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DEGLI STUDI
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Head Office: Università degli Studi di Padova

University Human Rights Centre "Antonio Papisca"

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**CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN CROATIA AND ITALY: WHAT PLACE AND ROLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?
A MULTI-LEVEL ACTOR-CENTRED APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION**

Coordinator: Giuseppe Giordan

Supervisor: Marco Mascia

Ph.D. student: Matteo Tracchi

Abstract

The research focuses on citizenship and human rights education, particularly looking at two case studies, namely Croatia and Italy. The main objective is to understand whether citizenship education in lower secondary school (specifically grade 8) includes a human rights component and is aligned with the concept of Human Rights Education (HRE) as enshrined in international and regional standards. The research is based on a quantitative part, coming from a secondary analysis of the results of an internationally renowned study developed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and entitled ICCS 2016 (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study). More specifically, data relevant to the research were analysed for both Croatia and Italy (e.g. students' endorsement of gender and racial equality, learning objectives, school contexts, etc.) and used to frame some of the questions that have been asked during a series of 25 one-on-one interviews with key stakeholders identified in both countries (Ministry of Education, National Agencies, Local Authorities, Civil Society, Academia). Refusing the assumption of linearity and uniformity in the structure and development of citizenship education (CE), and rather conceptualising it as a tension political field of diverse and conflicting demands to which a multitude of actors have to respond simultaneously, the research adopts an actor-centred perspective using the methodological steps of the talk-and-action approach (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008) to:

- identify the differentiated picture of CE actors as seen by the actors themselves, including their beliefs, conceptions and perceptions;
- better understand the complex systems and environments of citizenship education focusing on multiple key actors at stake;
- discover (inconsistent) demands and central tensions of citizenship education related to human rights and how these are perceived by the selected actor;
- analyse the reactions of each respective actor to the demands previously assessed, pushing for a thorough differentiation between talk, decision and action;
- investigate the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education in the two focus countries (Croatia and Italy).

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Foreword

Coming from almost four years of human rights education (HRE) projects and activities carried out during my work at the International Secretariat of Amnesty International¹, one of the main non-governmental organizations (NGOs) focused on the protection and promotion of human rights globally, I first have to acknowledge that I believe in the transformative power of HRE. Indeed, during my professional experience in both formal and non-formal settings, as well as in different regions of the world including Europe, Middle East and North Africa, and Latin America, I had the opportunity to see first-hand how HRE can make a difference in people's lives. This is not an empty slogan but it is nurtured by each and every personal story I was so glad to encounter during my HRE work. It also triggered my curiosity to reflect on if and how human rights education is present in schools and in the educational offer to which everyone gets exposed. Indeed, I strongly believe that while the work of NGOs is crucial, it might only reach a limited number of people and should not compete with national public education systems. So why not trying to infuse HRE in the education to which, by law, everyone should have access? And then the work of NGOs obviously remains essential, particularly for the specific expertise and worldview it might bring, but at least we may be more certain that something is also going on in schools and therefore the risk of leaving someone behind is lower. These are just some of the thoughts, at times confusing and surely not coherently structured in the first place, that pushed me to write the research proposal for my PhD. My project was motivated by the desire to better understand HRE in the national education system of my home country, Italy, and more precisely to capture if and how human rights enter Italian schools during compulsory education. This initial idea became then more elaborated, also thanks to the support of my supervisor and the opportunities offered by my Joint PhD Programme. I therefore decided to broaden the research project and, taking advantage of the fact that one of the partner Universities is in Croatia, I included also this country in my investigation. As in every research, I started from what is already out there and I relied on my previously consolidated knowledge of the topic. However, something became almost immediately crystal clear: I had to change my mindset. Conducting an academic research is in fact very different from writing a report for an NGO. Thus, while my background at Amnesty International provided me with a certain familiarity with HRE-related issues and challenges, I also had to distance myself from that experience and embrace my new role and mission within the academia.

¹ See for more information: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/>. Date: 29 July 2019

Introduction

While this research project moved from my professional experience in and passionate about human rights education, the academic discussion quickly brought me to investigate citizenship education (CE) as well. Indeed, while framing the overall research puzzle and conducting an in-depth literature review, I started to see the connections between HRE and CE. The concept of CE seemed to emerge as closer to and better understood within formal education, while HRE has broadly struggled to find a place within the official curriculum – and has probably not succeeded yet. This was also confirmed by my analysis of previous research: I found very interesting articles and books on human rights education but when it came to datasets and empirical evidence in schools, CE was prominent. I thus started to think to reverse the perspective and not looking for HRE in schools but rather for human rights within something that is already conceived by schools, i.e. citizenship education. As a result, I positioned my research within the academic field debating citizenship/civic education from a human rights- and justice-oriented perspective. Discourses on citizenship and citizenship education are increasingly being coupled with human rights discourses and, conversely, the concept of human rights is increasingly been related to the concept of citizenship education. In practice, there is some evidence that recognizes human rights education (HRE) as a special feature of – or inclusive approach to – citizenship education (Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006). A fundamental piece in the development of my research was the discovery of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), which is an on-going, comparative research program conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)² that investigates the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens in a world where contexts of democracy and civic participation continue to change. Indeed, the first time I have heard of this study was at the beginning of my PhD and I just thought it was perfect timing because in November 2017 the International Report (Schulz et. al., 2017) of ICCS 2016³ was to be released. ICCS reports on students' knowledge and understanding of concepts and issues related to civics and citizenship, as well as their value beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. In addition, ICCS collects and analyses a rich array of contextual data from policy makers, teachers, school principals and the students themselves about the organization and content of civic and citizenship education in the curriculum, teacher qualifications and experiences, school environment and climate, and home and community support. Both my

² See for more information: <https://www.iea.nl>. Date: 29 July 2019.

³ See for more information: <https://www.iea.nl/studies/iea/iccs/2016>. Date: 29 July 2019.

case studies, Croatia and Italy, took part in ICCS 2016 and this provided me with an extremely useful set of information for my research. The fact that this study does not address human rights directly was also enlightening for the finalisation of my main research question. Indeed, I decided to focus on the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education in my two focus countries, Croatia and Italy. More precisely, using data coming from the International Report of ICCS 2016 relevant to Croatia and Italy, I developed the interview questions that I asked to key stakeholders in both countries (see Appendices A and B). Therefore, referring to ICCS 2016 that looked at nationally representative samples of grade 8 students (approximately 14 years of age) and connecting the results to my research topic, I was able to open up the debate on the place and role of human rights within citizenship education. This does not mean that I took for granted that HRE is necessarily integrated within CE, as it might be the case that human rights have no place and no role in citizenship education at all. However, as this research will demonstrate, there are strong interconnections between these concepts. The methodology I decided to deploy has further enriched my PhD research project. Indeed, using the methodological procedure of the talk-and-action approach to citizenship education (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008), which starts from the premise that CE is a tension political field of diverse and conflicting demands, the following aspects became central to the research:

- identify the differentiated picture of CE actors as seen by the actors themselves, including their beliefs, conceptions and perceptions;
- better understand the complex systems and environments of citizenship education focusing on multiple key actors at stake;
- discover (inconsistent) demands and central tensions of citizenship education related to human rights and how these are perceived by the selected actor;
- analyse the reactions of each respective actor to the demands previously assessed, pushing for a thorough differentiation between talk, decision and action.

At the basis of the conceptual framework of my research there is in fact a multi-level actor-centred approach that refuses the assumption of linearity and uniformity in the structure and development of citizenship education and rather frames systems and actors of CE as political organisations (re)acting to a complex and changing environment. Therefore, a multi-level actor-centred approach becomes instrumental to capture the characteristic diversity and inconsistency of citizenship education and tracing its non-linear, intricate

development emerging from a multitude of actors and interests, approaches and concepts, expectations and demands, interpretations and (re-)actions. Furthermore, as highlighted by its originators, the talk-and-action approach is relevant to both post-socialist transformation countries but applies as well to “old” democracies which, like the aforementioned, are confronted with the challenges of globalisation, Europeanisation and migration. Being my case studies Croatia and Italy, which can be considered respectively a quite recent democracy the first one (UN ceasefire in 1995 and Croatian accession to the EU in 2013) and an “old” democracy the second one (democratic Republic since 1946 and among the founding fathers of the EU), the significance of choosing the talk-and-action approach emerges even stronger. This approach is also instrumental for trying to answer to the main research question of this project, namely the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education as a dynamic and open process. Indeed, breaking down the field using a multi-level actor-centred approach allows to interpret this relationship from different angles and perspectives that are necessary to reflect the complexity of the overall picture. Citizenship education is in fact a complicated matter and a contested political issue. When human rights are also brought into the equation, then the picture becomes even more complex. Without this methodology, it would have been impossible to capture the snapshot of citizenship education this research aimed to, and to look more particularly at the role, if any, of human rights within the field of CE in the two focus countries (Croatia and Italy). Another important feature to complete the delimitations of this study is that I decided to focus my analysis on five categories of stakeholders, namely ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society – I will expand on this in the chapter dedicated to methodology.

The thesis is structured in 6 chapters, the first two more theoretical, the third one focused on the legal component of international and regional HRE standards, the fourth one looking at the methodology, and the last two chapters specifically dedicated to each of my case studies. *Chapter 1* deals with citizenship education and starts with framing the concept of citizenship before moving into citizenship education and stressing that they both switched from a national to a post-national perspective over the years and in response to current global changes and contemporary phenomena. The chapter also looks at CE pedagogy, analyses the notion of Global Citizenship Education (GCED or GCE) as an increasingly influential idea around the world which now shapes the global discourse on education, and argues that it is possible to reach a conceptualisation of GCED based on human rights and informed by a transformative and critical inspiration

in order to avoid an empty utopia or an abstract cosmopolitanism. *Chapter 2* focuses on human rights education and highlights that it might share similar goals, approaches and strategies with GCE, as well as the same implementing institutions and actors. However, looking at the HRE nature, models and pedagogies, the chapter clarifies that reference to international human rights instruments and related mechanisms remains central to any HRE program and is the bedrock that distinguishes HRE from other fields of education such as peace education or global education (Tibbitts, 2002; Tibbitts & Fernekes 2011). At the same time, this legal aspect needs to be brought to life by the normative one, which makes human rights meaningful and relevant to people's daily lives and realities, and together they shape the "healthy hybrid" (Tibbitts, 2015) or twofold dimension of HRE, both legal and normative (Tracchi, 2017). Keeping together these two dimensions, and embracing a reconfiguration of HRE as critical and transformative, is the only way to build a bridge between abstract human rights universals and real lived experiences of rights, as well as to deal with some of the longstanding controversies within the human rights field. Considering the importance of the legal component for HRE, *Chapter 3* elaborates on the main international and regional standards on human rights education, looking particularly at the United Nations (UN) and at the European level, both European Union (EU) and Council of Europe (CoE). This chapter aims to provide a basic legal contextualisation that can be applicable and appropriate to the case studies of my research, Croatia and Italy. While the analysis is surely limited, as it does not consider all international and regional HRE standards, it is useful to explore how a different accent might be put on education according to different stakeholders and periods in time. Indeed, while HRE is firmly established in the history and activities of the UN, regional institutions such as the EU and the CoE are characterised by different trajectories. In particular, the chapter shows that the language used by EU institutions to talk about education maintains the reference to quality education but does not explicitly mention HRE, and it is rather more connected to the concept of citizenship education. Instead, the Council of Europe, especially through the Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (EDC/HRE) which is particularly interesting for my PhD research question, presents another standpoint and seems to be working in between the HRE approach developed within the UN and the focus on citizenship education characterising EU institutions. The chapter explains this observation by looking at the origin and development of different organisations, and dedicates the last section to NGOs as they are a major driver of the development of HRE. *Chapter 4* details the methodology I used in my research, i.e. the talk-

and-action approach to citizenship education (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008). It also makes a connection between the theoretical and the empirical chapters of the thesis, explains the rationale behind my case studies, actors and interviews, and provides information on data saturation and on how this was achieved. Finally, the chapter describes ICCS 2016 and how this study was used to develop the guiding questions for my interviews, as well as the process of data collection and analysis. *Chapter 5* and *chapter 6* deeply investigate the case studies of my research, respectively Croatia and Italy. The chapters follow the same structure and include a contextualisation of the national policy development of citizenship education in order to better understand the specificities of each political context, a discussion of Croatian and Italian results to ICCS 2016, and an analysis of the research findings using the talk-and action approach. This will lead to the design of 10 conceptual maps, 5 for each country, to graphically represent pressures and demands with which focal actors of the research (ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society) are confronted and how they respond differentiating between talk, decision and action. Indeed, through this multi-level actor-centred approach, it is possible to investigate the differentiated picture of citizenship education from the perspective of multiple key actors at stake in the two focus countries and address the main research question of this thesis: what is the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education? What place and role, if any, for human rights within citizenship education? In the final conclusion of this research work, I will also make a connection between the two case studies and combine the main research findings in a sort of intertwined analysis.

Chapter 1 – Citizenship Education (CE)

The chapter focuses on citizenship education and aims to set some boundaries within this broad and multifaceted area of education. In order to do so, it seems logical and necessary to start framing the concept of citizenship before moving into citizenship education. The chapter is divided into four main parts, and each of them has different subparagraphs. The first part addresses the complex and contested concept of citizenship, introducing some of the major theories and models. In response to global changes and contemporary phenomena in an increasingly interconnected world, citizenship, which has to be considered as a fluid and adaptable concept, needs to go beyond the borders of a single nation and embrace a global perspective. I argue, based on a quite detailed literature review, that global citizenship seems the most suitable expansion to reflect the historical development of our times. While many authors have underlined that global citizenship is a problematic concept, I position my research in the strand believing that, even in the absence of any legal status, global citizenship still remains a valid notion as it refers to a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity, specifically based on human rights. As I will show, global citizenship has also an educational significance because it becomes a central aspect of citizenship education to prepare students for a globalising world and related challenges and opportunities. This leads us to the second part of the chapter which marks a shift of focus from citizenship to citizenship education. Trying to reflect upon different interpretations and approaches, I recognise that there is no single definition or model for citizenship education. However, through the development of my argument, I demonstrate that similarly to what happens with the concept of citizenship, also citizenship education moves from a national to a post-national perspective. In parallel with this trend, which draws on a cosmopolitan understanding of citizenship, I introduce and explore the notion of transformative citizenship education. Part three of the chapter is dedicated to citizenship education pedagogy. While it only partially presents some elements of this field, such as discussion and service learning, I think it can usefully contribute to the understanding of citizenship education I am aiming at. The main input from this third part is that pedagogy is as crucial as the content, particularly in citizenship education where it leaves an imprint on students and the kind of citizens they become. Indeed, citizenship education is concerned with both content and pedagogy: of course civic knowledge is important, but it is also fundamental the way in which this content is developed and delivered. For the purpose of my research, the analysis of critical citizenship education is very relevant

as a pedagogical approach that looks at societal issues, including inequality and injustice. This is related to the fourth and last part of the chapter, entitled global citizenship education. Since traditional approaches have progressively become inadequate and led to a post-national perspective, I share the statement that global citizenship education is an increasingly influential idea around the world which now shapes the global discourse on education. After a theoretical introduction and a specific part on UNESCO's efforts in promoting global citizenship education, I take into account several critiques that have been raised, mostly from a postcolonial perspective. I finally conclude that it is possible to reach a conceptualisation of global citizenship education based on human rights but which avoids an empty utopia or an abstract cosmopolitanism.

“Civic education programmes have become an increasingly important means for countries to educate citizens about their rights and responsibilities. Increasing pluralism within states has encouraged the development of civic education programmes that go beyond simple ‘patriotic’ models of citizenship requiring uncritical loyalty to the nation state. By defining ‘citizenship’ in terms of human rights and civic responsibilities, civic education programmes attempt to avoid concepts of ‘citizenship’ that define nationality in terms of ethnic, religious or cultural identity. The aspiration is that concepts of citizenship based on human rights and responsibilities may make it more difficult to mobilize political conflict around identity issues. It has therefore become the norm for modern civic education programmes to have a strong human rights values base, to make specific reference to children’s rights and address issues related to diversity and the rights of minorities within society” (Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006). Following this trend I argue that global citizenship education should be informed by a transformative and critical inspiration so that learners are empowered to understand the underlying causes of social problems and critically examine power asymmetries in society, as well as the effects of colonization/decolonization from a variety of perspectives. I will further discuss this idea in the conclusion of the chapter.

1.1. Citizenship: a complex and contested concept

Citizenship is a contested concept (Crick, 2000; Miller, 2000) and it means many things to many people (Joppke, 2007). The term is broadly used to characterise modes of participation and governance, rights and duties, identities and commitments, and statuses. It is also linked to personal engagement, community well-being, and democratic fulfilment, therefore citizenship becomes a core concept in our political and moral

vocabulary (Bosniak, 2000). 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 implies and gives rise to. On the one hand, citizenship has a legal dimension, 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; on the other, citizenship involves normative aspects, being concerned to specify how an individual citizen should behave and what of this behaviour should be regarded as admirable or worthy of criticism (Kisby, 2017). Citizenship also requires a sense of belonging that is strictly linked to personal and cultural aspects, including a particular set of attributes and a status, feeling or practice, identity and participation (Osler & Starkey, 2005; O'Byrne, 2003). Most agree that the key components of citizenship are a set of relationships between rights, duties, participation and identity (Delanty, 2000). Indeed, in the academic literature, citizenship is usually split into a set of four dimensions, namely membership in a political community, rights, participation in public activities and identity considered as a sense of belonging and identification with fellow citizens (Bauböck, 1994; Bellamy, 2008; Delanty, 2007; Faulks, 2000; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Olsen, 2013). Membership in a political community can be seen as a status and it refers to a sort of legal recognition defining who is entitled to acquire and maintain citizenship. Membership is strictly connected to the dimension of rights, as citizenship requires the possession of certain rights and those who possess them are presumed to enjoy citizenship. Another core component of citizenship entails the participation and active engagement in public activities and political life of the community. Finally, but not less important, citizenship as identity and sense of belonging refers to the ties at the basis of community membership, which include a sense of identification and solidarity with others. Already from this preliminary sketch, citizenship emerges as a complex and contested concept. Rather than a univocal definition of citizenship, there are many variants of and approaches to this concept. In the following subparagraphs I will analyse some of the major citizenship theories (1.1.1.), highlight a progressive trend of citizenship that shifts from a national to a global dimension (1.1.2.), and finally conclude with a specific focus on the emergence of the concept of global citizenship (1.1.3.).

1.1.1. Liberal, communitarian and cosmopolitan models

Debates about the definition of and relationship between the main components of citizenship bring about divergent understandings of what citizenship is and should entail. To try to capture the different features and forms of citizenship that have emerged over time, a number of theoretical and empirical citizenship typologies have been developed (see, for example, Heater, 2004; Turner, 1993). Among these, the best known are probably the theories of liberal, communitarian and cosmopolitan citizenship. While there are a number of variants for each of these general models, the tripartite categorization “*help(s) to illustrate the different types of citizenship that have emerged in different socio-political communities, as well as the relationship between the various components that make up each of these models*” (Keating, 2014). The liberal model emphasizes individual rights, autonomy and equal membership, with the legal system acting as the guarantor of rights. The state has a limited role and influence in citizens’ lives other than to protect their rights (Heater, 1999). The role of the citizen in the liberal model is largely passive and located in the private rather than the public sphere, and political participation is not prioritised as the state is responsible for political decisions (Geisen & Eder, 2001). Hence, the liberal community is mainly a society of autonomous subjects whose main goal is not to participate together in public activities, but is rather focused on pursuing their conception of the good (Rawls, 1993). The communitarian model, on the contrary, takes participation in public activities as its starting point and encourages participatory politics in which people recognise their social obligations as well as their individual rights (Dwyer, 2010). Communitarians argue that citizenship rests on the belonging to a community of shared values and identity (Delanty, 2002), which individuals cannot be detached from as there are strong ties of trust and interdependence. Therefore, citizenship emerges from community-level rather than individual-level decisions, and it is acquired by participating in the community. Communitarians understand individuals as active citizens and emphasize the dimensions of political participation and identity above individual rights. The cosmopolitan model, differently from the previous two models, pulls the concept of citizenship out of territorial boundaries and promotes an idea of membership in the human community with responsibilities for the world as a whole (Linklater, 2002). In other words, individuals are not only members of local communities and citizens of nation-states, but they are also seen as members of a global community of human beings. Indeed, citizenship in the cosmopolitan model is connected to the individual as a human being with basic universal rights, independent of cultural, political or national affections. This model attempts to move beyond the nation-state as the exclusive source

of citizenship, *“challenges the view that citizens’ political rights and obligations are tied to the nation-state only, and places greater emphasis (on) human rights and solidarity with fellow human beings of the world”* (Thun, 2016). The cosmopolitan idea has also been encapsulated more recently in the expression of “cosmopolitan law” by which each and every individual should become legally responsible for the rights of each and every other individual, regardless of their nationality and citizenship status. In practice, however, being very slow, extraordinarily complex, multi-layered, and difficult and politically controversial to apply, *“cosmopolitan law contributes rather to the complication of citizenship as a rights-bearing status, to the concretization of new forms of inequality between citizens and noncitizens, and even to violations of human rights as such.”* (Nash, 2009). However, globalization, increasing interconnectedness and interdependence beyond local communities and nation-states are making, according to some scholars, cosmopolitanism not only a reality but a necessity (Appiah, 2008). Looking specifically at Europe and at its widespread and long-term migration trends, Benhabib has argued that citizenship itself is now becoming cosmopolitan because of universal human rights (Benhabib, 2004, 2007 and 2008). Furthermore, moral cosmopolitanism is most visibly and famously expressed in human rights declarations, including UN conventions. Many proponents argue for a universal, or “strong cosmopolitan”, understanding of human rights (for example, Abdi & Shultz, 2008) and, since these can be reinterpreted and embedded within local contexts, they are not incompatible with the more communitarian ideas of the “new cosmopolitans” (Oxley & Morris, 2013).

1.1.2.From a national to a global concept of citizenship

Global changes and contemporary phenomena in a mobile world require a fundamental reconsideration of citizenship theory. Some scholars have suggested that citizenship is becoming post-national or global (Soysal, 1994; Jacobson, 1996). Processes of globalization have delimited the capacity of the nation-state to remain in control over its own fate, territory and sovereignty (Held, 1998), leading to the obsolescence of national boundaries. National boundaries are also becoming more porous (Benhabib, 2004) and permeable because of international human rights law and related regional systems, such as the European Union. Human rights are indeed specified for individuals regardless of the nation-state in which they live and whether they are citizens of a nation or not (Banks, 2008). *“Never before in the history of world migration has the movement of diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups within and across nation states*

been as numerous and rapid or raised such complex and difficult questions about citizenship, human rights, democracy, and education.” (Banks, 2009). Consequently, within nation-states throughout the world, there is increasing diversity as well as increasing recognition of diversity. Contemporary multicultural societies are faced with the challenge of creating nation-states that recognize and incorporate the diversity of their citizens, while simultaneously embrace an overarching set of common values. Balancing unity and diversity is an on-going challenge for multicultural nation-states (Banks et al., 2005). Indeed, unity without diversity results in hegemony and oppression, and diversity without unity leads to Balkanization and the fracturing of the commonwealth that alone can secure human rights, equality and justice (Banks, 2004). A sense of belonging is crucial to establish a notion of membership on which citizenship relies, therefore questions around identity become central to these debates. In current global society there is *“a demand for a notion of citizenship that accounts for an evolved understanding of multiple, overlapping, and shifting identities, and that responds to the exclusionary nature inherent to the modern ideal of citizenship.*” (Pashby, 2008). The idea of post-national citizenship suggests an openness toward this multiple and pluralized understanding. It also relies on cosmopolitanism and human rights to capture the multiple allegiances deriving from differing citizenship identities. *“(T)he emergence of a world-wide discourse of human rights; the growth of transnational networks of solidarity across cultures and religions (...) the spread of a global youth culture; the emergence of transnational structures of governance, like the EU – these are all indicators of new modalities of political and ethical action and coordination in a new world. They suggest that democratic citizenship can also be exercised across national boundaries and in transnational contexts.”* (Benhabib, 2002). In other words, global processes of interdependence, transnationalisation and internationalisation of human rights have impacted on the crisis of the Westphalian nation-state and, consequently, on the democratic practice. Indeed, democracy can no longer be confined to the national territory but it extends internationally and globally. This means that also citizenship moves from national to global, becoming “universal citizenship” based on the borderless applicability of human rights (Papisca, 2011). *“Hence, human rights-based citizenship is a plural citizenship which, unlike traditional national citizenships built on the premise of excluding foreigners (ad alios excludendos), is characterized by the premise of including human beings, any human beings (ad omnes includendos). A tree metaphor can help illustrate this. The trunk represents the status of universal citizenship, the roots are universally recognised human rights, and the*

branches are derived citizenships (national and sub-national), which, in order to survive, need to absorb the life-giving sap running up through the trunk; that is, they must be consistent with the egalitarian nature of universal citizenship.” (Papisca, 2015).

Citizenship is a multi-faceted and complex concept that is variously produced, practiced and experienced in different arenas. Acknowledging the complexity and fluidity of the concept of citizenship is particularly important as empirical and comparative studies have shown that it varies considerably over time, between countries, and between different systems of government and governance (Keating, 2014). Citizenship may be seen as a multi-layered construct (Yuval-Davis, 1999 and 2000) and having multiple meanings (Van Gunsteren, 1998). Historically, citizenship is divided into three parts: civil, political and social. The civil part came first in the eighteenth century and embraces the rights necessary for individual freedom (e.g. liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, property rights, right to justice); political rights came next as one of the main features of the nineteenth century and include the rights to participate in the exercise of political power; finally social rights, spanning from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to the prevailing standard of life and social heritage of society, had to wait until the twentieth century to become an integral part of citizenship (Marshall, 1950). *“The concept of citizenship has proven to be immensely adaptable, changing to meet various geographical, political, and cultural pressures, moving from an exclusionary force towards ever greater inclusion. During the past century, there has been a gradual movement towards a more inclusive understanding of citizenship. In an era of human history in which global interdependence is one of the defining characteristics, it is time for our understanding of citizenship (...) to shift once more, to expand as an ideal that more closely benefits the world we have created.”* (Pike, 2008). The most suitable expansion to reflect the historical development of our times seems to go beyond the borders of a single nation and to move towards a global concept of citizenship.

1.1.3. Global citizenship

Global citizenship is a contested concept in scholarly discourse and encompasses multiple interpretations.

“It is a concept that comprises a view of citizenship, and a view of globalization – or rather many views. Of both concepts, we know there are multiple definitions. Globalisation is a contested concept with economic,

technological, political components, and significant interrogations on the nature and direction of cultural and economic 'flows' across the globe. Globalisation can be understood from at least two polarised points of view 1) in an 'emancipatory' perspective as implying a curiosity and respect for cultural difference and pluralism, and a promotion of local cultures, local knowledges, 2) in a post-colonial perspective, as an attempt at westernizing the world – applying western values and concepts to non-western contexts.”

(Fanghanel, 2010). As I noted in section 1.1. above, citizenship has both legal dimensions and normative aspects. When considering legal status within citizenship, the global element would rarely be included.

However, if citizenship is considered as more of a series of behaviours and skills, such as participation and a sense of belonging and identification, then the global element of citizenship is more likely to be recognized (Leek, 2016). Despite differences in interpretation, there is a common understanding that global citizenship does not imply a legal status. It refers more to a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity, promoting a “global gaze” (Marshall, 2005) that links the local to the global and the national to the international. Indeed, even if the notion of global citizenship cannot be expressed in any legal manner, citizens may develop a sense of belonging to a global political community through identification with humanistic values such as equality of rights, respect for human dignity, social justice, and international solidarity, upon which the ethos of international normative frameworks are based. In fact, “*while global citizens are not legally recognized individuals, they do exist in practice.*” (Tawil, 2013). While global citizenship for some implies universality and a deep commitment to a broader moral purpose, for others it cannot feasibly be a valid concept due to the perceived absence of a ruling authority (e.g. a world government) on which to base such an idea of citizenship (Oxley & Morris, 2013). Citizenship is already a contested notion, subject to a variety of interpretations, thus any attempt to transpose the notion of citizenship to the global level becomes even more problematic. As it has been argued, the struggle over the concept of citizenship beyond the nation-state is ultimately a struggle over the meaning of citizenship *tout court*, because exponents of post- or transnational citizenship have simply opened and questioned a new front in the long struggle to define the concept of citizenship itself (Bosniak, 2000). First of all, this transposition becomes problematic from a legal perspective because, as I said, individual citizens are not legal members of any global polity that fully transcends the judicial powers of national states, therefore global citizens are not legal members in good standing with a sovereign state (Lagos, 2003). As a result, it

could be argued that the notion of global citizenship is simply a metaphor, a linguistic fancy which deliberately transposes a national political reality to a wider world order overcoming the borders of a single nation. According to some authors, we cannot be citizens of the world in the same way that we are citizens of a country (Davies, 2006; Graber, 2004; Johnson, 2004; Tinnevelt, 2012) and global citizen is neither a viable concept nor a desirable notion (Bowden, 2003; Patomäki, 2012; Slaughter, 2004). In this sense, citizenship has “*little meaning except in the context of a state*” (Himmelfarb, 1996). As argued by Arendt (1968), citizen is by definition a citizen among citizens of a country among countries, and rights and duties must be defined and limited, not only by those of other citizens, but also by the boundaries of a territory. It is clear that a global polity does not yet exist, nor exist the vocabulary and grammar with which to engage adequately in discourse about a global civic life. However, and going beyond the legal perspective, the absence of a single world government does not mean that a global civic culture cannot develop, and actually this process is already extant. “*Human rights are a core element of the transcendent move toward a global civic culture, establishing a foundation for fairness and justice that is potentially universal.*” (Gaudelli & Fernekes, 2004). Human rights, transcending national boundaries by their very notion, provide a vocabulary for making moral claims and a sort of rhetorical legitimacy (Bosniak, 2000) that makes individuals, irrespective of their national ties, feel part of a global moral order. International human rights declarations, adopted by the whole international community, offer a common set of universal values that can be used to make judgments about global issues and about the implied responsibilities to respect the rights of others (Osler & Starkey, 2000 and 2001). It is in this sense that the international human rights regime destabilizes older notions of exclusive state sovereignty articulated in international law and postulating that matters internal to a country are solely to be determined by the state (Sassen, 2002). In other words, human rights are the cornerstone and the most extended application of a post-national conception of citizenship (Bauböck, 1994). This is a paradigmatic shift that can be challenging, especially for nations with long-standing legal traditions. The human rights approach to citizenship argues for the inclusion of all human beings in a large and multi-level space whose horizon is much broader than the territorial dimension of the traditional nation-state and overcomes the borders of state sovereignty: it is the European and world space of internationally recognized human rights (Papisca, 2007). The traditional national citizenship needs to change under the influence of the multiple processes associated with globalization, moving outside the confines of the national state and towards a post-

national conception that embraces the pluralized understanding of citizenship identities and solidarities. A fundamental principle of global citizenship models is that an individual's awareness, loyalty and allegiance can and should extend beyond the borders of a nation to encompass the whole of humankind. This extension does not necessitate dismantling national citizenship. Despite globalization, it is the nation that remains the most important location for citizenship and continues to provide citizens with their primary sense of belonging. The challenge, however, is to imbue the concept of citizenship with an ethos – a set of moral principles and codes of conduct – that is global in its scope, while recognizing that citizenship will continue, for the foreseeable future, to be national in practice (Pike, 2008). Global citizenship does not provide any legal status but, rather than an exclusive focus from a legal point of view, it can be seen as *“an ethos, an educational paideia, a framing paradigm that embodies new meaning for education and its role in developing knowledge, values, attitudes for securing tolerance, diversity recognition, inclusion, justice and sustainability across the world and in local communities. As such, it requires an ethical status as much as formal membership which may impact legal frameworks.”* (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). Global citizenship, which is formed on the basis of universal rights and transnational loyalties, has been promoted by an array of social movements, non-governmental organisations and international initiatives. Although the clearest assertion of global citizenship has emerged in the human-rights movement, with its claims to basic rights that transcend the sovereignty of individual states, global citizenship has also appeared in recent formations of transnational identities with their own rights, responsibilities, loyalties and values that cut across the territorial boundaries of states, leading to new forms of global citizenship such as women's citizenship, ecological citizenship, consumer citizenship, media citizenship, sexual citizenship, mobility citizenship, flexible citizenship and cosmopolitan citizenship (Chidester, 2002). In the field of education, global citizenship has received and is still receiving a high level of attention as an essential component of citizenship education to prepare students for a globalising world. In the next section I will move from the concept of citizenship to the field of citizenship education, in order to finally focus on global citizenship education.

1.2. From citizenship to citizenship education

Since citizenship is a contested concept, education for citizenship is also a site of debate and controversy (Osler & Starkey, 2003). The complex and contested nature of citizenship leads to a broad range of interpretations, meaning that there are also many different ways in which citizenship education can be defined and approached (Kerr, 1999). This is underlined in a number of comparative studies on citizenship, civics and education for democracy (Hahn, 1998; Ichilov, 1998; Kennedy, 1997; Torney-Purta et al., 1999). Although there is consensus within the political and educational fields on the need and implementation of citizenship education, there is limited concluding evidence or theoretical frameworks for defining citizenship education (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Willemse et al., 2015). As a result of an undefined theory, there is a range of terms that are commonly and interchangeably used within the literature (Denton, 2017) and there is not one specific model or definition for citizenship education. The area of citizenship education also comprises many subjects, showing the breadth and complexity of the issues addressed within this area and resulting in conflicting perspectives across different geographical and political boundaries (Eidhof et al., 2016).

“Civic and citizenship education can be a policy initiated by a government, a program run in a school, a lesson taught by a teacher or an activity experienced by a student. The common element across these different ways of thinking about civic education is the focus on a special aspect of the school curriculum”, namely the education of young people to become citizens of the future (Kennedy, 2012). As a general remark, citizenship or civic education encompasses the preparation of young people for their roles and responsibilities as citizens and, in particular, the role of education (through schooling, teaching and learning) in that preparatory process (Kerr, 1999). In essence, citizenship education is the preparation of individuals to participate as active and responsible citizens in a democracy (Hébert & Sears, 2001). It seeks to address issues of general concern through collective action, emphasising the importance of students becoming well-informed about political issues, as well as being public spirited, critical and independent-minded. In this sense, citizenship education is *“a means of connecting young people to the political system, helping them make sense of a complex political world and thereby strengthening democracy.”* (Kisby, 2017). As such, citizenship education can be defined as a subject that aims to provide students with knowledge and understanding of political ideas, concepts, processes and institutions at different levels, local, regional, national and international; to develop students’ skills so that they are able 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 attitudes which make it likely they will value and want to engage in such activities (Kisby & Sloam, 2009). Nowadays citizenship education is highly topical in many countries and urgent consideration is given to how better to prepare young people for the challenges and uncertainties of life in a rapidly changing and constantly evolving world (Ichilov, 1998). According to some scholars, citizenship education has been developed and implemented as a response to the growing trend of disempowerment and disengagement among young people (Keating & Janmaat, 2015; Macedo et al., 2005), and as a means of developing social cohesion within the wider population (Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Willemsse et al., 2015). While it is clear that citizenship education is broader than the formal curriculum and involves the hidden curriculum, whole-school and extra-curricular activities, as well as students' everyday experiences of life, efforts have been made to specifically understand how citizenship education is approached in schools. Recent comparative studies made in different European countries emphasize the inclusion of citizenship in the curriculum as a specific topic, using different approaches and learning methods. Kerr (1999) distinguishes three main approaches to citizenship education in the formal curriculum, namely separate, integrated and cross-curricular: *“In the separate approach, citizenship education or civics is a specific subject or aspect. In the integrated approach, it is part of a broader course, often social sciences or social studies, and linked to other subjects and curricular areas. In the cross-curricular approach, citizenship education is neither a separate subject or topic, nor is it part of an integrated course, but instead it permeates the entire curriculum and is infused into subjects.”* In the following subparagraphs, bearing in mind the complexity and varieties that characterize citizenship education and mostly referring to the formal education sector, I will sketch some interpretative lenses to frame the concept and argue that it underwent a path toward a post-national perspective that reflects what has been previously analysed with regard to the concept of citizenship.

1.2.1. Minimal and maximal interpretations of citizenship education

As already reiterated, the broad and often contested nature of citizenship education can lead to a range of interpretations and approaches. These diverse approaches have been conceptualised in the literature along a continuum that goes from a minimal to a maximal interpretation (McLaughlin, 1992). It is important to note

that these are not necessarily distinct categories but, rather, represent two extremes in a continuum of possible approaches, like the two poles of a magnet. Minimal citizenship education is characterised by a narrow definition of citizenship and seeks to promote particular exclusive and elitist interests, such as the granting of citizenship to certain groups in society but not all. It often includes preconceived notions of what citizenship is, without the possibility of public debate and discourse (Gutmann, 2004). Minimal interpretations lead to narrow, formal approaches to citizenship education – what has been termed civic education. Teaching and pedagogy within this form of citizenship education are mostly content-led and focus on civic knowledge, with little attention to citizenship participation and processes. Minimal citizenship education is centred on formal education programmes and aims to transmit to students the knowledge of a country’s history and geography, the structure and processes of its system of government and of its constitution. There is little opportunity or encouragement for student interaction and initiative because its purpose is solely the provision and transmission of information. This form of education does not address societal structures and relations that create inequalities among citizens. In other words: *“It is often confined to promoting the ‘good’ citizen who is law-abiding, works hard, and possesses a good character, but does not discuss problems or issues found in societal structures creating inequalities among citizens.”* (Dejaeghere & Tudball, 2007). As the outcomes of minimal approaches are narrow, largely involving the acquisition of knowledge and understanding, it is much easier to measure how successfully the outcomes have been achieved, often through written examinations. At the opposite pole, maximal interpretations are characterised by a broad definition of citizenship and seek to actively include and involve all groups and interests in society. *“Maximal forms of citizenship education promote values, attitudes, and behaviours related to participation in democracy and citizenship at all levels.”* (Dejaeghere & Tudball, 2007). Maximal interpretations lead to a broad mixture of formal and informal approaches, as opposed to narrower civic education. Maximal citizenship education includes the content and knowledge components of minimal interpretations, but actively encourages investigation and interpretation of the many different ways in which these components (including the rights and responsibilities of citizens) are determined and carried out. Citizen identity is dynamic and a matter of continuing debate and redefinition, giving rise to questions of how social disadvantage can undermine citizenship. The primary aim of this form of citizenship education is not only to inform, but also to use that information to help students to understand and to enhance their

capacity to participate. It is as much about the content as about the process of teaching and learning.

Maximal citizenship education comprises a broad mixture of teaching and learning approaches, from the didactic to the interactive, both inside and outside the classroom. Structured opportunities are created for students to interact through discussions and debates. Students are also encouraged to use their own initiative and creativity through project work and other forms of independent learning and participative experiences. As the outcomes of maximal approaches are broad, involving the acquisition of knowledge and understanding, as well as the development of values and dispositions, skills and attitudes, it is much more difficult to measure how successfully these outcomes have been achieved (Kerr, 1999).

1.2.2. Education about, through and for citizenship

Similarly to the differentiation between minimal and maximal interpretations, academics and policy makers distinguish between education about citizenship and education for/through citizenship when discussing the kind of citizenship employed in the curriculum (Leek, 2016). Education about citizenship takes the narrow approach to citizenship and focuses on providing descriptive information about civic matters, such as national history, institutions and processes of government and political life. The opposite model, education through citizenship, aims to put citizenship into practice by using experiential, extracurricular and informal learning activities to provide students with the knowledge, values, attitudes and skills needed to effectively participate in the civic sphere (Keating, 2009; Keating & Janmaat, 2015). While acknowledging the same definition of education about citizenship, Kerr (1999) further differentiates between education through and education for citizenship. The former involves students learning by doing, through active, participative experiences in the school or local community and beyond, and reinforces the knowledge component. The latter encompasses education about and through citizenship, and links citizenship education with the whole education experience of students. Indeed, education for citizenship “*involves equipping students with a set of tools (knowledge and understanding, skills and aptitudes, values and dispositions) which enable them to participate actively and sensibly in the roles and responsibilities they encounter in their adult lives.*” (Kerr, 1999). A tripartite categorization has also been used in the literature to describe the objectives of citizenship education. The first category refers to the theoretical knowledge acquisition (human rights, democracy, political and social institutions, cultural diversity, etc.), mainly focused on developing students’ political

culture through information transmission, where students have a passive role and their outcomes can easily be measured. The second category aims to the development of students as responsible citizens (learn to respect themselves and others, to solve conflicts peacefully, to develop a global perspective of their society, etc.) and embraces a more participative students' attitude. The third category focuses specifically on students' active participation through the development of the necessary competences to participate in a constructive and critical way in their community, including in the social, political and cultural life. Students are encouraged to experiment democratic principles in a practical way, providing them opportunities to put their civic commitment into practice, inside and outside the classroom. This third category should ideally combine everything that students learn in the previous ones, in order to help them to understand and improve their active participation (Navarro-Medina & de-Alba-Fernández, 2015). As for any other attempt to categorise citizenship education, these three archetypes, while theoretically useful, are not fixed and absolute. Therefore, they do not apply so strictly in practice and their boundaries tend to be fuzzy and overlap one another.

1.2.3. Citizenship education and reference to values

Different approaches to citizenship education are also influenced by the way in which values are expressed in a country. The academic literature differentiates three broad groups according to the degree of detail with which national values are expressed or prescribed in education legislation: minimal reference to values in education legislation, national values expressed in general terms, national values expressed in detail. Countries in the first group share a commitment to pluralism, thus values are expressed in the Constitution and/or other statutes, which provide a framework for the expression of values through devolved educational structures. Countries expressing national values in general terms provide general statements on values, but the details are determined by the authorities with devolved responsibilities. Finally, the third group includes countries with highly centralised systems that tend to express very detailed aims and clear educational and social values (Le Métais, 1997). These three broad categories recall one of the major tensions countries face in approaching citizenship education, namely the extent to which it is possible to identify, agree and articulate the values and dispositions which underpin citizenship. This tension is part of the broader debate about the balance between the “public” and “private” dimensions of citizenship, leading to the distinction

between “thick” and “thin” citizenship education (McLaughlin, 1992). *“Those who view citizenship as a largely ‘public’ concern see a major, or ‘thick’, role for education (through the school and formal curriculum) in the promotion of citizenship. Those who view citizenship as a largely ‘private’ affair see a much more limited, or ‘thin’, role for education (largely through the hidden curriculum). They advocate a much stronger role for the family and community organisations than for teachers. ‘Values-explicit’ approaches are commonly criticised for the associated dangers of bias and the indoctrination of students, while ‘values-neutral’ approaches are attacked for their failure to help students to deal adequately with real-life, controversial issues.”* (Kerr, 2002). For the purpose of this research, I claim that the educational effort can and should be directed towards a clear reference to values, namely the values of human rights (Papisca, 2011). This of course does not exclude challenges and criticisms, including the risk of bias and indoctrination usually attributed to values-explicit approaches, but I will further elaborate on how human rights can overcome these limitations and bring a crucial values-based contribution to education (see chapter 2).

1.2.4. Toward post-national and transformative citizenship education

As I clarified since the very beginning, one of the objectives of this chapter is to shed some light on the development processes of citizenship and citizenship education, first separately and then making them dialogue in order to show that they underwent a similar trend. Indeed, similarly to what happened with the concept of citizenship, efforts have been made to trace the evolution of citizenship education from a national to a post-national perspective. The traditional national model tends to glorify national socio-cultural characteristics and political institutions. Rights and obligations are based on the national arena and students are assumed to be citizens of a nation. Some scholars criticize national citizenship education as propagating the myth of the objective, autonomous citizen and note its failure to engage with the actual and lived experience of students, whose identities are shifting and multiple and whose senses of belonging are not necessarily expressed first and foremost in terms of the nation state (Osler & Starkey, 2000 and 2003). *“The concept of citizenship is founded on the notion of individual as actor in a democratic polity and this requires an understanding of and acceptance of human rights. Human rights provide the framework for political and*

social interaction in democracies (...) It is for this reason that we consider it essential to situate citizenship and democracy in schools within a context of cultural diversity and therefore on the basis of human rights” (Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006). The post-national model of citizenship education draws on cosmopolitan understandings of citizenship and thus the curricular content, attitudes and values are supposed to reflect the fact that citizenship transcends the nation-state. Rights and obligations are based on regional- and global-level issues and laws. Students are considered to be citizens of a nation, a region and the world (Rauner, 1998). The transition from a national to a global model of civic education is also evidenced by the increase in references to rights, global issues and the individual between 1955 and 1995, mainly as a result of UNESCO’s work for the worldwide dissemination of new civic topics (Rauner, 1998a and 1999). Other studies highlight a shift of the national curriculum from nationalist to post-national emphases based on increasing references to diversity, human rights and global issues (Bromley, 2011; Soysal & Szakács, 2010). Indeed, if the idea of citizenship has progressively changed, it follows that ideas about civic and citizenship education should also be changing. Most democratic and pluralistic societies face the ongoing educational challenge of balancing unity and diversity, which also means providing citizenship education capable of accommodating multiple forms of difference and embracing an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all citizens can commit (Banks, 2004 and 2007; Kymlicka, 2004; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Miller, 2000; Parker, 2003). According to some scholars, *“citizenship education must be reimagined and transformed to effectively educate students to function in the 21st century. For reform to succeed, the knowledge that underlies its construction must shift from mainstream academic knowledge to transformative academic knowledge.”* (Banks, 2008). Mainstream citizenship education is rooted in mainstream knowledge and assumptions, reinforces the status quo and the dominant power relationships, does not challenge or disrupt the class, racial, or gender discrimination in the schools and society, and finally does not help students to understand their multiple and complex identities, the ways their lives are influenced by globalization, or what their roles should be in a global and interconnected world. Critical thinking skills, decision making, and action are not important components of mainstream citizenship education. Instead, the emphasis is on memorizing facts about the constitution and other legal documents, learning about various branches of the government, and developing patriotism to the nation-state (Westheimer, 2006 and 2007). On the other hand, transformative citizenship education is grounded in transformative academic knowledge and

enables students to acquire the information, skills and values needed to challenge inequality within their communities, their nations and the world; to develop cosmopolitan values and perspectives; and to take actions to create just and democratic multicultural communities and societies. This expresses the need for citizenship education *“to be based within the school boundaries, but to also extend into the local community which provides a rich learning context with meaningful opportunities for students to engage in social action. Social action is the optimal outcome for citizenship as it moves away from learning about democratic institutions and civic duties.”* (Denton, 2017). Transformative citizenship education also recognizes and validates the cultural identities of students and fosters critical thinking skills, helping them to develop reflective cultural, national, regional and global identifications, and to understand how these identities are interrelated and constructed (Banks, 2009a). Indeed, as it has been argued by Spreen and Monaghan (2017) talking about global citizen and human rights education, it is important to create a culture of belonging and trust by helping students to move from national to global citizenship. According to the scholars, this process should be built on the ideas, experiences, understandings and cultural backgrounds of students, and aimed to highlight connections – between the global and the local, and to one another – by building relationships. *“(B)y first building trust, then building relationships, we set the foundation for equal participation and meaningful action.”* (Spreen and Monaghan, 2017).

