develop character qualities or virtues" (p. 18). The virtues that are highlighted are: moral, performance, civic and intellectual (together with the intellectual meta-virtue of practical wisdom (p. 21)

The book is explicitly addressed to trainee teachers (the opening of chapter 1 asks readers to imagine a scenario in which they have not been offered a job after a seemingly successful interview and suggesting that "judgments of character are almost always the elephant in the interview room" (p. 4). There are extensive references to resources and interesting ideas and suggestions for activities in various contexts. Regarding assessment, readers are warned against grading and also against some sort of inappropriate therapeutic education.

The book provides a wide range of references (whilst being mainly but not exclusively UK focused) and encompassing the work of many (whilst being firmly located in the work of the Jubilee Centre for Character Education, University of Birmingham, UK).

There are some considerations of the criticisms that have been applied to character education. For example on pp. 28-32 and pp. 46-49 objections are countered. It is interesting that these counter arguments do not really tackle some of the criticisms head on and are cast in a partĩcular way. The authors suggest, for example, that "character education is not necessarily religious" (p. 30) and that while they recommend not grading character there is guidance about stages in which it is possible for students to be recognised as having achieved "full virtue" (pp. 95-6).

There is a very interesting discussion about the need to avoid being too specific. This reminded me of the very sensible use of the word 'reasonable' in legal contexts (to be followed necessarily by interpretation) and of the use of human rights documents (which are not fully developed philosophical positions or a guide to specific action in all cases). But references to, for example, "the middle way" are rather vague. When things do become a little more specific, the challenge of meaning does not seem to have been resolved. For example, civic virtues are said to be about service, volunteering and citizenship. In the UK the Department for Education's references to neighbourliness and community are used about civic matters. There does not seem to be any sustained consideration of civic virtues in relation to the vast amount of (researched and inspected) work that has been done in recent years on citizenship education. This is a pity as there is certainly a great deal of scope to develop the work of citizenship education in ways which would more explicitly identify social and political and other matters to do with power and justice in a wider range of settings

than was sometimes used by those who promoted work in relation to the citizenship education programme of the National Curriculum in England.

Teachers and others will learn a great deal from this book. No one (of course) is against students and teachers being of good character. There are many valuable insights into the philosophical underpinning of character and there are many useful suggestions for practical professional action. This valuable work could be developed further with a fuller consideration of the nature of all the virtues – in my view especially the civic virtues – that have a rather small place in this publication.

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