1.3. Citizenship education pedagogy

Citizenship education is concerned with both content and pedagogy, and it is not enough to consider either in isolation. Of course civic knowledge is an essential part of any civic education, but it is also crucial the way in which this content is developed and delivered. Just as an example, we cannot imagine some sort of citizenship education that alienates students or leads them to become disengaged from learning. Research in the U.S. has shown that formal instruction in government, history, and democracy increases civic knowledge and may also contribute to young people’s tendency to engage in civic and political activities over the long term. However, schools should avoid teaching only rote facts about dry procedures because it is unlikely to benefit students and may actually alienate them from politics (Gould, 2003). It appears evident that pedagogy and content are strictly related and have to be integrated in civic education: *“what needs to be learnt should be constructed in a learning environment that is at once relevant, meaningful and engaging to students.*

Because civic education, in liberal democracies at least, is about supporting democratic structures and systems, then teaching strategies need also to be democratic otherwise there will be a conflict between the content and the pedagogy. This is an important issue for the development of civic and citizenship education in the future.” (Kennedy, 2012). As a result, schools propagate citizenship through what they teach (the curriculum), of course, but also through how they teach (pedagogy), and through the interaction between the what and the how (often called the “hidden curriculum” of rules, regulations, expectations, and so forth). Citizenship pedagogies, which can be defined as teaching, learning, and assessment practices used in classrooms to facilitate students’ civic learning, can be viewed at a number of levels. Furthermore, pedagogy, which is also the way the subject matter is selected, organised, and presented to students, delivers powerful messages about the kind of citizenship that is valued inside and outside of the school. *“For example, selecting one assessment process over another is not just a technical task. Such actions convey implicit messages: pedagogical actions are not neutral. The way teaching, learning, and assessment takes place in classrooms sends important messages about the learning itself, the learners, and the role of teachers. Thus, pedagogies at one level are simple tools for learning. However, at another level they construct learning in very particular ways, and they make assumptions about how learning takes place.”* (Kennedy et al., 2011). Therefore, no matter what the curriculum includes, how it is taught cannot be ignored or underestimated. There is strong evidence in the literature that students learn important lessons from how teachers teach as well as from what they teach. Teachers’ choices, methods and approaches leave an imprint on students and play some part in the kind of citizens that they become. Teaching strategies have an impact on students and on how they interact with the world (Osborne, 2000; Johnson & Johnson, 2009). This is why it seems appropriate in the following subparagraphs to reflect upon some approaches and themes in the field of citizenship education pedagogy. Far from being a comprehensive pedagogical analysis, it is hoped that the elements identified can further nourish the understanding of citizenship education I am trying to develop.

1.3.1. Pedagogical approaches to citizenship education

Citizenship education has long been recognized as an integral part of social studies and there have been a number of attempts to outline how it should be taught and what its goals should be. Two conventional and traditionally dominant approaches to citizenship are cultural transmission and reflective inquiry (Lee, 2004).

The first one conceives the educational role as inculcating students with knowledge, skills and attitudes that are shaped and determined by the status quo (Leming, 1992). This implies passive student participation, transmission of content centred around positive knowledge and uncritical beliefs in loyalty and patriotism, pre-packaged textbooks using rote acquisition instruction, reliance upon teacher control and authority, and acceptance of existing or idealized social institutions (Goodlad, 1984; Shermis & Barth, 1982). Citizenship as reflective inquiry, on the other hand, encourages active student learning, value analysis and decision making through the exploration of significant problems and issues in society. Through the development of rational decision-making skills, problems can be tested and resolved by collecting and using relevant data, formulating and testing hypotheses, and drawing conclusions (Barr et al., 1977; White, 1982). This perspective is based on a conception of citizenship which assumes that good citizens know how to participate in public affairs through rational decision-making. Democratic citizenship involves not only the acquisition of knowledge and information relevant to social life or political issues, but also active decision-making on matters of social concern (Parker, 1991). Citizenship as democratic transformation is a third approach that rejects both the cultural transmission and reflective inquiry approaches as they maintain that democracy is a static rather than “*a constant struggle for equality and justice*” and they support a limited “*socializing role of mainstream citizenship education*” rather than classroom activities that lead “*to civic empowerment and civic courage*” (Kickbusch, 1987). This critique leads to an alternative concept of citizenship as democratic transformation, one that relies primarily on critical theories of education. Indeed, developing a critical consciousness which leads to transformative action is part of Freire’s critical pedagogy (Freire, 1968, 1973 and 1985). This formulation of citizenship as democratic transformation “*may include skills and dispositions to examine issues and information, and to make sound decisions in the political arena, but it also entails some explicit form of opposition or resistance to the existing order and attempts to transform it into a better one.*” (Lee, 2004). For example, an interesting report on citizenship education in England argued that pupils in secondary school citizenship lessons should be encouraged to challenge authority, and not taught about “*compliance, good behaviour, and the acceptance of values*” but rather about challenging and promoting a “*critical democracy*” (Office for Standards in Education, 2006). This idea mirrors an understanding of critical citizenship education in teaching and learning that is highly debated in the literature and would deserve a more thorough examination. While it is only partially addressed in section 1.3.4. below, for the

purpose of developing my argument here it would be enough to say that the resulting critical pedagogical approaches coming from this understanding are multiple and various. Generally, they aim to address the causes of discrimination, inequalities and power asymmetries, as well as to integrate global and multicultural dimensions into citizenship education (Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Mouffe, 2000; Merryfield, 2001; Merryfield & Wilson, 2005; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

1.3.2. Inquiry, discourse and engagement in citizenship education

Emphasis on inquiry, discourse and engagement is very much associated with citizenship education and its pedagogical approaches that view the role of citizen as active, rather than passive, engaged rather than alienated or apathetic, and contributing rather than accepting. Teachers may for example use questions in order to stimulate students to process and reflect on the content, combining talk with meaningful engagement. In education for citizenship, teaching knowledge of the foundation of democracy in a specific country and a sense of civic responsibility are vital, but some believe that is even more important to make students aware of national political issues, and to convince them of the importance of voting and having political discussions or of becoming involved in their local communities (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In the area of citizenship education, and more specifically of democratic citizenship education, there is a particular attention given to talk, discussion and discourse as a learning tool to create vigorous communities of inquiry. Dialogue is at the heart of safe and effective democracy. As it has been argued, the principle of thoughtful discourse is a central (although not the exclusive) feature of democratic citizenship education and is a fundamental building block for effective citizenship education in a democracy (Kennedy et al., 2011). In democratic societies, discussion in schools needs to be viewed as a critical component of citizenship education (Hess & Avery, 2008). Since discussion is also more engaging than other school activities, it may be more interesting to students and consequently lead to motivate them toward political engagement (Campbell, 2008; Hess, 2009). To become good citizens in a democratic context, students need to learn how to engage in political discourse and this includes the understanding of collective decision making about community and social issues, the ability to make a reasoned argument, as well as to cooperate with others, to appreciate their perspectives and experiences, and to tolerate other points of view. In other words, “*talk is fundamental to active citizenship*” (Enslin et al., 2001). Therefore, a pedagogical focus on dialogue and

discussion seems central to citizenship education. Needless to say that this recalls Freire's critical pedagogy, as noted in the previous section (Freire, 1968, 1973 and 1985) and as it will be further discussed in the following chapter about human rights education. However, while dialogue is crucial, strategies aiming at promoting civic learning opportunities include a collection of diverse approaches that range from discussion of controversial issues, to service learning, to simulations, to learning how a bill becomes law. As it has been shown by previous research, different pedagogical approaches might influence different forms of civic and political engagement, with a specific distinction between "big P" politics (such as elections, the influence of elites and state institutions) and "little p" politics (including more direct forms of lifestyle politics, community-based work, and politics that emphasize self-expression and self-actualization). Indeed, looking specifically at two prominent civic learning strategies, namely open discussion of societal issues and service learning, research showed that the former focuses on and promotes "big P" Politics, while the latter more commonly focuses on and therefore promotes "little p" political and civic activities (Kahne et al., 2013). Since discussion as a civic learning strategy has already been tackled, though only partially, in the following section I will look at service learning as a pedagogical tool for citizenship education.

1.3.3. Experiential and service learning in citizenship education

While there is not a singular, unified theory or pedagogical approach to citizenship education, there is a certain consensus regarding the kind of knowledge and skills citizenship teachers ought to instil in their students (Molina-Girón, 2016). At the very minimum, it comprises knowledge of how the basic democratic structure works, including political institutions and processes (e.g. how bills become law, and citizen rights and responsibilities) and key political actors, parties and organizations. Informed democratic participation also requires having knowledge of current, substantive government policy and critical problems.

Furthermore, in order to participate effectively, students need develop higher-order thinking skills (e.g. analysing and assessing issues and forming and sustaining opinions), inquiry and communication skills (e.g. defining a problem and analysing information from various sources), and politically related skills (e.g., debating and constructively challenging viewpoints) (Hess, 2009; Milner, 2002 and 2010; Parker, 2003).

According to a strong push in the academic literature, citizenship education must move beyond developing civic-related knowledge and skills, as important as those are, particularly considering its link to citizen

engagement in public life. A crucial aim of citizenship education, as I stated before, is the preparation of young people to participate as active and responsible citizens in their nation's civic and political life. Knowledge and skills are clearly not enough for the development of active citizens. In order for citizenship education to live up to its mission and 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."* (Kisby, 2017). Indeed, 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 (Kisby & Sloam, 2009). Experiential learning emphasises the vital role experience plays in learning, 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. The main objective is to enable learners to link theory with practice, to develop their own questions and find their own answers. Going beyond a passive and strictly didactic approach, service learning aims to develop skills for both life and work. In this sense, it provides hands-on experiences that students can apply in their lives and careers. It makes education real by building connections between the academic knowledge and student work that benefits the community through meaningful opportunities for students to apply what they learn to issues that matter to them. Service learning promotes student participation in work-based learning concerned with achieving public goods, also referred to as active learning in the community, community based learning for active citizenship, or active citizenship in the community. Service learning is often seen as a means of fostering civic and political engagement (Gibson & Levine, 2003) and it emphasises that students learn not just through the activities undertaken but through their critical reflection on and analysis of those activities. When students have the opportunity to put into practice the knowledge and skills they acquire in school to address societal issues and meaningful problems in their community, *"the content of their learning becomes more relevant to their lives, and they better understand the importance of civic participation."* (Gould, 2003). However, a key challenge facing such programmes is to go beyond traditional volunteering and doing good works and link the service learning with political knowledge, skills and understanding. In other words, *"the key to success is to be found in asking how community based or focused learning*

experiences can best be structured to challenge students to become 'political' such that they become more aware of the political significance of civic engagement in local communities." (Annette, 2006). In this regard, much of the existing research on the impact of community service programmes tends to focus on how individuals can make a difference in their local community, rather than on learning about the larger social/political structures and how change can be effected and achieved through these institutions (Keating & Janmaat, 2015; Kahne et al., 2013). The literature has also shown the valuable connection between service learning and human rights education, in order to create opportunities for students to engage in action-oriented service projects and classroom experiences that teach about current issues, promote human rights values, and provide essential life skills (Padilla, 2011).

1.3.4. Critical citizenship education

A body of research in schools examines various classroom practices that aim to engage children and youth in democratic citizenship by addressing societal issues, including inequality and injustice, that persist in multicultural societies (Kahne & Sporte, 2008; Osler, 2005; Osler & Starkey, 2005; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Some of these practices are informed by a critical pedagogical approach, a multicultural education approach, or an anti-racist education approach. For example, moving from a Canadian perspective, Molina-Girón (2016) frames a pedagogical approach to citizenship education that emphasises multiculturalism as a key factor and relies on the recognition of the varying backgrounds of students. While there is considerable overlap, and distinctions, among different approaches in the citizenship education literature, there has been less attention to providing a guiding framework for teaching, learning and re-creating democratic citizenship in a multicultural society. Critical citizenship education, as proposed by DeJaeghere (2009), attempts to fill this gap. Critical citizenship education is a framework emerging in the literature that suggests teaching and learning strategies to develop young people's engagement in the democratic goals of equality and justice in multicultural societies. It utilizes and extends philosophical perspectives and practices of multicultural education and critical pedagogy, and applies them to the purposes of education for citizenship. In terms of pedagogical approaches, critical citizenship education brings coherency to other approaches, including transformational citizenship education (Banks, 2008), anti-racist citizenship education (Osler & Starkey, 2005), and global education (Merryfield, 2001), and apply them specifically to the purpose of citizenship

education in multicultural societies. Extending McLaughlin's (1992) minimal and maximal interpretations of citizenship education, described in section 1.2.1. above, critical citizenship education approaches include several dimensions that go beyond knowledge, values and participation of minimal and maximal forms of citizenship. They problematize and (re)construct democratic citizenship to address civic realities of exclusion and discrimination, two factors that prevent the full enactment of democratic citizenship in multicultural societies. Moreover, current civic realities, including student disengagement and violence, as well as civic mega trends, such as environmental issues, conflict and terrorism, invoke the need for expanded models of citizenship education. Critical citizenship provides a framework for teaching, learning and assessing civics and citizenship education that addresses these civic realities and mega trends because it aims to prepare and motivate citizens to address societal problems, create social change, and tackle injustice. Learners are empowered through both knowledge and participation to understand the underlying causes of social problems and critically examine power asymmetries in society, as well as the effects of colonization/decolonization from a variety of perspectives. Knowledge of civic megatrends and realities, such as the effects of globalization, environmental issues, international relations and wars, including an understanding of non-dominant group perspectives about these issues, is crucial to a critical citizenship approach. Students and teachers are involved as proactive agents of change by connecting citizenship education with engagement in the public sphere. Therefore, they take part in decision-making processes together, and critically analyse knowledge and what happens when that knowledge is put into practice. *"Participation goes beyond a personal responsibility or a duty to society, and is conceptualized as including an examination of the relationships between the individual's behaviour in society and structures of social injustice. The goal of critical citizenship is to provide the conditions for collective social change."* (DeJaeghere & Tudball, 2007).

Critical citizenship education shares foundational principles with critical pedagogy and more recent developments in critical multicultural education, which both can help students to understand and develop new meanings of civic membership and participation, while critiquing the ways in which citizenship has not been developed, either historically or in the present, around democratic principles of freedom, equality and justice. Furthermore, critical citizenship education reflects a more holistic idea of students' multiple identities, who they are as citizens and how they enact their roles, given the changing civic realities and

mega trends that affect their lives (DeJaeghere & Tudball, 2007). Indeed, *“the preservation of identity and the recognition of multiple identities students may hold is a key right in education.”* (Spren & Monaghan, 2017). Such approaches require teachers to see their students and the goals of citizenship education differently from the view of traditional citizenship education. Rather than developing knowledge, skills and attitudes about essentialized notions of democracy and citizenship, these strategies allow teachers and students to bring their lived experiences and constructions of citizenship to engage with issues facing citizens in all strata of our societies. Critical citizenship education allows for the possibility of challenging and changing the way citizenship is experienced in the daily lives of diverse people within a nation-state. To do so, these pedagogies must address inequalities and discrimination perpetuated through current uses of power in our democratic institutions, and help students reclaim the power to engage in democratic processes (DeJaeghere, 2009). This underlines the need to conceptualise and frame citizenship education around new lines that focus on developing students’ knowledge and understanding of key societal issues and their ability to participate as active citizens in multiple communities of a globalizing world (Cogan & Derricott, 2000; Hebert & Sears, 2001; Kennedy, 1997, 2001 and 2003; Tudball, 2005). In a similar way, one strand of global citizenship education, which will be discussed in the next section, is called critical global citizenship. Its advocates suggest that conventional pedagogical global citizenship education initiatives are too often produced in particular Northern or Western contexts, and tend to turn a blind eye to historical power inequalities that are embedded in today’s global issues and relations. A critical approach to global citizenship education allows students to develop a critical awareness of bias and challenge common assumptions that conceal the historical and structural roots of power dynamics. Students can also learn to question their own role and the role of their own society, including the contents of their education, in the reproduction of inequalities. *“The idea is not to deflate students or to bring about guilt; instead, the aim is to point at the politically constructed and contingent nature of the forces of globalization. By learning to ask critical questions, students can begin to challenge the ruling assumptions of global inequality as something necessarily static.”* (Mikander, 2016).

1.4. Global citizenship education

Traditional approaches to citizenship education have progressively become inadequate to equip citizens so that they can handle complex ideas and ideologies, and contribute to their societies in a constructive way (Kennedy, 2010). Many worldwide trends and developments are challenging the notion of educating students to function in one nation state. These include the ways people are moving back and forth across national borders (Castles, 2009), the rights of movement permitted by the European Union, and the rights codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Banks, 2009). *“Inter-governmental, regional and national agencies whose mandate is to promote human rights standards promote the idea that human rights are integral to the democratic discourse and to citizenship education. In practice, there is some evidence that human rights education is increasingly recognized by educational authorities as a special feature of - or inclusive approach to - citizenship education.”* (Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006). Most democratic and pluralistic societies currently face the ongoing challenge of providing citizenship education capable of accommodating multiple forms of difference while still promoting the bonds, virtues and practices needed to develop a socially cohesive democratic nation (Banks, 2004 and 2007; Kymlicka, 2004; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Miller, 2000; Parker, 2003). In these new contexts, citizenship is no longer stable and necessarily anchored in national political collectivities (Soysal, 1997). It is also no longer able to rely on a single national space or remain sheltered from decisions made thousands of kilometres away. In fact, because of worldwide social relations, local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. A key issue raised by these phenomena is how to prepare citizens to negotiate and respond to these new contexts (Kennedy, 2012) and many have appointed global citizenship education to play this role. *“In the world system, questions such as the social role of education, its general purposes, its responsibility in the training of future generations of citizens need to be reframed on a global scale, since national citizenship is still an essential part of the educational process, although it is not all-embracing.”* (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016).

In recent years, global citizenship education (GCED) has become an increasingly influential idea around the world and symbolised a shift away from national towards more global conceptions of citizenship. This is also connected with the development of global education as a manifold container, especially after the establishment of the supranational institution of the European Union. There is in fact a precise history that began in 1997 with the Global Education Charter adopted by the Council of Europe and then in 2002 the First European Congress on Global Education that gave rise to the so-called Maastricht Declaration, setting

out the framework for a European strategy on global education. While there is much debate regarding the meaning of GCED and its implications for educational practice, many efforts aim to encourage awareness and knowledge of global interconnectivity, foster a sense of belonging to a shared global community, and encourage student commitments to take action to address global problems. *“The concept of global citizenship has gained prominence in the discourse of both citizenship and global education. Scholars in political science (Appiah, 2007; Cabrera, 2012; Dower, 2003) and education (Andreotti, 2014; Gaudelli, 2009 and 2016; Merryfield, 2002); non-governmental organizations, such as Oxfam Great Britain; and intergovernmental agencies, such as UNESCO, have introduced and discussed a) models of what constitutes global citizenship, b) comparisons between global citizenship and more traditional conceptions of citizenship in democratic nation-states, and c) connections between global citizenship and other fields, including global education, peace education and human rights education.”* (Fernekes, 2016). However, despite the growing interest in GCED, there remain challenges surrounding the conceptualization of global citizenship itself, connections between theory and pedagogical practice, and measurement of the effectiveness of educational efforts. Considering the difficulties that exist at a conceptual level regarding global citizenship, it is not surprising that transposing this idea into educational practices becomes problematic (Wang & Hoffman, 2016). Nevertheless, the concept has an ethical and political value and, by implication, educational significance. Oxley and Morris (2013) developed a fascinating typology to identify and distinguish the diverse conceptions of global citizenship, showing how this typology can provide a novel and powerful means to analyse the key features of the various range of educational policies and programmes that promote global citizenship. They identify eight principal conceptions of global citizenship and these are grouped into two broad forms/types: the cosmopolitan type incorporates the political, moral, economic and cultural conception; the advocacy based type incorporates the social, critical, environmental and spiritual conception of global citizenship. Despite some theoretical efforts, it is difficult to unambiguously define GCED and its related terminology remains an issue. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as it will be discussed in the following subparagraph, has been one of the major advocates for GCED and it has therefore promoted several activities to clarify and specify the boundaries of this educational approach.

1.4.1. UNESCO and GCED

The notion of global citizenship has gained more prominence in international development discourse since the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) launched in September 2012, which has been instrumental in raising awareness of the importance of global citizenship to building a better future for all. Indeed, among the three priority areas outlined in this global initiative, together with putting every child in school and improving the quality of learning, the third aims to "*foster global citizenship*" (United Nations Secretary-General, 2012). Needless to say that being formalized within the GEFI makes global citizenship education part of the wider global education approach, which has a rich academic tradition dating back to the classical roots of the cosmopolitan visions of ancient Greece. Leaving aside its origin in order to focus on a more contemporary analysis, here I will simply state that global education in its different meanings worldwide is a sort of broader referential horizon and definitely an antecedent of GCED, together with others such as cosmopolitanism and development education or education for sustainable development (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016).

Since the 1999 Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, acknowledging that education at all levels is one of the principal means to build a culture of peace and stressing that in this context human rights education is of particular importance (art. 4), UNESCO showed its approach towards global education. "*In this and a range of other documents, an educational concept is developed that no longer merely advocates civic education, education for democracy, human rights education, peace education and intercultural understanding, but does so with a global perspective, i.e. with an awareness of global interconnectedness. Thus the groundwork for what is known today as Global Citizenship Education was laid.*" (Wintersteiner et al., 2015). More recently, and in response to the increasing demand from its member states for support in empowering learners to become responsible global citizens, UNESCO has made GCED one of its key education objectives for the next eight years (2014-2021), under the overarching goal of education for peace and sustainable development (UNESCO, 2014). GCED has recently been reaffirmed by the UN General Assembly in its resolution "Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (United Nations, 2015) and by the resulting global commitment to a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which officially came into force on 1 January 2016. The international community recognized that education is essential for the success of all 17 goals of the new Agenda and

decided, at the same time, to include a stand-alone goal on education (SDG 4), which calls on countries to “ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”. The roadmap to achieve the ten targets of the education goal is the Education 2030 Framework for Action, adopted in November 2015, which provides guidance to governments and partners on how to turn commitments into action (UNESCO, 2015). Furthermore, SDG 4 specifically refers to GCED in its target 7 by addressing learners of all age groups and modalities: “By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development”. This conception of transformative education is being mainstreamed in the work of UNESCO within the new framework of the SDGs. It is also being used more often in terms of both going beyond the Millennium Development Goals and delivering the unfinished business of Education For All (UNESCO, 2015a), and in terms of promoting the kind of values-based and action-oriented education that aims at changing attitudes, values and behaviours. “GCED has gained traction in the post-2015 agenda partly because GCED has deep resonances not only with the founding philosophy of UNESCO but also with efforts by various stakeholders to nurture globally aware and globally competent citizenry and workforce for the 21st century.” (Mochizuki, 2016). In this regard, GCED has been conceptualized as a new narrative about education (Torres, 2015). Although it is well recognized as a key dimension of education for dealing with the challenges and opportunities posed by globalization, consensus about what global citizenship means, and consequently what GCED should promote, is yet to be reached. In an attempt to fill this gap, and following several preparatory conferences and documents, UNESCO declared in a 2014 publication that GCED “is a framing paradigm which encapsulates how education can develop the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes learners need for securing a world which is more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable. It represents a conceptual shift in that it recognizes the relevance of education in understanding and resolving global issues in their social, political, cultural, economic and environmental dimensions. It also acknowledges the role of education in moving beyond the development of knowledge and cognitive skills to build values, soft skills and attitudes among learners that can facilitate international cooperation and promote social transformation.” (UNESCO, 2014a).

UNESCO has a dedicated webpage⁴ on GCED. According to the definition given, “*GCED aims to empower learners to assume active roles to face and resolve global challenges and to become proactive contributors to a more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive and secure world*”. If we go deeper and we further explore the content of the webpage, we find confirmation that GCED is one of the strategic areas of UNESCO’s work for the period 2014-2021. This work is guided by the Education 2030 Agenda and Framework for Action, notably Target 4.7 of the SDGs. UNESCO’s approach to GCED is meant to be holistic (addressing learning content and outcomes, pedagogy and the learning environment in formal, non-formal and informal learning settings); transformative (enabling learners to transform themselves and society); value based (promoting universally shared values such as non-discrimination, equality, respect and dialogue); and part of a larger commitment to support the quality and relevance of education. GCED is closely connected to education for sustainable development (ESD), includes Education about the Holocaust and genocide, and builds on UNESCO’s long standing experience in peace and human rights education (PHRE), which all remain specific areas of work for the Organization. Therefore, global citizenship education is clearly nourished by several approaches related to human rights, intercultural understandings, development education, and so forth. Within this framework, according to some scholars, GCED could have a unifying role – what UNESCO defines as a “framing paradigm” (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). As stated by the Organization, GCED “*applies a multifaceted approach, employing concepts, methodologies and theories already implemented in different fields and subjects, including human rights education, peace education, education for sustainable development and education for international understanding. As such, it aims to advance their overlapping agendas, which share a common objective to foster a more just, peaceful and sustainable world.*” (UNESCO, 2014a). However, according to some other scholars, this hybridization could exacerbate even further the complex and controversial nature of GCED. As pointed out by previous international studies, without a clear and publicly accepted definition there is a danger that citizenship education becomes a “catch-all” for lots of related topics and aspects (Kerr, 1999), diminishing its focus and muddling its content. While global citizenship education represents an alternative approach to purely nation-centric versions of citizenship education, it still persists with the notion of citizenship and therefore implies all the historical difficulties related to this term. While some authors affirm that GCED is not necessarily

⁴ Accessed on 12 February 2018: <https://en.unesco.org/gced>

something that will come through traditional models of citizenship or global education (Marshall, 2005), others question whether global citizenship education is not simply more informed local citizenship education, and therefore global citizenship is a fiction, a seeming paradox or oxymoron (Davies, 2006). Following this line of reasoning, GCED is arguably nothing more than an adaptation and enrichment of local and national citizenship education programs to the context of the intensified globalization by introducing issues of global concern, and elements of an emerging global civic culture, into existing formal or non-formal education programs (Tawil, 2013). Thus, how can GCED be any more transformative than earlier versions of citizenship education? As warned by Pashby (2008), those theorizing global citizenship education should be careful and cognizant of the ways a global orientation to citizenship education may, despite its intentions, reinforce a global hegemony and re-inscribe the problems inherent to citizenship. This is why it seems important to explore some critical points of GCED in the following section.

1.4.2. Critiques of GCED

The fundament of GCED has repeatedly been challenged in the literature to expose tensions and difficulties in its implementation within schools. As noted in section 1.1.3. above, despite global phenomena it is the nation that remains the most important location for citizenship, confers a citizen's legal identity and instils a sense of belonging. Bringing this nationalist orientation in schools risks to nullify GCED and perpetuate a national status quo rather than fostering social change. Furthermore, considering that citizenship education has emerged, in part at least, as a response to the declining rates of participation in civil society, how could GCED encourage students' empowerment and active participation at local level? National citizenship resists, despite citizens lack of engagement, because the necessary civil and political structures are in place. But global citizenship is virtual, as Pike (2008) suggests, and its essence depends upon the collective participation of citizens worldwide to give substance to an otherwise unrealizable ideal. Finally, it is quite telling that advocates of global citizenship come principally from Western industrialized countries with a recent history of stability, prosperity and security built upon a legacy of nationalism: "*for the countless millions of people worldwide who daily struggle for survival and the satisfaction of basic human rights, or for recognition of their cultural identity, global citizenship is not even on the agenda.*" (Pike, 2008). This has a heavy impact on education and schools, questioning the elitist nature of GCED.

An emerging critical literature on GCED highlights its implicit cultural and class biases in discourse and practice that privilege Western worldviews, pointing out that there won't be any transformation but only tension if global citizenship education remains a merely nominal goal without any critical analysis of existing societal structures (Hartman & Kiely, 2014). In this sense, GCED risks to become another tool for cultural or class-based global domination. Even though the world no longer consists of colonies and colonial powers, many aspects of the global economy follow the same patterns as during colonial times and there are structures that affect people in the same way, with widening gaps between the world's richest and the world's poorest (Mikander, 2016). Placing colonialism in the past, or ignoring it, conveys the message that it does not affect the construction of the present situation (Andreotti, 2007) but, in order to understand global issues, a complex web of cultural and material local/global processes and contexts needs to be examined and unpacked. If we fail to do so in GCED, we may end up promoting a new "civilising mission" as the slogan for a generation committed to make a difference by saving/educating/civilising the world. This generation will then project their beliefs and myths as universal and will act by reproducing power relations and violence similar to those in colonial times (Andreotti, 2006). Indeed, moving from a postcolonial perspective, Andreotti and De Souza (2012) argue that without critical analysis of power relations and global inequalities, GCED might result in educational practices that unintentionally reproduce and reinforce an ethnocentric, ahistorical and paternalistic approach. While recognising that there is no universal recipe that will serve all contexts and that soft GCED might already represent a major step in some cases, critical GCED *"tries to promote change without telling learners what they should think or do, by creating spaces where they are safe to analyse and experiment with other forms of seeing/thinking and being/relating to one another. The focus is on the historical/cultural production of knowledge and power in order to empower learners to make better informed choices"* (Andreotti, 2006).

The cosmopolitan orientation at the heart of global citizenship has also been subject to criticism on the basis that it is detached from real contexts, communities or nations, therefore relying on an abstract and empty global utopia. Critical postcolonial scholars have suggested that this cosmopolitan substratum of GCED requires to be problematized rather than be taken for granted, as it has several implications including the risk of becoming a form of Western values imposition on non-Western worlds. The call to make others care about issues defined as important by the so-called global citizen can be seen as a problematic missionary

mindset, evoking the unquestioned inherent moral superiority of the global self as a leader who converts the unconverted to global activism on behalf of the oppressed other. Similarly, emphasis on the pursuit of the global citizen's own passions and desires occurs in the absence of any equivalent recognition of the passions of people who are positioned as the beneficiaries of global action. Those people don't even seem to have passions and they are constructed as empty receivers of passionate action by the global citizen. Promoting global initiatives always runs a risk of masking enormous differences in human resources and ignoring diversity of human desires. Students and others who have the means to address global problems also need the means to question their own positionality and their constructions of "the other" they so passionately hope to help. *"As a great deal of anthropological work has pointed out, even the best efforts at promoting human rights or social justice can upset or interfere in undesirable ways with the complex ecologies of relationships and resources that already exist in communities. Global citizenship education must give students deep knowledge of local cultural settings and the ability to put self-critical practice at the core of their activist engagements. It is simply not true that the whole world desires the same things."* (Wang & Hoffman, 2016). Acknowledging and dealing with difference and diversity, without recurring to or imposing a neutral and universal idea of citizenship, is therefore a critical aspect of GCED.

Global citizenship discourse is undoubtedly and powerfully transforming the landscape of global social action, but is it doing so in the way it intends to? Or is it just reasserting the unexamined hegemony of those who have always had the power to define what is normal and good for everyone else? In this regard, colonial times don't seem that far away and GCED must be rethought in light of this reasoning. The current GCED advocacy promoted by UNESCO reinforces this identification of global citizens as heroic activists who fight prejudice, discrimination, human rights violations and violence. This may encourage learners, especially in the developed countries, to see problems to be solved as existing in a distant locality apart from their daily life (Mochizuki, 2016), and to consider themselves on a mission to save the rest of the world according to what they think is fair and right. UNESCO has clarified in a quite recent publication that the complex and challenging nature of GCED should be seen as a strength rather than a weakness, as it obliges everyone engaged in the process to continuously re-examine perceptions, values, beliefs and worldviews. This relates to the fundamental question at the basis of GCED, namely how to promote universality (e.g. common and collective identity, interest, participation, duty), while respecting singularity (e.g. individual

rights, self-improvement). For example, should global citizenship education promote global community outcomes or outcomes for individual learners? How to simultaneously promote global solidarity and individual competitiveness? How to handle the sensitive process of reconciling local and global identities and interests? Can the transformative part of GCED challenge the status quo or would that be seen as a threat to local/national authorities when it is in conflict with local or national interests? (UNESCO, 2014a). Providing more questions than answers, UNESCO nonetheless decided to embark on GCED and make it a priority area of work until 2021 (UNESCO, 2014). In the following section I will try to elaborate a little bit further on a conception of global citizenship education that places human rights at the core of its rationale but also takes into account the criticisms just raised to tackle power asymmetries, inequality and injustice.

1.4.3. GCED and human rights

While I underlined the rise of GCED, largely endorsed by the UN and specifically promoted by UNESCO, I also stressed that this concept remains quite broad, somehow vague in its theoretical definition and challenging in its implementation. Some might even question why this term became so prominent and it ended up shaping the global discourse on education. In fact, bearing in mind that the narrative about GCED is not a new one and has been academically discussed over at least the past three decades, it is certainly new and important the way in which this narrative has reached the policy scenarios in recent years. Global citizenship marks a paradigm shift because the relevant frame of reference is no longer the nation state, but a global society that is networked on multiple levels and equally localized and globalized. *“Global Citizenship Education thereby shifts attention to an important question of contemporary education that has received insufficient attention so far: how can we nurture responsible global citizens, who envision the ethical goal of a peaceful global society, and do whatever they can to promote it in both their private and professional lives as well as in their role as citizens?”* (Wintersteiner et al., 2015). Embracing the understanding of GCED as a framing paradigm that can properly reflect current global changes and contemporary phenomena, as already discussed above, it is evident that this notion deserves further examination and research, particularly concerning its implementation in schools. However, GCED *“constitutes an original, necessary and forward-looking mental framework, which seems to be indispensable to education in times of globalization and a global society.”* (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016).

Human rights are at the basis of a democratic global perspective and a core element of the transcendent move toward a global civic culture, providing a common set of universal values. Citizenship will continue, for the foreseeable future, to be national in practice, but human rights allow to imbue the concept of citizenship with an ethos – a set of moral principles and codes of conduct – that is global in its scope (Pike, 2008). However, a limited and superficial endorsement of human rights is certainly not enough for GCED. *“(T)he emphasis on human rights is certainly necessary for a world in which nations interact all the time on terms (let us hope) of justice and mutual respect. But is it sufficient? As students here grow up, is it sufficient for them to learn that they are above all citizens of the United States but that they ought to respect the basic human rights of citizens of India, Bolivia, Nigeria, and Norway? Or should they – as I think – in addition to giving special attention to the history and current situation of their own nation, learn a good deal more than they frequently do about the rest of the world in which they live, about India and Bolivia and Nigeria and Norway and their histories, problems, and comparative successes? Should they learn only that citizens of India have equal basic human rights, or should they also learn about the problems of hunger and pollution in India, and the implications of these problems for the larger issues of global hunger and global ecology? Most important, should they be taught that they are, above all, citizens of the United States, or should they instead be taught that they are, above all, citizens of a world of human beings, and that, while they happen to be situated in the United States, they have to share this world with the citizens of other countries?”* (Nussbaum, 2002). Taking Nussbaum’s powerful statement and in light also of the critiques raised in section 1.4.2. above, it seems essential for GCED to incorporate diversity and a critical analysis of power relations and global inequalities. While firmly rooted in human rights, GCED needs to move away from an empty utopia or an abstract cosmopolitanism, and promote a model of political education which addresses critical thinking, active participation, civil engagement, as well as inequality and injustice. *“Global Citizenship Education faces the challenge, on the one hand, to create a notion of citizenship that is as open, pragmatic and cosmopolitan as possible, while, on the other hand, it must be careful not to subscribe to apolitical thought. The multiple connections between local, regional and global levels, as well as global structures must be clearly delineated, so that starting points and concrete scopes of action to change these conditions and structures can be presented.”* (Wintersteiner et al., 2015). This understanding is also very

much aligned with critical citizenship education, as examined in section 1.3.4. above, that addresses current civic realities and mega trends in order to prepare learners to bring about social change.

Chapter 1 – Conclusion

This chapter started with an attempt to frame the complex and contested concept of citizenship and showed its fluidity and adaptability. Rather than a univocal definition, there are many approaches to citizenship and I argued, referring to some of the main scholars in the field, that citizenship can be broadly split into a set of four dimensions, namely membership in a political community, rights, participation and identity. Among the many typologies aiming at capturing the different features and forms of citizenship, I analysed probably the best known theories of liberal, communitarian and cosmopolitan citizenship. Furthermore, I maintained that the idea of the cosmopolitan model to move beyond the nation-state can better reflect globalization, increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of our contemporary world. As a result, I underlined the shift from a national to a global concept of citizenship, analysing also some of the criticisms raised regarding the notion of global citizenship. However, even in the absence of any legal status as pointed out by many scholars, I claimed that global citizenship can mean a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity beyond the borders of a single nation and based on human rights. Moving from citizenship to citizenship education, in the second part of the chapter I showed some similarities in their evolution, including their multifaceted nature and multiple approaches, and their shift toward a post-national perspective. In addressing citizenship education, I explored some major definitions and interpretations (minimal and maximal), other distinctions (education about/through/for citizenship) and categorisations based on its objectives and reference to values. I argued that human rights can bring a crucial values-based contribution to education. Together with a post-national model of citizenship education that draws on a cosmopolitan understanding, I defined the notion of transformative citizenship education as the necessary step to effectively educate students to function in the 21st century. This means enabling them to acquire the information, skills and values needed to challenge inequality within their communities, their nations and the world; to develop cosmopolitan values and perspectives, as well as critical thinking; to recognize and validate their cultural identities in order to develop reflective cultural, national, regional and global identifications, and to understand how these identities are interrelated and constructed; and to take actions to

create just and democratic multicultural communities and societies. Such an ambitious mission requires not only a focus on what is taught as part of citizenship education, but also, and equally important, a focus on how the content is taught. This is why I dedicated the third part of the chapter to citizenship education pedagogy and I argued that both content and pedagogy are crucial for citizenship education. Far from carrying out a comprehensive pedagogical analysis, I limited my contribution to elaborate on the democratic transformation approach, as well as on discussion and service learning as pedagogical tools for citizenship education. This led to the framework defined in the literature as critical citizenship education, which is particularly relevant to my research. In response to current civic realities, including student disengagement and violence, as well as civic mega trends, such as environmental issues, conflict and terrorism, critical citizenship education prepares and motivates citizens to address societal problems, create social change and tackle injustice. This critical lens is also applicable to the concept of global citizenship education, as explored in the fourth part of the chapter. After introducing global citizenship education with a specific look at UNESCO's work in this field, as one of the major advocates for global citizenship education, I addressed some critiques, mostly coming from a postcolonial perspective. Indeed, while global citizenship education can put the best efforts to promote human rights and social justice, it needs to move away from an empty utopia or an abstract cosmopolitanism. As I argued, global citizenship education has to place human rights at the core of its rationale, but it also needs to tackle power asymmetries, inequality and injustice. The critical points raised by the postcolonial scholars I examined show the risks and challenges that global citizenship education might encounter. It is evident that global citizenship education is an increasingly influential idea around the world and provides a new narrative that is already shaping the global discourse on education. It can also offer a framing paradigm that can properly reflect current global changes and contemporary phenomena as I stated at the beginning of this chapter, along the lines of cosmopolitan and post-national interpretations. However, keeping its roots grounded in human rights, I argued that global citizenship education has to adopt a transformative and critical lens in order to fulfil its goals.

Chapter 2 – Human Rights Education (HRE)

Drawing from the conclusion of the previous chapter where I argued that global citizenship education (GCE) must keep its roots grounded in human rights and adopt a transformative and critical lens in order to fulfil its goals, this chapter is dedicated to human rights education (HRE). Indeed, there are many similarities between these two conceptions of education. Monaghan and Spreen (2016), for example, argue that HRE and GCE share similarly stated goals, such as peace and tolerance, as well as approaches and strategies. Furthermore, many of the same institutions and actors that once were at the forefront in advocating for HRE have now shifted their attention to GCE, including governments, policymakers and the international community at large embodied by UNESCO. According to Monaghan and Spreen, this shift happened in a wider framework in which we assist at the changing character of conflict in post-Cold War era, the acceleration of globalization and the subsequent expanse and increasing influence of non-state actors in education policy formation and transfer. However, according to the scholars, the shift to GCE is not without consequences, particularly with regard to developing and implementing educational programming. *“HRE has always walked a fine balance between, on the one hand, raising awareness about rights and addressing international conventions, treaties, and protocols and, on the other, educating citizens about how to appeal to their governments to fulfill them. Like HRE, GCE also appears to strike a balance between teaching about identity and citizenship that transcends national borders. However, unlike HRE, which endeavors to uphold rights put forth in recognized treaties and conventions via the building or strengthening of rights-respecting cultures within and between states, GCE aims to bring into being a supposed latent global consciousness that promotes tolerance within a benign global market economy.”* (Monaghan & Spreen, 2016). Stated differently, while GCE affords primacy to the affective dimension of rights (relationships, reflection and action), avoiding or excluding altogether the legal dimension, HRE pairs affective and legal dimensions. While through GCE students are encouraged to feel part of a global community, take action by traveling to see and experience other cultures and exercise agency as more informed consumers on the global marketplace, through HRE students are equipped with the legal and affective knowledge and experience to challenge the status quo and change rights violations. This is why the scholars conclude by arguing for continuing and renewed emphasis and action on behalf of HRE, rather than replacing it with GCE (Monaghan & Spreen, 2016).

Since in the previous chapter I focused on citizenship education and GCE, in this chapter I will try to capture the main features and distinctive characteristics of HRE. The chapter is divided into three main parts, and each of them has three subparagraphs. The first part introduces the interdisciplinary and heterogeneous nature of HRE, including the problem of academic territoriality, and stresses that reference to international human rights instruments and related mechanisms remains central to any HRE program and is the bedrock that distinguishes HRE from other fields of education such as peace education or global education. Tracing the emergence and institutionalization of HRE within the broader human rights movement, I underline that HRE has to deal necessarily with some of the longstanding controversies within the human rights field but, at the same time, it might offer partial solutions to them. Since there are no ready-made formulas or a one-size-fits-all model for HRE, the process of vernacularization is also presented and widely described. While there are different approaches to and definitions of HRE, as I will detail below, there is broad agreement about certain core components, namely that HRE must include both content and process related to human rights. The diversity of definitions of HRE, and therefore of goals, applications and methodologies, has been pointed out by some scholars as one of its main challenging features, while according to others it confirms the creative force and ultimate effectiveness of HRE. Building on the different definitions analysed and a quite detailed literature review, I argue that it is of extreme importance for HRE to keep together its legal and normative dimensions in order to live up to its ultimate goal, which is to empower persons to contribute to the building and promotion of a universal culture of human rights.

The second part of this chapter considers the first substantive exploration on HRE Models developed by Tibbitts in 2002, who identifies three emerging typologies: Values and Awareness Model, Accountability Model and Transformational Model. Each model is associated with particular target groups, contents and strategies in relation to a human development and social change framework. These models have been revisited by Tibbitts in 2017 through the introduction of new elements (e.g. teaching and learning practices, the learning context/sponsoring organization and the learner) that add descriptive complexity and strengthen their analytical power. While the original HRE Models remain useful typologies for describing and critically analysing HRE practices, Tibbitts proposes amendments to the models including a stronger association of the Values and Awareness Model with socialization, the Accountability Model with professional development,

and the Transformation⁵ Model with activism. For this reason, the titles are also extended to: Values and Awareness-Socialization Model; Accountability-Professional Development Model; Activism-Transformation Model. This evolution of Tibbitts' models is therefore analysed before I review some criticisms raised in connection with the Values and Awareness Model, which continues to be a problematic one within HRE practices as it is not designed to cultivate either learner agency or social transformation. Thus, an interesting academic debate is illustrated since Tibbitts has subsequently responded to the various concerns raised in the critique. This analysis points towards a reconsideration of HRE as critical and transformative, therefore several perspectives in the academic literature suggesting this direction are considered and discussed in the last subparagraph.

The third part of the chapter is dedicated to HRE pedagogies. Indeed, HRE is strongly associated with critical pedagogy which encourages learners to think critically on their situation, recognize connections between their individual problems and the social contexts, question power relationships and take action against oppression, discrimination and injustice. The work of Brazilian scholar Paulo Freire is particularly enlightening in this regard. As I will show, the use of participatory and critical pedagogy, in the framework of promoting a human rights culture through empowerment and transformation, emerges as a unique characteristic of HRE. After taking into account some of the core Freirean principles and their relevance for HRE, such as the ideas of conscientization and dialogue, as well as of problem-posing and liberatory education, I reiterate the transformative and emancipatory orientation of HRE that clearly recalls critical pedagogy. The idea of active learning pedagogy is also presented and connected to the pedagogy emerging from the relational hermeneutic epistemology, which represents an interesting approach to HRE. Starting with the premise that Western conceptualization of rights has constituted the exclusive source of curriculum and pedagogy of human rights education, at the expense of Non-Western communities who also have moral concerns that are “isomorphic equivalents” of human rights, a hermeneutic approach tackles some of the anti-educational orthodoxies that have resulted from grounding human rights knowledge on one tradition, namely the Western traditions on rights. This approach of critical hermeneutics in HRE is also analysed within the case study of a group of Greek-Cypriot teachers, before going into the section about the crucial role of contexts and emotions. Indeed, an important element of HRE is that it conforms to the social reality

⁵ In this 2017 article the author uses the term “transformation” rather than “transformational”, a slight change from the original HRE Models article (Tibbitts, 2002), based solely on linguistic considerations.

of the place in which it is taught and builds on local challenges, rather than simply presenting human rights through one perspective. It is also argued that in the debate between universalists and cultural relativists, critical hermeneutical approach constitutes a third conceptualization of human rights that seeks to reconcile the previous two. Furthermore, with regard to emotions, several scholars have deeply investigated the role of emotions in human rights teaching and learning, looking at the interesting entanglement of emotion, pedagogy and HRE. Some of these major concepts and ideas, including pedagogic discomfort, mutual vulnerability and needs, compassion and solidarity, empathy and altruism, are presented in the last part of the chapter just before the conclusion.

2.1. Interdisciplinary and heterogeneous HRE

Over the last 30 years there has been growing consensus from the international community on the fundamental role of human rights education (HRE) in the realization of human rights and on the importance of fully and effectively implementing the right to human rights education. HRE has been increasingly recognised not only as a human right in itself but also as a door opener for other human rights. HRE is characterised by diverse approaches and has an inherent identity that can overlap with other educational approaches. It shares goals and methodologies with many other forms of education in both the formal and informal sectors. Since the early nineties the emergent field of HRE *“has spawned a growing body of educational theory, practice and research that often intersects with activities in other fields of educational study, such as citizenship education, peace education, anti-racism education, Holocaust/genocide education, education for sustainable development and education for intercultural understanding.”* (Tibbitts & Kirchsclaeger, 2010). While this interdisciplinarity constitutes a strength in developing the theory and practice of HRE, *“it faces the problem of academic territoriality. Theorists, and to some degree practitioners as well, too often are reluctant to examine the core concepts and ideas from other subject fields, preferring to maintain contacts with scholars and teachers trained in the same academic background.”* (Tibbitts & Fernekes, 2011). This is why the interdisciplinary and heterogeneous nature of HRE, along with educators’ contrasting views on its implementation, makes it inherently difficult and complex. As rightfully pointed out by Fritzsche, human rights educators in general may not have a pedagogical background and can come from a range of different disciplines, such as philosophy, the humanities, the social science as well as

jurisprudence. Emphases and priorities can depend on the disciplinary lens through which human rights and HRE are viewed, whether that be philosophical, legal, political and social scientific or pedagogical. *“The philosophical perspective lays the focus on ideas, moral standards, human dignity and competing approaches for legitimizing human rights. The legal perspective concentrates on rights, legal instruments, institution building, knowledge orientation, the state, law enforcement, and reference to the international documents. The political and social science perspectives focus on conflicts, development, change, publicity, critique of violations, the civil society, and the culture of human rights. The pedagogical perspective includes the focus on values, ‘implicit HRE’, individual behavior, the prevention of violations, and human rights as a way of life.”* (Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006).

Reardon, a pioneering scholar of peace education and human rights, recognizes that activists, researchers, university and school educators have had differences over the significance of each of these sectors to the integrity and effectiveness of the peace knowledge field, leading to a general lack of appreciation towards each other contribution as a result of academic territoriality. She underlines that *“these distinctions and assessments of comparative significance to the fundamental purposes of the field are specious and dysfunctional, presenting an obstacle for the achievements of the whole field, not unlike the reductionist thinking of the corporate paradigm that upholds the system of inequality and a culture of greed, that peace education seeks to overcome.”* (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015). However, she argues that a distinction is needed between the largely content-based general practice of HRE and human rights learning (HRL) that puts equal emphasis on an engaged pedagogy. HRE, according to Reardon, places much of its emphasis on conveying knowledge of human rights, whereas HRL focuses on developing political efficacy for the realization of human rights. HRL also embraces an inquiry-based perspective that is less information-centred and much closer to critical and participatory pedagogy. The topography of the conceptual map of the field is further complicated by the introduction of the term “training” – firmly established with the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training of 2011 (see chapter 3, section 3.1.2.) – as a third element in the whole field of study. Reardon explains: *“It is holism, critical learning and a commitment to transformative change that distinguish critical inquiry based human rights learning from information based human rights education, making human rights learning integral to peace education. The possibilities opened by these three attributes of human rights learning call us to risk undertaking the politically sensitive task of*

entering into authentic and transparent dialogue with power, so that we may learn together the ways to transformative change.” (Reardon, 2009). Reardon’s academic work has undoubtedly laid the foundation for an inspiring cross-disciplinary field that integrates peace education and the quest for international human rights within a gender-conscious, global perspective. However, her distinction between HRE and HRL shifts the focus from the internationally and regionally recognized standards of human rights education which will be analysed in the following chapter and that are at the basis of this research. Although HRE has moved beyond simply spreading information about international human rights law, these instruments (and related mechanisms) remain central to any HRE program. Reference to these instruments and mechanisms is the bedrock that distinguishes HRE from other fields of education such as peace education or global education (Tibbitts, 2002; Tibbitts & Fernekes 2011). While HRE may share similar goals with other forms of education, *“it differs by being grounded in international legal instruments. In practice, this means addressing any social issue like racism or bullying from a human rights perspective. For example, a human rights approach to racism would address it as a violation of the human right to freedom from discrimination, a fundamental human right that comes with the responsibility to protect that right for others.”* (Flowers, 2017). In the following subparagraph I will focus on the emergence and institutionalization of HRE within the broader human rights movement (2.1.1.) before moving into HRE definitions (2.1.2.) and attempting to clarify the legal and normative dimensions of HRE (2.1.3.).

2.1.1.HRE within the human rights movement

During the past three decades, HRE has emerged as an important component of the broader human rights movement, propelled by the work of the United Nations (UN) and its agencies, regional human rights bodies, intergovernmental organizations, international and local NGOs, and broader social movements emphasizing human rights. Since its origins, a “critical human rights consciousness” has indeed been pointed out in the literature as a key goal of HRE (Meintjes, 1997). As a result, the international human rights movement has broadened its focus by seeking to integrate human rights concepts, norms and values within the mainstream educational systems of nation-states worldwide (Tibbitts & Kirchsclaeger, 2010). While the main aim of the human rights movement is the protection of the political, civil, social, cultural and economic rights of individuals and marginalized groups, the prevention of human rights abuses and the promotion of an

understanding of human rights through education have progressively become a central aspect of the broader human rights agenda. Building on prior work, Russell and Suarez suggest that the emergence and institutionalization of the field of HRE is linked of three interrelated factors: globalization, the expansion of mass education and the consolidation of the global human rights movement (Ramirez et al., 2006). Applying world polity theory as theoretical frame for understanding the dramatic expansion and institutionalization of HRE, the authors conclude that, while the initial efforts towards the promotion of international treaties and the protection of victims of abuse have not diminished, the prevention of abuses through education has become a new pillar of the human rights movement. They also argue that the institutionalization of HRE as a distinctive field is reflected in the proliferation of educational curricula, textbooks and implementation in schools and they highlight that the number of publications with the term “human rights education” in the title has risen from 51 in 2000 to 474 in 2013 (Russell & Suarez, 2017). Other scholars and practitioners have noted the rise in educational strategies as part of larger human rights efforts and the emergence of HRE on its own as a field of scholarship and practice (Mihir & Schmitz, 2007).

In a recent publication, Tibbitts defines HRE as “*a practice-oriented expression of the high-minded ideals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), including equality and respect for human dignity.*” (Tibbitts, 2018), reasserting once again the place of HRE within a broader human rights perspective. Indeed, “*(h)uman rights education (HRE), like the wider international human rights project, is a bold attempt to influence laws and state behavior, while at the same time inspiring people to connect human rights to their everyday lives.*” (Tibbitts & Katz, 2017). However, many authors identify the longstanding controversies within the human rights field as one of the reason for the difficult character of HRE itself. Examples include, to name only a few of these controversies, the differentiation between the realisation of the economic, social and cultural rights on the one hand, and the political rights on the other; the so called “western bias”; the collective character of some human rights; and situations of conflicting human rights (Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006). “*The academic challenge to human rights comes from scholars who make the following claims; firstly, that human rights are not ‘universal’ but biased in favor of western cultural views. These scholars argue that the western theory of human rights places too much emphasis on personal autonomy, prioritizing civil and political rights over social and economic rights. They also debate the logic of the deontological approach to human rights, arguing that the egalitarian principle seen as*

incontrovertible is a Judeo-Christian notion and therefore not valid cross-culturally (...) At the same time, there are those scholars working within the debate concerning the universality/relativity of human rights who defend the applicability of global human rights assuming that the concept is flexible enough to accommodate cultural differences (Bauer, Bell 1999; Donnelly 2007, 2008; Goodhart 2008; McCowan 2012; Tatsuo 1999). The development of a theoretical foundation for HRE that will accommodate cultural differences continues to be a challenge for those working within this field.” (Parish, 2015). According to Tibbitts (2018), in the past few years the international human rights movement has been stressed and under attack, including challenges related to national security and terrorism, the rise of reactionary populism marked by racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia, a shrinking civic space for NGOs due to restrictive national laws, and so forth (see also Tibbitts & Katz, 2017). At this juncture, states Tibbitts, HRE can serve as a strong pillar upholding the movement. She also adds that HRE might offer partial solutions to two key paradoxes that have plagued the international human rights project, namely the centrality of the nation-state and the historical origins of human rights. In regard to state power as the guarantor of human rights, Tibbitts underlines that HRE programmes can be embedded within community development programmes, and therefore contribute to change at the local level where weak or fragile states are unable to govern and implement human rights – thus going beyond the centrality of the nation-state. As for the second paradox, linked to the so-called North-South divide and critiques of human rights as a Western imposition, HRE theorists have responded by grounding their work in the critical pedagogy approach which requires a listening and dialogic pedagogy in every learning context. Indeed, recent research in the field of HRE has proved that participatory and dialogical tools and techniques that actively involve young people in pedagogical interventions in schools have the capacity to foster an inclusive co-construction of national belonging in classrooms characterized by diversity and address aspects of living together by allowing genuine participation (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). *“The infusion of the critical approach within human rights education means not only critically reviewing the social and cultural environments in which learners find themselves, but also the human rights framework itself. This approach can explicitly reveal and allow learners to examine the arguments of the Western origins and potential hegemonic influences of the human rights system, while in a learning context dedicated to promoting and protect human dignity. The focus then becomes not whether the human rights framework is the preferable value system to apply, but ‘what is to be*

done' – using the value system and language indigenous to and embraced by the learner, and presumably consistent with humanistic values." (Tibbitts, 2018). Indeed, there are no ready-made formulas for HRE but it is about adjusting the content and methodologies so that the message of human rights can be relevant and brought closer to people in their daily lives – a term used in the field of HRE is vernacularization or localisation. Merry (2006) refers to this process of vernacularization to explore the practice of human rights, focusing on where and how human rights concepts and institutions are produced, how they circulate and how they shape everyday lives and actions. She starts from questions such as: how do human rights ideas become adopted in a wide variety of culturally distinct communities? How do they become meaningful in local social settings? And she goes further by arguing that the way local actors translate human rights concepts into local contexts, meaning the way they vernacularize, results in different approaches and varies greatly from "replication" of global models, thinly adapted to local contexts, to "hybrids" that are thickly shaped by and draw more extensively on local institutions, structures, knowledge, idioms and practices (Merry, 2006). This confirms the aforementioned idea that HRE does not lend itself to spreading as a one-size-fits-all model but each HRE initiative must be custom designed for a particular setting and group of learners, though HRE goals and methodologies might be transferable (Flowers, 2017). *"This educational process helps to make human rights relevant to the lives of the learners. If learners fail to see such relevance, they may feel alienated and threatened by HRE, especially if it conflicts with their understanding of their own society and its social values and practices. To some learners, the promotion of international human rights can present a challenge to long-held convictions, goals, or aspirations, or it can feel like an imposition of foreign values that benefit one group over another. However, the problem-solving focus of human rights education can help to address this conflict."* (Holland & Martin, 2017). While it is clear that the rise of HRE is closely linked to an increasingly recognized global culture of human rights (Gearon, 2012; Ramirez et al., 2007), different approaches to a definition of HRE exist, as I will discuss in the following section.

2.1.2.HRE definitions

HRE is an international movement aimed to promote awareness about the rights accorded by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and related human rights conventions, as well as the procedures that exist for the redress of violations of these rights (Amnesty International, 2005; Reardon, 1995; Tibbitts,

1996). *“The mandate for human rights education is unequivocal: you have a human right to know your rights.”* (Flowers, 2000). Despite numerous policy documents developed by UN affiliated agencies, international policymaking bodies, regional human rights bodies and national human rights agencies have referenced HRE since the adoption of the UDHR, as it will be discussed in the following chapter, HRE has remained until recently something of an undefined creature. It has been described by Gerber, a leading legal scholar in the field, as *“a slogan in search of a definition”* (Gerber, 2008). At its most basic level, HRE concerns *“the provision and development of awareness about fundamental rights, freedoms and responsibilities”* (Gearon, 2003), but this formulation is clearly too simplistic and neglects important additional elements. A more comprehensive definition states that HRE *“refers to education at all age, status, and occupation appropriate levels, both formal and informal, academic and non-academic, aimed at communicating to all society the knowledge of human rights and calling for individual and collective action aimed at respect for, and protection of, human rights.”* (Condé, 2004). While there are many variants of HRE, there is broad agreement about certain core components of human rights education. For example, most scholars and practitioners agree that HRE must include both content and process related to human rights (Flowers, 2003; Reardon, 2009; Tibbitts, 2002). At the same time, *“(a)lthough universality is a core underlying assumption of the human rights discourse, the strategies for HRE will be quite variable, depending upon the learner group and the human rights challenges found in the social and political environment of a particular country.”* (Tibbitts, 2005). This is of course because norms and values related to human rights often vary among different societies and different cultures, a crucial aspect that HRE has to take into account. *“Human rights education programming necessarily raises questions about the universality of human rights and the viability of the framework in relation to national legal and cultural norms (in particular norms that appear to be in conflict with human rights). As with the human rights field in general, HRE is a dynamic area of work that invites self-reflection and the recognition that human rights are evolving and, in some circumstances, can even be in conflict with one another. The principles of universality and indivisibility espoused by the United Nations are intended to be respected but understanding their implications is part of the agenda for a human rights education program.”* (Tibbitts & Fernekes, 2011). This fascinating dynamic between the universality and indivisibility of human rights on the one hand, and their impact on HRE in different social and cultural contexts on the other, has spurred quite a lot of research. Keet,

for example, has examined the interaction between the transnational efforts to promote HRE (via UN agencies) and the context for selective acceptance and adaptation of HRE in national curricula on the basis of the South African educational framework. More specifically, he investigated whether “universal” approaches to HRE result in “symbolic politics” in national educational systems and how programming can be designed that is both relevant to the national and local situation and intended to forward the full range of empowerment and action-oriented goals that HRE aims to carry (Keet & Carrim, 2006).

The meaning and aim of HRE are often debated even among its strong advocates (Parker, 2018): while for example Starkey (2012) recognises HRE as enabling “*people whose value systems are diverse and apparently incompatible nonetheless to recognize and accept common standards and principles that make living in society possible*”, Mutua (2008) suggests that the whole UN-based human rights initiative inappropriately presents itself as a guarantor of eternal truths based on a Eurocentric construct and does not allow the reformation, reconstruction and multiculturalization of human rights which is the only avenue to make them a truly universal bundle of rights that all human societies can claim as theirs. Furthermore, since HRE has been adopted and elaborated upon by more and more educational stakeholders, it can no longer be characterized as a singularly understood practice (Bajaj, 2011) and, even within one nation-state, diverse actors might give multiple meanings and goals to HRE (Bajaj & Wahl, 2017). As rightfully stated by HRE experts in the late nineties, and still valid today, “*human rights education has many more questions than answers*” (Andreopoulos & Claude, 1997) or, as affirmed more recently, “*(h)uman rights education is difficult because human rights are critical. (...) Human rights aim to change. People who are oriented toward an idea of equal human dignity and rights and who trust in their competence and power will defend themselves against discrimination, oppose tyranny and step up to support the ideals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (...) Human rights education is about education for taking action.*” (Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006).

The absence of an explicit and authoritative definition has been pointed out by some scholars as one of the obstacles to widespread HRE (Gerber, 2010). While for some practitioners accustomed to working in more traditional settings of formal education the rapidly expanding practice of HRE threatens to undermine its hard-won legitimization by becoming too political, too confrontational and too controversial, for others this diversity of goals, applications and methodologies confirms the ultimate effectiveness of HRE.

Furthermore, *“the very fact that no two HRE programs are alike may be an inherent strength. Although ‘experts’ may be imported for training and support, every HRE program is thus sui generis, drawing on the creativity and experience of local people. It is they who genuinely define and have ownership of HRE in their own communities.”* (Flowers, 2017). Flowers’ research has focused on whether there is an implicit theory which could be drawn out of the HRE practice but she argues, at the same time, that the open-endedness of HRE may contribute to its creativity. It is indeed an essential quality about human rights education and human rights itself, which may be the source of much of the inspirational and creative force behind HRE. Flowers suggests that a single definition of HRE may, in any case, be elusive and that different emphases and outcomes are stressed depending on the provenance of the definition. In 2003 she argued that *“(t)he first problem for defining HRE is that we have too many definitions, not mutually exclusive, but subtly different in their formulation of goals and principles. Most attempts to define HRE have been made by three distinct groupings: a) governmental bodies, including intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), UN agencies, and UN-sponsored conferences; b) nongovernmental organizations (NGOs); and c) academics and educational thinkers. Although these definitions and the people who developed them overlap in many ways, the differences in their perspectives illustrate critical differences in the way HRE is conceived.”* (Flowers, 2003). Governmental definitions, for example, focus on goals and outcomes and emphasize the role of HRE to create peace, continuity, social order and democracy. They also stress learning about international and regional instruments, mainly devoted to national and international legal documents with a focus on “rights”. Definitions by governmental bodies indicate that governments have the responsibility to see that HRE is accomplished properly. Not surprisingly the formulators of these definitions are mostly diplomats and legal experts for whom education is usually auxiliary and popular education totally unfamiliar. Definitions formulated by NGOs do also emphasize outcomes, but refer to quite different HRE outcomes as compared to governmental definitions. Indeed, NGOs look at HRE as a transformative tool for social change and therefore their definitions stress its potential to empower individuals, groups and communities to learn, protect and claim their rights and the rights of others. They are also more critical towards the violations of human rights and focus on the empowerment through education of the oppressed victims or vulnerable groups to eliminate the conditions at the basis of those violations. In these definitions HRE is fundamental for addressing the underlying causes of human rights violations, preventing human rights abuses, combating

discrimination and promoting equality. Lastly, HRE definitions developed by academic and educational thinkers tend to shift the focus from outcomes to values and are based on conceptions of HRE as an ethical framework for universal application. Indeed, it is the “human” in HRE that matters most for this group, meaning that most of these thinkers regard human rights as a self-evident value system that arises from human need and applies to all humanity. These definitions focus more on values, norms and standards which lead to a specialization in human rights rather than on outcomes. Through her 2003 typology, Flowers highlights the impact of different political and educational areas involved in HRE on its conceptualization (Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006). In a more recent publication, Flowers confirms that the definition of HRE depends on whom one asks, whether governments, NGOs or educationalists, and she adds that time has only multiplied the players and practices that now define HRE (Flowers, 2017).

Acknowledging the heterogeneous nature of HRE as already discussed above, Flowers was able to show that there is considerable consensus among HRE activists as to what HRE entails. In 2004 she conducted an empirical study of over 50 HRE activists which resulted in the identification of four key areas encompassed by HRE. She found agreement that HRE should: be grounded in the principles of human rights treaties; use methods which reflect the principles of respect for individuals and cultural diversity; address skills and attitudes as well as knowledge; and involve action at an individual, local or global level. This analysis makes a significant contribution to the literature on HRE and helps to clarify the relationship between concepts of HRE, stated purposes and potential impacts (Flowers, 2004). While acknowledging that there are many variants of HRE and there appear to be diverse perspectives on what exactly it entails, in the following subparagraph I will focus on the importance of keeping together the legal and normative dimensions of HRE.

2.1.3.HRE between legal and normative dimensions

As demonstrated by Flowers’ research analysed above, HRE embraces both content and process related to human rights. Furthermore, elaboration by the UN and other agencies has clarified that inherent in HRE are components of knowledge, skills and attitudes consistent with recognized human rights principles. Based on the analysis carried out so far, it can be consequently argued that HRE has both legal and normative dimensions (Tracchi, 2017). The legal dimension deals with content about international human rights

standards as embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other treaties and covenants to which countries subscribe. This is very much connected to the right of citizens to be informed about the rights and freedoms contained in the documents ratified by their countries. It also includes all human rights obligations, civil and political, as well as social, economic and cultural rights, and it stresses the importance of monitoring governments' compliance and accountability. Chapter 3 of this research will be specifically dedicated to international and regional HRE standards in order to further explore the legal dimension of HRE. At the same time, HRE is also a normative and cultural enterprise. *"The process of human rights education is intended to be one that provides skills, knowledge and motivation to individuals to transform their own lives and realities so that they are more consistent with human rights norms and values."* (Tibbitts & Fernekes, 2011). Keeping together the legal and normative dimensions of HRE is extremely important. Indeed, this intertwined analysis reflects the healthy hybrid that HRE as a field has been in the process of developing over the past 20 years: a hybrid that incorporates basic legal knowledge (legal literacy) and the empowerment pedagogy of popular education (Tibbitts, 2015). *"Early human rights educators were almost all self-taught, except for the lawyers among us, who were grounded in the legal foundations but seldom in an interactive pedagogy of human rights. Because of this dichotomy among practitioners, human rights education projects tended to emphasize legal content, the 'learning about' human rights"* (Flowers, 2017). However, this legalistic approach and its emphasis on civil and political rights were soon balanced by the dynamic experiences of educators in the Global South, mostly carried out through popular education, marking a shift to include the full spectrum of human rights. Indeed, thirty years of theory, research and praxis have made clear the twofold dimension of HRE. Its reduction to one side or the other, being that legal or normative, would undermine its ultimate goal which is to reduce human rights violations and empower persons to contribute to the building and promotion of a universal culture of human rights. Although HRE cannot be limited to a law-oriented focus and it has definitely moved beyond simply spreading information about international human rights law, as already specified above, reference to these instruments and related mechanisms remains central to any HRE programme and marks its distinction from other fields of education such as peace education or global education (Tibbitts, 2002). This legal aspect is brought to life by the normative one, which makes human rights meaningful and relevant to people's daily lives and realities. *"Human rights education is about more than just the simple knowledge of a set of rules and principles. It is*

also about attitude and behaviour, and about change in attitude and behaviour. People must not only be provided with a general understanding of what human rights are, but they must also be shown how human rights are relevant to them and how they can apply and defend human rights in their daily life and work.” (Benedek, 2012). Bearing in mind the twofold dimension of HRE, both legal and normative, is therefore of extreme importance and I hope that these two aspects become even clearer in the next section discussing Tibbitts’ models for human rights education.

2.2. HRE Models

Over the last thirty years there have been differing and at times divergent definitions and models of HRE. The first substantive exploration on HRE Models was presented by Tibbitts in her work on “Emerging Models for Human Rights Education” (Tibbitts, 2002). She identifies three emerging typologies: Values and Awareness Model, Accountability Model and Transformational Model. HRE Models provide productive schemas for theorizing the emergence, conceptualization and implementation of HRE in both formal and non-formal education sectors across the globe. Each model is associated with particular target groups, contents and strategies in relation to a human development and social change framework. In the *Values and Awareness Model* the main focus of HRE is to transmit basic knowledge of human rights issues and to foster its integration into public values. Public education awareness campaigns and school-based curriculum typically fall within this model. While this model may support the development of a “critical human rights consciousness”, it focuses primarily on content knowledge and thinking skills, and does not directly relate to empowerment. A key challenge for this model is how human rights educators working in schools and other public awareness settings can avoid the “banking”⁶ model of education warned of by Freire. More precisely, the challenge is how these educators can manage the risk of offering a superficial exposure to the human rights field which, in the worst case, can be experienced as primarily ideological. Indeed, already in the seventies and eighties Freire’s revolutionary pedagogy was changing the way both educators and activists thought about the nature of learning and social change, the power dynamic between teacher and learner, and the importance of consciousness and critical analysis of one’s own reality (Freire, 1968 and 1973; Freire &

⁶ Banking education is a term used by Paulo Freire to describe the traditional education system characterised by lack of critical thinking and knowledge ownership in students, which in turn reinforces oppression. “*In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing.*” See section 2.3.1. below.

Shor, 1987). Freire's thinking has profoundly influenced the academic discourse on HRE. However, despite the inspiration of his vision of learning as empowerment and his respect for the experience and knowledge of the learner, Freire's pedagogy alone has been regarded as insufficient to provide an adequate theoretical foundation for HRE as he would probably reject the idea of universal norms and standards, along with many definitions of HRE, as too "top-down" (Flowers, 2004). In Tibbitts' second model, the *Accountability Model*, learners are already expected to be directly or indirectly associated with the guarantee of human rights through their professional roles. In this group, HRE focuses on the ways in which professional responsibilities involve either (a) directly monitoring human rights violations and advocating with the necessary authorities; or (b) taking special care to protect the rights of people (especially vulnerable populations) for which they have some responsibility. Within this model, the assumption of all educational programming is that the learners will be directly involved in the protection of individual and group rights. Examples of programs falling under the *Accountability Model* are the training of human rights and community activists on techniques for monitoring and documenting human rights abuses and procedures for registering grievances with appropriate national and international bodies. Within the *Accountability Model*, personal change is not an explicit goal, since it assumes that professional responsibility is sufficient for the individual having an interest in applying a human rights framework. The *Transformational Model*, on the other hand, is focused on the empowerment of individuals and communities who may be victims of human rights violations. In this model, HRE programming is geared towards empowering the individual to both recognize human rights abuses and to commit to their prevention. In some cases, whole communities and not just the individual are treated as the target audience. The *Transformational Model* assumes that the learners have had personal experiences that can be seen as human rights violations (the program may assist in this recognition) and therefore they are predisposed to become promoters of human rights. This model treats the individual more holistically, and thus is more challenging in its design and application. A formal focus on human rights is only one component of this model. The complete program may also include leadership development, conflict-resolution training, vocational training, work and informal fellowship. The *Transformational Model* can be found in programs operating in refugee camps, in post-conflict societies, with victims of domestic abuse and with groups serving the poor. In some cases, this model can be found in school settings, where an in-depth case study can serve as an affective catalyst for examining human rights

violations. However, all empowerment models are dependent upon sustained community supports of some kind (whether these supports are peers, family members or others), so links between school and family life have to be made in order to attempt a transformational model of HRE in schools (Tibbitts, 2002). Benedek has briefly summarised the overall goals of HRE Models as *“the values and awareness model, which aims at integrating human rights into public values through general awareness; the accountability model, where people get involved in the protection of human rights; and the transformational model, according to which communities use human rights to improve their situation”* (Benedek, 2007).

Following the intellectual trend set by Tibbitts in her 2002 “Emerging Models for Human Rights Education”, Bajaj distinguishes different versions of human rights education and argues that ideology, as much as location or other variables, offers a means of schematizing varying approaches to HRE. She suggests three ideological orientations that give rise to three HRE categories: HRE for Global Citizenship, HRE for Coexistence and HRE for Transformative Action. *“Each of these forms of HRE is not mutually exclusive with the others, but rather offers a way to conceptualize the primary reason for the introduction of HRE, since it generally responds to some perceived need in a particular educational system, program, or school. While the goals and objectives of HRE can embody aspects of any of the three approaches, (...) the ideological orientations of most HRE initiatives are generally rooted in one of the following three categories”* (Bajaj, 2011). *HRE for Global Citizenship* seeks to provide learners with membership to an international community through fostering knowledge and skills related to universal values and standards. This model presents international standards as the ideal and aims at repositioning learners as members of a global community instead of simply as national citizens. Content may include treaties and conventions, the words and practices of national and international leaders and movements, and a history of human rights. Values and skills that are imparted in such an approach include empathy and compassion. Resultant actions may include letter-writing, fundraising for services addressing basic needs of those less fortunate, and a model UN or other simulations that prepare learners for potential participation in such international fora in the future. *HRE for Coexistence* presents information related to “other-ed” groups, often in post-conflict settings, that may have been silenced in previous historical narratives in an effort to re-examine and come to terms with histories of violence. It focuses on the inter-personal and inter-group aspects of rights and is usually a strategy utilized to create greater empathy and understanding. In this model values and skills may

be related to conflict transformation, respect for differences, mutual understanding and dialogue. It emphasises the role of minority rights and pluralism as part of the larger human rights framework. The third approach, *HRE for Transformative Action*, reflects a politically radical approach to the analysis of historical and present conditions and the need for action to rectify the often-wide gap between current realities and human rights guarantees. It is primarily concerned with understanding how power relationships are structured and usually involves learners who are marginalized from economic and political power and for whom HRE includes a significant process of understanding their own realities. This approach is very similar to Freire's process of developing a critical consciousness (see section 2.3.1. below). HRE for Transformative Action is rooted in the concepts of agency and solidarity. For learners who may be victims of or witnesses to frequent abuses, this type of HRE can foster a sense of transformative or strategic agency. For those who may not be directly affected by abuses, or who may witness abuses but hold some relative privilege in a given situation, HRE for Transformative Action may foster a sense of solidarity or "coalitional agency" (which may also be transformative). Willingness to act with or on behalf of victims is guided by the belief that injustice faced by any target group represents a threat to the society as a whole. Distinguishing models for and approaches to HRE as just presented above (for Global Citizenship, for Coexistence and for Transformative Action) is not intended to diminish these efforts. On the contrary, as clearly stated by Bajaj, the mutability, richness and possibility of HRE are its strengths. *"The confluence of efforts towards HRE, however differently motivated, may serve to advance HRE efforts in a more comprehensive way. The diversity of contexts in which HRE can and has been implemented is indeed a testament to its relevance, adaptability, and promise as a lasting educational reform."* (Bajaj 2011).

2.2.1. Evolution of HRE Models

The latest revision of the HRE Models developed by Tibbitts in 2002 has been recently carried out by the same originator (Tibbitts, 2017) based on the intervening fifteen years of scholarship, documentation and observation of practice across a range of teaching and learning settings globally. Indeed, in a 2017 publication Tibbitts identifies new dimensions of the HRE Models that add descriptive complexity and strengthen their analytical power. She revisits the original HRE Models and critically applies new elements which include, among others, teaching and learning practices, the learning context/sponsoring organization

and the learner. For example, the original HRE Models did not address pedagogy or teaching methodologies in any depth, whereas the revisited Models propose a categorization of four kinds of methodologies used to deliver HRE. The first is the didactic methodologies, which Tibbitts argues are antithetical to the substance and goals of HRE, if they are the only methodology used, due to the lack of participation and critical reflection. The teaching of human rights standards in a didactic, hegemonic manner has been associated with the critiques of the human rights system itself being hegemonic and neo-colonial (Baxi, 2007). The Values and Awareness Model, commonly applied in the formal education sector and specifically in schools, is the only HRE Model to rely on didactic methodologies. The remaining three methodologies are distinct, though linked, moving from participatory/interactive (oriented towards the learning process), to empowerment (oriented towards general capacities), to transformative methodologies (orienting action towards social transformation). The original HRE Models remain useful typologies for describing HRE practices and for critically analysing their design in promoting agency in learners to take action to reduce human rights violations. However, Tibbitts proposes amendments to the models including a stronger association of the Values and Awareness Model with socialization, the Accountability Model with professional development, and the Transformation⁷ Model with activism. For this reason, she also decided to extend the titles of the Models to: *Values and Awareness-Socialization Model*; *Accountability-Professional Development Model*; *Activism-Transformation Model*. This last model now includes any kind of HRE programming that cultivates activism (regardless of whether the learner is a member of a marginalized group). Within the Accountability-Professional Development Model, sub-groups of adult learners are broken out (professional groups, such as law enforcement officials, civil servants, health and social workers, etc.; lawyers; secular and religious community leaders and journalists; educators), with implications for HRE program goals, content and approaches. The Values and Awareness-Socialization Model, if implemented in isolation and not as a first step towards more comprehensive HRE, continues to be a problematic one within HRE practices, as it is not designed to cultivate either learner agency or social transformation. This model, being focused on formal education and therefore on people who have access to schooling, has also been criticized for excluding vulnerable and marginalized peoples, as well as for reinforcing existing patterns of abuse and subjugation (Cardenas, 2005). This is why Tibbitts finally concludes that the hope for the years to come, since a

⁷ In this 2017 article the author uses the term “transformation” rather than “transformational”, a slight change from the original HRE Models article (Tibbitts, 2002), based solely on linguistic considerations.

considerable amount of HRE scholarship and programming remains focused on the formal schooling sector, is that ongoing reflexive praxis will result in the reorienting of HRE programming currently falling within the Values and Awareness-Socialization category. Indeed, it is desirable for HRE methodologies to move away from didactic approaches towards those that foster empowerment and transformation, as *“(h)uman rights is most powerful as a learning tool when it centers on action and social transformation as its end goal.”* (Spreen & Monaghan, 2017). Tibbitts also adds that the field of HRE will have staying power because of the international standards associated with it. *“However, these origins, the claim of universality, and the hierarchical nature of the government institutions sponsoring HRE mean that there will be an inevitable and ongoing struggle to keep HRE close to critical pedagogy, its original mother.”* (Tibbitts, 2017). In other words, *“(t)he evolution of HRE practices over the past two decades has crystallized the necessity of returning HRE to its emancipatory and liberating roots.”* (Tibbitts & Katz, 2017). This concern is further expanded in the next section looking at some criticisms of HRE within the Values and Awareness Model.

2.2.2. Critique to the Values and Awareness Model

Similarly to the arguments against the idea of global citizenship identified in the previous chapter, Vlaardingerbroek has raised a critique toward the international orientation targeting global human rights issues of the Values and Awareness Model as developed by Tibbitts. He argues that *“a ‘member of a global society’ remains within the jurisdiction of a national legal system. In dualist legal systems in particular (those in which domestic and international law are regarded as occupying different spheres), an internationally declared right is not justiciable unless it has been incorporated into domestic law. To ‘educate’ young people about their rights must surely take domestic and not international law as its starting point.”* (Vlaardingerbroek, 2015). This is part of a broader and more general critique to what he called the global human rights education project based, according to the scholar, on shaky legal foundations. Indeed, adopting a critical approach to HRE as a form of law education in schools, Vlaardingerbroek argues that HRE is strictly linked to social activism and a worldwide ideological movement, therefore being at risk of falling in the business of indoctrination rather than education. This is why he states that HRE is a form of social-transformative activism and is far from being a form of law education. He further elaborates that the basis of HRE’s claim to legal legitimacy in international law is severely deficient and HRE appears to rely

more on its own interpretations of international human rights law. If there is to be HRE in schools, he concludes, it should be as part of a holistic law education programme devised and delivered by professionals with academic qualifications in law. Finally, he asserts that school-based rights education should be within the context of a comprehensive curricular package of law education using students' domestic legal frameworks as the principal point of reference (Vlaardingerbroek, 2015).

This position led to an interesting academic debate since Tibbitts (2015) has responded, quite eloquently I believe, to the many criticisms raised by Vlaardingerbroek. First, she states that HRE is a diverse field of practice, differing not only according to audiences and educational settings but also national contexts. There are already HRE programs that are heavily oriented towards international law and national protection systems, especially those taking place in law schools or for adult learners in professions such as law enforcement, the military and civil servants. It is true that students ought to learn about the international legal framework of human rights as well as national protection systems that link up the international standards with the local context of the learner. However, according to Tibbitts, there are at least two main challenges to the law-oriented focus of HRE in schools suggested by Vlaardingerbroek. The first is that this seems to make HRE even less realistic for schools, as so few teachers are themselves familiar with the basics of the human rights system or the legal framework. If HRE is to be delivered by “professionals with academic qualifications in law” as suggested by Vlaardingerbroek, only a very small number of students would receive HRE, rendering it even less frequent in schools than it is now. The second challenge, and even more important I would say, is that the reduction of HRE to teaching legal standards would undercut its potential to fulfil its ultimate goal, which is to reduce human rights violations. The most recent definition enshrined in the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training affirms that HRE encompasses education about, through and for human rights. The third part includes “*empowering persons to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others*” (United Nations General Assembly, 2011) – I will come back to this definition in the following chapter (section 3.1.2.). Empowerment is a contested and multi-faceted term, therefore Tibbitts proposes its understanding as the ability to influence one's environment. Schools can promote empowerment through knowledge, including knowledge of legal human rights frameworks at both national and international level. But classroom teaching can also facilitate empowerment through critical reflection processes, which might lead a learner to recognition that a personal

experience of discrimination is shared by others or that his or her values are consistent with those in the international standards. As with human rights legal content, such teaching and learning processes require skilled educators. Regarding the criticism of the Values and Awareness Model, Tibbitts clarifies that her identification of that model was not meant as an endorsement, but as a descriptive critique. She also agrees with Vlaardingerbroek's concern about HRE that attempts to indoctrinate students but she highlights that we should be wary of any educational process that is ideological, although we know that schools do socialize learners every day, whether explicitly or implicitly, about acceptable norms and behaviours. *"This concern to not have HRE contribute to a uniform, uncontested and non-reflective treatment of the human rights system has led some educators to coin the term Critical Human Rights Education (CHRE). CHRE reinforces the importance of infusing critical reflection throughout HRE – meaning not only in relation to the contrast between the ideals of the human rights standards and the realities of government behavior but also in relation to the human rights system itself. The proposal that human rights values are universal is a contested one. If human rights norms are to be personally meaningful ones for learners, then they must be de-constructed and processed accordingly."* (Tibbitts, 2015). Tibbitts finally concludes that she believes that HRE should be taught in schools and that the lack of teacher preparation and curriculum space are probably the greatest challenges to achieve this goal. A commitment from educational leaders for a wider curriculum space for HRE would automatically generate dialogue about the integration of critical reflection and the appropriate mixture of human rights-related law, values, history and current events at both domestic and international level. Building on the criticisms just raised, I will now consider a conception developed in the academic literature that features HRE as critical and transformative.

2.2.3. Critical and Transformative HRE

What has been emerging from the analysis of the previous section calls for a reconsideration of HRE as critical and transformative. For example Keet (2012, 2015 and 2017), as part of the implications of a broader human rights critique, argues that HRE has often be constructed as a declarationist⁸, conservative and uncritical framework that disallows the integration of human rights critiques into the overall HRE endeavour.

⁸ This term was coined by Keet to refer to the almost dogmatic belief that all human rights truth are generated and consummated within human rights instruments such as declarations, conventions and covenants. Human Rights Education, according to this understanding, focuses on transmitting the provisions in these instruments. The associated tendency is called declarationism.

Indeed, a declarationist approach to HRE promotes the values embodied in international human rights standards as absolutist, and negates the possibility of genuine “dialogue” with learners regarding their existing value systems. *“Without creating a space for a candid critique of the human rights system, HRE promotes political correctness and a ‘transmission’ approach to human rights. A strong critique of a traditional transmission approach to HRE is that it does not allow learners to consider these concerns, thereby contributing to a nonreflective socialization process. At best, such an HRE approach fails to fully foster their critical capacities of learners; at worst, this form of HRE promotes a hegemonic, Western-centered values system.”* (Tibbitts & Katz, 2017). Keet therefore states that HRE is in need of critique and renewal, now more than ever. The basis of this renewal, according to the scholar, lies in the ability of HRE to advance the transformative radicality of human rights by integrating human rights critiques into its mainstream understandings and operations. As he states in this regard: *“Critique is the incubator of renewal.”* (Keet, 2012). Mainly as a result of obligations under the UN architecture, the studies on HRE predominantly focus on the conversion of human rights standards into pedagogical and educational concerns with the integration of HRE into education systems and practices as its main objective. This idea of posing human rights through legalistic frameworks might in fact lead to the HRE failure of engaging students in deep learning about social injustice or developing in them a concrete understanding about how to enact or advocate for rights (Spren & Monaghan, 2017). Furthermore, the literature has highlighted how processes of HRE reform may be very different than those originally planned since by the time human rights content gets incorporated into national textbooks and local practice, it may be altered and decoupled from human rights struggles, resulting in the loss of its activist-oriented approach. *“Indeed, these processes of adaptation can generate greater variation among HRE initiatives if pressure from above de-politicizes HRE and pressure from below attempts to maintain an integral link of HRE to social justice struggles.”* (Bajaj, 2011). Other scholars have underlined how a dominant discourse of HRE has been controlled through the global human rights framework, aimed at shaping HRE practice and finding methods to make global human rights principles relevant and resonant in different communities. However, this is highly problematic as it ignores the way that power shapes and controls the formation of HRE discourse and how practitioners and educators respond to that (Coysh, 2014 and 2017). Keet further argues that, pedagogically speaking, HRE does not have a dynamic, self-renewing and critical orientation towards human rights. Instead of advancing criticality

as a central purpose of education, HRE, as co-constructed within the agencies of the UN, became the uncritical legitimating arm of human rights universals. *“Because HRE is historically attuned to uncritically advancing human rights universals as an uncontested social good, it has not yet, as a field, paused to consider how human rights are intrinsically tied onto the global, neo-liberal stage on which massive human rights violations are performed.”* (Keet, 2015). This is why Keet declares that the time for Critical Human Rights Education (CHRE) has arrived and a critical dialogue is needed between local notions of human rights and international legal documents and declarations. CHRE is defined as *“a pedagogical formation that: first, stands in a critical relationship with human rights universals; second, perpetually revisits the receivable categories of human rights praxes; third, advances a social-justice-oriented human rights practice; and fourth, emphasises human critiques to enrich human rights understanding.”* (Keet, 2015).

Keet’s critique requires to reiterate the argument of section 2.1.3. above, where I stated that HRE has a twofold dimension. Indeed, his criticism takes only one side of the coin into consideration. As clarified before, HRE must include both content and process related to human rights (Flowers, 2003; Reardon, 2009; Tibbitts, 2002). HRE has a legal dimension, which deals with content about international human rights standards, but also has a normative dimension, which is intended to be a process that provides skills, knowledge and motivation to individuals to transform their own lives and realities so that they are more consistent with human rights norms and values (Tibbitts & Fernekes, 2011). Therefore, the process of questioning and de-constructing the universality of human rights values in order to make them personally meaningful and relevant to learners is already infused in HRE. *“Of course, as with human rights in general, there is the danger of whitewashing: ensuring that ‘all children’ have access to high-quality education can quickly become color-blind language that reentrenches injustice. The ‘intersectionality’ of human rights can easily obfuscate the unique and powerful ways that individuals experience oppression – raced, classed, politicized, gendered oppressions. However, by marrying our critical pedagogies with a human rights framework, we are hopeful that sharply honed critical analysis can resist these obfuscations.”* (Gibson & Grant, 2017). This is also acknowledged by Keet (2017). The HRE literature is strongly associated with critical pedagogy which encourages learners to think critically on their situation, recognize connections between their individual problems and the social contexts, question power relationships and take action against oppression, discrimination and injustice. Critical pedagogy was and continues to be associated with

the HRE Transformation Model and its participatory and transformative methodologies. This model is explicitly oriented towards a form of empowerment related to overcoming internalized oppression. Critical theory has been taken into education in a number of different ways, but most notably by Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (Freire, 1968). His work with oppressed minorities gave rise to the term critical pedagogy, meaning teaching-learning from within the principles of critical theory and this has profoundly influenced the academic discourse on HRE, as I will show in section 2.3. below. Many scholars, each of them with his or her own specific focus, have indeed deeply and critically investigated pedagogical practice associated with HRE (see for example: Tibbitts & Kirchsclaeger, 2010; Reardon, 2009; Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2015; Zembylas, 2008 and 2017).

Along similar lines to those of Keet's statement about HRE in need of critique and renewal, other scholars argue for the importance of developing Transformative Human Rights Education (THRED) taking into consideration the distinct social locations and forms of marginalization faced by different groups. This would allow educational strategies to be more holistic, relevant and effective. THRED *"is a community-based approach to HRE, intended for children, youth, and adults in formal or non-formal settings. It contains cognitive, affective, and action-oriented elements, and falls into what the authors call participatory/empowering paradigm. A contextualized and relevant curriculum is paired with participatory pedagogical activities to bring human rights to life and to foster in learners an awareness of global citizenship and a respect for human rights."* (Bajaj et al, 2016). THRED begins as a participatory co-investigation of existing social issues using human rights as a critical framework. It exposes learners to gaps between rights and actual realities, and provokes group dialogue. Learners engage in critical reflection, social dialogue, and individual and collective action to pursue the realization of human rights locally, nationally and globally. Bajaj et al. (2016) identify six key principles that are distinctive to THRED and that define its

- 1) goal, 2) pedagogy, 3) context, 4) approach, 5) process, and 6) outcomes:

- 1) *Goal*: THRED endeavours to awaken people's critical consciousness on human rights and to promote their collaborative realization;
- 2) *Pedagogy*: THRED engages participants and educators in collaborative learning about their social reality through entertaining, experiential, and participatory methods;

- 3) *Context*: THRED encompasses different education settings, including formal, non-formal and informal contexts;
- 4) *Approach*: THRED helps people contextualize global ethics within local values and understandings of the world, fostering human solidarity through human rights (cosmopolitan approach);
- 5) *Process*: THRED gives people access to possible new ways of being (empowering process);
- 6) *Outcomes*: THRED leads to individual and collective action (social improvement).

In the same publication Bajaj et al. analyse four case studies that offer varied approaches to THRED. They show that, whether through a school-based program in collaboration with a non-governmental organization in India, adult and adolescent classes in villages in West Africa, municipal mobilizations to change social norms in Colombia, or through a manual and training efforts in Europe, THRED based on the identified six principles is not only possible, but is already happening around the world. They argue that “*THRED is the bridge between abstract human rights universals and real lived experiences of rights. The aim of THRED is to close the gap between rights and actual realities.*” (Bajaj et al., 2016).

Always in the vein of critique and renewal, moving from a specific decolonising perspective, Zembylas argues that HRE needs to examine human rights issues through a critical lens. He suggests an approach that tackles the monolithic portrayal (i.e. Eurocentric) of human rights and their universalist notions promoted in mainstream HRE. This is needed, according to Zembylas, to emphasise the value of recognising not only the link between Western epistemology and modernity/coloniality but also the contributions made by Third-World countries, as well as drawing strength from the idea of multiple perspectives on human rights, rather than universalizing human rights as a Western achievement. These decolonial strategies, properly “translated” into a decolonising pedagogy and curriculum, could re-contextualise and promote a critical and transformative orientation towards human rights and HRE. This alternative configuration of HRE as critical and transformative, argues Zembylas, “*offers pedagogical and curricular possibilities that go beyond conventional forms of HRE and create openings for pedagogical praxis along social justice lines*” (Zembylas, 2017a). Furthermore, always connected to a postcolonial and social justice perspective, Osler showed how HRE theory and practice might be developed within a critical and reflective framework taking into account asymmetrical power relations and the historically and socially specific contexts in which learners experience schooling and justice/injustice in their own lives: She

particularly stresses that human rights educators should deepen their collective understanding of rights and of the everyday contradictions and ambiguities often faced by learners when seeking to interpret legal frameworks in an inherently unjust world (Osler, 2015). In the following section I will specifically look at HRE pedagogies.

2.3. HRE Pedagogies

As anticipated in section 2.2.3. above, critical pedagogy is strongly associated with the HRE literature and it means teaching and learning following the principles of critical theory. The critical theorists' framework has been most notably used by Freire in his work to give voice to the marginalised and oppressed groups who live in the "cultures of silence" (Freire, 1968, 1972 and 1973; Freire & Shor, 1987). At the basis of Freire's work, there is the idea of education as empowerment that allows individuals and groups to address oppression and injustice, and therefore contributes to a more just society. Critical pedagogy clearly recalls the HRE Transformation Model, as it is the model explicitly oriented towards a form of empowerment related to overcoming internalized oppression (Tibbitts, 2017). According to Tibbitts and Kirchsclaeger, several core principles of pedagogical practices that are intended to be empowering are frequently associated with HRE and aim to guide the design of programming. They identify the following kinds of pedagogy as representative of those promoted by HRE advocates: "*Experiential and activity-centered: involving the solicitation of learners' prior knowledge and offering activities that draw out learners' experiences and knowledge; Problem-posing: challenging the learners' prior knowledge ; Participative: encouraging collective efforts in clarifying concepts, analyzing themes and doing the activities; Dialectical: requiring learners to compare their knowledge with those from other sources; Analytical: asking learners to think about why things are and how they came to be; Healing: promoting human rights in intra-personal and inter-personal relations; Strategic thinking-oriented: directing learners to set their own goals and to think of strategic ways of achieving them; Goal and action-oriented: allowing learners to plan and organize actions in relation to their goals*" (Tibbitts & Kirchsclaeger, 2010). The use of participatory and critical pedagogy, in the framework of promoting a human rights culture through empowerment and transformation, emerges as a unique characteristic of HRE. In fact, as it has been argued in the literature, participation within HRE is both an expression of and a means to the empowerment of young people (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). In the

following subparagraphs I will analyse some specific features of critical pedagogy (2.3.1.), an interesting vision of HRE through a hermeneutic approach (2.3.2.) and the role of contexts and emotions in HRE pedagogies (2.3.3.).

2.3.1. Critical pedagogy, empowerment and transformation

“HRE is a global movement with deep roots in the critical pedagogy of Paulo Freire, popular education, and social change.” (Tibbitts & Katz, 2017). As already stated above, learner empowerment forms a central element of HRE (Struthers, 2017) and this is related in particular to the work of Brazilian scholar Paulo Freire. Through his idea of conscientization, Freire aims to make a difference in people’s lives by stimulating them to think critically and create a critical consciousness. *“Paulo Freire’s notion of conscientization results from individuals—often those from disadvantaged groups—analyzing collectively conditions of inequality and then acting and reflecting to inspire new action in a cyclical fashion in order to overcome situations of oppression and subordination. Youth and adult learners from more privileged backgrounds can also undergo individual and collective consciousness-raising through transformative human rights education by deepening and expanding civic engagement locally, nationally, and globally.”* (Bajaj et al., 2016). Clearly, this process of conscientization could not be achieved using the banking model of education which is designed to prevent critical thinking and perpetuate the status quo. On the contrary, Freire proposes an education based on problem-posing, dialogue and a conscientization that leads to action. By becoming aware of oppression and exploitation, people develop a critical awareness of reality and of their capacity to take an active role to transform it. Therefore, individuals become active subjects, rather than passive objects, and they realise that something can be done and should be done in order to transform the oppressing situation. As a result, they take part in changing the society and this is how, according to Freire, liberation is possible (Freire, 1983; Freire & Shor, 1987). *“Empowerment needs to be based on a constructive dialogue on human dignity with a learning group in which the ‘teacher’ assumes the role of moderator actively involved in sharing his or her views just as other participants do. Empowerment is directly linked to participation. Empowerment cannot occur without the active participation of individuals learning to express their individual and collective needs. This approach, (availing of the conscious articulation of needs and desires), can reveal what Freire refers to as ‘revolutionary potential’.”* (Lohrenscheit, 2006). Another core Freirean

principle is that no education can be neutral and it is impossible to separate politics from education.

Furthermore, no learning process is value-free, no curriculum avoids ideology and power relations. This has also been shown by previous research in relation to how subjects are selected (Young, 1971; Apple, 1979): *“the curriculum is a social construct (it is located materially in the social and historical practices and conditions of its production) and, as such, relays power relations from the political economy into the school.”* (Parker, 2018). Transposing this principle to more general HRE means that *“(a)ttempts to make HRE ‘nonpolitical’ necessarily stop short of ‘education for human rights’, the use of human rights knowledge to further the realization of human rights.”* (Flowers, 2017). Banking education, according to Freire, is for domestication and the maintenance of the status quo. But problem-posing education, which is based on dialogue and learning together, rather than an authoritarian imposition, allows to unveil reality and critically investigate problems. Teacher-student relationship is not a dominant dynamic in which the former subjugates the latter, but a permanent dialogue through which knowledge is created and recreated, and everybody learns by working with others in collaboration. Dialogue and collective responsibility of liberatory education are aimed at empowering individuals at all levels, political, economic, societal and personal (Freire, 1968 and 1973). *“Empowerment (combined with emancipatory educational concepts such as Paulo Freire’s Pedagogy of the Oppressed) means the process of gaining power on the part of the individual by understanding the nature of one’s own needs and the cause and effects of political and social structures which prevent their realisation. Empowered subjects can participate in the transformation of society on the basis of human rights.”* (Lohrenscheit, 2002). In a more recent publication Lohrenscheit (2006) distinguishes between participation, seen as the active involvement of individuals and groups in social, economic or political activities, and empowerment, viewed as the strengthening of individuals and groups and their liberation from oppressive conditions which crush human dignity. While the process of change is slow and requires shared responsibility, the author powerfully argues that HRE has the potential to be a vital learning tool for enabling change (Lohrenscheit, 2006).

Many scholars have noted the longstanding attempt of HRE practitioners to provide a conceptual convergence between HRE and critical pedagogy (Keet, 2007). More precisely, since empowerment and transformation have been recognised as stated purposes of HRE according to Tibbitts’ models for human rights education (Tibbitts, 2002), their alignment with the vision of critical pedagogy became pretty

straightforward. HRE has been regarded as one of the most concrete and tangible expressions of critical pedagogy because, as Magendzo stresses with regard to the Latin American context, *“critical pedagogy and human rights education could and should contribute to change by integrating, penetrating and infusing education and curriculum with social justice, empowerment and with social, cultural and political issues such as poverty, discrimination, peace, gender, racism, etc. It is through decades of turbulent and sometimes horrific social and political change that the practices and theories of human rights education have emerged in Latin America, and because of them that human rights education should establish itself at the center of all educational practices.”* (Magendzo, 2005). This idea has been coined as transformative or emancipatory human rights education pedagogy (Tibbitts, 2016) and, along with its methodologies, has been associated with critical pedagogy and Paulo Freire (Tibbitts, 2017). Indeed, transformative and emancipatory learning approaches, drawing from critical pedagogy, invite a critical reflection on power and oppression and involve methodologies of participation, empowerment and transformation. As highlighted by Tibbitts (2018), this kind of pedagogy is experiential, problem-posing, participative, analytical, healing and strategic, aimed at providing skills, knowledge, and motivation for individuals to transform their own lives and realities. Furthermore, other scholars refer to human rights learning as a contemporary form of Freirean political pedagogy and argue that critical pedagogy is the methodology most consistent with the transformative goals of peace education and human rights learning (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015). Also, as noted by Holland & Martin (2017) in their analysis on the role of HRE in peacebuilding, the fact that HRE content grows organically out of the needs, desires and problems of people in their respective contexts reveals Freire’s influence in shaping the role of educators in HRE programs and their implementation of HRE. *“Freire has defined education as based on problem-solving and critical analysis rather than on the mere acquisition of new knowledge. In this model, educators act as facilitators, helping learners to discover what they already know, and guiding them, through dialogue and critical thinking, in the acquisition of new ideas. This approach employs a method of self-discovery in which learners of human rights are presented with songs, images, and role-plays as ways to analyze the problems and other issues they face in their communities. In analyzing the graphically presented problems, the participants are encouraged to discover human rights issues for themselves, and to devise solutions and implementation strategies.”* (Holland & Martin, 2017).

2.3.2. Hermeneutic approach to HRE

At this point it is necessary to reflect on HRE pedagogies. What constitutes a pedagogy for international human rights education? The term pedagogy, according to Daniels (2001), should be constructed in reference to the forms of social practice which shape the cognitive, effective, and moral development of individuals. *“Pedagogy is linked to socio-cultural theory regarding education and educational psychology, since the emphasis is on theorizing and providing methodological tools for investigating the processes by which social, cultural, and historical factors influence human cognition and function within a society.”* (Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2015). Applying this definition of pedagogy to HRE means to consider the impact of social, historical, and cultural institutions on the process of teaching and learning (historicization). Furthermore, it offers learners the tools to understand the concept of human rights in context (contextualization); it draws strength from the idea of multiple perspectives on human rights (multiperspectivity); it takes a critical stance toward human rights as they are conceptualized/interpreted locally (criticality); and it recognizes that human rights conceptualizations are partial and incomplete (partiality) (Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2013). As claimed by Bruner, the pedagogy is to empower human beings to go beyond their “native” predisposition through the symbols and the unique logic of perceiving the world that the culture has developed for doing so (Bruner, 1996). In HRE it is therefore of cardinal importance to refrain from using the banking model (denounced by Freire) as pedagogy for education. The issue with this pedagogy lies in its impotency in transforming the social reality that is antithetical to human rights. As already seen, Reardon warns that most current practices in education focus on knowledge transfer rather than on the development of the capacities to produce and internalize it, so they remain mechanisms for the pedagogies and politics of the status quo. She argues instead for an active learning and learning from actions, which is an effective pedagogy that develops the capacity of learners (Reardon, 2009). This idea of active learning pedagogy is aligned with the pedagogy emerging from the relational hermeneutic epistemology developed by Al-Daraweesh and Snauwaert (2015). They suggest a reconsideration of the scope, curriculum, pedagogy and methodology of HRE to remodel the current educational process. This remodelling should be oriented toward an understanding of cultural experiences and traditions, implying the importance of grounding the conceptualization of human rights in cultural interpretation, as well as based on a relational hermeneutic epistemology. Their analysis starts with the premise that current human rights

education pertains to a problematic paradigm. The problems, according to the scholars, arise from the use and abuse of human rights discourse and consequently of HRE itself. The discipline, which is supposed to bring about the universality of a shared common human experience, has been dedicated to highlight the differences in human experience. One of these problematic issues is the abstractness of the educational process. As a result HRE has not successfully affected learners across cultures, beyond content knowledge. Al-Daraweesh and Snauwaert argue that this is due to the fact that the Western conceptualization of rights has constituted the source of curriculum and pedagogy of human rights education. They believe that human rights educators should establish HRE on a relational hermeneutic epistemology. Non-Western perspectives are often ignored and delegitimized because they do not express moral concerns in a framework of Eurocentric thought, yet they nonetheless address them in some other epistemic framework (Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2013). Looking at the Asian context, for example, Yasuaki highlights that the negative reaction to human rights derives from often humiliating colonial pasts and assumptions about the superiority of western governments especially when, rightfully points out the scholar, these western governments are exactly those who ignore human rights violations in their own countries and still paradoxically claim to have a moral superiority (Yasuaki, 1999). Non-Western communities have moral concerns that are “isomorphic equivalents” of human rights, namely traditions, social practices or moral systems (e.g., Confucianism, Buddhism) that conceptualise what it means to be human, how one might live with dignity and in which ways individuals within social groups may realise their full potential. *“Consequently, an adequate understanding of global human rights has to dwell on the relationship between human rights and the isomorphic equivalents of human rights in other cultures. Thus, human rights education is to expand its source, instead of relying on one tradition. The exploration of more than one tradition is beneficial to the learner, since it expands the learner’s horizon. The dynamic interplay between the whole and the part will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the concept of human rights.”* (Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2015). Adopting a hermeneutic approach means that HRE as a discipline could gain mass cultural legitimization and credibility, and could eliminate some of the anti-educational orthodoxies that have resulted from grounding human rights knowledge in a single tradition, namely the Western traditions on rights. Relational pedagogy is a process of interactions among learners addressing each other as human beings of equal human value. Most learning is, in fact, relational, mediated through relations between

learners and facilitators, among learners, and between learners and the problematic condition from which and for which they are learning. Knowledge, in its pedagogical formulation, becomes a social process, which draws on the cultural knowledge embedded in the social system. The interaction between learners and context becomes fruitful in aiding learners to develop their full potential as humans. Al-Daraweesh and Snauwaert describe the characteristics of the newly emerged pedagogy as dialectical, experiential, validating, empowering, reflective and inquiry-based. These characteristics, argue the authors, are conducive to HRE. They further elaborate on these characteristics, for example they affirm that the experiential learning of the emerging pedagogy involves four stages, which are similar to Freire's problem-posing model (Freire, 2005): concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization and active experimentation (Kolb, 1984). *"In the emerged pedagogy, human rights knowledge is presented to the learner according to his/her relational experience. Concrete experience yields to reflective observation, which ultimately leads to abstract conceptualization of both knowledge and experience. This process, then, involves the learner in an active experimentation with the acquired knowledge."* (Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2015). The emerged pedagogy is therefore grounded in active learning. It promotes cross-cultural understanding and active participation in transforming the social reality locally and globally. This also means hermeneutics contributes to a culturally sensitive approach to human rights education that is justifiable from within and across diverse cultures, pointing to a morally discursive and hermeneutic approach to human rights education for deliberative democratic citizenship (Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2018).

2.3.3. The role of contexts and emotions

The approach of critical hermeneutics in HRE has been operationalized and tested empirically by training a group of Greek-Cypriot teachers and exploring their difficulties with and perspectives of the critical hermeneutical approach (CHA) during the training. The findings show how, in addition to epistemological issues involved concerning the meaning and implications of the CHA, the particularities of the local context (ethnic conflict, pedagogic traditions, educational structures) also influence the uptake of this approach (Zembylas et al., 2016). Many scholars have emphasized the need to explore teacher professional learning by looking at teachers' perceptions of human rights and HRE in their local contexts (Bajaj, 2012; Flowers et al., 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2010). Indeed, this constitutes an important aspect of how certain HRE pedagogical

approaches might be understood and enacted in the classroom. As it has been shown by previous research, making local challenges of HRE a central part of teacher professional learning, rather than simply presenting human rights through one perspective, is an important element of contextualized teacher training (Bajaj, 2011a). In a way, it can be generally stated that *“one of the major characteristics of all HRE programming everywhere is that it conforms to the social reality of the place in which it is being taught. Therefore it must be flexible and adaptable as the local opportunities and obstacles become visible.”* (Holland & Martin, 2017). The study on Greek-Cypriot teachers’ perspectives of the critical hermeneutical approach introduced at the beginning of this subparagraph has revealed three main findings: *“first, regarding research/theory, it is shown that the tensions between universal and local conceptions of human rights—and particular an approach that claims to go beyond this dichotomy—are not simply an issue of epistemology, but also a deeply political one; second, regarding teaching practice, it seems that although HRE pedagogies employing multiperspectivity, interpretivism and criticality entail risks, they can shake the grounds of traditional and monolithic pedagogical approaches; finally, regarding teacher training, this study emphasizes that teacher educators need to focus not only on content knowledge about human rights, but also on how such knowledge is potentially (re)framed by teachers (see Schön, 1987) and what curricular and pedagogical consequences this reframing has.”* (Zembylas et al., 2016). Besides these findings, the foundation on which rights claims are made remains an open debate in the human rights field. On the one hand, there is the school of thought arguing for the universalism of human rights, suggesting that human rights are universal values for all. These interpretations are grounded in assumptions about a universal human nature originated in the West (Douzinas, 2000) and often codified in juridical terms (e.g. legal conventions) (Donnelly, 2013). On the other hand, there is the approach based on local or cultural conceptions of rights (Donnelly, 2007), suggesting that there is no universal moral doctrine on which to ground human rights since they are social and historical constructs. Consequently, human rights are valid only in and for those cultures that established this discourse, as human rights are not always in agreement with traditional cultural beliefs and therefore they cannot be generalized (Evans, 1998; Ignatieff, 2001). Critical hermeneutical approach constitutes a third conceptualization of human rights that seeks to reconcile the debate between universalists and cultural relativists (Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2013). Other scholars, while agreeing with the conception of human rights as universal rights, *“also want to suggest that human rights are part of a constantly changing, culture-*

bound, locally constructed understandings that are historically specific and contingent.” (Monaghan & Spreen, 2016). Therefore, according to these scholars, HRE should be grounded in the consciousness of peoples of the world who have waged the most persistent struggles for rights, decolonization and self-determination, and against discrimination, injustice and tyranny (Baxi, 1997).

The potential of education to contribute to democratization and development is widely acknowledged by both international organizations and governments across the globe. Particularly in post-conflict societies, citizenship and human rights education programmes are often introduced with the aim to achieve skills for learning to live together and peaceful conflict resolution (Osler & Yahya, 2017). The need to include both critical pedagogical approaches (e.g. cultivating solidarity and praxis) and values-oriented perspectives (e.g. promoting non-discrimination and equality) as parts of HRE educational programmes in conflict and post-conflict societies has been highlighted by Zembylas (2011). He argues that if educators want a more critical and transformative approach to HRE and peace education, then perhaps a values and action-oriented approach can offer some opportunities to integrate human rights within peace education programmes in productive ways. This approach should be grounded, according to Zembylas, in non-discrimination, equality, solidarity and praxis, within a framework of pedagogies that pay attention to the complexities of human needs and encourage ethical responsibility toward these needs (Zembylas, 2011). He elaborates further on the necessity to invent a new pedagogical praxis that has two important components in relation to human rights and HRE. First, this pedagogical praxis does not simply affirm rights uncritically but it engages in a serious political analysis that recognizes the dilemmas and tensions involved, especially in conflict and post-conflict societies. Second, this pedagogy does not only focus on human rights violations but also unveils possibilities for solidarity and acknowledgment of common suffering with the other, as well as the emotions of humiliation and powerlessness that often accompany the reception of trauma narratives (Zembylas, 2008 and 2009). As it has also been argued by other scholars always looking at HRE programs in conflict or post-conflict contexts, *“(h)uman rights education may not stop bombs from dropping or force border authorities to accept refugees, but it does promote a new emergence of rights claims by people who have historically been denied not only their rights but also knowledge about their rights. (...) Human rights educators must continue their work to educate populations about their rights long after people have laid down their arms.”* (Holland & Martin, 2017). Zembylas also discusses the role of emotions in human rights

teaching and learning, looking at the interesting entanglement of emotion, pedagogy and HRE. Indeed, it has been increasingly recognized that HRE requires the combination of legal perspective and affective dimension (Spren & Monaghan, 2017). In a quite recent publication, Zembylas describes a “pedagogy of discomfort” as encouraging students to move outside their comfort zone and question their beliefs, assumptions and worldviews. *“This approach is grounded in the assumption that discomforting feelings are important in challenging dominant beliefs, social habits and normative practices that sustain social inequities and they create openings for individual and social transformation.”* (Zembylas, 2015). However, the value of pedagogic discomfort should not be overstated and assumed to be always transformative – students respond to and benefit from pedagogic discomfort in different ways. The scholar argues that proposing a “pedagogy of discomfort” for HRE demands realistic decision about what can and cannot be achieved, time to establish trust in the classroom, strong relationships and compassionate understandings among people, as well as ethical implications that have to be carefully considered. Zembylas reflects upon a pedagogy of discomfort in a broader framework where he aims to show that a theory of HRE that acknowledges the significance of emotions in critical ways can provide productive pedagogical orientations to the teaching of human rights. In other words, he stresses that emotions are relevant to human rights and have important implications for HRE, as they might create openings for a different engagement with human rights and therefore with HRE. Zembylas, based on his longstanding research experience in conflict-troubled and divided societies, identifies three aspects of a critical pedagogical approach by embracing the role of emotions, namely the significance of pedagogic discomfort, the pedagogical principle of mutual vulnerability and the value of compassion and strategic empathy. He deeply elaborates on each of these aspects but at the basis there is the idea that an understanding of the conditions that give rise to human rights violations, such as structural inequalities, poverty, globalization and so forth, is connected to the development of students’ critical compassion, meaning that they create a human connection (e.g. mutual vulnerability) between themselves and others based on the acknowledgement of discomfort, pain and suffering. In his view, mutual vulnerability can provide a “new grammar” for critical pedagogy in HRE, disrupting normative frames of community and promoting a sense of community based on the burden of troubled knowledge shared more or less by everyone in a given society. As powerfully exemplified by Zembylas: *“mere understanding is clearly not enough; students will become more susceptible to affective transformation when they enact*

compassionate action early on in their lives starting with simple things such as learning to be more patient and tolerant with peers who do not grasp a difficult concept in language or mathematics. As they grow up, children are offered opportunities to enact more complex manifestations of compassion that include action to alleviate the suffering of people who experience difficult times, no matter which community they come from. What must follow the acknowledgement of mutual vulnerability is taking action that dismisses essentialized categories of 'victims' and 'oppressors' and highlights instead the impact of solidarity on reducing everyday inequalities." (Zembylas, 2017). Along similar lines, Keet argues that a non-declarationist and critical HRE opens up an infinite number of spaces for enhanced human agency and at the same time plays an important role in furthering a pedagogical alternative where the obsession with human rights universalism is replaced by a commitment to solidarity within human suffering (Keet, 2007). Indeed, HRE requires its own innovative and alternative pedagogical language that is more than a regurgitation of international, regional and national human rights provisions. *"HRE must be pushed beyond broad notions of democracy or symbolism of diversity and equality, and beyond the rhetoric of laws and rights, and instead be informed by the lived experiences of those whose rights have been and continue to be violated in an unequal and asymmetrical world."* (Spren & Monaghan, 2017). Furthermore, as it has been argued by Osler & Yahya (2017) looking at gender equality in post-conflict Kurdistan, it is critical that the type of HRE offered at school is appropriate to children's needs and it definitely requires more than merely translating international instruments into national policies or implementing educational reforms. It implies a holistic approach that includes school policies and practices that empower students and provide them with a language to discuss sensitive issues. Some scholars have argued that universal human rights are, in many ways, the shared language at the basis of the work of justice-oriented teachers and educators, as well as of contemporary liberatory pedagogies. *"Justice-oriented teaching can be understood as the descendant of this human rights framework. Whether looking at critical pedagogy, antiracist teaching, multicultural education, or social justice education, all of these liberatory approaches to teaching embody the human rights commitments to cultural pluralism, amplifying marginalized voices, social and economic rights, and analyzing systems of (in)justice. Thus, justice-oriented pedagogies are fulfilling the vision of global justice and human dignity promoted in the UDHR and expected to be spread through education."* (Gibson & Grant, 2017). The HRE language, according to Keet, must be grounded in the notions of human suffering, compassion, needs,

empathy and altruism. He also states that this language must be rooted in the notion of human wrongs. *“There is a conceptual difference between a ‘human wrong’ and a ‘human rights violation’. A ‘human wrong’ constitutes an instinctive registration of a negative and degrading ‘human experience’. A human rights violation is a deviation from a regulatory principle. ‘Human wrongs’ are constructed within the context of needs and compassion, whilst ‘human rights violations’ are composed on the basis of non-compliance with stated regulations or laws, a technical or administrative deviation, inaction, or professional incompetence.”* (Keet, 2015). While Keet’s conceptualisation of human wrong is definitely appropriate and relevant, it should not overshadow the notion of human rights violation. As I clarified earlier, reference to international human rights instruments and mechanisms remains central to any HRE program and marks its distinction from other fields of education. As a matter of fact, the ultimate goal of HRE is to reduce human rights violations. I will clarify this argument in my conclusion.

Chapter 2 – Conclusion

The chapter started with an introduction about the interdisciplinary and heterogeneous nature of HRE. Indeed, HRE is characterised by diverse approaches and has an inherent identity that can overlap with other forms of education in both formal and non-formal sectors, and with whom it might share goals and methodologies. As it has been discussed, this interdisciplinarity constitutes a strength in developing the theory and practices of HRE but it also faces the problem of academic territoriality, meaning that scholars are reluctant to examine the core concepts and ideas from other subject fields. Emphases and priorities can depend on the disciplinary lens through which human rights and HRE are viewed, whether that be philosophical, legal, political and social scientific or pedagogical, and as a result of academic territoriality there is a general lack of interest in and appreciation of contributions coming from other subject fields – which is unfortunate. Framing HRE within the broader human rights movement, I analysed the emergence and institutionalization of HRE to show that, during the past three decades, the prevention of abuses through education has become a new pillar of the human rights movement and HRE has emerged as a central aspect of the broader human rights agenda. Being placed at the core of human rights means also that HRE has to deal with some of the longstanding controversies of this field but, as I argued, it might also offer partial solutions and serve as a strong pillar upholding the movement. Since there are no ready-made formulas or a

one-size-fits-all model for HRE, but it is about adjusting the content and methodologies so that the message of human rights can be relevant and brought closer to people in their daily lives (vernacularization), a single definition of HRE seems elusive – maybe even pointless. On the contrary, I highlighted that there are many definitions and variants of HRE, also because different emphases and outcomes are stressed depending on the provenance of the definition. However, there is broad agreement about certain core components of HRE, namely that it must include both content and process related to human rights. This led me to one of the overarching objectives of this chapter, which is to demonstrate that HRE has both legal and normative dimensions. The legal dimension deals with content about international human rights standards, treaties and covenants to which countries subscribe; the normative dimension looks at HRE as a cultural enterprise and a process intended to provide skills, knowledge and motivation to individuals to transform their own lives and realities so that they are more consistent with human rights norms and values. This is what has been referred to as “healthy hybrid” or twofold dimension of HRE. The reduction to one side or the other, being that legal or normative, would undermine the ultimate goal of HRE which is to reduce human rights violations and empower persons to contribute to the building and promotion of a universal culture of human rights. Although HRE cannot be limited to a law-oriented focus and it has definitely moved beyond simply spreading information about international human rights law, reference to these instruments and related mechanisms remains central to any HRE programme and is the bedrock that distinguishes HRE from other fields of education such as peace education or global education. At the same time, I argued that this legal aspect needs to be brought to life by the normative one, which makes human rights meaningful and relevant to people’s daily lives and realities.

In the second part of the chapter I looked at HRE Models. Starting with their first substantive exploration developed by Tibbitts in 2002, I then moved into the latest revision conducted in 2017 by the same originator which resulted in several amendments to the models and the extension of the titles to: Values and Awareness-Socialization Model; Accountability-Professional Development Model; Activism-Transformation Model. In between I also analysed Bajaj’s categorisation based on three ideological orientations: HRE for Global Citizenship; HRE for Coexistence; HRE for Transformative Action. Similarly to the conclusion I drew from the analysis of different HRE definitions, from the spectrum of HRE models analysed it also emerged that the diversity, mutability, adaptability, richness and possibility of HRE

are its strengths. Since the Values and Awareness Model, if implemented in isolation and not as a first step towards more comprehensive HRE, continues to be a problematic one within HRE practices, I investigated some of its major criticisms. First of all, the Values and Awareness Model has been criticized for its strict and limited focus on formal education and on people who have access to schooling, therefore excluding those more vulnerable and marginalized. Furthermore, it has been questioned its orientation towards social-transformative activism that can give rise to the risk of indoctrination. Lastly, also the basis of HRE's claim to legal legitimacy in international law has been considered as severely deficient. These critiques led to an interesting academic debate and I shared Tibbitts' responses to each and every concern. She reiterated once again that HRE is a diverse field of practice, differing not only according to audiences and educational settings but also national contexts. She added that the reduction to a law-oriented focus of HRE in schools would undercut its potential to fulfil its ultimate goal, which is to reduce human rights violations. This statement reinforces my argument about the twofold dimension of HRE and the importance of keeping together its legal and normative aspects. As for the risk of indoctrination, I considered a reconfiguration of HRE as critical and transformative. This orientation is extensively debated in the academic literature based on the need of critique and renewal, as well as of taking into consideration the distinct social locations and forms of marginalization faced by different groups. While I agree that a mere legalistic approach is clearly not enough and needs to be informed by a critical dialogue between local notions of human rights and international legal documents and declarations, I argued that this is already part of HRE. Indeed, the process of questioning and de-constructing the universality of human rights values in order to make them personally meaningful and relevant to learners is already infused in HRE as part of critical pedagogy. In other words, a critical and transformative approach to HRE aims to close the gap between rights and actual realities, building a bridge between abstract human rights universals and real lived experiences of rights. Furthermore, a critical and transformative orientation towards HRE also allows to include a decolonising perspective that tackles the Eurocentric vision of human rights and their universalist notions promoted in mainstream HRE. This is because critical pedagogy is strongly associated with HRE, particularly with the HRE Transformation Model, its participatory and transformative methodologies, and its orientation towards empowerment.

Since the use of participatory and critical pedagogy aiming at the promotion of a human rights culture emerged as a unique quality that HRE aspires to have, in the third part of this chapter I developed a

more in-depth analysis of HRE pedagogies. After a brief introduction about different pedagogical practices frequently associated with HRE, I focused on critical pedagogy and on the work of Paulo Freire. More precisely, I explained how Freirean principles, such as conscientization, dialogue, participation, empowerment and transformation, are relevant and very much connected to HRE. I also explored the idea of transformative or emancipatory human rights education pedagogy, before presenting an interesting vision of HRE through a hermeneutic approach. This approach refuses the banking model of education warned of by Freire and pushes HRE towards a remodelling based on cultural interpretation and relational hermeneutic epistemology. Indeed, the hermeneutic approach challenges the Western conceptualization of rights and argues for taking into serious consideration the “isomorphic equivalents” of human rights in other cultures. Through this process HRE could receive a stronger cultural legitimization and credibility, as well as embrace a conceptualization of human rights that reconciles the longstanding debate between universalists and cultural relativists. In the last part of this third section I also highlighted the role of contexts and emotions as another specific characteristic of HRE. As I showed, being flexible, adaptable and evolving, HRE conforms to the social reality of the place in which it is being taught. This also includes taking into account the role of emotions in HRE pedagogies and I elaborated on several related concepts, such as pedagogic discomfort, mutual vulnerability and needs, compassion and solidarity, empathy and altruism. While this affective dimension is an essential component of HRE, I argued that it should not overshadow the legal perspective. Once again, the twofold dimension of HRE, both legal and normative, is the only lens through which the concept can be properly framed and analysed.

Chapter 3 – International and regional standards on Human Rights Education

The previous chapter on human rights education (HRE) concluded that reference to international human rights instruments and related mechanisms is central to any HRE program. Indeed, although HRE cannot be limited to a law-oriented focus and has definitely moved beyond simply spreading information about international human rights law, this premise is crucial to distinguish HRE from other fields of education such as peace education or global education (Tibbitts, 2002; Tibbitts & Fernekes 2011). In order to further elaborate on this legal component, I think it is important to develop a chapter specifically dedicated to exploring the main international and regional standards on human rights education. While the analysis I will carry out is definitely not exhaustive and all-embracing, it provides useful elements to better clarify HRE and also understand the legal context in which my following case studies will be framed. For example, in terms of regional standards, I decided in this chapter to look only at the European level because this is the most relevant one to the focus countries of my research, namely Croatia and Italy. Therefore, acknowledging the limitations of this analysis, it is however useful to explore the way in which education has been framed in different international and regional standards. Indeed, while human rights education is firmly established in the history and activities of the United Nations, regional institutions such as the European Union and the Council of Europe are characterised by different trajectories. For a comprehensive compilation of provisions of international and regional instruments dealing with HRE, I would refer you to an excellent web resource launched by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in September 2014 and entitled “The Right to Human Rights Education”⁹.

The first part of this chapter deals with some of the major international standards on HRE. More precisely, HRE is contextualised within the United Nations (UN) and the UN human rights framework. As I will show, the legal origin of human rights education lies in the right to education as proclaimed since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948. Indeed, as defined by the UDHR and following human rights treaties, the right to education does not only refer to an entitlement that everybody has to education, but it also comprises an explanation on the direction of this education, introducing the concept of a human rights-based approach to education. Therefore, a rights-based education of good quality includes availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability – the four key pillars highlighted by the first UN

⁹ See for more information: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/Listofcontents.aspx>. Date: 27 January 2019.

Special Rapporteur on the right to education (Tomaševski, 2001). This clearly opens the door to the development of human rights education as an integral part of the right to education since it is based on and aims to achieve quality and human rights. Education is both a right and a duty to build a culture of respect for human rights, therefore encompasses a human right to human rights education. While HRE is deeply rooted in the right to education from its very outset, it is only after the end of the Cold War that HRE enters the international policy agenda with the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action of 1993 that issued a call for a UN Decade for Human Rights Education. This is a pivotal moment in which the official journey of HRE within the UN human rights framework starts as an autonomous and respectable strand of work. Indeed, following the Decade there has been a World Programme for Human Rights Education structured in consecutive phases and that is still going on today under the global coordination of the OHCHR. More recently, on 19 December 2011, the General Assembly adopted the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (UNDHRET) which officially proclaims international HRE standards and governments' specific commitments to promote HRE. This Declaration was briefly mentioned in the previous chapter while presenting the critique to the Values and Awareness Model of HRE (section 2.2.2.) but here I will take a closer look into the nitty-gritty of this legal document, including several strengths and weaknesses. Furthermore, I will analyse the definition of the key components necessary for the provision of holistic HRE as clarified in the Declaration – education about, through and for human rights. After presenting some of the more recent activities of the OHCHR in the area of human rights education and learning, as well as the connections with the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), I will conclude this first part on the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as a key proponent of HRE.

The second part of this chapter moves from the international to the regional standards on HRE and explores in particular the European level. The first subparagraph looks at the European Union (EU) while the following two are focused on the Council of Europe (CoE). As I already said at the beginning of this introduction, the attempt is to provide a basic legal contextualisation that can be applicable to and useful for the analysis of the case studies of my research. This is why I will leave aside several other important regional instruments on HRE (e.g. African Union, Organization of American States, etc.) and even the European standards I will take into consideration are limited. However, this part will allow me to observe that the

language used by the EU to talk about education refers to the idea of quality education and it is more often connected to the concept of citizenship education rather than HRE. This marks an important change of pace as compared to the UN human rights framework. Furthermore, always in this second part of the chapter, I will be able to deeply investigate the Council of Europe (CoE) Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education which is the only comprehensive legal document explicitly referring to both education for democratic citizenship (EDC) and human rights education (HRE). This is particularly relevant to my research as one of its main objectives is to understand the relationship between citizenship education (chapter 1) and human rights education (chapter 2). After analysing the definitions of EDC and HRE given in the Charter, as well as the process leading to and following its adoption, I will focus on the review process of its implementation. Indeed, looking specifically at the 2017 CoE Report on the State of Citizenship and Human Rights Education in Europe resulting from the second review cycle of the implementation of the Charter, I will show how state-civil society perspectives on HRE implementation might diverge. Through the selection of answers analysed, in fact, it will be demonstrated that there are some areas in which responses from governments and civil society organisations are similar and aligned, while there are other ones in which considerable discrepancy can be highlighted between responses from the two different stakeholders. This offers a perfect springboard for the following section.

Having underscored the crucial role of civil society, the third part of this chapter will be specifically dedicated to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and HRE. Indeed, the number of NGOs working in this field has been growing over the last 25 years and they can definitely be considered, alongside the UN, a major driver of the development of HRE. NGOs working at all levels (locally, nationally and internationally) are often responsible for the actual implementation of HRE, including in schools across the globe. Furthermore, they contribute to the development of human rights legislation and advocate for its ratification and monitoring to make sure that governments live up to their obligations. It is in this regard that NGOs become careful watchdogs of the realisation of human rights at the national level, leading to challenges and tensions in their relationship with governments which will be further elaborated upon in this chapter. HRE, as the human rights field in general, has to deal with the complexity of turning commitments into action and avoid the proliferation of empty legal documents with no meaning for people in their daily lives. I will conclude this part briefly stating that there are many NGOs in Europe and worldwide working on HRE,

therefore aiming to provide a comprehensive list would be pointless for the purpose of this research. It is much more interesting to say that all these NGOs share common foundations, namely the human rights legal standards as well as the values and principles of human rights. This brings us back to the argument of the previous chapter about the crucial need to keep together the legal and normative dimensions of HRE as the only way to properly frame its ambitious goal to promote a universal culture of human rights. The risk otherwise would be on the one hand to reduce HRE to “mere human rights legalism” (i.e. no more than the formulaic delivery of international human rights standards) and on the other to “vague talk” about human rights values and culture without any grounding in the legal instruments that give substance to core principles such as non-discrimination, participation and accountability (Phillips & Gready, 2013).

3.1. From the right to education to HRE at the UN level

The right to education has been formally recognized since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). This has since been affirmed in numerous global human rights treaties, including the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (UNESCO, 1960), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (United Nations General Assembly, 1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (United Nations General Assembly, 1979), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly, 1989). These human rights instruments state both the entitlement to education as well as its direction, providing that education itself should be rights-respecting and leading to an increased emphasis on the importance of adopting a human rights-based approach to education (UNICEF/UNESCO, 2007). Indeed, the right to education does not only entail access to education but it also includes the right to receive an education of good quality. This means that education must be available and accessible but also acceptable and adaptable (Tomaševski, 2001). These components are also known as the “4-As Scheme” to explain the core concepts of the right to education as developed by Katarina Tomaševski, the first UN Special Rapporteur on the right to education (1998-2004). *Availability* centres on the government’s obligation to ensure that free and compulsory education is available to all school children. Furthermore, since the right to education is defined in international human rights treaties as a progressive right, governments must not only ensure free and compulsory education for all children immediately, or elaborate a plan and

seek international assistance so as to comply with this obligation as fast as possible, but they must also, where possible, ensure access to post-compulsory education. This does not mean that people have an entitlement to unlimited education throughout their life at government expense, but it means that post-compulsory education may nonetheless become an obligation through the progressive realization of human rights law. Availability also does not necessitate government-run schooling exclusively as human rights safeguards are orientated towards balancing the right of the state to compel children to be educated and the right of their parents to decide where and how (Klees & Thapliyal, 2007). *Accessibility* is a second important component for an education of good quality and it may be impeded by a variety of factors, even though schooling may be nominally available. A principal barrier to access is cost, leading Tomaševski to posit a fifth A: affordability. She examined also other factors such as gender, citizenship, migrant status, disability, race, ethnicity, language, religion and imprisonment. Public education systems continue to be embedded with inequalities, discrimination and other obstacles that contribute to the underperformance of disadvantaged learners and/or their inability to complete compulsory education. Schools unfortunately produce and reflect broader social norms and inequalities related, for example, to poverty, historical disadvantage, institutional discrimination against women and minorities, gender-based violence and traditional practices that harm or negatively impact on women and girls (Tomaševski, 2005). This is why accessibility leads to the principle that no one should be discriminated against in education. *Acceptability* shifts the focus to the qualitative aspects of education. For example, certain minimum standards for health and safety are stipulated, and teachers are required to meet professional criteria that have to be monitored and enforced by the government. In a nutshell, acceptability entails ascertaining what is and is not acceptable to people and changing the contents of teaching and learning accordingly. Acceptability also involves taking into account diverse issues such as the prohibition of corporal punishment, attention to language of instruction (with a special focus on indigenous and minority languages), textbook censorship, unregulated privatization, inadequate spending and teachers' rights. *Adaptability*, finally, recalls that education must be in the child's best interest as proclaimed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly, 1989). In other words, schools must adapt to the needs of learners and not the other way around (Tomaševski, 2003). Tomaševski considers the previous three As (Availability, Accessibility and Acceptability) as the outcomes of progressive stages in applying the right to education and the fourth A (Adaptability) as the most recent stage

and perhaps “utopian”. Rights-based education, however, means to fully protect the right *to* education and human rights *in* education, as well as enhance human rights *through* education. *“This is where human rights education comes in - education based on indivisible and inter-dependent human rights involving all three dimensions to learning: (1) learning about, (2) learning for and (3) learning through human rights.”* (Lohrenscheit, 2006). As highlighted by Tomaševski, human rights education (HRE) is an integral part of the right to education in general and a key aspect of quality education in particular. The term HRE has been coined to denote a “specialized branch of education” (Tomaševski, 2001a) which has been flourishing over the last 25 years. HRE forms a goal and a part of the content of the education to which everyone has a right but HRE, understood as part of the right to education, has a limited group of addressees (Kirchschlaeger, 2017). Indeed, HRE is not only restricted to the formal context as the right to education is, but it also encompasses non-formal and informal sectors – I will come back to this in section 3.1.2. below while discussing the most recent definition officially proclaimed by the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training. Before doing that, HRE will be contextualized within the UN human rights framework (3.1.1.), starting with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and following the development of HRE through some of the main UN-related documents and outputs. Finally, the section will conclude on some of the major highlights of UNESCO’s work in the field of HRE (3.1.3.).

3.1.1. The development of HRE within the UN human rights framework

The Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) proclaims that *“every individual and every organ of society (...) shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms”* (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). Furthermore, beginning with the adoption of the UDHR in 1948, the UN system and its specialized agencies formally recognized the right of citizens to be informed about the rights and freedoms contained in the documents ratified by their countries. As it has been argued in the literature, without human rights education, human rights declarations and treaties risk to remain just wonderful pieces of paper without any impact on the reality of the lives of people who are actually human rights holders and duty-bearers (Kirchschlaeger, 2014). Article 26 of the UDHR defines education itself as a right and states that education shall be directed towards the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In the previous chapter of this thesis (section 2.1.), I already highlighted

this feature in relation to HRE, meaning that it is both a human right in itself as well as a door opener for other human rights. International instruments arising in the wake of the UDHR continue to affirm not just the right to education, but also education that is directed towards an understanding and promotion of human rights. The UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which came into force in 1976, asserts in Article 13 that States parties “agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.” (United Nations General Assembly, 1966). In its General Comment No. 13, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (the body in charge of monitoring the implementation of the ICESCR) clarified that “(e)ducation is both a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realizing other human rights” (United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1999) and further explained that education in all its forms and at all levels shall exhibit the following interrelated and essential features as already clarified in paragraph 3.1. above: availability; accessibility; acceptability; adaptability.

“(a) Availability - functioning educational institutions and programmes have to be available in sufficient quantity within the jurisdiction of the State party. What they require to function depends upon numerous factors, including the developmental context within which they operate; for example, all institutions and programmes are likely to require buildings or other protection from the elements, sanitation facilities for both sexes, safe drinking water, trained teachers receiving domestically competitive salaries, teaching materials, and so on; while some will also require facilities such as a library, computer facilities and information technology; (b) Accessibility - educational institutions and programmes have to be accessible to everyone, without discrimination, within the jurisdiction of the State party. Accessibility has three overlapping dimensions: (i) Non-discrimination - education must be accessible to all, especially the most vulnerable groups, in law and fact, without discrimination on any of the prohibited grounds (see paras. 31-37 on non-discrimination); (ii) Physical accessibility - education has to be within safe physical reach, either by attendance at some reasonably convenient geographic location (e.g. a neighbourhood school) or via modern technology (e.g. access to a "distance learning" programme); (iii) Economic accessibility -

*education has to be affordable to all. This dimension of accessibility is subject to the differential wording of article 13 (2) in relation to primary, secondary and higher education: whereas primary education shall be available "free to all", States parties are required to progressively introduce free secondary and higher education; (c) Acceptability - the form and substance of education, including curricula and teaching methods, have to be acceptable (e.g. relevant, culturally appropriate and of good quality) to students and, in appropriate cases, parents; this is subject to the educational objectives required by article 13 (1) and such minimum educational standards as may be approved by the State (see art. 13 (3) and (4)); (d) Adaptability - education has to be flexible so it can adapt to the needs of changing societies and communities and respond to the needs of students within their diverse social and cultural settings."*¹⁰

Although acclaimed in the UDHR and following human rights treaties identified above, HRE as a global movement gained momentum only after the end of the Cold War. Actual HRE originated earlier in civil society but it was only put on the international policy agenda with the Vienna Declaration of 1993. Indeed, the UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna was a crucial moment for HRE. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (United Nations General Assembly, 1993) adopted at the Conference considered *"human rights education, training and public information essential for the promotion and achievement of stable and harmonious relations among communities and for fostering mutual understanding, tolerance and peace."* In other words, it proclaims that education for human rights, professional training for teaching this area, as well as public information are a necessity in establishing stable and balanced relations between communities, in fostering mutual understanding, tolerance and peace. The Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action had an extensive subsection on HRE and emphasized that states should direct education towards the universal development of the human personality in formal and informal conditions, relying on the principles of human rights, humanitarian law, democracy, the rule of law. Largely as a response to pressures from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action issued a call for a UN Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) that brought policymakers, government officials, activists and educators into more sustained deliberation and action (Bajaj et al., 2016). This is again a pivotal turning point as it marks the start of the official journey of HRE

¹⁰ Retrieved from:

[https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/d\)GeneralCommentNo13TheRighttoeducation\(article13\)\(1999\).aspx](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/d)GeneralCommentNo13TheRighttoeducation(article13)(1999).aspx). Date: 8 January 2019.

within the United Nations that, as I will show in a moment, is still going on today. In proclaiming the UN Decade for Human Rights Education in December 1994, the General Assembly defined HRE as *“more than the provision of information and should constitute a comprehensive life-long process by which people at all levels in development and in all strata of society learn respect for the dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring that respect in all societies”*¹¹. The General Assembly emphasized that the responsibility for HRE rested with all elements of society and called upon governments, international organizations, NGOs, professional associations and all other sectors of civil society, as well as individuals, to concentrate their efforts on promoting a universal culture of human rights through human rights education. Since 1995 the UN Decade for Human Rights Education has urged all UN members to promote training, dissemination and information efforts aimed at the building of a universal culture of human rights (United Nations General Assembly, 1996). The Decade also called upon all States and institutions to include human rights, humanitarian law, democracy and rule of law as subjects in the curricula of all learning institutions in both formal and non-formal settings. However, with few exceptions (e.g. the Philippines, Costa Rica), most governments responded half-heartedly or simply ignored the mandate such as the United States (Flowers, 2017). *“In the course of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) some countries and regions took the initiative of developing comprehensive strategies for human rights education including the development of national plans of action for HRE. In other countries, like Germany, for example, Governments decided to promote HRE in a less structured fashion and, as a result, did not develop HRE action plans or comprehensive HRE strategies.”* (Lohrenscheit, 2006). In 2000, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) conducted a mid-term global evaluation of the progress made in the first five years of the Decade towards the achievement of its objectives. The OHCHR, together with UNESCO, launched a worldwide survey on HRE by addressing two questionnaires to Heads of Government and other principal actors. The purpose of the survey was to take stock of human rights education programs, materials and organizations developed and active since the launching of the Decade, and to request the principal actors to highlight HRE needs, accomplishments and obstacles, and recommendations for the remainder of the Decade. As a result of the mid-term global evaluation of the UN Decade for HRE, some of

¹¹ Retrieved from:

[https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/UnitedNationsDecadeforHumanRightsEducation\(1994\).aspx](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/UnitedNationsDecadeforHumanRightsEducation(1994).aspx). Date: 8 January 2019.

the main findings reveal that *“effective national strategies for human rights education have very rarely been developed (...) monitoring and evaluation of the Decade need to be strengthened at all levels (international, regional, subregional, national and local) and by all actors (intergovernmental, governmental and non-governmental alike) (...) An enormous gap remains between the commitments and obligations made in connection with the Decade, the expectations raised, and the resources actually committed at every level”* (United Nations General Assembly, 2000). The OHCHR also delivered a report at the end of the UN Decade for HRE highlighting achievements and shortcomings, as well as future activities in this area. *“Most responding Governments have reported on their increased human rights education activities, within or outside the Decade’s framework; however, most of them mention that human rights education still remains a priority in their countries, since specific groups or issues have not been dealt with and appropriate coordination mechanisms for human rights education are not yet in place.”* (United Nations General Assembly, 2004). Besides its limits and shortcomings, however, the Decade has undoubtedly provided an excellent international forum for practitioners and human rights educators to engage with each other. Subsequently, the work of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education became institutionalized in the World Programme for Human Rights Education (WPHRE) (United Nations General Assembly, 2004a), established on 10 December 2004 by the General Assembly’s resolution 59/113 and globally coordinated by the OHCHR. The World Programme aims to advance the implementation of human rights education programmes in all sectors and seeks to promote a common understanding of basic principles and methodologies of HRE, to provide a concrete framework for action and to strengthen partnerships and cooperation from the international level down to the grass roots. It is structured in consecutive phases in order to further focus national human rights education efforts on specific sectors/issues. The first phase (2005-2009) focused on human rights education in the primary and secondary school systems. The second phase (2010-2014) focused on human rights education for higher education and on human rights training programmes for teachers and educators, civil servants, law enforcement officials and military personnel. The third phase (2015-2019) focused on strengthening the implementation of the first two phases and promoting human rights training for media professionals and journalists.¹² During the World Programme, the UN General Assembly also declared 2009 the International Year of Human Rights Learning (United Nations

¹² Retrieved from: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Pages/Programme.aspx>. Date: 5 January 2019

General Assembly, 2008). The latest relevant update at the time of this writing is that by resolution 39/3 the UN Human Rights Council has decided in September 2018 to make youth the focus group of the fourth phase (2020-2024) of the World Programme for HRE, with special emphasis on education and training in equality, human rights and non-discrimination, and inclusion and respect for diversity with the aim of building inclusive and peaceful societies. It was also decided to align the fourth phase with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations General Assembly, 2015) and specifically with target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals, taking into account the synergies between the different concepts and educational methods mentioned therein.¹³ The Council has tasked the OHCHR to prepare a plan of action for the fourth phase through a consultative process and to submit the plan of action to the Human Rights Council for its consideration at its 42nd session (September 2019). As I stated before the World Programme is an ongoing initiative structured in consecutive phases, the Council has therefore reaffirmed that states should continue the implementation of previous phases while also taking the necessary measures to implement the fourth one.

3.1.2. The UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training

Despite several efforts and outputs related to human rights education at the UN level as I highlighted above, it was only in 2011 that an official definition of HRE was developed within the UN legal framework. Indeed, on 19 December 2011, the General Assembly adopted by resolution 66/137 the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (UNDHRET). The UNDHRET is the first instrument in which international standards for HRE are officially identified and proclaimed by the UN. The Declaration is motivated by the desire to send a strong signal to the international community to strengthen all efforts in human rights education and training through a collective commitment by all stakeholders. Indeed, the adoption of the UNDHRET has reflected the increasing commitment of the international community to HRE. Furthermore, in an attempt to address the absence of an explicit and authoritative definition of the term “human rights education”, article 2 of the Declaration states that: “1. *Human rights education and training comprises all educational, training, information, awareness-raising and learning activities aimed at promoting universal respect for and observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms and thus contributing, inter alia,*

¹³ Retrieved from: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/WPHRE/Fourthphase/Pages/FourthPhaseIndex.aspx>. Date: 5 January 2019

to the prevention of human rights violations and abuses by providing persons with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviours, to empower them to contribute to the building and promotion of a universal culture of human rights. (and further argues that) 2. Human rights education and training encompasses: (a) Education about human rights, which includes providing knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, the values that underpin them and the mechanisms for their protection; (b) Education through human rights, which includes learning and teaching in a way that respects the rights of both educators and learners; (c) Education for human rights, which includes empowering persons to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others.” (United Nations General Assembly, 2011). The first paragraph of article 2 reaffirms the UN’s longstanding definition that HRE has a place in all forms of education and training, including the formal, non-formal and informal sectors. This is why HRE goes beyond the right to education that “*is restricted to the formal context, especially strictly speaking to the compulsory school years.*” (Kirchschlaeger, 2017). Article 2(2) of the Declaration clearly contains and articulates the most recent, and arguably the most definitive, definition of the key components necessary for the provision of holistic HRE – education about, through and for human rights (Struthers, 2015). Education *about* rights includes knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, so it is more related to the content and implies that this education is both founded on and makes reference to international standards (Osler & Yahya, 2017). Education *through* human rights refers to learning and teaching in a way that respects the rights of both educators and learners and within schools, operating within education policy frameworks that guarantee rights. Therefore, this second aspect is more related to methodology. Finally, education *for* human rights looks towards action and includes empowering learners to enjoy and exercise their rights and to respect and uphold the rights of others. This implies a transformative education that addresses learners’ own contexts and struggles for justice in order to achieve empowerment (Osler & Zhu, 2011).

The UNDHRET is far from being a perfect document and could have definitely been drafted in a stronger way. Among its weaknesses there are its non-legally binding nature, an unclear path for implementation, and the fact that it stops short of recognizing a “human right to human rights education” – language that was lost in the negotiation process between states at the Human Rights Council¹⁴. In fact, a

¹⁴ See for more information: http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/AdvisoryCom/Education/A-HRC-WG-9-1-CRP1-rev1_en.pdf.

concise formula like “everyone has the right to human rights education and training” would have been much more appealing. Furthermore, the text of the Declaration presents other deficiencies. For example, the word “training” has been added with no explanation, the training of teachers is emphasised as a key component of the right to HRE but the drafting is weak and there is no substantive direction regarding the implementation of such training (Article 7), and the incorporation of HRE into the school curricula is only mentioned as an example of what a state might include in an action plan for HRE (Article 8). However, the adoption of the UNDHRET is nevertheless significant and its very existence is one of its strengths. Even if it lacks any strictly binding legal effect on states, the Declaration still formulates obligations that states have agreed to and therefore the document has an undeniable moral force. It also represents a point of reference and, as such, it provides conceptual and practical guidance to states with regard to their conduct. Therefore, the recognition and acceptance of such a document by a large number of states should not be underestimated in terms of its value (Kirchschlaeger, 2017). The ancient Chinese proverb that says “better a diamond with a flaw than a pebble without one” has been used by a scholar to argue that “*(t)he Declaration on HRE is a diamond with flaws, but we are better off having this flawed instrument than no instrument at all.*” (Gerber, 2011). As already pointed out more than ten years ago by a leading HRE scholar, “*(l)ike all human endeavors, the United Nations and the human rights framework that has evolved under its auspices is imperfect. Many critics say the world does not need more human rights conventions but instead the full implementation of those already established. Others believe that the UN system is so flawed that the high ideals and standards it seeks to establish lack credibility. However, in the scope of human history, both the UN and human rights framework are in their infancy. The challenge to citizens of all countries is to work towards evolving more effective UN institutions without compromising the high ideals on which the UN was founded.*” (Flowers, 2007). Furthermore, and just as an example, a study conducted in Australia and in the United States to qualitatively analyse their compliance with the norm in article 29(1) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child relating to HRE concluded that there was no apparent relationship between governments’ ratifications of international human rights treaties and domestic practices concerning human rights and HRE (Gerber, 2008). Whilst there has been academic suggestion that the creation of a designated HRE convention with its own treaty monitoring body at the UN level would strengthen HRE globally

(Gerber, 2013), up to now there has been no concrete plan for this to happen and therefore smaller changes may nonetheless provide significant building blocks for the improvement of HRE at the national level. In this regard, the UNDHRET recognizes for the first time governments' specific commitments to promote HRE. It also stresses that there is unlikely to be effective implementation of HRE within a state without the adoption of legislative and administrative measures and policies, highlighting the need to move from rhetoric to policy that is backed up by legislation. Several strong key points emerge from the definition of HRE in the Declaration, including reference to empowerment and participatory learning which are essential features of HRE (see section 2.3.1. of the previous chapter). The definition also links HRE with the promotion of respect for all human rights and acknowledges the contributing role of HRE to the prevention of human rights violations and abuses – HRE as preventive tool. The Declaration gives recognition to the significant role that civil society plays in the provision of HRE (Article 10). It also calls on UN human rights bodies to take into account states' HRE efforts and encourages states to include information on the measures that they have adopted in the field of human rights education and training in their reports to relevant human rights mechanisms (Article 13). Therefore, the Declaration builds a strong argument to claim HRE at local, national, regional and international level, as well as provides an important tool for civil society to advocate for HRE and have an impact on related decision- and policy-making processes. *“Both nation-states and civil society may use the UNDHRET as an effective instrument in different ways to make progress in human rights education practice, advancing the full enjoyment of human rights by all human beings.”* (Kirchschlaeger, 2017).

Nowadays the OHCHR continues to promote HRE, providing financial and technical assistance for educational and training materials and the continuing development of resources (e.g. the Database on Human Rights Education and Training¹⁵). The Office also develops training material for specific target groups, namely the police, prison officials, primary and secondary school teachers, judges and lawyers, national and local NGOs, journalists, human rights monitors and parliamentarians (Lapayese, 2005). In September 2014 the OHCHR issued a web resource entitled “The Right to Human Rights Education”¹⁶. This is a compilation of provisions of international and regional instruments dealing with HRE and therefore constitutes a valuable tool for advocating HRE as essential to a basic education (Flowers, 2015). On 14 September 2016 the

¹⁵ See for more information: <http://hre.ohchr.org/hret/Intro.aspx?Lng=en>. Date: 27 January 2019.

¹⁶ See for more information: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/Listofcontents.aspx>. Date: 5 January 2019.

OHCHR has organized a panel discussion¹⁷ at the 33rd session of the Human Rights Council to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the adoption of the UNDHRET. The high-level panel discussion focused on good practices and challenges in the implementation of the Declaration. It aimed at highlighting the important role of HRE in tackling current issues, in particular discrimination and the prevention of violent extremism, as well as in achieving the right to education and the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda (United Nations General Assembly, 2015). Indeed, in the concluding remarks of the panel discussion, the central role of HRE in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda has repeatedly been noted. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) was adopted by world leaders in September 2015. The international community recognized that education is essential for the success of all goals to be achieved by 2030 but also included a stand-alone goal on education, namely SDG 4: “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.” Through the Incheon Declaration adopted at the World Education Forum in May 2015, UNESCO, as the United Nations’ specialized agency for education, was entrusted to lead and coordinate the Education 2030 agenda with its partners. The roadmap to achieve the ten targets of SDG 4 is the Education 2030 Framework for Action, adopted in November 2015, which provides guidance to governments and partners on how to turn commitments into action¹⁸. SDG 4 target 7 is particularly relevant to HRE as it aims to *“ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development.”* The role of education within the 2030 Agenda was already discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, particularly in section 1.4.1. looking at global citizenship education (GCED) and the work of UNESCO in this field. As I previously highlighted, the Organization has been one of the major advocates for GCED and has made it one of its key education objectives for the period 2014-2021. Without going into further details, in order to avoid duplication, I think it is enough here to warn the reader to bear in mind also that strand of work while looking at the following section on UNESCO and HRE. Indeed, quite logically I believe, UNESCO’s

¹⁷ Retrieved from: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Pages/HighLevelDiscussionImplementationDeclarationHREducation.aspx>. Date: 5 January 2019.

¹⁸ Retrieved from: <http://en.unesco.org/education2030-sdg4>. Date: 7 January 2019.

activities in the area of GCED and HRE are strictly interconnected in a sort of continuum. *“Global Citizenship Education has thus joined the tradition of previous political pedagogies to which the UNESCO has committed itself, such as human rights education, education for democracy and sustainable development, as well as peace education”* (Wintersteiner et al., 2015). This overlap is also clear in the recent Declaration on the Right to Peace adopted by the UN General Assembly in its resolution 71/189. Indeed, while the Declaration recalls *“the importance of the contribution of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training to the promotion of a culture of peace”* (United Nations General Assembly, 2016), this is the only explicit reference to HRE in the document. The only few times that education is mentioned, it is always connected to education for peace, showing once again the various nuances education might take also within the same institution.

3.1.3. UNESCO and HRE

UNESCO has always been a key proponent of human rights education considered as an integral part of the right to education and a fundamental tool to guarantee respect for the rights of all. UNESCO’s work in HRE is guided by the World Programme for Human Rights Education and contributes to the process of shaping frameworks and standards concerning HRE. The Preamble of UNESCO Constitution recognizes that *“since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed; That ignorance of each other’s ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war; (...) That the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern; (...) that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.”* (UNESCO, 1945). Although this determines in principle a framework for an international educational policy, several decades will pass before UNESCO develops specific programs for educational change. In 1953, UNESCO founded the Associated Schools Project (Suarez et al., 2009) to support experimental schools in different regions of the world in order to promote the UDHR and the activities of the United Nations. The project has brought together thousands of schools from around the world which have become the planting ground for new ideas of

learning and teaching contents and skills for the promotion of human rights, peace, environmental protection and the respectability of the United Nations. *“Although HRE is not the sole focus of these schools, which include intercultural learning, education for sustainable development, and UN priorities, UNESCO Associated Schools were among the first international educational efforts to introduce human rights concepts into schools, and they continue to thrive.”* (Flowers, 2017). However, HRE was still a long way from the mainstream and the Associated Schools Project was just the first step in this direction. Other than the Associated Schools Project, UNESCO and all other intergovernmental organizations were virtually silent when it came to human rights education. In fact, the topic dropped off the agenda for intergovernmental organizations until the 1970s (Suarez & Ramirez, 2004). In 1974, UNESCO refined the concept of HRE in its *“Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms”* (UNESCO, 1974). This was the first international education document to explicitly call for HRE to be included in educational curricula (Suarez, 2006) and it has had an enormous impact on national educational policies, including teachers’ training and working methods in schools, as well as on programs of NGOs promoting peace. This Recommendation applies to all stages and forms of education, stresses the importance of education in achieving UNESCO’s goals and explains the purpose of education as contained in Article 26.2 of the UDHR, which states: *“Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.”* (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). The Recommendation also provides definitional frameworks for “education”, “international understanding”, “co-operation” and “peace”, “human rights” and “fundamental freedoms”, coupled with a range of methodological and pedagogical guidelines for HRE.

In the years following the landmark 1974 Recommendation, UNESCO sponsored and participated in several human rights education meetings. The UNESCO Recommendation and subsequent international conferences represent global developments in HRE, but many of the major regional cultural organizations have also passed legislation in support of human rights education, particularly the Council of Europe (see section 3.2.2. below). To follow and update the 1974 Recommendation, UNESCO adopted the “Integrated

Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy” (UNESCO, 1995) which was a milestone document elaborated after the end of the Cold War as a response to some of the most urgent issues and societal problems, including racism and intolerance, but also the growing divide between North and South. This practical guide offers a contemporary view on education for peace, human rights and democracy and it sets out objectives for such education, action strategies, policies and lines of action at the institutional, national and international level. *“This text is arguably the most comprehensive depiction of a systematic pedagogic program for worldwide peace education. In later documents the focus shifts to other aspects, such as education for sustainable development, but specifically to education for a global culture of peace, which was developed even further in the UN international year of a culture of peace in 2000 and the subsequent decade 2001–2010.”* (Wintersteiner et al., 2015). The Integrated Framework of Action was preceded by the Montreal Declaration which was a result of an international congress held in Montreal, Canada. The Montreal Declaration, also known with the official title of World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, was adopted in the same year of the UN Decade and refers to the global mobilization of all energies and resources, ranging from the individual family to the United Nations, in order to resolve the pressing issue of human rights violations. It explicitly states that education for human rights and democracy needs to become a life-long learning process for children and adults from all social groups, and concludes: *“The challenge the World Plan of Action for Education on Human Rights and Democracy will have to meet is that of translating human rights, democracy and concepts of peace, of sustainable development and of international solidarity into social norms and behaviour. This is a challenge for humanity: to build a peaceful, democratic, prosperous and just world. Constant active education and learning is needed to meet such a challenge.”*¹⁹ The Montreal Declaration of 1993, the UNESCO Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy of 1995, and the Plan of Action for the UN Decade for HRE 1995-2004, constitute together, for some commentators, a “kind of world-wide educational policy” (Lenhart & Savolainen, 2002). As it has been demonstrated in this first part of the chapter, the right to education within the United Nations has always been connected to human rights since its very beginning and has progressively developed into the right to

¹⁹ Retrieved from:

[https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/10.WorldPlanofActiononEducationforHumanRightsandDemocracy\(TheMontrealDeclaration\)\(1993\).aspx](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/10.WorldPlanofActiononEducationforHumanRightsandDemocracy(TheMontrealDeclaration)(1993).aspx). Date: 7 January 2019.

human rights education. While sometimes under a different hat, i.e. education for sustainable development, education for peace, global citizenship education, etc., the UN has always openly promoted the key features and messages of human rights education, largely because it was built on the basis of a crucial commitment to human rights that has also shaped the educational dimension. As I will show in the following section, such characteristics are not that easily identifiable at the regional level.

3.2. HRE standards at the regional level

The principles stated in the UDHR are recommendations rather than legal obligations, although those recommendations have led to the development of binding regional instruments such as the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) (Council of Europe, 1950). Directly influenced by the UDHR (Osler & Starkey, 2005), the ECHR, which came into force in 1953, is an example of a “strong regional regime” that guarantees personal, legal, civil and political rights to all persons living within the jurisdiction of Council of Europe member states. It is considered a powerful legal instrument because, unlike the UDHR, it has legal authority to hear cases through the European Court of Human Rights that can make legally binding decisions on matters brought before it (Donnelly, 1986; Starkey, 1992).

Since the early nineties, both nation states and international organizations (among which UNESCO, the Council of Europe, etc.) have demonstrated a considerable interest in Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) and its link with HRE, as already demonstrated in this thesis. However, it is often unclear to many the differences between these two concepts. It seems to be a general assumption that both EDC and HRE deal with human rights knowledge, but this is clearly a limited and superficial understanding. The growth in interest in HRE, and in related pedagogies such as citizenship education, can be linked to international recognition of the need to address through education the challenges presented by continuing injustice and inequality in the world. Furthermore, the process of globalisation and consequent migration has led to increasing diversity in local communities. HRE, then, is increasingly seen as an essential and integral part of education for democratic citizenship in multicultural societies (Osler & Starkey, 2006). HRE in many countries intersects with democratic citizenship education, by taking the core concepts of citizenship education and applying them both more universally and more critically. Other approaches that share the normative goals of HRE and, in some cases, shared methodologies, include peace and conflict resolution,

global education, intercultural education, tolerance education, anti-racist education and Holocaust education, and genocide education. The relationship between HRE and education for democratic citizenship is strongly present in the literature (Osler & Starkey, 2005 and 2010; Banks et al., 2005; Covell, 2010; Fritzsche, 2007; Fernekes, 2016; Monaghan & Spreen, 2016). Democratic citizenship, including HRE, is often seen by regional human rights agencies as a way to “manage diversity” (Tibbitts & Fernekes, 2011). In contemporary Europe, education for democratic citizenship and human rights education (EDC/HRE) is also a way of promoting young people’s active participation in democratic society and social cohesion, and in fighting violence, xenophobia, racism, intolerance and aggressive nationalism (Froumin, 2003). In the following subparagraphs I will look at the European Union and some of its major activities in the field of education (3.2.1.). Furthermore, since the Council of Europe (CoE) offers a very good example of longstanding commitment to promoting EDC/HRE, I will also analyse the CoE Charter on this matter (3.2.2.) and the review process of the implementation of the Charter (3.2.3.).

3.2.1. EU and HRE

The European Union (EU) considers continuous advancement of education and training to be of profound importance. Widespread access to quality education and training is a driver of economic growth, social cohesion, research and innovation – and dramatically increases citizens' prospects for personal development. In the EU, education and training systems are organised and implemented by the member states. While the responsibility for education and training systems lies with individual states, the role of the EU is to support and supplement their capacity. Therefore, in accordance with the subsidiarity principle, education and training policies as such are decided by each member state and the role of the EU is a supporting one. The EU is also helping to build a European Education Area to strengthen educational outcomes and learning mobility, promote common values and facilitate the mutual recognition of diplomas across borders. Education and training are a critical facet of the EU’s broader socio-economic agenda. This agenda includes the Europe 2020 strategy²⁰ and the European Semester²¹ for the coordination of member states’ economic

²⁰ See for more information: https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy_en. Accessed on 16 January 2019.

²¹ See for more information: https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester_en. Accessed on 16 January 2019.

policies.²² Title XII (articles 165 and 166) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union is specifically dedicated to “Education, vocational training, youth and sport” and clarifies that “*(t)he Union shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.*” (European Union, 2007). Moreover, the right to education is enshrined in article 14 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, including “*the possibility to receive free compulsory education*”. In its third paragraph, Article 14 ensures the freedom to found educational establishments and the right of parents to education and teaching of their children in conformity with their religious, philosophical and pedagogical convictions (European Union, 2012).

The language used by the EU to talk about education clearly entails the idea of quality education. However, rather than referring to human rights education as highlighted above for the UN level, it is more often connected to the concept of citizenship education. Indeed, citizenship has always been an important feature of the EU in its building process. The Preamble of the Charter of Fundamental Rights declares: “*Conscious of its spiritual and moral heritage, the Union is founded on the indivisible, universal values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity; it is based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law. It places the individual at the heart of its activities, by establishing the citizenship of the Union and by creating an area of freedom, security and justice.*” Furthermore, article 20 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union establishes that every person holding the nationality of a Member State is a citizen of the Union and clarifies that this citizenship is additional to and does not replace the national one (European Union, 2007a). In other words, citizenship of the Union is complementary to national citizenship. It should also be remembered that in the original conception of the founding fathers of the EU, economic integration was the priority in order to realize the so-called four freedom of movement of the production factors, i.e. goods, capitals, services and people. The subjects taken into consideration were therefore workers, entrepreneurs and professionals, not the “human person” as such (Papisca, 2004). Once we acknowledge that there is a history of European citizenship, we understand that this has impacted on education as well. Promoting citizenship education at school has been a longstanding objective of European cooperation in the

²² Retrieved from: http://ec.europa.eu/education/education-in-the-eu/about-education-and-training-in-the-eu_en. Date: 9 January 2019.

field of education. Social and civic competences are among the eight key competences identified in 2006 by the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union as essential for citizens living in a knowledge-based society (European Union, 2006). Promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship through school education is also one of the main objectives for the present decade in the context of the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (ET 2020) (Council of the European Union, 2009). One of the objectives of the ET2020 framework²³, namely to promote equity, social cohesion and active citizenship, has been established on the basis that education should promote intercultural competences, democratic values and respect for fundamental rights, prevent and combat all forms of discrimination and racism, and equip children, young people and adults to interact positively with their peers from diverse backgrounds. The EU therefore supports member states through policy cooperation via the ET2020 framework and funding instruments, including the Erasmus+ programme²⁴ and the European Structural and Investment Funds²⁵. Furthermore, the Paris Declaration adopted on 17 March 2015 by European education ministers indicated the commitment by the member states to promote common values, enhance critical thinking and media literacy, inclusive education and intercultural dialogue and called for action at European, national, regional and local levels to reinforce the role of education in promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination (European Union, 2015a). It also emphasises the need for strengthening social cohesion and helping young people become responsible, open-minded and active members of a diverse and inclusive European society. The Declaration defines common objectives for member states and urges the EU to ensure the sharing of ideas and good practice with a view to *“ensuring that children and young people acquire social, civic and intercultural competences, by promoting democratic values and fundamental rights, social inclusion and non-discrimination, as well as active citizenship; enhancing critical thinking and media literacy, particularly in the use of the Internet and social media, so as to develop resistance to all forms of discrimination and indoctrination; fostering the education of disadvantaged children and young people, by ensuring that our education and training systems address their needs; promoting intercultural dialogue through all forms of learning in cooperation with*

²³ See for more information: https://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/european-policy-cooperation/et2020-framework_en. Accessed on 9 January 2019.

²⁴ See for more information: http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/node_en. Accessed on 16 January 2019.

²⁵ See for more information: https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/funding-opportunities/funding-programmes/overview-funding-programmes/european-structural-and-investment-funds_en. Accessed on 16 January 2019.

other relevant policies and stakeholders.”²⁶ Following up on the objectives of the Declaration is a key priority for European cooperation in education and training (European Union, 2015). Other EU policy documents published more recently include the Education Council conclusions focusing on particular issues related to citizenship education such as the role of the youth sector in an integrated and cross-sectoral approach to “prevent and combat violent radicalisation among young people” (Council of the European Union, 2016), developing media literacy and critical thinking through education and training (Council of the European Union, 2016a) and on “inclusion in diversity to achieve a high quality education for all” (Council of the European Union, 2017). In addition, and even more recently, the Council of the European Union issued a “Recommendation on promoting common values, inclusive education, and the European dimension of teaching” to reiterate the importance of promoting common values as vectors of cohesion and inclusion, favouring inclusive and quality education for all learners through the implementation of participatory learning environments and the enhancement of media literacy and critical thinking skills, and improving training for teachers on citizenship and diversity towards the realisation of a European dimension of teaching (Council of the European Union, 2018).

From the analysis carried out so far on some of the major activities of the European Union in the field of education, though limited, it emerges quite clearly that the term “human rights education” does not come up – also probably due to the general tendency of EU institutions to refer to fundamental rights rather than human rights²⁷. However, education is very much connected to the promotion of equity, social cohesion and active citizenship, obviously entailing the concept of human rights. Indeed, according to the EU policy documents detailed above, education should promote democratic values and respect for fundamental rights, enhance critical thinking, media literacy and intercultural dialogue, and favour inclusive and quality education for all learners. The role of education is also highlighted to prevent and combat all forms of discrimination and racism, as well as violent radicalisation among young people. Promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination is indeed an EU educational objective for strengthening social cohesion and helping young people become responsible, open-minded and active members of a diverse and inclusive European society. Improving teacher training on citizenship and diversity

²⁶ Retrieved from: <http://www.fedec.eu/file/737/download>. Date: 9 January 2019.

²⁷ Similarly, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not actually use the word “citizen” or “citizenship” but does refer to a person’s “nationality” – so this might be interpreted as a matter of different style used by different organizations.

becomes therefore crucial to achieve this goal (see chapter 1 of this thesis for a detailed analysis of the relationship between citizenship and citizenship education, as well as their evolution over the years). While exact reference to human rights education seems to be missing from EU policy documents, it is undeniable that the European Union has extensively financed HRE projects and activities. Just to give an example in the framework of supporting education, training and research in the field of human rights and democracy, the Global Campus of Human Rights²⁸ is an EU-funded global network of universities based on cooperation between the European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation (EIUC), which administers the inter-disciplinary European Master's Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation (E.MA) since 1997, and seven Regional Programmes which are based in Venice for Europe, in Sarajevo/Bologna for South East Europe, in Yerevan for the Caucasus, in Pretoria for Africa, in Bangkok for Asia-Pacific, in Buenos Aires for Latin America and the Caribbean, and in Beirut for the Arab world. All these programmes offer high-quality postgraduate education in the field of human rights and democracy, as well as reinforce the exchange and transmission of knowledge and research both regionally and globally.

3.2.2. Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education

Already in the 1980s, the Council of Europe (CoE) has initiated several projects and programmes to reawaken the democratic values, knowledge and behaviour needed to foster human rights and citizen participation. For example, it passed a resolution in 1978 on the teaching of human rights (Council of Europe, 1978) and then passed a recommendation in 1985 on teaching and learning about human rights education in schools (Council of Europe, 1985). Since 1997, the Council of Europe has developed a broad range of co-operation programmes in the field of citizenship and human rights education, both in formal and non-formal education. In particular, in the Final Declaration and Action Plan adopted at the Second Summit of the member states of the CoE held in Strasbourg on 10 and 11 October 1997, it was declared that “*the Heads of State and Government decide to launch an initiative for education for democratic citizenship with a view to promoting citizens’ awareness of their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society, activating existing networks, and including a new youth exchange programme.*”²⁹ Furthermore, the document

²⁸ See for more information: <https://eiuc.org/>. Accessed on 8 March 2019.

²⁹ Retrieved from:

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Compilation/Pages/15FinalDeclarationandActionPlanoftheSecondSummitofHeadsOfStateandG>

expressed the desire to develop education for democratic citizenship based on the rights and responsibilities of citizens, and the participation of young people in civil society (Council of Europe, 1997). Moreover, in 2002, the Council of Europe recommended member states and contracting states of the European Cultural Convention to include education for democratic citizenship in their curricula, on the understanding that this education is essential for social cohesion, mutual understanding, intercultural and interreligious dialogue, and the defence of liberty, pluralism, human rights and gender equality (Council of Europe, 2002). On 11 May 2010, the Committee of Ministers of the 47 CoE member states adopted the Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (EDC/HRE) (Council of Europe, 2010). With the adoption of the Charter, the member states committed themselves to *“(t)he aim of providing every person within their territory with the opportunity of education for democratic citizenship and human rights education.”* This includes, for example, providing EDC/HRE in the curricula for formal education at pre-primary, primary and secondary school level as well as in general and vocational education and training (article 6) and promoting the inclusion of EDC/HRE in higher education institutions, in particular for future education professionals (article 7). The path to the Charter was marked by a series of advancements made by the CoE, especially in the field of democratic citizenship education. Therefore, a comprehensive legal tool on EDC and HRE started being seen as necessary to systematize the work of the Council in this area. The Charter is the outcome of an extensive consultation process organised in the framework of the Council of Europe with the aim of strengthening and further developing citizenship and human rights education in the fifty States Party to the European Cultural Convention³⁰. The text reflects the understanding of the importance of the role of education in the promotion of the Council’s core values – democracy, human rights and the rule of law, and in the prevention of human rights violations (Kerr, 2013). The Charter asks all member states to provide EDC and HRE in formal and informal education. It also outlines the member states’ agreement on the objectives and principles (section II), policies (section III), evaluation and co-operation in this area (section IV). Although there was some discussion of making the Charter legally binding (and of including some light external monitoring), an overwhelming majority of member states rejected this idea and voted for the text to remain non-binding (Keating, 2014). However, the Charter provides an important reference point for educators and policy makers in relation to HRE, is a catalyst for

[overnmentofthememberStatesoftheCouncilofEurope\(1997\).aspx](#). Date: 8 January 2019.

³⁰ The 50 comprise the 47 member states of the Council of Europe plus Belarus, Holy See and Kazakhstan.

action in the member states and a way of disseminating good practices and raising standards. The Charter is the only international legal document which makes explicit reference to both education for democratic citizenship and human rights education. As such, it has potential for being further strengthened as a basic document for policy making and as a practical tool for the promotion of democracy, human rights and the rule of law through education.

The Council of Europe Charter on EDC/HRE provides the most and well defined example of what the CoE means by EDC and HRE, as well as the basis for its work in the field. The Charter states that EDC and HRE are closely inter-related and mutually supportive. They differ in focus and scope rather than in goals and practices. EDC focuses primarily on democratic rights and responsibilities and active participation, in relation to the civic, political, social, economic, legal and cultural spheres of society, while HRE is concerned with the broader spectrum of human rights and fundamental freedoms in every aspect of people's lives. The definitions of EDC and HRE as formulated in the Charter are: *“‘Education for democratic citizenship’ means education, training, awareness-raising, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviour, to empower them to exercise and defend their democratic rights and responsibilities in society, to value diversity and to play an active part in democratic life, with a view to the promotion and protection of democracy and the rule of law. (and) ‘Human rights education’ means education, training, awareness raising, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviour, to empower learners to contribute to the building and defence of a universal culture of human rights in society, with a view to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.”* (Council of Europe, 2010).

The Charter on EDC/HRE was adopted in the framework of the Swiss Chairmanship of the Council of Europe as one of the decisions intended to provide follow-up to the Declaration and Action Plan adopted unanimously at the Conference on the future of the European Court of Human Rights held in Interlaken in February 2010. The first charter review conference was held in the framework of the Andorran chairmanship in November 2012. The Andorran chairmanship consequently organised a conference in Andorra la Vella on 7 and 8 February 2013, which gave impetus to the work on competences for democratic culture. Finland hosted the 24th Conference of Ministers of Education in Helsinki on 26-27 April 2013, which called on the

Committee of Ministers to *“consider developing descriptors and a reference framework to assist member states in implementing a competence based education for democracy and intercultural dialogue”*. At the 25th session of the Council of Europe Standing Conference of Ministers of Education held in Brussels on 11-12 April 2016 Ministers of Education, *“mindful of the particular challenges with which Europe is faced, in particular terrorism and violent extremism, the greatly increased number of refugees and migrants arriving in Europe, an increased sense of crisis, the rise of populism and the jeopardising of democratic values as a reaction to that sense of crisis”*, undertook to support the development of a long-term strategy for a more coherent and comprehensive approach to education for democratic citizenship and human rights at the European level. The Ministers also endorsed the Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture and requested the Council of Europe to consider ways of increasing the impact of its Charter on EDC/HRE (Council of Europe, 2016).

3.2.3. Review of the implementation of the CoE Charter on EDC/HRE

As mentioned above, the first review cycle of the implementation of the Charter on EDC/HRE was organised in 2012, two years after its adoption. Drawing on the lessons from this first exercise, the second review cycle took place in 2016 with a report and a conference *“Learning to Live Together: a Shared Commitment to Democracy. Conference on the Future of Citizenship and Human Rights Education in Europe”* held in Strasbourg on 20-22 June 2017. This second review cycle aimed to provide a clear and reliable picture of what has been achieved since 2012, define strategic guidance for future action and effectively support and promote stronger action in the member states in the area of EDC/HRE. The main input to the second review cycle consisted of a survey for the governments (organised by the Education Department of the Council of Europe) and a survey for civil society organisations (organised by the Youth Department of the Council of Europe). In a recent article I analysed analogies and discrepancies between responses from governments and civil society organisations to the 2016 review cycle of the implementation of the Charter on EDC/HRE. More specifically, since the questionnaire for NGOs was designed on the basis of the one for governments in order to allow for comparisons, the study examined the responses received from governments and civil society organisations to some of the same questions that have been asked through the surveys organised by the Council of Europe. Through the selection of answers analysed, I concluded that there are some areas in

which responses from governments and civil society organisations are similar and aligned, for example on the issues for EDC/HRE to address and on the little priority given to make financial support for EDC/HRE available. However, there are other areas in which considerable discrepancy can be highlighted between responses from the two different stakeholders. For example, while governments' responses only raise inconsistencies between EDC/HRE policies and practices, civil society organisations are more critical and underline in their responses that there are inconsistencies at all levels: i) EDC/HRE policies and other policy sectors; ii) EDC/HRE policies and their implementation in practice; iii) statements of principle (on the value of EDC/HRE in education for all people) and existing policies. Regarding the key challenges to the promotion and development of education for democratic citizenship and human rights, there are some similarities between responses received from governments and civil society organisations to this question (e.g. lack of media interest), but it is quite telling that youth organisations and other NGOs identify the lack of priority among decision makers as the greatest challenge to their practices in EDC/HRE, while this option does not even fit into the top four responses given by governments. Another interesting discrepancy pointed out by the article concerns the measures taken and activities planned to promote EDC/HRE. Indeed, all governments affirm that they took concrete measures to promote citizenship and human rights education and 93% of them indicate that future activities are foreseen in this area. However, only 30% of the survey participants from youth organisations and other NGOs confirm that they are aware of measures taken or activities planned in their countries to promote EDC/HRE, against 57% that responded "I don't know/I don't answer" to this question. Similarly, 78% of the respondents from governments have confirmed that there is a shared working definition of EDC/HRE in their country but the majority of the respondents from civil society (51%) claims not to know it or declined to answer the question. Through these examples, I argued that the way in which the Report on the State of Citizenship and Human Rights Education in Europe (Council of Europe, 2017) has been put together by the Council of Europe is problematic. It seems, in fact, that the two responsible departments of the CoE worked in silos and did not communicate to each other during the data analysis and writing of the Report. On the one hand, the Education Department collected data from governments and commissioned the writing of the analytical summary of replies to the questionnaire for governments. On the other hand, the Youth Department organised the collection and analysis of the data received from representatives of youth organisations and other NGOs working with young people. This

approach is clearly limited because it provides two different snapshots of the state of citizenship and human rights education in Europe, one from governments and the other from civil society organisations. This becomes even more problematic when answers received from different stakeholders are discrepant and give different insights on the same area of investigation. While the Report is an extremely useful source of information and provides lots of interesting data on the implementation of the Charter on EDC/HRE in the member states, the argument of the article was that the Council of Europe could have worked with more synergy to develop a stronger analysis. Indeed, in order to provide a broad and reliable picture on democratic citizenship and human rights education in Europe, the responses received from governments and civil society organisations should have been linked together, as I tried to address in a preliminary form in my article. This approach would be more accurate and allows to identify discrepancies among the responses which could be further investigated to understand whether, for example, governments have overestimated their record, civil society organisations have been too critical and negative about the implementation of the Charter in their country, or different perceptions are simply due to the different roles of the respondents in society. Such an endeavour would also be aligned with one of the measurement criteria set by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe in his 2018 annual report: *“There is a mandatory provision of education for democratic citizenship and human rights education, both online and offline, and reduced discrepancy in perceptions between government and civil society with respect to the effectiveness of this provision.”* (Council of Europe, 2018). As already demonstrated in the literature, the analysis of state-civil society perspectives on human rights implementation can be usefully related to theory on collaborative policy implementation and, instead of the synergies predicted by complementarity theory, the disjuncture in state and civil society might show that governments are not affording NGOs sufficient opportunities to input their views on rights implementation (Chaney, 2015, 2017 and 2017a). With this in mind, the article concluded that the Council of Europe should have pushed further the analysis of the responses received from governments and civil society organisations to make them dialogue, and do not limit itself to provide two unrelated summaries on the state of citizenship and human rights education in Europe without merging analogies and questioning discrepancies between the responses received from different stakeholders. This remark introduces very well the following section on non-governmental organizations and HRE.

3.3. Non-governmental organizations and HRE

Since the inception of the UN Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004), already discussed in section 3.1.1. above, an even enhanced growth in interest and activities in HRE and related pedagogies has been noted (Osler & Starkey, 2006; Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006) and is still vivid today (Bajaj, 2017; Zajda & Ozdowski, 2017; Zembylas & Keet, 2018). This growth in HRE is evident in: the number of related documents and resources generated; its increasing presence in formal and informal education; a growing focus within third level education programmes and research; and an increase in the HRE activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Waldron et al., 2011). An earlier study, probably the first one on this matter, showed the emergence of HRE in the work of NGOs, indicating that the number of organizations dedicated to HRE quadrupled between 1980 and 1995, from 12 to 50 (Ramirez et al., 2007). According to some scholars, this is attributable to several reasons, including increased globalization, inadequate level of government financial allocations for HRE and increasingly decentralised systems of education (Tibbitts & Kirchsclaeger, 2010). NGOs have long been active in HRE and can be considered, alongside the UN, as a major driver of the development of the field. Beyond UN efforts, HRE activities became a growing focus of NGOs, both new dedicated ones and long-established NGOs, such as Amnesty International, who integrated HRE into their programmes and strategies (Fuchs & Bock, 2018). Largely as a response to pressures from NGOs, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action *“calls on all States and institutions to include human rights, humanitarian law, democracy and rule of law as subjects in the curricula of all learning institutions in formal and non-formal settings.”* (United Nations General Assembly, 1993). The Report of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights on the mid-term global evaluation of the progress made during the UN Decade for Human Rights Education states that *“(b)oth the United Nations and Member States have repeatedly recognized the invaluable contribution of non-governmental organizations to human rights education. The present review reconfirms that non-governmental organizations are key actors in that field, and that the Decade is slowly but increasingly proving to be a catalyst and an umbrella for their efforts. There is a growing need, however, for increased collaboration and coordination between governmental and nongovernmental actors in respect of their human rights education activities”* (United Nations General Assembly, 2000). This challenge is also reconfirmed in the Report of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights on achievements and shortcomings of the Decade where, after the completion of the Decade, it is

boldly stated that an area not adequately addressed was the development of effective coordination mechanisms and frameworks for HRE at all levels. *“Various responses highlighted that this aspect was overlooked during the Decade. For instance, they pointed out the lamentable lack of synergy between jurists and pedagogists, as well as the lack of coordination between Governments and NGOs.”* (United Nations General Assembly, 2004). Even after the Decade, the UN General Assembly continued to elaborate official documents on HRE-related issues highlighting the fundamental work of the NGOs. Resolution 62/171 proclaims the year commencing on 10 December 2008 the International Year of Human Rights Learning and acknowledges that *“non-governmental organizations play an important role at the national, regional and international levels in the promotion and protection of human rights through education and learning.”* (United Nations General Assembly, 2008). Along the same lines, the UN General Assembly resolution 63/173 acknowledges that *“civil society, academia, the private sector, where appropriate, and parliamentarians can play an important role at the national, regional and international levels in the promotion and protection of human rights, including in the development of ways and means to promote and implement learning about human rights as a way of life at the community level”* (United Nations General Assembly, 2009). Furthermore, relevant to these introductory remarks, it is important to recall that the crucial role of NGOs in promoting and providing HRE is also reiterated in the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training, previously analysed in section 3.1.2. above. This recognition has been regarded as one of the strengths of the Declaration (Gerber, 2011). Article 7 of the Declaration provides that *“(s)tates should create a safe and enabling environment for the engagement of civil society, the private sector and other relevant stakeholders in human rights education and training, in which the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all, including of those engaged in the process, are fully protected.”* Article 10 of the UNDHRET explicitly recognizes that *“(v)arious actors within society, including, inter alia, educational institutions, the media, families, local communities, civil society institutions, including non-governmental organizations, human rights defenders and the private sector, have an important role to play in promoting and providing human rights education and training.”* (United Nations General Assembly, 2011).

Already from this preliminary sketch, it is quite clear that a section on NGOs within a chapter dedicated to international and regional standards on human rights education appears necessary. Indeed,

NGOs have always played and still play a pivotal role in the promotion, development and implementation of HRE. According to Lapayese (2005), NGOs share the primary task of implementing HRE and play a significant role in the development of human rights education in schools across the globe. A recent study conducted in Australia has shown the extensive role of the NGO sector in the promotion of human rights and education about human rights globally, including providing opportunities for teaching and learning about human rights in schools. This work involves initiatives not only from a range of large national and international organisations, universities and independent research centres, but also from small not-for-profit organisations (Oguro & Burrige, 2016). NGOs have an irreplaceable role in the development of a worldwide culture of human rights, particularly at the national and local level, as governments often do not live up to expectations when it comes to the integration of HRE into the curriculum. In this regard, NGOs are required to maintain an independent stand from governments and to pursue a rights-based social justice agenda that seeks to highlight the transgressions of government, whether locally or in international contexts. These activities might clearly lead to challenges and tensions between the two stakeholders (see also section 3.2.2. above on the different perceptions between governments and civil society organisations in the 2016 review cycle of the implementation of the Council of Europe Charter on EDC/HRE). As highly committed groups with special expertise, NGOs have provided longstanding contribution to the development of the human rights legislation and are careful watchdogs of the realisation of human rights at the national level. *“It is NGOS, both large and small, local and international, that carry the voices and concerns of ordinary people to the United Nations. Although the General Assembly, which is composed of representatives of governments, adopts a treaty and governments ratify it, NGOs influence governments and UN bodies at every level. Not only do they contribute to the drafting of human rights conventions, they play an important role in advocating for their ratification and monitoring to see that governments live up to their obligations.”* (Flowers, 2007). Many scholars have noted a central tension in the field of HRE that involves the historic role of NGOs as pioneers of the educational reform and the international adoption of HRE measures through the UN, an institution made up of member states working through national level reform. It is therefore crucial to critically enquire the production, distribution and consumption of HRE and how the discourse is constructed historically, socially and politically through both global institutions and local NGO practice (Coysh, 2017). Indeed, as intermediary actors, NGOs have a critical role in taking up the dominant HRE

discourse and putting it to work in the local context through their practice, becoming key operators in a broader struggle for human rights knowledge characterised by a dynamic relationship of power and a permanent relationship of provocation between domination and resistance (Coysh, 2018). On the one hand the United Nations' endorsement of HRE has resulted in greater coordination, funding and legitimacy for NGOs working in this area, but on the other hand the collaborative process with national governments has posed some challenges. NGOs utilize human rights discourse as a strategy to frame the demands of diverse social movements – a more bottom-up approach to HRE – and this can lead to a resistance from states to incorporating HRE. *“HRE has often grown out of human rights legal, advocacy, and activist work of NGOs that place their members in direct confrontation with state forces; this conflictive relationship with the state may prove difficult to surmount when the same organizations attempt to introduce HRE in government schools, as many NGOs have sought to do. While much HRE falls outside the domain of formal schooling and is accomplished through community education or training programs for professionals—such as judges, police, lawyers, armed forces, and health-workers, among others—all of these actors are no doubt integrally involved professionally with the state, as are teachers in government schools.”* (Bajaj, 2011). The role human rights education played in social movements can be found, for example, in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and the civil rights movement in the United States (Sirota, 2017). While UN agencies take a very favourable view of national governments' independent adoption of comprehensive human rights content and pedagogy, scholars such as Cardenas have a more sceptical perspective on the role of the state in advancing HRE that may tend to promote but not implement HRE. *“While in principle virtually everyone takes for granted the benefits of HRE, such endeavours can be potentially costly from the perspective of a state. Human rights education (or the construction of a human rights culture) is inherently revolutionary: if implemented effectively, it has the potential to generate social opposition, alongside rising demands for justice and accountability.”* (Cardenas, 2005). Pushing even further this dimension of social opposition and taking a postcolonial angle, Baxi argued that education empowers human beings to resist the colonization of the mind by state, civil society, intergovernmental regimes and multinationals. *“In this image, HRE will be a distinctly autonomous, decolonizing, deglobalizing, heretical project in which the very act of learning will be simultaneously an act of insurrection aiming at the dissipation of imposed*

knowledge.” (Baxi, 1994). This feature of HRE was already partially tackled in the previous chapter while talking about a critical and transformative orientation towards human rights and HRE (section 2.2.3.).

Since it does not seem appropriate to detail in this section all the NGOs active in the field of human rights education, as any attempt would be probably not exhaustive, it is enough to clarify here that there are many organisations and realities in Europe and worldwide. *“Clearly there are many kinds of human rights education and a wide spectrum of institutions and individuals seeking to promote rights learning. However, these diverse efforts have a great deal in common. All are grounded in the international human rights framework of law and seek to empower people to realise human rights in their daily lives in concrete and practical ways. They also share the values and principles of human rights”* (Flowers, 2007). The OHCHR has a quite comprehensive and updated Database on Human Rights Education and Training³¹ that provides information on programmes which foster human rights learning (trainings, degree programmes, short and summer courses, conferences, seminars and funding opportunities such as scholarships and fellowships) and human rights education and training materials which include manuals, trainers’ guides, textbooks, curricula and other pedagogical tools, reports of related conferences and seminars as well as reference materials (bibliographies and directories) and audiovisuals. The Database also has a section listing the institutions that offer human rights education and training programmes and/or produce education and training materials (e.g. academic institutes, research centres, non-governmental organizations as well as intergovernmental organizations working at the international, regional and national level). On a final note, and since it has been mentioned in the literature as the leading international network of HRE actors (Bajaj, 2011), I think it is important to refer to the HRE 2020³² Global Coalition for Human Rights Education. This civil society coalition was launched in December 2013 to support and strengthen the implementation of international human rights education commitments. It seeks to ensure a systematic monitoring of governments implementation of human rights education provisions in international human rights instruments, including the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training and the World Programme for Human Rights Education. Today, HRE 2020 is a group of 15 like-minded organisations and networks calling for greater accountability of human rights commitments because a comprehensive education in human rights provides knowledge, imparts skills and empowers individuals to promote, defend and apply human rights in daily life.

³¹ See for more information: <http://hre.ohchr.org/hret/Intro.aspx?Lng=en>. Accessed on 18 January 2019.

³² See for more information: <http://www.hre2020.org/>. Accessed on 18 January 2019.

In particular, they call for the year 2020 to be a key one for assessing the achievement of governments, international institutions and civil society to provide access to quality human rights education.

Chapter 3 – Conclusion

This chapter started from the premise that while HRE may share similar goals and methodologies with other forms of education such as peace education or global education, it differs by being grounded in international legal instruments. Beginning with an international perspective, I highlighted that HRE has always been deeply rooted in human rights law since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and particularly in the conceptualisation and development of the right to education. Indeed, considering that several human rights instruments state both the entitlement to education as well as its direction, as largely investigated above, education has necessarily to be rights-respecting and of good quality (available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable). From this connotation, human rights education has emerged as an integral part of the right to education in general and a key aspect of quality education in particular, leading to the flourishing of the HRE global movement over the last 25 years. After having contextualized the right to human rights education within the UN human rights framework, I analysed the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training of 2011 as the latest crucial development in the HRE standard-setting at the UN level. I also briefly sketched some of the major activities of UNESCO in the area of HRE and warned of potential overlaps with the work of the Organization in the field of global citizenship education (see section 1.4.1. of the first chapter of this thesis). This remark showed that also within the same institution, the United Nations, a different accent might be put on education according to different stakeholders and periods in time, i.e. education for sustainable development, education for peace, global citizenship education, etc. However, the United Nations has been able to early and strongly connect the right to education to human rights, pushing for the establishment of the right to human rights education. This is thanks to the profound and long-standing roots of the UN into human rights that have overflowed and flooded the educational discourse. To further stress this very specific feature of the United Nations, I then moved into the regional standards on HRE and made clear my focus on the European level to better fit the case studies of my research, namely Croatia and Italy. Indeed, the analysis of EU policy documents, though limited, demonstrated a different language used by EU institutions to talk about education that maintains the reference to quality education but does not explicitly

mention human rights education. However, the EU has extensively funded HRE projects and activities regionally and worldwide. It became also clear the longstanding educational objective to promote citizenship education at European level. Therefore, it emerges an interesting profile on how the EU deals with education and human rights influenced by two major factors: first, individual states are responsible for education, according to the subsidiarity principle, and the EU can only offer them guidance and support; second, the history of the EU has to be read also in terms of European identity and citizenship of the Union. This can explain why the EU does not refer to an explicit mention of HRE but rather uses the language of citizenship education. As it has been argued in the literature (Papisca, 2004), there are two lenses through which we can look at identity and belonging: on the one hand, the identity of a human person, legally recognized beyond and above the national borders of a State, and belonging to the human family, also legally defined by international law and rooted in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (universal ontological parameter); on the other hand, the European identity that is complementary to others, more circumscribed identities, and belonging to the EU political community (spatial and functional reference). These two lenses obviously entail a diversified impact on education, one that is more universal and human rights-based, the other one that aims to promote social, civic and intercultural competences within the framework of a political and economic union of various individual states. Another standpoint is the one of the Council of Europe which seems to be working in between the HRE approach developed within the United Nations and the focus on citizenship education identified in the elaboration of EU institutions. As I clarified above, the Council of Europe has adopted on 11 May 2010 the Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (EDC/HRE) which is the only international legal document that makes explicit reference to both education for democratic citizenship and human rights education. Therefore, the Council works closely with the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), UNESCO, the European Commission and other international organizations in the field of both EDC and HRE. This is particularly interesting and it is exactly where I would like to position my research and consequently analyse my case studies. As a rough observation it might be argued that, while all these international and regional organisations are working within a paradigm of quality education, they present different nuances: HRE at the UN level, citizenship education within EU institutions and a blended EDC/HRE approach for the Council of Europe. This observation can be explained by

analysing the origin and development of these different organisations: while the UN and the Council of Europe arose with a strong mandate on human rights that has progressively been promoted also through education (both HRE and EDC), the EU started on economic matters and included only later (several decades after the UDHR) a human rights component that has not been translated into the educational language, also because individual states are ultimately responsible for education. Another important element highlighted in this third chapter is the crucial role of NGOs in the promotion, development and implementation of HRE. NGOs have also an often complicated and ambivalent relationship towards states as they have to make sure that national governments live up to their HRE obligations. Indeed, as for many other human rights issues, everyone takes for granted the benefits of HRE and accepts to commit to it at a rhetorical and declaratory level. However, when it comes to actual realisation and effective implementation (in other words, turning commitments into action), then several problems and deficiencies arise. This was analysed in this chapter at a theoretical level but also in the concrete example of the divergent state-civil society perspectives in the 2017 Council of Europe Report on the State of Citizenship and Human Rights Education in Europe resulting from the second review cycle of the implementation of the Charter on EDC/HRE. Finally, the need for increased collaboration and coordination between governments and NGOs was reiterated.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

As it has been highlighted so far, citizenship education is a complicated matter, both in terms of pedagogy and content, as well as at the normative and policy level. Citizenship education is a contested political issue closely related to controversial concepts like democracy, society, identity, nation, patriotism, Europe, participation or social rights (see, for example, Ichilov, 1998; Kerr, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2001a). When human rights are also brought into the equation, then the picture becomes even more complex. Discourses on citizenship and citizenship education are increasingly being coupled with human rights discourses and, conversely, the concept of human rights is increasingly been related to the concept of citizenship education. In practice, as previously described in this thesis, there is some evidence that recognizes human rights education (HRE) as a special feature of – or inclusive approach to – citizenship education (Tibbitts & Fritzsche, 2006). Within this framework, Fritzsche (2007) specifically tried to understand what human rights mean for citizenship education and has been able to capture some persistent tensions between the two concepts. *“First, human rights are universal rights whereas citizens’ rights are exclusively bound to a specific political community. Second, citizenship education in Europe is focused on Europe leaving aside global issues. Third, participation is thought differently as human rights stress universal equal rights to participate, while citizenship is more focused on responsibilities. Last but not least, citizenship education aims at stability of a certain community; in contrast, human rights strive for change, taking a critical position on power and privileges.”* (Hedtke, 2007).

This study aims to look at the nexus between education for democratic citizenship (EDC) and human rights education (HRE), taking as a reference point the Council of Europe Charter on EDC/HRE (Council of Europe, 2010). Indeed, as it has been argued in the literature, *“(t)he relationship between EDC and HRE is neither static nor unchangeable, but it is an open process. If the new label of EDC/HRE is more than a label, the concept of universal human rights will radically change the concept of citizenship.”* (Fritzsche, 2007). Therefore, one of the main objectives of this research is to understand the relationship between citizenship education (chapter 1) and human rights education (chapter 2). More precisely, it aims at investigating the place and role of human rights within citizenship education in the two countries of focus, namely Croatia and Italy. To do so, it is believed that an actor-centred approach would better fit this purpose. Refusing the assumption of linearity and uniformity in the structure and development of citizenship education, the

research rather conceptualises citizenship education as a tension political field of diverse and conflicting demands to which various actors have to respond simultaneously. Moving from what has been called in the literature “Europeanisation” of citizenship education (4.1.), this chapter will introduce the theoretical concept of organized hypocrisy (4.2.) to stress how organisations are not necessarily unitary, rational actors and they are faced with conflicting pressures and demands, both internally and externally. Following Brunsson’s model (2002 and 2003), I will then connect organized hypocrisy to citizenship education and present the talk-and-action approach (4.3.). Indeed, systems and actors of citizenship education are framed as political organisations (re)acting to a complex and changing environment. It is therefore essential to adopt a multi-level, multi-actor and multi-interest approach able to capture the characteristic diversity and inconsistency of citizenship education and tracing its non-linear, intricate development emerging from a multitude of actors and interests, approaches and concepts, expectations and demands, interpretations and (re-)actions (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008). Using the procedure of the talk-and-action approach, I will explain the methodological steps I took in my research (4.4.). Finally, I will briefly describe the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 (4.5.) and how I used data coming from its International Report (Schulz et al., 2017) to develop my interview questions, before presenting data collection and analysis (4.6.).

4.1. Europeanisation of citizenship education

The beginning of the 21st century is characterised by a remarkable upswing in both political activities and research on citizenship education in Europe. The Council of Europe (CoE) and EU institutions, especially the European Commission, have been engaged in policy development, research, studies and reports, communication campaigns, networking activities and programmes in the field of education for democratic citizenship, active European citizenship and so on. This reflects the belief that citizenship education can foster social cohesion, participation, solidarity and mutual understanding, as well as promote a common European identity. For example, to support the creation of a supportive European citizen, numerous empirical studies and programmes on citizenship education establish a notion of citizenship which refers to competences that a desired/good European citizen should have. These include notions of “active citizenship” (Hoskins et al., 2006) and “active, informed and responsible citizens” (Eurydice, 2017), just to name a few.

It is in this sense that the literature talks about a “Europeanisation” of citizenship education (Hedtke et al., 2007). While the positive contribution of this process towards identity building and integration appears self-evident, its downside is way less tackled and debated. Indeed, as a result of Europeanisation, national overviews of citizenship education provided within the frame of EU studies and CoE reports frequently tend to resemble publications by national ministries or affiliated institutes and seem to be more or less close to the viewpoints of the respective governments. Therefore, some kind of European convergence of national approaches to citizenship education seems to be an implicit goal and a possible outcome of this tendency towards Europeanisation of citizenship education. However, this trend is clearly limited as it fails to take into account that there are, for example, several actors playing a role in the field of citizenship education, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and that Europeanisation cannot be restricted to forms of vertical policy transfer (top-down) but it should be regarded more as an interactive process which also includes bottom-up and horizontal policy transfer (Howell, 2004). Europeanisation of citizenship education surely means governmental action, but it also encompasses diverse societal actors from the European to the local level. It affects the institutional structures, policies, processes and contents of citizenship education. Moving from this premise, citizenship education has to be understood as a politically and culturally contested issue. Furthermore, *“national governments try to keep ‘their’ citizenship education in line with national models of democracy, citizenship and society, which brings about different concepts, approaches and contents of citizenship education. Thus, European citizenship education policies and citizenship education policies in Europe simultaneously display both, convergence to a common model and divergence in a variety of adapted models”* (Hedtke et al., 2007). This friction remains a quite largely unexplored area of research and there is little knowledge about the interplay of Europeanisation and “nationalisation” in citizenship education. To put it better, citizenship education is often considered as a managerial project in the implementation phase of the policy cycle, therefore the main problem becomes the implementation of a common European policy framework which is perceived to be demanding some kind of national compliance. This means a tendency to prioritise implementation of, and compliance to, policies chosen and to ignore national and regional differences. The focus is put only on the gap between policies and practices in order to bring consistency into the field of citizenship education. With the sole intention of closing all possible compliance gaps occurring in the policy cycle, specific country distinctive features of citizenship education

are completely disregarded. Indeed, *“an understanding of citizenship education as a mere object of policies and politics ordered to develop political knowledge and competencies and to educate citizens by educational means only does not go far enough (implementation approach). Rather, citizenship education itself has to be conceptualised as an organised political field which has to be analysed in terms of interested actors, conflicting demands and political action. Like in politics, the outcome of citizenship education may be better understood as an inevitably inconsistent mix of talk, decision and action. Then, the popular diagnosis of ‘policy implementation gaps’ does not make much sense: the imaginary deficient ‘gaps’ turn out to be the normal working order of the system of citizenship education itself and its outcome may be analysed as unavoidable ‘organised hypocrisy’.”* (Hedtke, 2008).

4.2. Organized hypocrisy

Once we acknowledge that systems of citizenship education are political organisations by nature, we can refer to institutionalist theory. Sociologists working in organization theory have developed a particularly powerful set of arguments about the roles of norms and culture in international life and since they call these cultural norms and rules “institutions” the approach has been named “institutionalist”. This approach was originally designed to analyse organisations which are confronted with conflicting and inconsistent demands. Such pressures give rise to “organized hypocrisy”, a concept coming from organization theory and describing organizations’ response to conflicting pressures in their external environments through contradictory actions and statements. *“As a result, proclaimed commitment to organizational change and reform are not realized in practice, leading to divergent statements and action – hypocrisy. Specifically, this inconsistency between rhetoric and behavior constitutes organized hypocrisy, a form of hypocrisy exhibited by formal organizations subject to inconsistent external operational and normative demands. Organized hypocrisy is a way of responding to such pressures, by using rhetorical and symbolic means to satisfy one set of demands (usually normative) while behaviour responds to other (i.e., material and operational) imperatives that contradict the first set of demands.”* (Lipson, 2006). Therefore, organized hypocrisy refers to inconsistent organizational rhetoric and behaviour as a response to conflicting material and ideational pressures. While the concept lies at the intersection of rationalist and constructivist theorizing, its roots are in the neo-institutionalist school of organizational sociology, known as “sociological institutionalism” in the

international relations literature (Finnemore, 1996). Sociological institutionalism emphasizes the importance of cultural aspects of organizational environments in determining the structure and activity of organizations. Indeed, organizational environments impose upon organizations both material and resource constraints (“technical” pressures) and societal expectations of conformity with external normative and cultural (“institutional”) standards (Lipson, 2006a). Since organisations are faced with conflicting pressures and demands, both internally and externally, their responses are necessarily inconsistent. Conflicts between external reform demands and internal organizational culture are not the sole or even primary source of organized hypocrisy. Indeed, organized hypocrisy also arises as an organizational response to conflicting external normative and material pressures. Developing states, for example, may attempt to conform to standards of modern statehood, but lack the resources to give effect to the formal trappings of sovereignty (Meyer et al., 1997). Or, as a broader remark, global standards might not suit local conditions and available resources but still create institutional pressures that lead to inappropriate responses. Or further, international organizations are expected to fulfil inconsistent and irreconcilable requirements, such as promoting the interests of both developing states and wealthy, powerful countries, advancing conflicting norms such as sovereignty and human rights, and achieving accountability and efficiency (Lipson, 2006a).

Brunsson (2002 and 2003) has further elaborated on the notion of organized hypocrisy looking at organizations, not rulers as in Krasner’s analysis (1999 and 2004), as collective actors with porous boundaries and social agency that is interpenetrated, constituted by and reproduced through their interactions with the environment (“open systems”). The usually negative moral connotation attached to hypocrisy does not apply to this understanding of organized hypocrisy as such organisations are not a coherent, unitary actor and *“organized hypocrisy often arises unintentionally as a byproduct of uncoordinated responses to conflicting environmental pressures by loosely coupled or decoupled internal organizational elements.”* (Lipson, 2006). In other words, since organisations are not necessarily unitary, rational actors, organized hypocrisy, according to Brunsson, can arise as an unintended consequence of lack of coherence, as well as separate and uncoordinated behaviour which permits different elements of an organization to operate in contradictory ways. Therefore, organized hypocrisy may be unintended or unavoidable. These forms of organised hypocrisy are thus an inevitable result and not an intention, and they mirror the inconsistent environments of the actors of citizenship education. This analysis is different from the Krasnerian one in

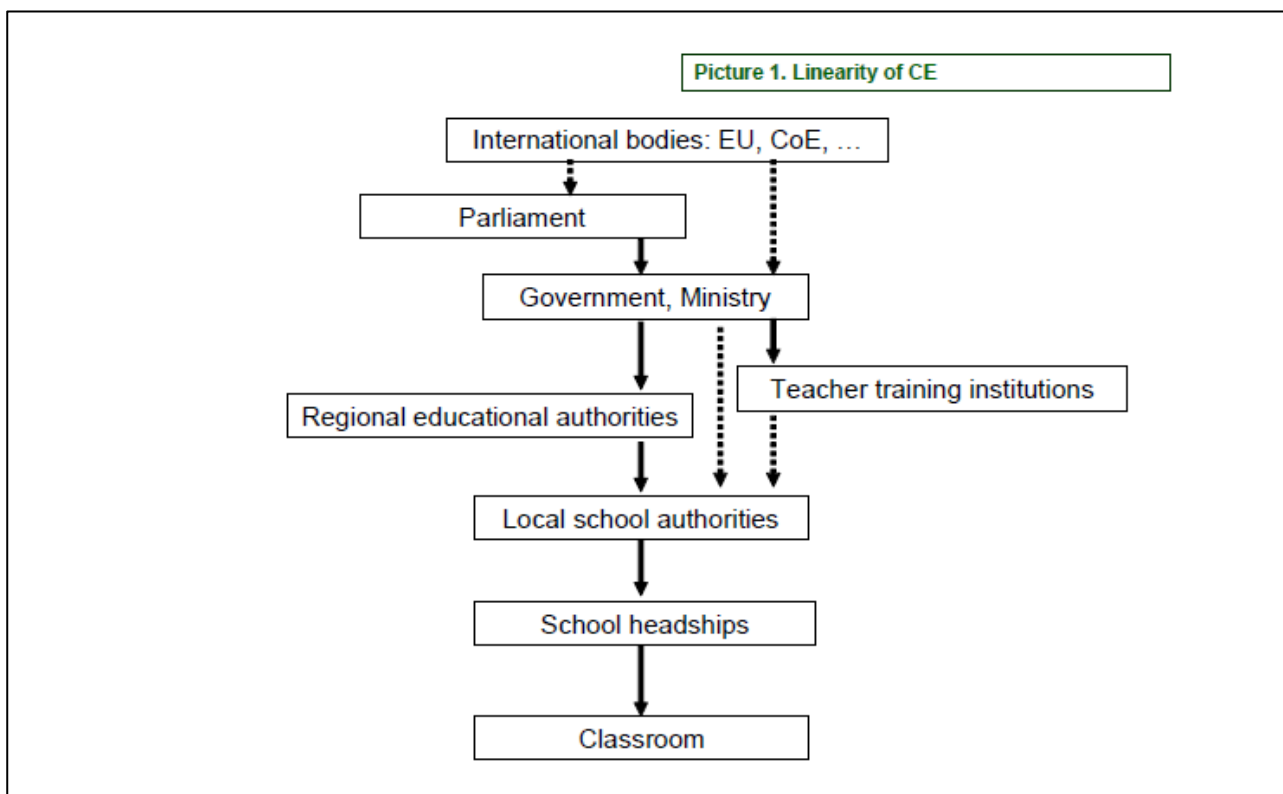
which rulers, not states, the international system or organisations, make choices about policies, rules and institutions in order to manage conflicting normative and material demands and remain in power (Krasner, 1999 and 2004). In Krasner's view, organized hypocrisy is a deliberate choice by unitary, rational rulers of states primarily motivated by a desire to maintain their authority within the domestic sphere. These actors are closed-rational systems, relatively autonomous from societal influences. They are clearly bounded and distinct from their environments and pursue exogenously given preferences and goals to remain in power and promote the interests of the constituencies that maintain their position. Summing up, while Krasnerian organized hypocrisy moves from a closed system and analyses autonomous rational, unitary actors, Brunsson's conception takes as starting point organizational actors as heterogeneous and open systems with permeable boundaries which are crucially dependent on interactions with, and legitimisation from, their environments. In my analysis I will turn to this second interpretation as it better suits the specific environments, systems and actors of my research. Brunsson further distinguishes between "organisation of hypocrisy", in which inconsistent pressures are translated into organizational structures, processes, and ideologies within the organization, and "organized hypocrisy", which refers to inconsistencies between organizational outputs. He distinguishes three fundamental types of organizational output: talk, decision and action. Following this approach and convinced that systems of citizenship education are political organisations by nature (re)acting to a complex and changing environment, the next section aims to link Brunsson's model to citizenship education.

4.3. The talk-and-action approach to citizenship education

Citizenship education does not happen in a vacuum but it is situated and developed in a tension field of diverse and contradicting demands to which various actors, each of them with specific ideas and interests, have to respond simultaneously. Therefore, taking for granted a sort of linearity and uniformity in the structure and development of citizenship education simply does not work as it dangerously oversimplifies the complexity of the field. Similarly to what has been highlighted above regarding the Europeanisation of citizenship education, many studies look at a mere top-down approach starting from the international or national level and assuming a ripple effect on the lower levels. Understanding citizenship education as a managerial project of realising international or national policies implies the idea of a linear, top-down

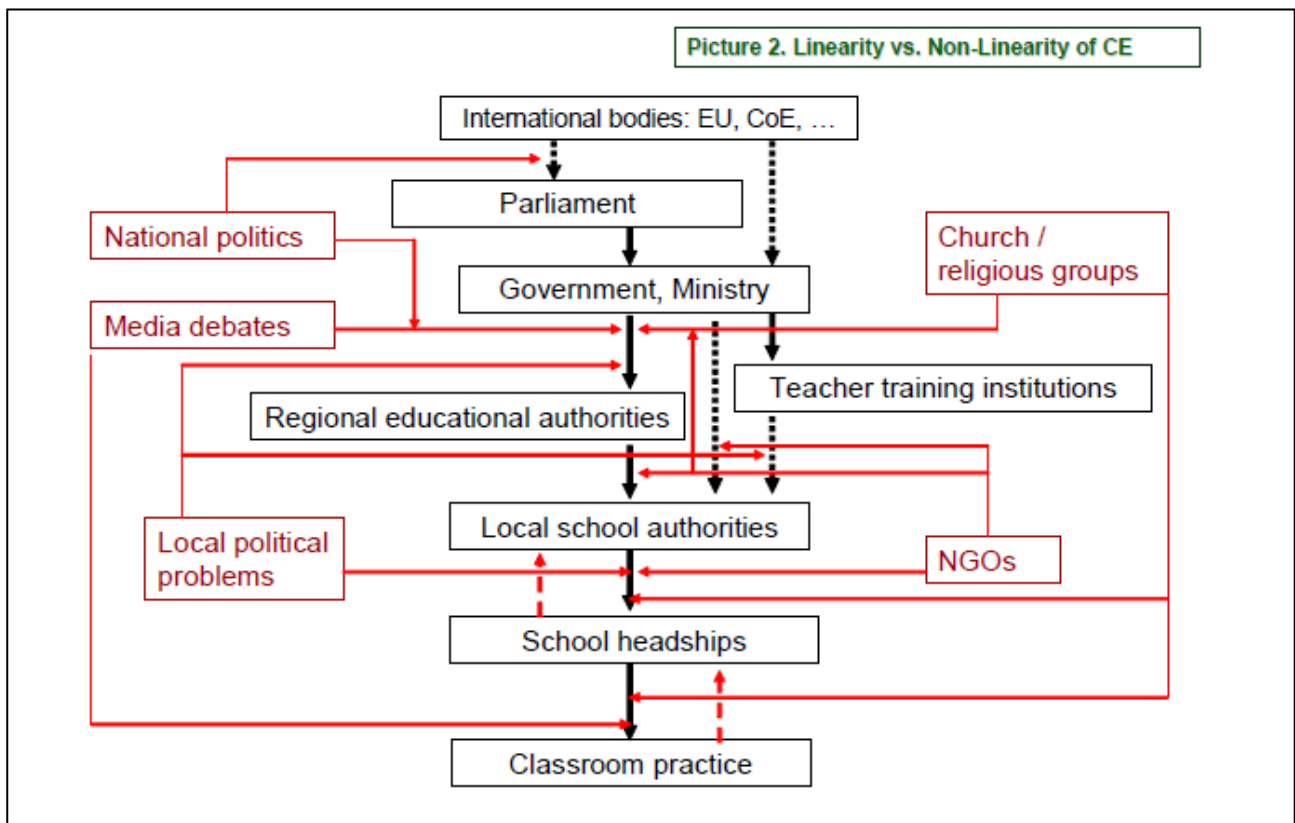
implementation from the international to the national levels and further down within a more or less hierarchically organised system. *“Policy-centred approaches to citizenship education which mainly focus on conceptions, their implementation and remaining gaps of compliance mostly ignore the highly complex and moving structure of often inconsistent expectations, demands and requirements and varying reactions and replies to them.”* (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008). They also ignore the influence of other actors and thus also national, regional and local specifics of citizenship education. In other words, the explanation given to the widespread phenomenon of more or less deep differences between policies and practices of citizenship education as an “implementation gap” is flawed as it ignores characteristic features of pluralist societies as well as those of their education system. The implementation approach mainly fails to acknowledge that systems of citizenship education are political organisations by nature and that citizenship education itself is of necessarily political character. The implementation approach also tends to ignore the main features of organised citizenship education, i.e. non-linearity, plurality and complexity of a multi-level and multi-actor system. The various actors of citizenship education see themselves confronted with a big variety of demands and a high degree of inconsistency, therefore the phenomena interpreted as “missing implementation” and shortcomings might be better interpreted as indicators of a system working in a complex and contested environment producing inconsistent expectations and inconsistent reactions. To put it graphically, the studies done so far consider a more or less simplified picture of citizenship education (CE) based on a clear structure of actors and a linear, top-down implementation.

“Imagined linearity of a citizenship education system” (taken from Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008).



However, citizenship education is better reflected in a multi-level, multi-actor and multi-interest system characterised by diverse, and often inconsistent, environmental and internal demands. It is non-linearity, complexity, ambiguity and multi-level structure which have to be grasped and analysed by critical approaches to research on citizenship education.

“Real complexity of a citizenship education system” (taken from Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008).



Therefore, it seems much more convincing an approach that elaborates a twofold contextualisation of citizenship education by investigating its internal embeddedness in the organized fields of citizenship education and education in general as well as the external embeddedness of these fields in their political and societal environments (Hedtke et al., 2007). This approach, differently from the perspective of the mainstream of research, acknowledges non-linearity and inconsistency as an essential feature of citizenship education, or at least as a potential form to be taken into account. It is also able to reveal the complex interconnectedness of different citizenship education systems and their development. In this context, a multi-level actor-centred analysis becomes instrumental to capture the characteristic diversity and inconsistency of citizenship education and tracing its non-linear, intricate development emerging from a multitude of actors and interests, approaches and concepts, expectations and demands, interpretations and (re-)actions. I have therefore chosen to use in my research the talk-and-action approach to citizenship education developed by Zimenkova & Hedtke (2008). As highlighted by the authors, this is relevant to both post-socialist transformation countries but applies as well to “old” democracies which, like the aforementioned, are confronted with the challenges of globalisation, Europeanisation and migration. Being my case studies

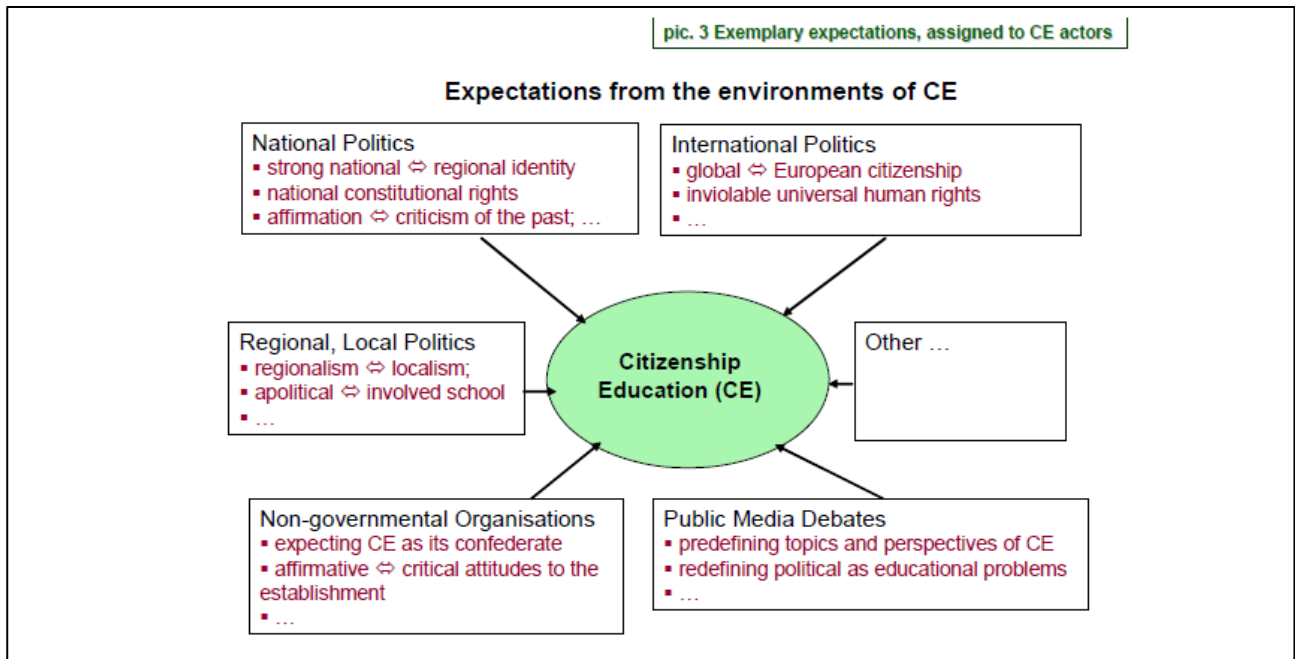
Croatia and Italy, which can be considered respectively a quite recent democracy the first one (UN ceasefire in 1995 and Croatian accession to the EU in 2013) and an “old” democracy the second one (democratic Republic since 1946 and among the founding fathers of the EU), the significance of the talk-and-action approach emerges even stronger. Similarly, as it has been argued in the literature, critical examination and reflection are required to develop a theory and practice of human rights education not just in post-conflict contexts or in regions with weak democratic practices, but also in nations which are proud of their human rights records in order to investigate tensions and ambiguities which exist between national values and ideals (normally promoted in citizenship education) together with consideration of the challenges and complexity of implementing HRE in a prosperous and peaceful region (Osler, 2015). Therefore, the current situation of citizenship education in Europe provides a good opportunity for research interested in understanding the complex systems and environments of citizenship education focusing on its multiple key actors.

Following the talk-and-action approach (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008), I consider actors of citizenship education as political organisations acting politically in a political environment. Thus, it is necessary to identify who are the influential actors of change or stability, what are their beliefs, interests, strategies, decisions and actions and which shared or contested pictures and practices of citizenship, democracy, participation, societal order, inequalities etc. emerge from their acting within the system of citizenship education. Confronted with inconsistent demands, these actors are forced to produce inconsistent or even contradicting reactions. This means that they are likely to use inconsistent reactions as a response to inconsistent demands in order to be able to reply to all of them simultaneously. As I said before, Brunsson (2002 and 2003) suggests three possible forms of such reactions: talk, decision and action. *Talk* is a communicational activity which can serve to announce a future action, legitimize non-acting or postponing an action, or state a necessity to act as a signal of the organisation’s capacity to see that there is a problem and affirm its intention to find a solution. Talk can be any spoken/written statements relevant for the given system (e.g. political talk, media debates, public reviews of the ministries, self-presentation of the educational programmes in parliament and in the media, speeches at political, administrative or educational meetings, mission and policy statements, making appeals in favour of civic education, preamble of curricula, school programmes, etc.) describing or explaining aims, tasks and forms of citizen upbringing, outlining some general consequences, stressing the necessity of civic education, its general perspective and goals,

displaying political commitment to the issues or a general goodwill to solve the problems/reconstruct the civic education, etc. Talk is neither binding nor measurable, and it usually does not indicate responsibilities, lacking a clear defined time frame/or with a long-term frame. *Action* is instead a real and concrete activity which results in products and may be connected to any change of the given state-of-the-art. Actions are understood as outcomes which can be grasped and are implemented in a way that actors change their previous behaviour, whether these outcomes are announced or not. Some examples might be passing a new law, launching a new educational programme, the revision of the curricula with respect to concrete educational aims and competencies, contents of teaching and learning, perceivable activities of teachers and students within schools and in their environments, types of tasks for students, types of exams, forms of evaluation, the implementation of programmes at the school level (e.g. the introduction of a new subject or cross-curricular schedules, the definition of annualised hours to be taught, obligatory topics to be dealt with in classes, use of specific didactic instruments, methods and materials in the classroom). Talk and action are linked together by *decision* which is a special type of talk that indicates a will to act or the choice of action. Decisions might therefore be closer to talk or to action according to the situation. They function as a mechanism for not yet acting, but are much more precise and specific than talk from which they can be differentiated due to temporal limits (e.g. deadline for implementation) and the grade of concretisation (they rather describe the whole procedure and are less general or rhetorical than talk). Talk, decision and action are always context related and are often inconsistent or even contradictory to one another, leading to unavoidable tensions as a result of societal pressures and demands. Therefore, the expectation of consistent policies and politics (linearity, uniformity) is nothing but an illusion. As it has been highlighted in an article on civic education in Bulgaria, “(f)irst, concepts of citizenship as expressed in curricula (*Action*) may more or less subtly diverge from concepts of official citizenship promulgated in the political discourse (*Talk*). Second, concepts of citizenship as expressed in textbooks or furthered in teachers’ education may not be in line with those prescribed in curricula. Third, even if official concepts of citizenship education as expressed in curricula and textbooks may be coherent, they may be eventually (informally) impeded or subverted.” (Dimitrov, 2008). This testimony works exactly as an exemplification of the talk-and-action approach and as a test of its applicability. Or as it has been described more broadly, “*citizenship education in form of ‘action’ might show less transformation towards democratisation (or towards ‘active citizenship’ or non-nationalistic*

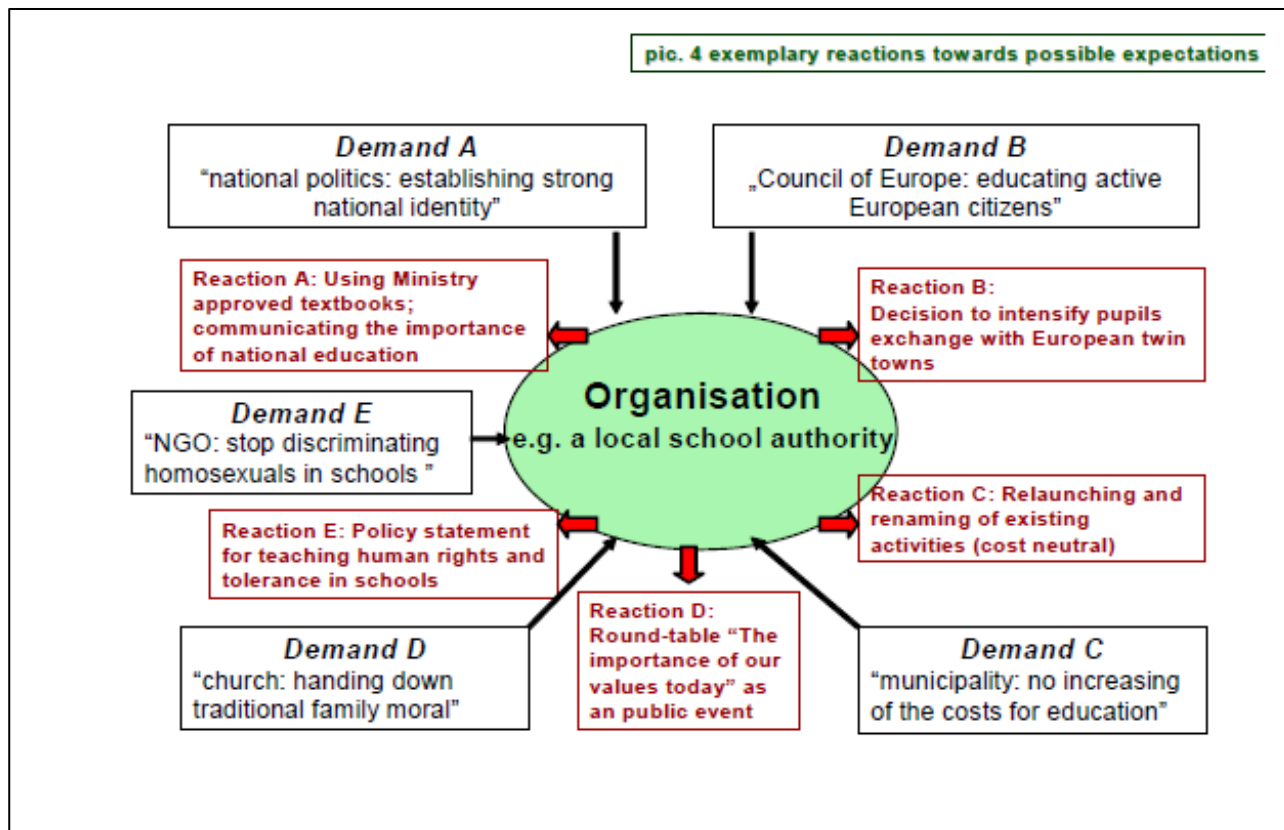
citizenship) than started or stated discursively on the level of public talk, or just the other way round. Only by differentiating between different organised actors of citizenship education as well as differentiating between talk, decision and action for the respective realm of each CE actor, can we grasp the fine grained dynamics which display the change or transformation of citizenship education.” (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008). To do so, it is important to identify for each selected CE actor (“focal actor”) the relevant actors from other CE levels and environments who put demands on the CE actor in focus.

“Exemplary expectations assigned to actors of citizenship education” (taken from Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008).



Then, the focal actor’s interpretation of these demands and reaction to them need to be described and analysed.

“Exemplary reactions of CE actors towards possible expectations” (taken from Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008).



This process allows to reconstruct the complex structure of influences and expectations, interdependencies and interpretation within the system of citizenship education by which its inconsistencies occur and harden. Furthermore, it enables to trace the emergence of CE conceptions as well as the development of specific paths from the actors’ perspectives. Citizenship education is entangled in different political systems (national and international), different understandings of democracy, normative concepts and institutions set by supranational bodies like UNESCO, the Council of Europe or the European Union, and civil society organisations. Furthermore, citizenship education is backed by monitoring systems and benchmarking reports by these same bodies, different levels of education, and last but not least different educational goals, topics and curricula (stemming from international, national and local authorities) or lack of such curricula. All these different political, media or educational actors on different levels (international, national, local) influence and bring their various interests and hopes into the process of citizenship education, and hence different, even contradictory expectations and demands towards CE actors (Hedtke et al., 2007). These organised actors must also react to at least partly confronting demands and the resulting tensions on each

level of citizenship education (from general political debate up to/down to classroom situation), therefore the potential fruitfulness of the organised hypocrisy approach is immediately obvious. In particular, this wide variety of demands and tensions, as well as the perceptions, interpretations and reactions of the main organisations as actors and the main actors in organisations to these demands, has to be described and analysed. Using the approach of organised hypocrisy and the notions of talk, decision and action as an analytic instrument should allow to empirically grasp and analytically describe the complex connection of demanded, pressed, proclaimed, accepted, refused, reshaped or realised transformation in citizenship education, be it in terms of talk, decision or action. In the following section I will better detail the methodological steps of this approach and explain how I will employ it into my research.

4.4. Methodological steps

Zimenkova & Hedtke (2008) identify a clear methodological procedure for an analysis using the talk-and-action approach. In this section I will follow the steps they have identified in order to discuss the structure of my research design. They suggest to start from “*Description of the institutional frame of a system of citizenship education*” which includes background information on the formal institutional structure of organised citizenship education in a country. Therefore, I deeply analysed the literature on citizenship education (chapter 1) and human rights education (chapter 2), as well as relevant international and regional standards (chapter 3). This will then be enriched in the following chapters by the examination of each specific national context of my case studies, Croatia (chapter 5) and Italy (chapter 6), including the analysis of policy documents, academic reports and articles. The fact that I can’t read Croatian might have been a limit in terms of the policy analysis conducted for that specific case study as it was limited to English documents or English translations, while in Italy it was easier for me to access and understand this kind of materials as I am a native speaker. Furthermore, I based my research on a secondary analysis of the results of an internationally renowned study developed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and entitled ICCS 2016 (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study) – I will come back to this in the following subparagraph. More specifically, data coming from the International Report of this study (Schulz et. al., 2017) have been connected to my research topic and analysed for both Croatia and Italy. This allowed me to draw a first outline of the structure, actors and

interests involved in each national context. In terms of *“Identification of relevant actors”*, I decided to focus on five categories of stakeholders, namely ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society. These are both focal and environmental actors relevant to the development of citizenship education. The decision to target these five categories, and do not include for example international bodies, school principals, teachers or other CE actors, has been made considering the research topic and question. Indeed, since I was interested in understanding the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education in the two specific national contexts (Croatia and Italy), it seemed appropriate and coherent to focus on these actors. This does not mean that there are no other relevant actors at different levels as represented in the table *“Real complexity of a citizenship education system”* above, but considering the time frame and available resources to complete the research it was important to make a strategic choice for a feasible plan. It was therefore decided to delimit the research and investigate only these five categories of stakeholders as they could better contribute to the building of a national snapshot of citizenship and human rights education that this research aimed to reach. Therefore, the place and role of human rights within citizenship education has been made the subject of my interviews. For the purpose of clarity and accuracy, I asked my interviewees to refer to students in their eighth year of schooling (approximately 14 years of age) as these are the target-grade students of ICCS 2016. Drawing from previously analysed data, background information and literature review, I developed a set of questions that have been asked during a series of one-on-one interviews with key stakeholders identified in both countries and I conducted a total of 25 interviews. These actors have been classified as *“relevant”* and included into the analysis because of their formal position within the system of citizenship education and based on the perception of other actors within (and outside) the field. This was ensured by conducting a preparatory desk research to map relevant actors and by asking at the end of each interview recommendation for any other relevant stakeholder to be included in my analysis. However, this was not a pure snowball sampling as I was very clear on the five categories of stakeholders I aimed to focus on and thus recommendations should follow under these categories. So while I had an initial list of interviewees I wanted to contact, this was also revised and enriched by the recommendations I received. All interviewees were chosen based on their role within a specific category (ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society) and coherently they were asked to respond representing that stakeholder/organisation. Furthermore, the choice was based on the interviewees’

expertise in the field of citizenship and human rights education so that they can constructively contribute to the research. This means that I could have contacted and talked to many other different people for all five categories but based on my consideration I included those more expert and competent to address the issues I was interested in. Data saturation was achieved based on the notion of “informational redundancy” (see, for example, Sandelowski, 2008; Francis et al., 2010; Guest et al., 2006). This view of saturation is basically centred on the question of how much data (usually number of interviews) is needed until nothing new is apparent. It is a matter of identifying redundancy in the data, with no necessary reference to the theory linked to these data. Data saturation *“means that new data tend to be redundant of data already collected. In interviews, when the researcher begins to hear the same comments again and again, data saturation is being reached. (...) It is then time to stop collecting information and to start analyzing what has been collected.”* (Grady, 1998). Following this perspective, saturation was identified at an early stage of the research process and before I started the formal analysis (for a critical reflection on the concept of saturation and its use in qualitative research, see Saunders et al., 2018). This also explains why the number of interviews differs between different stakeholders and also between the two countries.

The **table** below summarizes the names and roles of people I interviewed in Croatia and Italy divided by the five categories of stakeholders.

CROATIA April – May 2018		ITALY September – October 2018
Mr Darko Tot <i>Head of Sector for Joint Affairs and Programs Ministry of Science and Education</i>	MINISTRY	Ms Simonetta Fichelli <i>Former National Contact Point for “Cittadinanza e Costituzione” Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR)</i>
Ms Nevenka Lončarić Jelačić <i>Senior Adviser for EDC/HRE Education and Teacher Training Agency</i>	NATIONAL AGENCIES	Mr Giovanni Biondi <i>President National Institute for Documentation, Innovation and Educational Research (INDIRE)</i>
Ms Ines Elezovic <i>National Research Coordinator for ICCS 2016 and ICCS 2022 National Centre for External Evaluation of Education</i>		Ms Laura Palmerio <i>Senior Researcher, responsible for the international surveys area National Institute for the Evaluation of the Education Systems (INVALSI)</i>
Ms Lana Golob <i>Educational Programme Advisor City of Rijeka</i>	LOCAL AUTHORITIES	Mr Flavio Lotti <i>Director Italian Coordination of Local Authorities for Peace and Human Rights</i>
Mr Berto Šalaj <i>Associate Professor Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb</i>	ACADEMIA	Mr Andrea Porcarelli <i>Associate Professor Department of Philosophy, Sociology, Education and Applied Psychology, University of Padova</i>
Ms Anka Kekez Koštro <i>Assistant Lecturer Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb</i>		
Ms Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš <i>Professor Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb</i>		Mr Bruno Losito <i>Professor Department of Educational Sciences, University of Roma Tre</i>
Ms Monika Pažur <i>University Assistant Faculty of Teacher Education, University of Zagreb</i>		Ms Milena Santerini <i>Professor Department of Educational Sciences, Catholic University of Milan</i>
Mr Marko Kovačić <i>Researcher Centre for Youth and Gender Studies, Institute of Social Research in Zagreb</i>		Mr Pasquale Moliterni <i>Professor Department of Sport, Health and Human Sciences of the University “Foro Italico”, Rome</i>
Mr Mario Bajkuša <i>Development and Programs Director Forum For Freedom in Education</i>	CIVIL SOCIETY	Ms Francesca Cesarotti <i>Human Rights Education Director Amnesty International, Italy</i>
Ms Eli Pijaca Plavšić <i>Executive Director Forum For Freedom in Education</i>		Ms Emilia Astore <i>Freelance Trainer Founder of HREYN</i>

Ms Martina Horvat <i>Executive Director</i> GONG	Mr Emanuele Russo <i>GCE Officer, CIFA onlus</i> <i>National Coordinator for the Global Campaign for Education (GCE)</i>
	Ms Silvia Volpi <i>REDU and ANG (National Youth Agency)</i>
	Ms Marina Lovato <i>Policy Officer, Global Education Progettomondo.mlal</i>

Zimenkova & Hedtke (2008) talk about “*Selection of topics suitable for the study of change and transformation of CE*” as a third step in the methodological procedure of the talk-and-action approach. As they clearly point out, “*(t)he topics have to be controversial to a certain extent, and they should be most likely related to expected change or transformation in the country investigated and thus suitable for tracing relevant changes in the citizenship education. Analysing different kinds of data on the topics chosen and making them subject of the interviews with focal and environmental actors will provide the possibility to discover (inconsistent) demands and central tensions of the CE and their perception by the selected CE actor.*” (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008). In the design of my research, the topic was firmly established since the very beginning of the project as I was interested in the nexus between citizenship education (chapter 1) and human rights education (chapter 2). Coherently, the research aimed to capture a snapshot of citizenship education in the two focus countries (Croatia and Italy) and to look more particularly at the role, if any, of human rights within the field of CE. The following steps identified by Zimenkova & Hedtke (2008), i.e. “*Identification of demands addressed to, and perceived by, CE actors*” and “*Description of reactions and differentiation between types of reactions*”, will be discussed separately in the next chapters of this thesis specifically dedicated to each case study. However, as a final remark and in order to avoid confusion, it is important to stress that the talk and action-approach does not refer to differences which can be observed between different actors but the talk produced and communicated by a certain actor is compared with the decisions and actions the same actor is performing.

4.5. ICCS 2016

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) is an internationally renowned study conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)³³. ICCS is an on-going, comparative research program and is the largest international study of civic and citizenship education in the world. ICCS reports on levels of students' civic knowledge, their understanding of concepts and issues related to civics and citizenship, as well as their civic attitudes and engagement. ICCS collects and analyses a rich array of contextual data from policymakers, teachers, school principals and the students themselves, about the organization and content of civic and citizenship education in the curriculum, teacher qualifications and experiences, school climate, home and community support. The recently completed cycle of the program, ICCS 2016, builds on three studies in this area conducted by IEA in 9 countries in 1971, in 28 countries in 1999 (CIVED), and 38 countries in 2009 (ICCS 2009). ICCS 2016 investigated the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens in the second decade of the 21st century. It studied students' knowledge and understanding of civics and citizenship as well as students' attitudes, perceptions and activities related to civics and citizenship. Based on nationally representative samples of students, the study also examined differences among countries in relation to these outcomes of civic and citizenship education, and explored how cross-national differences relate to student characteristics, school and community contexts, and national characteristics. As the second cycle of this study, ICCS 2016 is a continuation and an extension of ICCS 2009, allowing countries that participate in both studies to monitor trends in civic knowledge and engagement over seven years. ICCS 2016 gathered data from more than 94,000 students in their eighth year of schooling (students approximately 14 years of age) in about 3,800 schools from 24 countries. The student data was augmented by information collected from more than 37,000 teachers and the contextual data provided by school principals and the ICCS national research centres. The main survey data collection took place between October 2015 and June 2016 using the following instruments:

- *international student cognitive test*, consisting of items measuring students' civic knowledge and ability to analyse and reason (45 minutes);
- *international student questionnaire*, measuring students' perceptions about civics and citizenship as well as information about each student's background (30-40 minutes);

³³ See for more information: <https://www.iea.nl>. Date: 22 February 2019.

- *teacher questionnaire*, administered to selected teachers teaching any subject in the target grade and gathering information about teachers' perceptions of civic and citizenship education in their schools, their schools' organization and culture as well as their own teaching assignments and backgrounds (30 minutes);
- *school questionnaire*, administered to school principals of selected schools and capturing information about school characteristics, school culture and climate, and the provision of civic and citizenship education in the school (30 minutes);
- *national context survey*, compiled by national research centres and synthesizing information about the structure of the education system, civic and citizenship education in the national curricula, and recent developments in civic and citizenship education (online survey).

As a result of ICCS 2016, an International Report (Schulz et. al, 2017) was launched on 7 November 2017. Based on some of the most relevant results of this study concerning Croatia and Italy, since both countries took part in ICCS 2016, I developed a set of questions (see Appendices A and B) focusing on citizenship and human rights for the interview stage of my research.

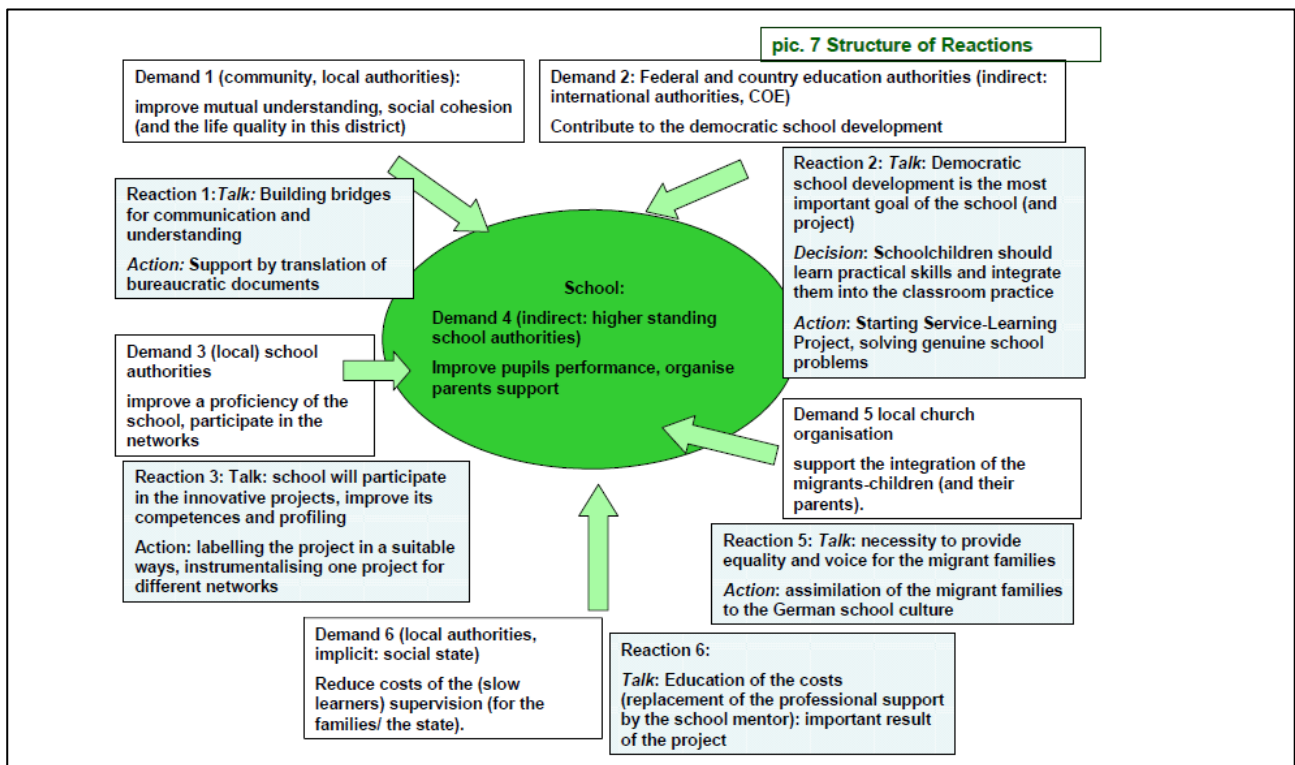
4.6. Data collection and analysis

The collection of data took place over a period of 2 months in each national context, between April and May 2018 in Croatia and between September and October 2018 in Italy. As I already explained above, case studies and actors have been chosen following the talk-and-action approach and its methodological steps. Based on my secondary analysis of ICCS 2016 I developed a practically identical questionnaire for the interviews in both countries (only one question was slightly changed to better fit the purpose of the research). While in Croatia I conducted the interviews in English, in Italy I used my mother tongue. The set of questions was sent beforehand to each interviewee, together with a summary of the overall research project and the informed consent form to be signed. Without strictly following the questionnaire but using it more as a way to open the discussion on several key themes, I conducted a total of 25 semi-structured interviews (12 in Croatia and 13 in Italy). I chose the semi-structure interview for data collection as I wanted to have a clear insight into some key topics in order to address my research questions but, at the same time, I preferred to create a flexible and interactive space for dialogue with my interviewees using follow-up why or how

questions that can lead to unforeseen issues always related to the main research topic. While in Croatia all the interviews have been in-person, in Italy the majority of interviews have been conducted via phone or Skype and only 4 in-person but this did not pose any particular problem or methodological issue that needs to be reported. In terms of interview setting for the in-person interviews, I left it open to the interviewees themselves and they all invited me to their work offices. All interviews have been one-on-one except for one case in Italy as two different stakeholders asked me to be interviewed together since they know each other and they have both worked on ICCS 2016. However, I asked them to answer separately to each question and/or build upon what the other has already said. All interviews were audio recorded and about one hour each in order to minimize fatigue for both interviewer and respondent. Recording the interviews allowed me to be more actively engaged in the conversation and ponder how best to ask the questions, rather than having to concentrate on writing down the answers. I tried to complete all transcriptions straight after each interview so that to vividly remember the flow of the conversation and report it as precisely as possible. Thanks to the audio records, the interviews have been almost literally transcribed. Only limited parts that were considered digression or not relevant to the research have been omitted from the interview transcripts. I then read all transcriptions and notes in order to organize data efficiently, analyse them and generate theoretical insights. I developed a spreadsheet into which I organised the content of my interviews, directly quoting from the interviewees themselves or summarising the issues, and I analysed both the responses of a single interviewee to different questions as well as different interviewees' responses to the same question. Basically I worked on an Excel document where I created various lines for all my interviews and in the columns I arranged the questions/issues, so if you go horizontally you can read how a single interviewee responded to all questions/issues and if you go vertically you can read how a single question/issue was tackled by all interviewees. The interviews were also grouped according to the five categories of stakeholders as presented in the table above that summarizes the names and roles of people I interviewed in Croatia and Italy. The process of preparing for, conducting and analysing the interviews was obviously time consuming and labour intensive, this is probably one of the disadvantages of semi-structured interviews. However, this method allowed me to investigate the topic through an in-depth conversation with my interviewees that was necessary considering the inherent complexity of the research and the objective of understanding different actors' perspective. As it was explained before, this project aimed to identify the differentiated picture of

citizenship and human rights education as seen by the actors themselves in the two case studies. Data have been interpreted based on the concepts and theories that guided the study, as well as following the talk-and-action approach. Indeed, using an actor-centred approach and the analytical scheme of talk/decision/action allows to capture the various dynamics of citizenship education, its complexity and different levels. It also means avoiding the unrealistic assumption that CE functions as a homogeneous single actor, acting consequently following the talk in order to bring it consistently down from the level of national educational authorities to the classroom situation (top-down implementation). Therefore, as part of my in-depth analysis, I developed several conceptual maps to identify the differentiated picture of CE actors as seen by the actors themselves, including their beliefs, conceptions and perceptions; the most relevant tensions and demands CE actors are confronted with; the reactions of each respective actor to the demands previously assessed, pushing for a thorough differentiation between talk, decision and action (see figure below as an example).

“Structure of possible reactions” (taken from Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008).



“By observing which expectations and demands are addressed to the actor, who the relevant environmental actors are, and how the actor reacts on these demands, structures of actors, influences, relevancies and finally mechanisms of change and transformation of CE can be revealed.” (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008).

Putting human rights at the core of the interviews enabled me to discover (inconsistent) demands and central tensions of citizenship education and how these are perceived by the selected actor. This provided a better understanding of the complex CE systems and environments focusing on multiple key actors at stake, as well as insights on the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education in the two specific national contexts (Croatia and Italy). These findings will be presented and widely discussed in the following chapters. While the main objective of this research, as clearly stated so far, is to focus on the uniqueness and complexity of each actor in each specific case study, a reference to comparative case studies is worth to be mentioned. Indeed, in the final conclusion of this work I will turn to a sort of intertwined analysis between the two case studies comparing in particular Croatian and Italian results to ICCS 2016, as well as interview findings coming from both countries. I will also use the conceptual maps I will develop concerning each actor in each case study (5 conceptual maps for Croatia and 5 for Italy) to identify some major highlights in the comparison of the same focal actor in the two different countries. This can also be connected to the

horizontal look of the three-axis approach to comparative case studies developed by Bartlett & Vavrus (2017) “*that not only contrasts one case with another, but also traces social actors, documents, or other influences across these cases*”. Despite the old-fashioned assumption that comparison must be cross-national, some comparative education scholars have defended the value of other types of comparison, intranational investigation as an example. Furthermore, an innovative comparative case study approach should pay attention to power and inequality, context as constituted by social activities and social interactions, as well as language, discourse, texts, and institutions as important social and policy actors (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). Moving from this premise, there might be an attempt to consider two types of generalization in comparative case studies, namely within-system generalization and cross-system generalization. As such, this research project can be looked as an effort to respond to questions referring to within-system generalization (e.g. do these findings reflect the perspective of this actor in this country?) as well as to questions referring to cross-system generalization (e.g. is the Croatian snapshot of citizenship and human rights education similar to the Italian one?). Needless to say, however, that generalization remains a challenge especially in reference to case study methods that on the one hand are celebrated for their empirical richness, but on the other they are criticized for a perceived inability to generate theoretical insights beyond the case in question (Steinberg, 2015).

Chapter 4 – Conclusion

The chapter explained the methodology of this research. Starting with a contextualisation of what has been framed in the literature as “Europeanisation” of citizenship education, I underlined several limits of this trend. For example, it avoids to acknowledge that citizenship education is characterised by various actors and cannot be restricted to forms of vertical policy transfer (top-down governmental action). Furthermore, there is an endemic friction of citizenship education between, on the one hand, convergence to a common model (Europeanisation) and, on the other hand, divergence in a variety of adapted models based on nationally relevant and meaningful concepts of democracy, citizenship and society (nationalisation). This second facet, obviously, brings about different concepts, approaches and contents of citizenship education. With this in mind, one of the objectives of my study is precisely to explore the interplay between Europeanisation and nationalisation of citizenship education understood as a politically and culturally contested issue. Systems

and actors of citizenship education are political organisations by nature, therefore I introduced the notion of organized hypocrisy which refers to organizations' inconsistent and contradictory responses to conflicting pressures and demands, both internally and externally. Taking Brunsson's analysis of organized hypocrisy, I made clear how it differs from Krasner's view and my intent to link Brunsson's model to citizenship education. To do so, I followed the talk-and-action approach developed by Zimenkova & Hedtke (2008). This approach challenges and refuses a sort of linearity and uniformity in the structure and development of citizenship education which would automatically result in top-down implementation. On the contrary, the talk-and-action approach, moving from Brunsson's understanding of organized hypocrisy, stresses that there are various actors of citizenship education who are confronted with a complex and changing environment. Therefore, the widespread phenomenon of more or less deep differences between policies and practices of citizenship education is not explained as "implementation gap", "missing implementation" or shortcomings but it rather mirrors the inconsistent environments of the actors of citizenship education, thus interpreted as indicators of a system in which these actors are political organisations facing a big variety of demands and a high degree of inconsistency. This necessarily produces inconsistent expectations and inconsistent reactions, leading to unintended or unavoidable organized hypocrisy. The talk-and-action approach acknowledges several essential features of citizenship education, i.e. non-linearity, inconsistency, plurality, complexity and ambiguity, and builds upon them to properly reflect a multi-level, multi-actor and multi-interest system characterised by diverse, and often inconsistent, environmental and internal demands. To respond to these demands, actors of citizenship education are forced to produce inconsistent or even contradicting reactions and I argued, following Brunsson's suggestion, that there are three possible forms of such reactions: talk, decision and action. After describing each of them in details and showing the importance of identifying various actors, levels and environments of citizenship education in order to capture different demands, interpretations and reactions, I moved into the methodological steps of my research. More precisely, I took the methodological procedure for an analysis using the talk-and-action approach identified by its originators (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008) and applied it to my research. Indeed, it is believed that using the approach of organised hypocrisy and the notions of talk, decision and action as an analytic instrument allows to reconstruct the complex structure of influences and expectations, interdependencies and interpretation within the system of citizenship education by which its inconsistencies occur and harden. I thus elaborated on

“Description of the institutional frame of a system of citizenship education”, “Identification of relevant actors” and “Selection of topics suitable for the study of change and transformation of CE”. As I already stated, the following steps of the talk-and-action approach, i.e. “Identification of demands addressed to, and perceived by, CE actors” and “Description of reactions and differentiation between types of reactions”, will be discussed separately in the next chapters of this thesis specifically dedicated to each case study. However, the section in this chapter allowed me to specify several important details of my research design, including the connection between the previous three more theoretical chapters and the following case studies; the rationale behind my case studies, actors and interviews; information on data saturation and on how this was achieved. I then dedicated a specific section on ICCS 2016 to describe this study that I used to develop my interview questions based on some of its most relevant results related to citizenship and human rights concerning my focus countries, Croatia and Italy. Finally, I described data collection and analysis, including when and how I conducted my interviews, and I reiterated the relevance of using an actor-centred approach and the analytical scheme of talk/decision/action to identify the differentiated picture of CE actors as seen by the actors themselves, including their beliefs, conceptions and perceptions; the most relevant tensions and demands CE actors are confronted with; the reactions of each respective actor to the demands previously assessed, pushing for a thorough differentiation between talk, decision and action. As for my specific research topic and question, this means better understanding the complex CE systems and environments focusing on multiple key actors at stake, discovering (inconsistent) demands and central tensions of citizenship education related to human rights and how these are perceived by the selected actor, as well as investigating the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education in the two countries of focus (Croatia and Italy). Let me conclude with a quote that I believe beautifully summarises the core message of this chapter on methodology: “In brief, research on a system of citizenship education should start with a social science based assumption that diversity and even confusion within a specific social system may best be understood as a mirror of the respective society and its key actors. We do not believe that our understanding of how organised citizenship education really works will be improved if we use a technical approach assuming that the methods of executing administrative decisions top-down have to be improved because up to now they have partly failed. Having this in mind, an appropriate research design, based on a multi-level actor-centred approach which acknowledges actor-specific perspectives, will help to reveal

conceptions of citizenship, democracy, tolerance, participation etc., to understand the complex interplay of perceptions and talk, decision and action of different actors and the main causes of change (and stability) of CE under the conditions of societal change or transformation.” (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008).

Chapter 5 – Case study (Croatia)

This chapter deals with the first of my two case studies, namely Croatia. In the first part I will deeply analyse the development of citizenship education within Croatian political context in order to frame the scenario in which I conducted my empirical research. Briefly acknowledging human rights-related projects implemented already during the nineties as part of a broader post-conflict reconstruction, I will then look at the various stages of Croatian policy development with regard to human rights and democratic citizenship education, including the National Program of Human Rights Education (1999-2010), the National Framework Curriculum for Pre-School, General Compulsory and Secondary Education (NFC) of 2010, the Citizenship Education Curriculum (CEC) and its two-year pilot implementation (namely school year 2012-13 and 2013-14), the current interdisciplinary and cross-curricular model adopted since 2014 and related challenges and tensions at all levels of society. This historical contextualisation of the development of citizenship education in Croatia will be instrumental to better understand the national specificities of my case study.

The second part of this chapter will focus on Croatian results to the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016. More precisely, Croatian data coming from the international report of ICCS 2016 and relevant to the research topic were used to frame my interview questions (see Appendix A). Following the structure of those guiding questions, in this part I will present Croatian results compared to the international average set by ICCS 2016 and I will summarise the main interview findings for each question. The following areas will be discussed: level of autonomy of schools in curriculum planning; learning objectives for and aims of civic and citizenship education; conventional and social-movement-related citizenship; students' endorsement of gender equality and of equal rights for all ethnic and racial groups; school contexts for civic and citizenship education; students' opportunities to participate in activities carried out in the local community; teaching methods for civic and citizenship education; teacher preparation on civic- and citizenship-related topics and skills. As I will show below, several interesting findings will emerge already from this preliminary insight into my interview analysis.

Finally, the third part of this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of my research findings using the talk-and-action approach as explained in chapter 4. Indeed, adopting a multi-level actor-centred approach, each sub-paragraph will look at one specific actor aiming to identify pressures and demands with which it is confronted and how it responds differentiating between talk, decision and action. This research moves in fact

from the conceptualisation of citizenship education as a tension political field of diverse and conflicting demands to which various actors have to respond simultaneously. For the purpose of my research, I decided to focus on five actors: ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society. Each subparagraph will therefore investigate one of these actors and will end with a conceptual map to graphically represent the differentiated picture of citizenship education from the perspective of multiple key actors at stake. This will allow to better understand the complexity of citizenship education systems and environments, which is one of the purpose of this research, and will also be connected to the central tensions related to human rights and how these are perceived by the selected actor. As a result, the main research question of this thesis about the place and role of human rights within citizenship education, thus the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education, will be addressed within the specific context of the case study of Croatia.

5.1. Development of citizenship education in Croatia

Citizenship education entered relatively recently into the Croatian educational policy. *“In socialist Yugoslavia policy-making was dominated by the Communist Party rule, which proved to be more inclined towards a symbolic instead of an active civic participation in the political process. Education was therefore based primarily on political indoctrination and participation was encouraged almost exclusively in the form of solidarity work actions.”* (Kekez et al., 2017). The establishment of a democratic state in Croatia took place after decades of communist regime in a context of war and continuous threats to country’s territorial integration. While the communist regime aimed to liberate people from the tyranny of tradition, it turned out to do so by exchanging peoples’ loyalty to patriarchal family with their loyalty to collective ideology, therefore subduing people to a communitarian ideology of nationalisms, restricting individual rights and freedoms, and ruling individuals through their submission to the power structure (Spajić- Vrkaš, 2012). As a result, the protection of national interest emerged as the very foundation of the nation-state based on the principle of ethnicity, indissolubly linked to tradition and religion by the populist discourses of the centre-right ruling party of that time. Despite a broader process toward the strengthen of democracy, political and public institutions remained the fortress of long-standing power relations and positions which impacted on the notion of citizenship. *“The term citizen was introduced as a part of the new legal set-up; it had no roots*

in the political culture of people and its relation to the constitutional rights and freedoms was vague in the minds of individuals as the government and, in particular, the Ministry of Education referred to the citizen more in terms of duties towards the new state than in terms of liberties, autonomy and active participation.” (Spajić- Vrkaš, 2016).

The development toward a democratic political culture in Croatia, including political institutions and rules of conduct to support a democratic system, coincided with the transition to a free market economy and the switch from the authoritarian single party regime to a democratic multi-party system. This also led to changes at the educational level, especially when Croatia became an independent state at the beginning of the 1990s. The subject Politics and Economics was introduced in all secondary schools with one hour per week for one school year. Although it had a very limited space in the curriculum, and its content was only partially dedicated to citizenship education, the introduction of Politics and Economics marked a milestone in the development of citizenship education in Croatia – and it remains still valid today as an implemented subject in secondary schools. At the level of compulsory primary education, citizenship education struggled to find a space both as a separate subject or as part of an integrated social sciences course. Certain aspects of citizenship education were included in the subject Nature and Society, implemented in the first four years of elementary education (Šalaj, 2002), while History and Religious Education encompassed some social and humanistic elements in upper elementary school. Clearly, citizenship education was still far from being comprehensively conceptualised and systematically implemented. It has to be mentioned, however, that within the framework of the Croatian educational system, numerous projects and actions concerning human rights, civic education, non-violent settlement of conflicts, education for peace, democracy and tolerance, psychological programs to support children traumatized by war, have been implemented over the years. In fact, many international bodies (UN, UNICEF, UNESCO, Council of Europe) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) extended help and support to Croatian schools wishing to alleviate the consequences of war on children and pupils, teachers and the educational system as such. For example, a project entitled “Peace and Human Rights Education for Croatian Primary Schools”³⁴ was implemented from 1997 to 1999 under the auspices of UNESCO, the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the government of the

³⁴ Retrieved from “Summary of national initiatives undertaken within the Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004)” available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/Training/Pages/Initiatives.aspx>. Date: 5 March 2019.

Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Commission for UNESCO with the aim to develop a comprehensive approach to peace and human rights education for Croatian primary schools, including program and teaching materials. The project was carried out by a team of university teachers, researchers, students and civil activists (see, for more information, Spajić- Vrkaš, 1999 and 2012). While the independence of the Republic of Croatia in 1991 gave rise to a process of opening to the world and democratization of the educational system, it was only with the dawn of the new millennium that a broader integration of citizenship education in the formal education system became more concrete together with the beginning of deeper democratization processes and Croatia's efforts to become an EU Member State.

5.1.1. National Program of Human Rights Education (1999-2010)

Several attempts to introduce systemic learning for citizenship in Croatian schools have failed. Aware of the importance of human rights education, the Croatian government appointed by Decision of June 6, 1995 the National Committee for Human Rights Education as one of the numerous bodies established to protect and promote human rights. More specifically, the National Committee, composed by representatives of competent ministries and experts in the field of HRE, was created as an advisory body to the government for matters related to human rights education. In 1998 the National Committee developed, based on national and international human rights instruments, the National Program of Human Rights Education and was designated to monitor its implementation. This was definitely an attempt of the government to respond to the 1995-2004 UN Decade for Human Rights Education (see section 3.1.1.). Therefore, it was registered by the international community as an important signal to openly and formally declare the intention to implement HRE in national legislation. Indeed, several experts from both the UN and the Council of Europe publicly gave Croatia an excellent opinion on the quality of their National Program which incorporated into legislation a National Program of HRE at pre-school, primary, and secondary school levels (Monaghan & Spreen, 2016). The National Committee largely cooperated with the United Nations (especially the OHCHR, UNESCO and UNICEF), as well as with the Council of Europe and some international organizations such as the International Center for Civic Education and the American Association for Human Rights Education. Among the members of the National Committee four coordinators were elected for developing and drafting, in cooperation with experts, different parts of the Program, i.e. pre-school, lower elementary school grades,

higher elementary school grades and secondary school. The National Program was focused on four levels of goals: “a) *ME – level, which influences the development of self-conscience, independence, self-respect and self-criticism of the pupils; b) MYSELF AND THE OTHERS – level, which implies the development of openness, interest, respect for others, empathy and a feeling of tolerance, cooperation and solidarity; c) US – level, pertaining to the social community that is organized according to the principles of freedom, equality, justice, peace, security and interdependence; d) The world as a whole – level, meaning the development of the awareness about different dimensions and the universality of life, the world and the protection of nature and human environment.*” (National Committee for Human Rights Education, 1999). Therefore, the National Program included education for human rights and democratic citizenship, intercultural education, education for peace and nonviolent conflict resolution, education for sustainable development, education for the prevention of prejudice and discrimination, education related to humanitarian law and practices. The National Program envisaged several ways of implementation: in an interdisciplinary form, throughout all subjects with curricular topics related to human rights issues; as an elective subject; in extracurricular activities and projects; and as an educational principle integrated into the school curriculum as a whole. Considering the specific time in history, i.e. Croatia had just emerged from a five-year civil war and internecine conflict between Croats and ethnic Serbians, HRE was implemented immediately after the 1995 ceasefire by UN agencies and was part of an overall peace-building plan to help prevent further clashes. Indeed, following the ceasefire agreement between Croatia and Yugoslavia and the subsequent Croatian regaining of its occupied territories in 1995 and 1998, the issues of peace, stability and democracy appeared high on the political agenda and the preparation of teachers for new educational approaches based on the principles of human rights, the rule of law, equality, democracy and pluralism became one of the most urgent tasks (Spajić-Vrkaš, 1999). This endeavour, however, was far away from the reality and lived experiences of people. In this sense, HRE demonstrated all the constraints of a content-based instruction. “*Here is what a UN Humanitarian Affairs officer interviewed in 1999 had to say about her work in Bosnia in 1995: Our job was to disseminate information about human rights and the Dayton Peace Accords through a series of workshops. Since our personnel lacked information regarding teaching methodologies, they presented human rights in a very formal way. They were preaching principles saying, ‘You have the right to life,’ without any mention of how to go about ensuring that right or how to apply it to the current situation. As a*

result, many participants did not show up at the following workshop. We realized they had been bored, and to the person who had lost five family members in the war, this information was meaningless. We knew we had to change the approach if we were to make any significant change in peoples' thinking.” (Holland, 2011).

Even though the National Program was not obligatory, it acknowledged for the first time the importance of human rights and democratic citizenship education to enable the development of children and youth citizenship competences. Unfortunately, such a comprehensive design was not coupled with a clear path to quality implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Of the four sub-programmes developed – from preschool to secondary school, only elementary school sub-programme was, in 1999, included in the Framework Plan and Programme for Elementary School as “an optional integrative content”. With the new Program for Primary Schools introduced in 2006 (still valid today), some elements of citizenship education were represented in the subjects Nature and Society, History, and Geography. However, none of these subjects placed enough focus neither on democratic attitudes, social skills development, human rights protection, political and media literacy, nor on preparing the youth for democratic citizenship, participation through volunteering and social engagement. At first glance the situation in secondary schools might seem more encouraging, due to the mandatory subject Politics and Economics, but the impact of this sub-programme was also minimal. An interdisciplinary sub-programme for the university, including teacher training faculties, was developed independently in 2005 but was never made a part of the National Program of Human Rights Education³⁵ (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2012 and 2016). In a nutshell it can be concluded that, due to its non-compulsory character, the National Program of Human Rights Education was mainly implemented in a voluntary manner by enthusiastic teachers via school projects and extracurricular activities developed by small groups of interested students who had the privilege to be included. Whilst conducted in a limited number of schools, the Program failed to provide adequate space to and systematic implementation of citizenship education so that the majority of students could actually take part to it (Kekez et al., 2017).

³⁵ The University Curriculum for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship was developed and tried in practice in 2005-2006 by an interdisciplinary group comprised of 25 university professors and assistants, researchers and civil activists from 13 institutions/organisations, which was supported by the Governments of Austria and Croatia and was carried out by the Research and Training Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb in cooperation with the World University Service - Austria. Its development was based on a series of interdisciplinary round-tables, as well as on a study on the Universities of Zagreb and Rijeka students' political and civic knowledge and attitudes.

By the beginning of 2000 the Council of Europe's notion of education for democratic citizenship was added to the original title of the National Program of Human Rights Education which continued to be implemented optionally as was the preparation of teachers for its implementation. In the following years, the concept of education for democratic citizenship and human rights education (EDC/HRE) would be nominally included in all major laws and strategic papers on education, as well as in national policies, plans and action programmes in other related sectors, such as youth development and human rights protection. Just as an example, EDC/HRE was the main focus of the Project entitled "Travel pass to democracy: supporting teachers in preparing students for active citizenship" financed by the European Commission and the Council of Europe within the Pilot Projects Scheme Human Rights and Democracy in Action and implemented in Croatia, Hungary, Montenegro and Romania. *"The normative basis for developing education for democratic citizenship and human rights education (EDC/HRE) in Croatia comprises a set of legal and policy documents starting with the Constitution which determines that, inter alia, freedom, equality, social justice, respect of human rights and the rule of law are the highest values of the Croatian Constitutional order. From the end of the 1990s these principles have gradually been incorporated in laws on education, from the Law on Preschool Upbringing and Education (1997), through the Law on Upbringing and Education in the Language and Script of National Minorities (2000), the Law on Scientific Work and Higher Education (2003), the Law on Adult Education (2007) to the Law on Upbringing and Education in Elementary and Secondary School (2008). In particular, the Law on Upbringing and Education in Elementary and Secondary School stipulates that schools should educate students in line with human rights and the rights of the child, and that they should prepare them for a multicultural world, as well as for active and responsible participation. The Law on Scientific Work and Higher Education proclaims that respect for, and affirmation of human rights as well as of social responsibility of the academic community, are the foundations of higher education in Croatia. Similarly, the Law on Adult Education (2007) requires that adult education in Croatia prepares adults for active citizenship. Accordingly, since the beginning of the 2000s, all major national strategic papers, EDC/HRE included, have among their goals: the National Plan of Activities for the Rights and Interests of Children (2006-2012); the National Programme for Roma, of 2002 and the Plan of Action for Roma Inclusion (2005-2015); the National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality (2006-2010; 2011-2015); the National Strategy for the Creation of an Enabling Environment for the Civil Society (2006-*

2011; 2012-2016); *the National Programme for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights (2008-2011; 2013-2016–draft)*; and *the National Programme for Youth 2009-2013*.” (European Union/Council of Europe, 2013). While all these legal and policy documents contributed to the normative basis for developing EDC/HRE in Croatia, several deficiencies have been identified in the literature. Two researches, “Democracy and Human Rights in Elementary Schools: Policy and Practice” (2009) and “Does School Educate Good Citizens” (2010), showed in particular the failure of citizenship education and provided detailed results on undemocratic attitudes and low political literacy among youth (Ćulum et al., 2015).

5.1.2. National Framework Curriculum and shift to competence

The preparation of the National Framework Curriculum for Pre-School, General Compulsory and Secondary Education (NFC) of 2010 was set as one of the priorities of the Croatian education policy, aiming at harmonising all the essential elements of the educational system, from the pre-school level to the completion of the secondary education. It was preceded by a number of activities envisaged within the Croatian education policy and aimed at the improvement of the quality of education. In 2005 the Government of the Republic of Croatia adopted the Education Sector Development Plan 2005-2010, a strategic development document based on a comprehensive consideration of the educational system. In 2005 the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports started implementing a school reform project known as the Croatian National Education Standard (CNES), which marked the commencement of the qualitative changes in primary school programme contents. The year 2007 saw the preparation of the Strategy for the Preparation and Development of the National Curriculum for Pre-School Education, General Compulsory and Secondary Education. Those and many other activities created important prerequisites for the devising and implementation of more considerable interventions into the educational system at the national level, including the drafting of the National Framework Curriculum. The NFC, also known as the National Framework Curriculum for Preschool Upbringing and Education and for General Compulsory and Secondary Education (NOK), was developed in line with the EU Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning (European Union, 2006). In fact, one of the most important characteristics of the National Framework Curriculum is the transition to a system based on competence and student achievement (learning outcomes). *“The development of a knowledge-based society and the globalization process, and particularly the growth of the world market*

and competition at the global level, create new social and individual needs in all areas: culture, scientific and technological development, the economy, social cohesion, the position and role of the individual as citizen, and his/her personal development. Life and work in the contemporary society of rapid changes and tough competition require new knowledge, skills, abilities, values, and attitudes, i.e. new competences of the individual, which emphasize innovativeness, creativity, problem solving skills, critical thinking skills, entrepreneurship, information literacy, social skills, and other skills. It is not possible to foster these skills in a traditional education system whose main function is knowledge transfer. A shift in curriculum policy and planning from a focus on knowledge transfer to one of competence development means a turnabout in the approach to education programming. The development of national curricula that focus on student competences represents one of the main avenues of curriculum policy in European and other countries. To respond successfully to the challenges of the development of the knowledge-based society and the world market, the European Union has adopted eight key competences for lifelong learning. The education policy of the Republic of Croatia has adopted the same key competences. (...) Accession to the European Union is one of the key strategic goals of the Republic of Croatia. Therefore, in addition to its own educational traditions and needs, an important factor for Croatia in the creation of education policy and the development of a national curriculum is also the body of European education documents, in particular the European Competence Framework” (Republic of Croatia, 2010). These key competences include: communication in the mother tongue, communication in foreign languages, mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology, digital competence, learning to learn, social and civic competences, sense of initiative taking and entrepreneurship, cultural awareness and expression. Therefore, social and civic competences are one of the eight key competences for lifelong learning that has to be developed since preschool until higher education. It is necessary for “personal fulfilment, active citizenship, social cohesion and employability” and, as stated in the EU recommendation, “(t)he key competences are all considered equally important, because each of them can contribute to a successful life in a knowledge society” (European Union, 2006).

The NFC is the fundamental document that defines the core elements of the curriculum system: the values (knowledge, solidarity, identity and responsibility), the principles (including equality of educational opportunities for all, respect for human rights and the rights of children, democracy, European dimension of

education, interculturalism), as well as general goals and the content of each educational area, the principles of evaluation of student achievement and of evaluation and self-evaluation of the implementation of the national curriculum. It comprises the basic elements of pre-school, general compulsory and secondary education, including education for children with special needs. The National Curriculum Framework is structured according to three educational levels (pre-school education, primary general compulsory education, and secondary general compulsory education) and four educational cycles, namely grades 1-4, 5-6 and 7-8 of primary school and grades 1-2 of secondary schools. Furthermore, the NFC is conceived as an instrument for developing a set of both general or transversal and specific competences and defines the learning outcomes to be achieved through seven learning areas: language and communication, mathematics, science, technical and informatics area, social sciences and humanities, art, physical and health area. At the basis of the NFC there is student achievement in those educational areas, organised according to education cycles, and descriptions and goals of interdisciplinary themes that focus on developing key student competences, in order to elaborate educational area subject structure, determine the subjects and modules of the core curriculum, optional subjects and modules, student workload, etc. The National Framework Curriculum is therefore a very important document for planning and organising school operations, including the preparation of the school curriculum. Its educational values, goals, competences and principles contribute to the understanding and concerted planning of the development and operation of schools. It determines expected student achievement for educational areas according to cycles and outlines the subject structure of each of the educational areas. It also clarifies that a successful implementation of education that leads to the acquisition of competences is not in contravention of traditional subject-based teaching. The National Framework Curriculum instructs teachers to overcome subject specialisation and to take part more or less equally in developing students' core competences by applying the principle of shared responsibility – in particular by making explicit the values that are intertwined with cross-subject (cross-curricular) topics. Furthermore, a description of educational areas and their goals helps schools to inter-connect subjects and streamline instruction purposefully. The National Framework Curriculum also develops short descriptions of interdisciplinary or cross-curricular themes and their goals. It provides for the implementation of the following interdisciplinary themes, content, and/or modules in primary and secondary schools: a) Personal

and social development, b) Health, safety, and environmental protection, c) Learning to learn, d) Entrepreneurship, e) Use of information and communication technology, f) Civil education.

The NFC defines civic competence as one of the key learning outcomes by developing it progressively throughout four cycles both in the Social Sciences and Humanities Area and in Citizenship Education introduced as a compulsory cross-curricular theme. The main objective of the Social Sciences and Humanities Area is to contribute to the development of students as autonomous, participating and responsible individuals which is achieved through two broad units: Citizens and Democracy and Fundamental Human Rights and Responsibilities. Similarly, the purpose of teaching civil education as an interdisciplinary theme is to prepare students for an active and productive civic life. *“Modern democracies need working, informed and responsible citizens. (...) The more significant elements of this theme include the knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes that develop students’ democratic awareness and encourage them to help foster democratic relations in school, in the local community and throughout society. Civil education also contributes to the development of personal identity, respect for others, and problem solving skills according to democratic principles. By becoming more familiar with themselves and their roles in society, as well as by accepting the differences of others, students develop independence, personal integrity, and positive relationships with other students and the surrounding environment. Civil education as an interdisciplinary theme will enhance collaboration within schools, families, local communities, and throughout society.”* (Republic of Croatia, 2010). The link between the compulsory cross-curricular theme of Citizenship Education and the notion of education for democratic citizenship and human rights education (EDC/HRE) is surely self-evident. Indeed, the objectives of the interdisciplinary theme include: acquire knowledge and awareness of the importance of democratic principles, institutions and processes in society throughout Europe and at the global level; develop positive attitudes towards as well as interest in participating in school- and community-based citizens’ groups and in social life as adults; develop awareness of the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of the individual, and of the importance of equality in society, observance of the law, tolerance towards other nations/cultures/religions, and acceptance of different opinions; be trained to think critically about social phenomena; be trained to use and assess various sources of information to make decisions and handle responsibilities. The accession of Croatia to the European Union, completed in 2013, was clearly a key determinant in national alignment with European standards.

5.1.3. Croatian Citizenship Education Curriculum (2010-2014)

The lack of implementation measures and analytic data on the National Program of Human Rights Education triggered an independent research on the quality of its outcomes which disclosed a wide gap between policy and practice and led to the drafting of the first Croatian Citizenship Education Curriculum (CEC) following the values and principles defined by NFC of 2010 (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2016). Indeed, these values, principles and guidelines gave new impetus on EDC/HRE in Croatia and were used as the basis for the development of the CEC. To foster this process, the Government established in 2010 the Commission for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship Education, including representatives of state bodies, but also primary and secondary school teachers, experts from civil society organisations and members of academic and professional communities. The Commission, created as an advisory body promoting education for human rights and democratic citizenship at all levels of the educational system and in all forms, from formal to informal education, received the task of giving guidelines for creating a new programme for citizenship education.

“The starting point in the development of the CEC was an understanding that citizenship education should primarily be seen as an instrument used by schools to respond efficiently to a democratic society’s needs for a competent citizen. Consequently, the goals, objectives, contents and methods of the CEC were defined having in mind not only the research findings but in relation to what was understood as the key traits of a competent citizen, i.e., of a political subject who actively contributes to the democratic development of all the communities he/she is a member of by virtue of being emancipated, responsible and engaged. The CEC defines the communities to which the student belongs on three levels: (1) the immediate community (classroom, school and the local community); (2) the national community (the state), and (3) the European and global communities. The student is understood as the citizen, i.e., as the bearer of certain rights and responsibilities in each of these communities. Accordingly, the CEC aims at gradually preparing the student as an active and responsible citizen of the classroom, school and the local community (1st cycle: grades 1-4 of elementary school), the national community (2nd and 3rd cycles: grades 5-6 and grades 7-8 of elementary school), and of both the European and global community (4th cycle: grades 1-2 of secondary school). (...) This means that, e.g., in the 1st cycle, the student acquires knowledge, develops skills and learns the values of personal dignity, human rights, equality and the rule of law; democratic decision-making and

governance; socially desirable behaviour, including team work, peaceful conflict resolution and solidarity; (inter)cultural (self)awareness, sensitivity and dialogue; socially responsible economy and entrepreneurship, consumer protection; sustainable development. Apart from defining the aims and objectives of learning for active citizenship in terms of achievable outcomes, the CEC also recommends a set of active methods of learning based on the principles of participation, interaction, problem-solving, inquiry and cooperation, as well as a set of approaches to the evaluation of learning outcomes based, primarily, on the principle of monitoring the process of learning. The CEC is meant to be integrated in school following four approaches: cross-curricular, extracurricular, research projects linking school and local community, and separate subject. The cross-curricular, extracurricular and the community research project approaches are obligatory from the first to the fourth cycle. In the 3rd cycle (grades 7-8 of elementary school) the CEC may also be introduced as an optional school subject, while in the 4th cycle (grades 1-2 of secondary school) it is expected to be a mandatory school subject. In addition, the CEC also envisages the possibility of learning active citizenship through the so-called thematic modules, such as The Foundations of Democracy, Gender Equality, Identity Development, Mediation and the International Humanitarian Law. The modules assist students to learn in more detail the specific topics of the CEC. Their implementation is optional in the 3rd and the 4th cycle. By advocating multiple approaches to learning active citizenship, the CEC is expected to contribute by serving not only as a means to students' empowerment but also as a basis for changing school culture, school management, and school-community relations." (European Union/Council of Europe, 2013).

The CEC defines student's learning outcomes for each educational cycle by intersecting two dimensions: functional and structural. The functional dimension encompasses three inter-dependent sub-dimensions: knowledge and understanding; skills and competences; values and attitudes. Those dimensions are singled out according to the 2010 Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (Council of Europe, 2010), as they are important for empowering citizens with readiness for active participation in civic, political, social, economic, legal and cultural sphere of society. Indeed, the structural dimension includes six sub-dimensions: human and legal rights, political, social, (inter)cultural, economic and environmental.

The draft version of the CEC was reviewed by a considerable number of teachers, scholars, civil society representatives, parents, and students. Different stakeholders – governmental, non-governmental,

parent associations, individuals, etc. participated in public discussions organised by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports. The new minister of the centre-left coalition that came to power in 2011 accepted the draft CEC and decided, in August 2012, on a two-year pilot implementation (namely school year 2012-13 and 2013-14). Furthermore, *“the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports introduced two new cross-curricular programs – health education and civic education. While health education sparked a series of public polemics and worldview clashes, the introduction of civic education passed unnoticed.”* (Šalaj, 2012).

The CEC was experimentally introduced in 12 schools (8 primary and 4 secondary schools) as a cross-curricular theme covered for one hour per school week, as well as a separate subject or extracurricular activity for certain age groups. Indeed, as already clarified above, the curriculum envisages the cross-curricular integration of civic education in the first six grades of primary school, while in grades seven and eight the cross-curricular model could be expanded through the introduction of a stand-alone optional school subject. Probably the most important part of the curriculum is the establishment of civic education as mandatory school subject in the first and second grade of high school, while in the third and fourth grade of high school it should be implemented through various research projects. Among the schools who experimentally introduced the CEC, half were selected by the Education and Teacher Training Agency (ETTA) and half by the Croatian Youth Network and its partners co-financed by the EU in the context of the Instruments for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) Project “Introducing the new era of Human Rights and Democracy in Croatian Schools”. Schools and teachers who piloted the new approach received guidance and support from engaged members of the academic community, as well as through the GOOD Initiative, a network of grassroots civil society organizations and experts advocating for the implementation of citizenship education programs in Croatia. *“This new path of citizenship education did not stir much political controversy and public polemics in the very beginning, but as its experimental implementation progressed, it kept gaining the support of various educational policy stakeholders, as well as the disapproval of those more conservative catholic religious groups, civil society organisations and political parties of the right. The latter groups were initially focused primarily on criticizing and questioning the need for a Health Education Curriculum that was introduced and implemented at the same time and in a similar way as the Curriculum for Citizenship Education. However, by the end of the pilot period of both of the curricula, those voices were advocating for a stronger curricular position of patriotic education and less emphasis on citizenship and*

health education and other educational dimensions promoting diversity, especially in relation to sexual orientation.” (Kekez et al., 2017). Therefore, the introduction of citizenship education created two antithetical blocks: on the one hand it was praised by progressive actors in Croatia and Europe, and on the other it was harshly criticised by Croatian religious groups and conservative organisations like Grozd (Parents’ Voices for Children) and political parties like Hrast (Croatian Growth) who were calling for patriotic and traditional values within the school curriculum.

The monitoring and evaluation of the CEC implementation has been carried out as a joint project by the National Centre for External Evaluation of Education, the Research and Training Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, the Education and Teacher Training Agency, the Croatian Youth Network, the Centre for Peace and Non-Violence and GONG. The evaluation report showed a number of positive outcomes, including that the CEC was accepted by many teachers and students as an innovative tool of learning “for life”, it has enhanced students’ self-awareness as citizens, increased their participation in decision-making in school, and strengthened their responsibility towards others, school and the local community, contributing to the democratization of school climate and school governance. Data also showed that the CEC has led to a better understanding of the role of school in developing active citizenship among teachers, and to their better cooperation in planning their teaching in this field. However, the evaluation pointed to a number of implementation weaknesses as well, especially regarding pupils’ knowledge and understanding of democracy, citizenship, cultural pluralism and the European integration, which were found to be related mainly to inadequate teachers’ preparation (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2016). Furthermore, differently from the majority of other European countries where civic education primarily encompasses the political and human rights dimension, the Croatian civic education curriculum was developed with a wider scope that includes also the social, (inter)cultural, economic and environmental dimension (a total of six dimensions). This seems, according to some scholars, an even too ambitious content that could present problems in further implementation phases. (Šalaj, 2012). But in any case all these data and findings gained through the monitoring and evaluation of the CEC implementation were unfortunately not used by the Ministry to inform public discussion and eventually make final curricular revisions. Instead, a new curricular reform process was launched. *“Monitoring and evaluation of the experimental implementation was supposed to ensure empirical data for the final edition of the Curriculum which was*

supposed to be revised by a professional working group, according to the results of the monitoring of experimental implementation. The proposal of that working group was published and a public hearing on it was held. However, the results of the public hearing were never published. Instead of that, the advisors from the Education and Teacher Training Agency on the orders of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports (MZOS) devised a new programme of citizenship education that implies exclusively intersubject implementation.” (Kovačić & Horvat, 2016).

5.1.4. Cross-curricular approach since 2014

Without any follow-up on the evaluation of the two-year pilot implementation of the CEC, the curriculum was formally rewritten as the Citizenship Education Programme for Primary and Secondary Schools (CEP). *“In the process of ‘e-consultations with the interested public’ opened by the Ministry in April 2014, CEP was attacked by the coalition of civil organisations who claimed to be the guardians of the family and national interests. They opposed CEP for its liberal orientation, especially for the introduction of, in the one hand, the notions of gender and gender equality and, in the other hand, of the European and global citizenship, and claimed that it violated the rights of parents to educate their children in accordance to their own values and worldviews. The minister who, in April 2014 already prepared a draft Decree on the progressive mandatory implementation of CEP from school year 2014/15 to 2016-17 as a cross-curricular theme for all levels and forms of education, and as a mandatory separate subject for the 6th to the 8th grade of elementary school and in the 1st and the 2nd grade of secondary school, suddenly left the office leaving the Decree unsigned.” (Spajić-Vrkaš, 2016).* In July 2014, due to political changes, the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports assigned a group experts and advisors from the Education and Teacher Training Agency to design a new citizenship education program and they developed the Program of Cross-Curricular and Interdisciplinary Content for Citizenship Education in Primary and Secondary Schools (PCICCE). This Program, introduced in the academic year 2014-15, was based on an interdisciplinary and cross-curricular model that acknowledges the fact that all school subjects require the development of specific skills and values that more or less contribute to the realisation of civic and citizenship education. Therefore, the curriculum was changed with no consultation and prescribed only cross-curricular implementation without expanding the contents, adequately preparing the educators or providing the necessary support (e.g.

methodology, class time, etc.) to achieve the goals that were set up. Recommendations from students, teachers and educators received during the experimental implementation were completely disregarded and not included in the new program, just like suggestions from experts and existing research results. Interestingly enough, *“(t)he program included none of the student and teacher suggestions from the previous experimental implementation phase, nor did it offer any new content connected to human rights, intercultural education or citizenship participation.”* (Kekez et al., 2017).

Always in 2014-15, the Croatian Parliament adopted a new Strategy for Education, Science and Technology³⁶ which included the so-called national Comprehensive Curricular Reform targeting the whole educational system and pushing for a curriculum-based approach focused on both content and student achievement. Several expert working groups were identified to lead the curricular reform through a participatory process in cooperation with all stakeholders. These working groups designed the overall framework and a range of new national curricula for different levels and types of education. Moreover, seven curricula for cross-curricular topics were created, namely learning how to learn, entrepreneurial skills, personal and social development, health, sustainable development, the use of ICT, and citizenship education. This draft citizenship education curriculum developed as a cross-curricular theme was made public in February 2016 and was expected to commence in the school year 2016-17, with full implementation to start in 2017-18. However, further political changes occurred including the conservative coalition government elected in November 2015 who began to categorise the reform process as overly ideologically driven. As a result, the reform process was stopped and highly politicized, and the implementation was significantly delayed with no working group of experts professionally dealing with the issue. This scenario provoked anger and a loss of trust at all levels of society. *“Such a course of events triggered a wide public outcry and the second most massive citizens protest in the past 25 years. Under the motto ‘Croatia can do better!’, an estimated 50,000 Croatians gathered on Zagreb’s main square on 1 June 2016, as well as in other towns and cities in Croatia outside of the capital to protest against political interference in the long-needed educational reforms in the country. The protest was initiated by the GOOD Initiative and supported by over 300 groups including civil society organizations, unions, sports clubs, and local parents’ organizations. ‘Croatia can do better!’ had a simple message: to make education a priority for this country. Despite the size and messages*

³⁶ See for more information: <https://rio.jrc.ec.europa.eu/en/library/strategy-education-science-and-technology>. Date: 25 March 2019.

of the protest, citizens' demands and the curricular reform were overshadowed by new internal political crises in the months to follow, culminating in the early elections in September 2016, bringing into power the same conservative coalition but with a changed leadership. The new government announced its plan to continue with the comprehensive curricular reform, but has appointed new members to the leading expert group, some of which have already publicly expressed attitudes against the need for such a reform—or have only been advocating the need to reform towards a more STEM oriented curriculum. (Kekez et al., 2017).

Indeed, already in May 2016, the parliamentary committee on Education called for the reform documents to be reworked to give more weight to the STEM disciplines (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics). The year 2017 started with the already well-known chaotic situation and political impasse, therefore the GOOD Initiative and the whole “Croatia can do better!” movement decided to organise another protest on 1 June to mark the anniversary of the 2016 demonstration and to protest against the apparent lack of political will to continue the reform as originally intended. Also this time thousands of people (approximately 25,000) took to the streets and Zagreb had its second massive demonstration for education in just twelve months. Days after this second protest, the prime minister named university professor Blaženka Divjak new minister of Education. She had participated in the protest the week before and had publicly supported the curricular reform, therefore there were high expectations that she would have put the reform back on track. However, the new minister opened yet another national and international review phase of all the curricular reform documents except for the one on Informatics, which she announced would be introduced as a compulsory subject from the 2018-19 academic year. In February 2018, the new minister said the curricular reform, now named “School For Life”, would start to be experimentally implemented in some schools in September. *“The Ministry of Science and Education published the Public call for applications for the experimental program School for life (‘Škola za život’) with the deadline set on 15th March 2018. The subject and the aim of the call is to select up to 80 schools (primary and secondary education), which will then join the experimental implementation of the program in the school year 2018/2019. The experimental program will be implemented in first and fifth grade in all teaching subjects, while in the seventh grade only the following subjects will be included: Biology, Chemistry and Physics. In secondary education, the experimental program will be implemented in the first grade of general education*

*(gimnazije) in all subjects.*³⁷ However, as it became clear when the budget for 2018 was presented, most of the money for the reform was allocated to buying IT equipment for Informatics, and it remained unclear how the government expected to pay for teacher training, or even the content of this training, as the curriculum documents were still undergoing national and international reviews and might be subject to changes. By June 2018, there was still uncertainty on what parts of the reform would be implemented and how. At this stage, the GOOD Initiative and the whole “Croatia can do better!” movement decided not to organise a third protest as they were extremely frustrated and unmotivated. By 3 September 2018, when the school year began in Croatia with the new Informatics curriculum and the experimental implementation of “School For Life”, laptops, tablets and some textbooks were still missing from schools after problems with the public tenders, and teachers complained about lack of training and materials, as reported by mainstream and specialised Croatian media. Then, in mid-November the Ministry of Education launched yet another public consultation of the curricular documents, expected to last until mid-January 2019. New working groups were formed to follow up on the public’s comments and to finalise the reformed curriculum documents during early 2019. In the case of History, already one of the most politically charged subjects along with civic education and health and sex education, new working group members came from right-wing nationalistic political parties and backgrounds, which critics feared could result in a politically biased curriculum.³⁸ Another signal of the shift of the curriculum pushed by the current minister towards more STEM disciplines, and particularly Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), is the establishment of a system for developing digitally mature schools. *“The e-Schools programme is carried out through several projects aimed at introducing ICT into the school system and raising the level of digital literacy. Schools included in the pilot project (151 schools) are equipped with a presentation classroom and an interactive classroom. Teachers of natural sciences (chemistry, physics and biology) and mathematics were given hybrid computers, the rest of the teaching staff got tablets and the professional associates got laptops. One of the key activities of the project is the systematic introduction of the ICT into the school learning environment and the development of digital educational content. The objective of the project is the integration of the modern learning and teaching methods into the educational process. The implementation of the second phase of the project is planned in the 2019-2022 period and it will be based on the results of the pilot project. In the second phase,*

³⁷ Retrieved from: https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/national-reforms-school-education-11_en. Date: 19 March 2019.

³⁸ Retrieved and adapted from: <http://politicalcritique.org/cee/2019/croatias-education-reform/#>. Date: 19 March 2019.

it is planned that all schools in Croatia are included in the project.”³⁹ While these efforts are surely commendable, according to many involved in the curricular reform and related protests this focus on STEM/ICTs is limited and has completely lost the ambitious vision from which the whole process was originally started.

5.2. ICCS 2016: Croatia

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016 was already explained in the previous chapter (section 4.5.) where I detailed the structure, contents and objectives of this study. It is now time to look more specifically at national results based on data coming from the international report of ICCS 2016 (Schulz et. al., 2017). This analysis, together with the literature review on citizenship education (chapter 1) and human rights education (chapter 2), the study of relevant international and regional standards (chapter 3) and the examination of Croatian national context detailed above in this chapter are all meant to contribute to the first step established by Zimenkova & Hedtke (2008) for an analysis using the talk-and-action approach. Indeed, they suggest to start from “*Description of the institutional frame of a system of citizenship education*” which includes background information on the formal institutional structure of organised citizenship education in a country. Through a secondary analysis of ICCS 2016 and selected data relevant to my research topic, I identified several interesting findings on civic and citizenship education in Croatia that were used to frame my interview questions (see Appendix A for a comprehensive overview on data and questions). This analysis aimed to highlight Croatian results compared to the international average set by ICCS 2016. As I will show below, these results allowed me to open up the discussion with people I interviewed and grasp useful information for developing my research.

First of all, it is important to highlight that Croatia took part in ICCS 2016 with 176 schools, 3896 students and 2723 teachers. The civic knowledge average score of the ICCS 2016 countries was 517 scale points and Croatian students scored 531 (achievement significantly higher than international average). This was already quite surprising for the majority of people I interviewed as they were expecting lower results considering that several researches showed that Croatian students have very poor civic competences and political literacy.

³⁹ Retrieved from: https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/national-reforms-school-education-11_en. Date: 19 March 2019.

Regarding the *level of autonomy of schools in curriculum planning*, Croatian results are somehow intriguing as the national context survey (compiled by national research centres) shows that schools have a lower degree of autonomy in curriculum planning but, according to school questionnaire (compiled by principals), schools' autonomy in planning civic and citizenship education scores more than 10 percentage points above ICCS 2016 average (see question 12 of Appendix A). Based on my interview findings, it seems that this discrepancy could be explained by the fact that the framework is given, meaning that the latest document of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports prescribes the cross-curricular implementation of citizenship education – and this is obligatory. However, since everything remains quite undefined and unclear, schools can plan the content and activities of citizenship education, resulting in a multitude of different practices ranging from excellent experiences led by motivated teachers to schools that are not doing anything as there is no monitoring.

“Teachers usually complain, and principals as well, that they do lack guidance from the Ministry and Agencies, and they sometimes complain or feel that they are left alone to implement something which was supposed to be integrated in all the teaching but at the same time not giving any instruction on how to do it. They do have program but the program leaves so many things unanswered. And due to that, when it comes to implementation, it is teachers and principals who are going to actually make the policy, so they become the creators. (...) Some of them don't, some of them are very practical, some of them are very reactive bringing so many different values, so it's very big difference what's happening. And then some of them seek for help from civil society organisations in their community so they have very progressive extra-curricular activities, some don't, some have debates, some don't, you know.”

(Interview transcript – Anka Kekez Koštro, 3 May 2018)

“schools have autonomy to plan their school curriculum. So they can put in their school curriculum every kind of project they want and that school curriculum has to be accepted by the school board and then by the Ministry of education. But I am not sure that the Ministry of Education has enough time to read all of them you know, so they approve actually everything. So it is very hard to track and, of course, there is no evaluation of the implementation of the school curriculum (...) And what is usually going on is that they copy-paste from year to year, they copy-paste the document and if they do something good nobody is controlling, stuff like that. So if we are talking about that kind of autonomy, that you can put in the school curriculum whatever you want and that nobody really cares, did you implement it and nobody evaluates, nobody asks you for results, then yes, they have autonomy.”

(Interview transcript – Eli Pijaca Plavšić, 11 April 2018)

Another area investigated by ICCS 2016 concerns specific *learning objectives for civic and citizenship education* and Croatian national context survey indicated that all of them are covered within the curriculum (see question 13 of Appendix A). However, based on my interviews, it seems that those learning objectives might be written in some documents but the actual practice of schools in general does not include of all them – it does actually prioritize developing a sense of national identity and allegiance.

Regarding the *aims of civic and citizenship education*, the ICCS 2016 survey asked both principals and teachers to select from a list of items what they considered to be the three most important ones. Combining both principals' and teachers' responses, Croatia scores significantly below ICCS 2016 average on items related to the political component of citizenship education, such as promoting knowledge of social, political, and civic institutions, and preparing students for future political engagement (see question 14 of Appendix A). This is also confirmed in my interviews where people underlined that everything that is related to the environment and conflict resolution is quite well developed and covered by citizenship education, but not the other aims.

“I know that according to our research results most of the teachers were doing the dimension of resolving conflict, this is the one which scored the greatest improvement because NGOs were doing even before citizenship education a lot of non-conflict workshops for teachers so I think it is connected with that, we are mostly doing that. And I know that teachers are doing very little on political participation or participation in decision-making because they don't feel comfortable, they don't understand that and they feel it far so they don't do that.”

(Interview transcript – Monika Pažur, 5 April 2018)

ICCS 2016 also distinguished between *conventional and social-movement-related citizenship* and asked students to rate whether these are important according to a list of items that have been used to derive a scale. Croatian students perceive that both conventional and social-movement-related citizenship are important, scoring significantly above ICCS 2016 average (see question 15 of Appendix A). Both conventional and social-movement-related are forms of active citizenship, opposed to more passive citizenship elements such as national identity, patriotism and loyalty. The results of Croatian students were not expected by the majority of my interviewees, as they believe that there is a tendency towards passive citizenship in schools. However, they highlighted that some items of active citizenship are definitely more promoted than others: for example, within conventional citizenship, they stressed learning about the country's history, and for social-movement-related citizenship, they underlined participating in activities to benefit people in the local community and to protect the environment.

“I think that we are doing more of a passive approach. (...) I stressed out two goals, I know that for example in conventional citizenship, c) learning about the country's history... schools are leaning heavily on that, in most parts of the country, and... in this social-movement-related citizenship I stressed out b) participating in activities to benefit people in the local community... (...) Now I saw the item on the protection of the environment, this is also very high on the school list... anything above that, no. So it's a mixture of... we just pick and choose what we like and it's not really grounded in theory, it's more of a convenience I would believe...”

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

Conflicting scores emerged from the ICCS 2016 attempt to measure students' endorsement of gender equality and of equal rights for all ethnic and racial groups. Indeed, while Croatian students scored significantly above the ICCS 2016 average regarding positive attitudes toward gender equality (see question 16 of Appendix A), they scored significantly below the international average regarding their endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups in society (see question 17 of Appendix A). My interview findings show that there are several interesting explanations to these results. First, *gender equality*, or better equality between men and women, has been developed as a topic by both government and civil society through various activities for a long time now, therefore contributing to the increase of people's awareness. However, this does not mean that students really understand what gender equality entails or that they are able to translate it practically in their daily lives, families, communities and society.

"I don't think that they understand what gender equality means. And that's the product of this citizenship education. They are saying okay, so men and women are equal, however they don't go any further from that. So basically what they know is that they are supposed to say that men and women are equal, however what that means basically it doesn't mean, because Croatia is very machist and very patriarchal society with quite severe problems of domestic violence, so I would say that gender equality is just anti-significant, it doesn't mean much."

(Interview transcript – Marko Kovačić, 12 April 2018)

Second, regarding Croatian students' low endorsement of *equality for all ethnic/racial groups*, it seems from my interviews that this is very much connected to the history and the past of the country, the war and reconciliation processes, the fact that Croatia is a homogeneous society and a still relatively recent democracy. Furthermore, it emerged that challenges and tensions are perceived not against all ethnic/racial minorities, for example there is no problem with the West Italian minority, but the aversion is directed toward specific groups that include Serbians, Bosnians, Muslims and Roma people.

"it could be connected with this war and the problem of reconciliation okay, it could be connected with this. I know this problem with modern Croatian history that we still have discussion about conflict between Croats and Serbs in Bosnia, between Muslims and Serbs you know, and is still lived as a ghost in the society"

(Interview transcript – Darko Tot, 5 April 2018)

"It could be linked to minorities, like Roma minority, you probably know that is the great problem and people are really negative toward that minority, especially in the communities where they have Roma people. (...) I think it's just that our democracy is still young and we are so far from this ethnic and racial groups integration."

(Interview transcript – Monika Pažur, 5 April 2018)

"the war was with our neighbours and with people who actually live in countries closed by meaning that even now there is a huge social distance when you have a general population survey and people express with Serbs citizens or ethnicity of Serbians, Bosnians, or Muslims"

(...) On the other hand it's a quite homogenous society, meaning up until last year there was no migration crisis in Croatia at all, there was no migrants in Croatia, we have like several asylum seekers, it only recently became an issue... so the society is quite homogenous ethnically-wise meaning that they are not accustomed to other races (...) this is a sensitive issue in Croatia, the burns/scars from the war are still quite there, people who have been living through the war are parents of children who are going to the school, so it is still quite an issue to be dealt with. It is the core problem that kind of brings in, I would say, the whole division in society out. The problem is how to deal with our neighbours and how to live together”.

(Interview transcript – Anka Kekez Koštro, 3 May 2018)

Also in terms of *school contexts for civic and citizenship education*, Croatian students showed relatively negative results scoring below the ICCS 2016 average on students' perceptions of student-teacher relations at school and above the international average on students' experiences of physical and verbal abuse at school (see question 18 of Appendix A). While my interviews confirmed that student-teacher relationships remain problematic, especially due to authoritarian and hierarchical practices, as well as no means for ensuring effective participation of students in schools, the fact that Croatian students' experience of verbal or physical bullying is above the ICCS 2016 average was unforeseen as both government and civil society developed numerous projects over the years to increase schools' awareness and sensitivity on this issue.

“I don't know if I entered one school that didn't have a golden plate on the door, it was a zero violence tolerance in school, I think that schools are really trying to do something with that, you have school rules, you have classroom rules, in every classroom you have ten rules like don't yell, don't fight and so on... (...) I know that we are above the average but if you look percentage per percentage these are... I would call them, isolated experiences, I don't feel happy that even 10, 5 or 3, I don't know, even 1% is experiencing it but as you can remember the school life, is it possible to go to ground zero?”

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

The ICCS 2016 school and teacher questionnaires further investigated *students' opportunities to participate in activities carried out in the local community* but organized by the school in cooperation with external groups or organizations. Combining both principals' and teachers' responses, Croatia scores significantly above ICCS 2016 average on activities related to environment, human rights and cultural heritage, while more than 10 percentage points below ICCS 2016 average on campaigns to raise people's awareness (see question 19 of Appendix A). My interview findings show that this kind of activities in the local community are quite widely carried out by schools in Croatia, either through extracurricular activities led by NGOs, the continuation of previously initiated projects or service learning. However, the main critical point is that these activities seem to focus on a limited number of “light” issues considered not to be controversial or political, such as for example cultural heritage, environment (i.e. garbage, recycling, school

garden), help elderly people and poor children, collect money for Africa. These are of course commendable activities but the risk is to avoid and deliberately leave aside other important topics, maybe more challenging and disputable in society, that should be tackled as part of citizenship education (e.g. sex and gender, political issues, etc.).

“(teachers) are focused on these light issues: consumer rights, non-violent conflict resolution, about... heritage, environment, about humanitarian aid.”

(Interview transcript – Mario Bajkuša, 9 May 2018)

“for instance they are mentioning poverty and they say yes, children in Africa are poor and there is this action here, we can collect money for them, and that’s pretty much it, only humanitarian part, you know... so not actually learning and thinking more about Africa, about different aspects of life in Africa, about different situations with different countries, and inside of different countries with poverty in Africa”.

(Interview transcript – Martina Horvat, 15 May 2018)

“when you enter schools and ask teachers what they are doing, they are doing like how to eat healthy, how to have a school garden, how to collect the garbage, you know (...) recycling and stuff like that (...) I mean it’s important but for example we don’t have any content about sexual education”.

(Interview transcript – Eli Pijaca Plavšić, 11 April 2018)

Concerning *teaching methods for civic and citizenship education*, the ICCS 2016 teacher questionnaire asked teachers who were teaching subjects labelled at the national level as “civic and citizenship education” how often they use specific teaching methods during their lessons and Croatia scored significantly below ICCS 2016 average on almost all of the items (see question 20 of Appendix A). Similarly, Croatian results concerning *teacher preparation on civic- and citizenship-related topics and skills* based on ICCS 2016 teacher questionnaire are very low with scores significantly below the international average for almost all of the domains, including human rights (see question 21 of Appendix A). The majority of my interviewees confirmed that in Croatian schools there is still a lot of frontal lectures and students take notes, therefore a more passive transmission approach. However, there is increasing attention at all levels (Ministry, national agencies, schools) to more participatory and interactive methodologies, especially working on projects and in small groups. Unfortunately, teachers who are using these methodologies are still a minority and constitute progressive exceptions to the broader traditional and conservative national trend. While people expressed a sort of sympathy toward teachers, as they have a tough job that is often undervalued and they do not receive an adequate support either at the university level when they study to become teachers or at the level of in-service teacher training, there was a general sad acknowledgement

among my interviewees that Croatian schools are still far from implementing critical pedagogy (active student participation, critical thinking, questioning power relationships and taking action against oppression, discrimination and injustice).

“that is the largest deficit of the national education system that doesn’t teach children to critically think. Teachers in Croatia are unfortunately still very old fashioned, frontal teaching not interactive, not inclusive, not interesting or dynamic...”

(Interview transcript – Lana Golob, 18 May 2018)

“you have a situation in Croatia in which there is so much to be done on the level of teacher training (...) to make sure that teachers are taught well so they have good enough skills when they come to the schools.”

(Interview transcript – Anka Kekez Koštro, 3 May 2018)

5.3. Research findings and analysis

In the previous section I already started to give an insight into some of my interview findings but in the following subparagraphs I will go deeper and analyse more specifically the five different categories of stakeholders I identified in my research following the talk-and-action approach. Thus, this section allows not only to address the main research question, i.e. the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education, but deals also with the following aspects that might be considered as research sub-questions:

- identify the differentiated picture of CE actors as seen by the actors themselves, including their beliefs, conceptions and perceptions;
- better understand the complex systems and environments of citizenship education focusing on multiple key actors at stake;
- discover (inconsistent) demands and central tensions of citizenship education related to human rights and how these are perceived by the selected actor;
- analyse the reactions of each respective actor to the demands previously assessed, pushing for a thorough differentiation between talk, decision and action.

Indeed, as already explained in my methodology (chapter 4), the premise of this research is that citizenship education does not happen in a vacuum but it is situated and developed in a tension field of diverse and contradicting demands to which various actors, each of them with specific ideas and interests, have to respond simultaneously. Therefore, adopting a multi-level actor-centred approach seems necessary to capture

the characteristic diversity and inconsistency of citizenship education and tracing its non-linear, intricate development emerging from a multitude of actors, approaches and concepts, expectations and demands, interpretations and (re-)actions. As already clarified before, I decided to focus on five actors, namely ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society. For each of these actors I will now try to identify tensions and demands with which they are confronted, as well as their types of reactions to these pressures differentiating between talk, decision and action. This will allow me to design a conceptual map at the end of each subparagraph that represents the differentiated picture of citizenship education as seen by the actors themselves, including their beliefs, conceptions and perceptions. This process corresponds to the last two steps of the methodology developed by Zimenkova & Hedtke (2008): *“Identification of demands addressed to, and perceived by, CE actors”* and *“Description of reactions and differentiation between types of reactions”*.

5.3.1. Ministry of Science, Education and Sports

As it was widely discussed in the first part of this chapter, Croatia has a relatively recent democratic history (UN ceasefire in 1995 and accession to the EU in 2013). The country has also undergone a number of political changes and several reforms over the last 20-25 years, including in the educational system. Therefore, the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports has been subject to challenging pressures and demands. Citizenship education, together with health and sex education, was and is still nowadays specifically under the spotlight. The topic became a highly political issue, creating a harsh polarisation between those in favour of and those totally against citizenship education: the first group comprises progressive actors in Croatia and Europe, including various educational policy stakeholders, and more liberal organisations; the second includes Croatian Catholic Church and religious groups, as well as conservative organisations and political parties of the right. This opposition has deeply shaped national politics (DEMAND 1) and has led the Ministry to produce inconsistent and often conflicting responses, ending with the current situation in which, at the policy level, citizenship education is based on an interdisciplinary and cross-curricular model. Furthermore, citizenship education is part of the national Comprehensive Curricular Reform (started in 2014 and still ongoing) in which it is developed as one of the seven curricula for cross-curricular implementation. The Ministry, however, has decided to focus almost exclusively on STEM

disciplines and ICTs, with the introduction of Informatics as a compulsory subject from school year 2018-19, and to allocate money to buy IT equipment for digitalising schools. This has been highly criticised by civil society actors and NGOs, as we saw in section 5.1.4. above, who wanted the Croatian government to make education a priority and protested against political interference in the long-needed educational reform (DEMAND 2). While discursively the Ministry continued to support the reform, with the change of Minister after the 2017 protest it became clear that citizenship education was once again put aside to focus on other priorities within the newly named curricular reform “School For Life”, especially STEM, ICTs and the establishment of a system for developing digitally mature schools. This situation has led to an often confusing understanding of what citizenship education entails in terms of content, and it becomes also very difficult to single out its relation to human rights.

“When we are talking about citizenship education we have different views, it is very hard to find consensus about this in Croatian society, it is always debate, the question of values, and blah, blah, if we are talking about citizenship education and human rights. Citizenship education is for me a generic term which includes different kind of aspects, I personally believe that human rights is a part of citizenship education, and citizenship education now is a spectrum of issues, it is related to media literacy, financial literacy, human rights, multiculturalism, tolerance, respect for diversity, interreligious dialogue, you know... so in my point of view citizenship education is a generic term and human rights, which are part of citizenship education, is also a generic term for something, human rights of women, migrants, children with disabilities, also there is a spectrum of issues related to human rights.”

(Interview transcript – Darko Tot, 5 April 2018)

From the analysis of international and regional standards I conducted in chapter 3, it emerged that various organisations, all within a common framework of quality education, present different nuances regarding citizenship education and human rights: HRE at the UN level, citizenship education within EU institutions and a blended EDC/HRE approach for the Council of Europe (DEMAND 3). The Ministry has produced different reactions over the years following international and regional pressures and specifically it has: implemented a strong focus on HRE in the National Program of 1999 in response to the UN Decade for HRE (1995-2004); included EDC/HRE by the beginning of 2000 in all major laws and strategic papers on education, as well as in national policies, plans and action programmes in other related sectors, such as youth development and human rights protection; shifted to a system based on competence and student achievement (learning outcomes) in the NFC of 2010 following EU Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning (2006); singled out the functional dimensions of the CEC (2010-2014) according to the 2010 Council of Europe Charter on EDC/HRE, namely knowledge and understanding, skills and competences,

values and attitudes. Therefore, the variety of stimuli coming from international/regional politics seems to become an even more complicated puzzle at the national level.

“I think it depends on how you see citizenship education and human rights education, according to let’s say some strategies, strategic documents, guidelines debating in EU countries, there is a lot of space for improvement for citizenship education in Croatia. If we are talking about citizenship education in Europe and if we are talking about the documents, what the EU is promoting, there is a lot of space for improvement of citizenship education in Croatia, as well as for human rights, because... you know this concept of global education, now we have lots of concepts and it is very hard to find where is the border, for example in global education we have environment, sustainable development, very broad concepts. Also we can see that it is more or less the same situation with citizenship education.”

(Interview transcript – Darko Tot, 5 April 2018)

My research findings show that there are often clashes between the central level of the Ministry and local school level of principals and teachers. In fact, they seem to express a need for and an expectation to receive guidelines, training and support from the Ministry that has to find a delicate balance between guidance/control and autonomy (DEMAND 4). More precisely, the Ministry responds by giving permission to schools to implement various projects and this is considered to be a sort of infrastructure that the Ministry provides within which schools can exercise their autonomy.

“This is not a question about citizenship education but it is the paradigm of teachers in Croatian system, okay, principals and everybody. They would like to receive everything from the Ministry, permission you know, guidelines, everything, okay. My approach is that schools must have full autonomy and the Ministry should provide infrastructure (...) teachers and principals in schools have the feeling that the Education and Teacher Training Agency and the Ministry are controlling institutions, you know. They need to have the feeling to be safe, in a professional sense, and they are not ready to take responsibility and it is easier and better to ask for permission. For example if you have some kind of problem, they would say oh we received permission from the Ministry.”

(Interview transcript – Darko Tot, 5 April 2018)

This also goes hand in hand with the structure of the educational system that hardly fits the content and purpose of citizenship education.

“the education system is a very structured system okay and more or less in the school you are coming for a grade and after that you have evaluation, and the problem is how can we evaluate and grade citizenship education? Because it is connected with values, opinions, how can we measure for example tolerance? How can we measure understanding? How can we measure for example multiculturalism? This is the problem, how to evaluate, putting the scores/grades.”

(Interview transcript – Darko Tot, 5 April 2018)

While it is widely acknowledged that teachers play a crucial role, there are some challenges when it comes to citizenship education. Since it is a cross-curricular theme, it seems to become a no one’s

responsibility and competence. This results into very diverse practices according to different schools and different teachers, with no systematic approach and a very patchy implementation.

“how to equip teachers, who are more or less in Croatia subject-oriented, you know we have Croatian language, foreign language, math, science, you know, it is very easy to say that we will implement citizenship education as cross-curricular approach okay, it gives you a lot but it is very hard to find evidence-based... what is really going on in the schools. (...) you will have evidence from one side and from another side... in some cases they would say oh in my school we are promoting EU values, universal values, okay, in some other schools they would say no, we don't teach this”.

(Interview transcript – Darko Tot, 5 April 2018)

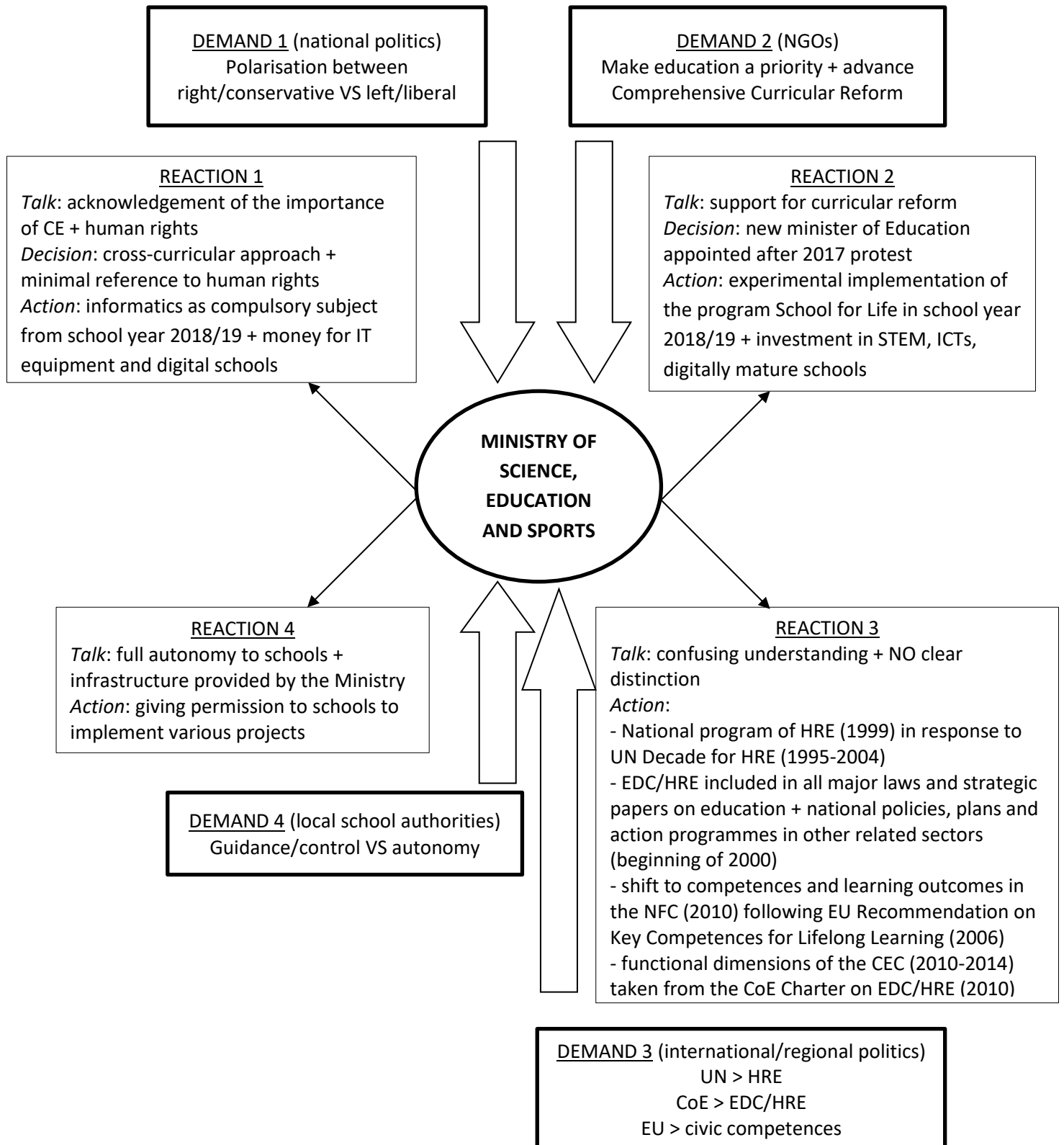
Furthermore, schools can request permission to the Ministry to implement citizenship education as a separate subject and it seems to be a very informal process without any kind of monitoring or control.

“I am giving permission to the school so that they can organize citizenship education. There is no, how to say, limit. Nobody cares in the Ministry that we will count how many teachers, we are giving permission without any doubts, without any problems. It's enough that they say we would like to implement citizenship education as a facultative... and you know somebody says that the Ministry is against citizenship education, but we are not, okay, if they send me a request we agree and that's it. (...) here is not the question of permission for citizenship education as a subject okay, it is permission for teachers to get extra hours for this, you know, this is the key, when I give permission for citizenship education teachers have two hours in their program (they have to have 22, 24...). Sometimes some teachers, they don't have enough hours and they ask me okay, I see the reason but I don't care, I give permission for citizenship education.”

(Interview transcript – Darko Tot, 5 April 2018)

Based on my analysis, I therefore identified four main levels of demands and in the following conceptual map I tried to summarise how the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports reacted to them using the talk-and-action approach as described in my methodology.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: MINISTRY – CROATIA



5.3.2. National agencies

Croatian education system is centrally managed by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports but several national public bodies are also involved in the regulation, development and quality control of the educational sector in Croatia. I grouped these actors as national agencies, even though they are of course very diverse in terms of structure, organization, objectives and activities. I interviewed more specifically two representatives of national agencies, namely the Education and Teacher Training Agency⁴⁰ and the National Centre for External Evaluation of Education⁴¹. The first one provides professional and advisory support and assistance in the area of general education in Croatia, and I talked to the person responsible for teacher training in the field of human rights and democratic citizenship education, as well as the development of related curricula and teaching materials at all levels of primary and secondary schools. Within the National Centre for External Evaluation of Education, institution dealing with assessment, monitoring and evaluation in primary and secondary education, I interviewed the person responsible for international large-scale assessments, therefore the one in charge of coordinating also ICCS 2016 as national research coordinator in Croatia. While these national agencies have a mission to work independently, they are nonetheless positioned within the system and thus often subject to political influence through the way they are funded and people who are working there. The Ministry of Science, Education and Sports, as highlighted before, has put in place various measures over the years with regard to citizenship education and these national agencies had to align each time with the centrally set position, lastly the cross-curricular approach (DEMAND 1).

“We send every year letters to the school principals signed by the Deputy Minister and this letter is published on our webpage, it is suggested what kind of methods to use in their teaching, how to implement the cross-curricular approach, how to show that it is implemented.”

(Interview transcript – Nevenka Lončarić Jelačić, 6 April 2018)

However, despite the direction of the Ministry that has to be embraced by national agencies, they also have to adapt to schools and teachers at local level that manifest a variety of different situations, requests and needs. This poses challenges at all levels, including assessment and evaluation, as each case is different and comes from a different path. For example, when I asked about the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education, I received confirmation that the focus on human rights was particularly stressed during the peace building process after the war and as part of a broader

⁴⁰ See for more information: https://www.azoo.hr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1999&Itemid=343. Date: 30 March 2019.

⁴¹ See for more information: <https://www.ncvvo.hr/>. Date: 30 March 2019.

humanitarian response, then the concept of citizenship education became stronger and human rights were included into that, impacting on both political discourse and policy interventions. There might be schools and teachers, however, still working under those human rights programmes.

“so because these programmes existed before I supposed that somewhere, in schools and in local communities, these programmes are still moving on their own, human rights programmes, like in Eastern part of the country, which is especially concerned with minority issues (...) so probably I am sure that in some communities these projects are still driving on their own. In the school system (human rights) are envisioned as a part of civic education, in former curriculum it was one of the six sub-themes, and now in the new proposal for inter-curricular subject is one of the three main issues (...) human rights first dimension, democracy second and civil society third.”

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

Another example of these multifaceted practices is that there are still schools in Croatia, all over the country, that are implementing citizenship education as a separate subject because they started experimentally in 2014.

“because nobody is saying to them don’t do it anymore and nobody is saying you must do it, it’s like up to them. So they felt from 33 schools on the list, 31 started in 2014-2015 school year, and then next year it was 23 of them, the next year was 21 of them, and I didn’t ask for this year. (...) only those schools who signed in the beginning are still granted to do it, nobody is forbidding it, but they are getting less and less in these numbers.”

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

Similarly, back in 1997 the Education and Teacher Training Agency started to develop teacher materials and to translate publications for teachers and students with the support of the Centre for Civic Education⁴², California.

“They had one department for international cooperation and I was there every year since 1997 for twenty days per year to learn with their teachers, to learn from their experience in schools and in this Centre for Civic Education what they had there for democratic citizenship education, or civic education, their term is civic education. (...) Their Ministry of Education and their Parliament gave some amount of money to the Centre for Civic Education for international cooperation and we received about 7 thousands USD per year or 10 thousands USD per year and with this money we translated and adapted teacher guides for our students. And this is a very important project called Project Citizen”.

(Interview transcript – Nevenka Lončarić Jelačić, 6 April 2018)

Therefore, Project Citizen⁴³ began even before the National Program of HRE of 1999 and it was an attempt to compensate the lack of EDC/HRE knowledge and experience available in Croatia at that time. Project Citizen is based on active learning on social problems. Students, guided by teachers, work cooperatively to identify a problem that they feel it is important in their community. They then explore and

⁴² See for more information: <http://www.civiced.org/>. Date: 30 March 2019.

⁴³ See for more information: <http://www.civiced.org/programs/project-citizen>. Date: 30 March 2019.

research the problem, usually in small groups, evaluate alternative solutions, including strengths and weaknesses for each solution, and finally develop their own policy to solve the issue. After this process, teachers help students to reach out to local/national authorities in order to propose their solution. At the end of the project, participants develop a portfolio of their work and present it during a public event called showcase, either locally, regionally or nationally. While the Centre for Civic Education does no longer finance Croatia as part of their international cooperation, Project Citizen is still going on, supported and coordinated by the Education and Teacher Training Agency. Therefore, national agencies have also to adapt their support to the situations, requests and needs of these schools and teachers, while simultaneously providing a necessary different kind of support to those who are implementing the topic as a separate subject and those who are using the cross-curricular approach. According to the Education and Teacher Training Agency, Project Citizen is widely considered a success in the country.

“Until today we have had more than sixty projects per year on a national level, this year we had sixty, last year we had seventy-eight without pre-schools because they have their own national showcase and they have more than hundred projects per year. For pre-school of course it is adapted for small children that they also develop some projects in pre-school education and they are separate because it would be too big to have in one place... at the beginning it was together, the first national showcase we had just four projects in 1997. (...) this is the story about Project Citizen. It is one method for civic and citizenship education which is very highly and strongly supported by us, by the Education and Teacher Training Agency. We trained the teachers regionally, teacher coordinators who are able to train other teachers to use this method.”

(Interview transcript – Nevenka Lončarić Jelačić, 6 April 2018)

However, this brings us back to the patchy implementation of citizenship education in Croatia that seems already a central feature and implies that the work of national agencies becomes extremely complicated. How to provide support to such a variety of schools and teachers who are dealing with citizenship education and human rights in so many different ways? How to externally evaluate their activities? With what kind of tools?

“you either have the school who is doing it in lots of ways or they are not doing it at all and no document will force them because they first have to learn how to do it, so first they have to want to know how to do it and then trainings are available, and materials are available, now they will have a new curriculum so...”

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

As a result of this patchy implementation, national agencies are confronted with several challenges as they have to adapt their work and provide responses to multiple demands. Furthermore, similarly to what I already highlighted for the Ministry, they need to find a delicate balance between guidance/control and

autonomy with regard to local school authorities (DEMAND 2). Indeed, teachers and principals expect to receive support from national agencies but, at the same time, do not want to be too strictly bounded by them.

“I saw this in lots of experimental programmes, if everything is prescribed and they have to do this and you control them, the reaction would be it’s bad, I don’t feel, I don’t agree with it, I have my freedom, they complaint... and then if you have it very open, liberating, the reaction is you didn’t prescribe anything, I don’t know the outcomes, what should I do, I am so afraid now, I am not touching this, you should prescribe it. So it goes both ways... if you force something it’s very offensive to their value system, if you keep it liberated then it’s more extra-work for them to plan it and organise it and then you are not paying me to organise everything by myself, it’s not my job”.

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

Both representatives of national agencies I interviewed expressed the need to leave autonomy to schools, on the one hand, but also to have results and show evidence, on the other. Therefore, setting minimum criteria and quality standards seems necessary in order to then monitor, assess and evaluate citizenship education in schools. They also stressed the importance of providing follow-up actions if schools and teachers are not meeting the requirements. The two agencies have already started a quite structured dialogue on how to conduct regular external evaluation of the current cross-curricular program in all Croatian schools. This is a decision they already took and that they aim to put into practice in the next following years.

“we need to prepare external evaluation for every school and this is next step, because if you have an open concept as it is based on cross-curricular implementation and with lot of autonomy of teachers that they can choose what they will implement, you need to have evidence on results, and we will provide this evidence through external evaluation, we have a National Agency for External Evaluation in Education, I already had meetings regarding this research and systematic research of students in the field of this implementation of curriculum, knowledge, skills and values, it is not easy to develop this type of external evaluation methodology but we will do it because without this we cannot tell what happens at school. (...) do regular external evaluation of cross-curricular program/curriculum. It will be the only solution, and for all schools. And teachers and principals will know that they cannot do nothing because they will have consequences.”

(Interview transcript – Nevenka Lončarić Jelačić, 6 April 2018)

“We should leave (schools) to plan their own actions, to give them those frameworks... there should be some kind of, I would not say stricter control but (...) So it’s kind of a soft approach toward pushing them to keep on improving themselves. We had a project for years that was called self-evaluation project, we left it to schools, we gave them all the instruments so they can self-evaluate to continue doing that and now we are pushing towards the real external evaluation and one part of this would be are you self-evaluating yourself? Do you have your plans, goals and so on. (...) So at least here we have a plan to gently push them toward the quality standards indicating what they are not doing... and probably someday, sometimes, in cooperation with the Ministry, something will be invented which would have a consequence, if you keep on not doing something which we indicated you should do”.

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

The unsystematic implementation of citizenship education seems to clash quite strongly with the fact that international and regional standards shape the work of national agencies, at least at a discursive level, and are used to frame and legitimize national education activities (DEMAND 3). This happens through reference to international/regional standards and also because staff members of national agencies are often involved in projects and activities at the international and regional level. Just to give a very concrete example, the person of the Education and Teacher Training Agency I interviewed used to be the national EDC/HRE coordinator of the Council of Europe⁴⁴ and therefore she is familiar with those kind of standards and well placed to link them to her work at national level.

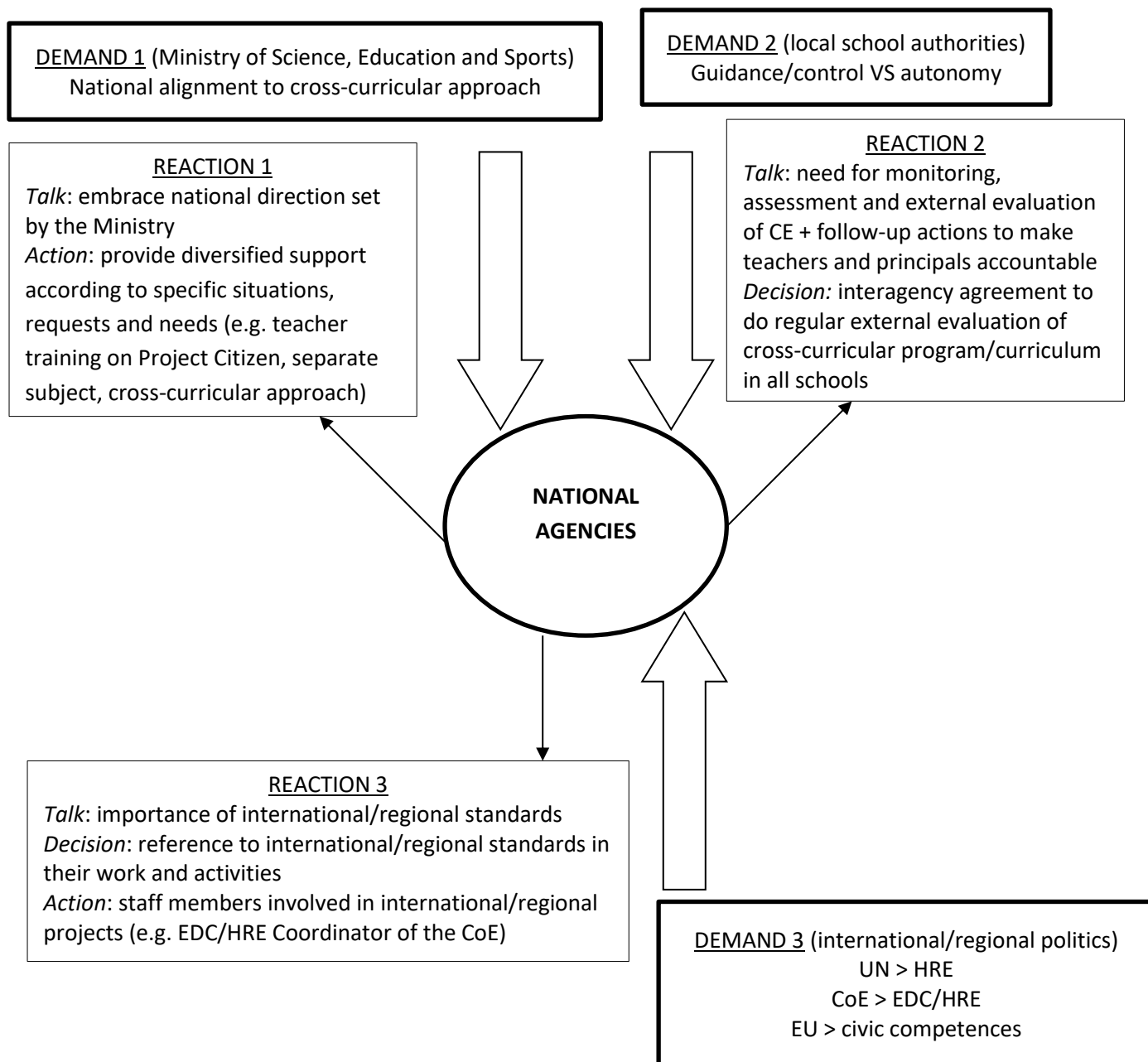
“We are using Council of Europe documents and this Charter is very important for us in Croatia because we developed our curriculum based on definitions in this Charter (...) so definition of human rights education and democratic citizenship education... it is very important there is some agreement at the level of European countries what is what because it exists lot of different definitions, what is human rights, and it is good for us to have one common definition, what is citizenship education.”

(Interview transcript – Nevenka Lončarić Jelačić, 6 April 2018)

Here below is the conceptual map I created for national agencies based on their responses to demands and pressures from other actors within the system of citizenship education.

⁴⁴ See for more information: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/edc/edc/hre-coordinators>. Date: 30 March 2019.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: NATIONAL AGENCIES – CROATIA



5.3.3. Local authorities

Considering the patchy implementation and various practices that characterise citizenship education in Croatia, emerging both from my literature review and interview findings, I decided at the level of local authorities to look at the municipality that marked a change of pace in the implementation of citizenship education. Indeed, the city of Rijeka gave birth to a model that is now expanding to other Croatian local authorities⁴⁵.

“on the national level, Croatia has been talking about citizenship education since the early nineties, I think, but nothing concrete has happened. There has been some experimental programmes here and there, some encompassed only 30 schools in the entire Croatia and it lasted shortly... (...) and Rijeka just, you know, decided that there was no time to wait for the national government to make a move, so we decided to make a move and to implement citizenship education.”

(Interview transcript – Lana Golob, 18 May 2018)

During my interview I thus tried to go deeper into the relationship between the municipality of Rijeka and the national government, including the Ministry of Education, and it came out to be obviously challenging.

“Well, it is not good I must say, I mean it’s not bad but different politically... right wing national government, left wing local government (...) regarding the Ministry, we write to them all the time regarding all sort of different questions that are within their jurisdiction and do not get the answer, I mean, those are important questions, for example children with difficulties, they have the jurisdiction to facilitate some forms of their education in our schools, we write to them, we constantly try to get a meeting with them, we send them evidence, I don’t know, how the situation embeds regarding that or that question and they do not respond back to us, so... we do not have a very good relationship, I mean, it’s not a bad relationship, I would say that we don’t have a relationship and we should be partners.”

(Interview transcript – Lana Golob, 18 May 2018)

The city of Rijeka has therefore introduced citizenship education in primary schools (grades 5-6) as an extracurricular activity, in the form of a separate subject, from school year 2016-17. At the beginning this was introduced in six schools, four Croatian and two Italian, in order to keep the programme as little as possible and monitor and evaluate its implementation. In school year 2017-18 it was offered to all interested schools in Rijeka and 24 elementary schools decided to implement the programme, only two did not. The programme started with the production of a manual, a sort of very dynamic textbook for students with maps where they can add the activities they carry out (interviews, photos, tickets from shows or fieldtrips, etc.), as well as teaching materials and guidelines for teachers. From school year 2018-19 another manual on

⁴⁵ See for more information: <https://www.total-croatia-news.com/politics/28088-rijeka-s-model-of-citizenship-education-spreading-to-other-towns>.

Date: 2 April 2019.

citizenship education for 7-8 grades was planned to be produced and proposed to schools. Therefore, even though the direction of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports is to have a cross-curricular approach (DEMAND 1), Rijeka decided to introduce citizenship education as a separate subject that is not graded and is carried out as an extracurricular activity within the day. This is not only possible from a legal/administrative perspective, as it does not contravene any national law or regulation, but it is also made practically feasible by the fact that the city of Rijeka pays for materials, trainings and teachers' extra hours.

“it's completely free for the students and the schools. We pay for the printing and we pay for the fee of the people who, you know, teach the children... because the salary for the teachers comes from the Ministry, although Rijeka is the founder of the school, but all those extracurricular activities that are not mandatory are optional and are therefore paid by the city.”

(Interview transcript – Lana Golob, 18 May 2018)

Rijeka's model of citizenship education also tries to answer to the longstanding demand of local school authorities, particularly teachers, for a balance between guidance/control and autonomy (DEMAND 2). In fact, while teachers have to follow the national curriculum, Rijeka's model aims to give autonomy to teachers so that they can modulate the curriculum and the content of citizenship education based on children's needs and interests. To do so, the municipality has invested a lot on trainings for teachers in order to provide them with tools, strategies and methodologies to successfully implement citizenship education – and this is of course a political decision.

“teachers have to spend these many hours on this topic, these many hours on this topic, you have to do this, this, and that, and are always controlled by different bodies... so I think that when it comes to national curriculum they have little room for... little manipulation room. But that's something that we tried to correct and they were really surprised (...) So you have to invest a lot of money in educating or re-educating teachers. But I think, well... of course it's a political decision, because it's public money and I can't decide on what to spend the public money, my boss can't, the mayor decides on what we spend the money... and he has an ear for that kind of stuff, he believes in that kind of stuff so we were allowed to... we had the freedom to create, to design and to implement the programme that we believe in.”

(Interview transcript – Lana Golob, 18 May 2018)

The partnership between local authority and civil society is a crucial element of Rijeka's model, as the city involved both NGOs and the academia in the development of materials, in the delivering of activities and especially trainings for teachers on citizenship education.

“We invested a lot of money in the modular education for teachers, it lasted about two months, it was about 90 hours and seven modules and it was conducted by the Forum For Freedom in Education, GONG and the Centre for Peace Studies. You can't expect a change in the educational system without educating the educators... I mean, this is a completely different way of teaching in Croatia and we have to show them how, we have to support them. So we

conducted that education and we have supervision groups to support them through the year so they can exchange experiences or problems or, I don't know, just get support in a certain lesson, ask questions that maybe they didn't think to ask when they were attending the education, and they also have a Viber group with the supervisor so that any question can be discussed immediately, that's very important... because if you don't support them, you know, systematically, then they will easily fall back into the old, you know, old fashion teaching because it's easier, and if they don't know they won't risk."

(Interview transcript – Lana Golob, 18 May 2018)

However, since Rijeka is a local authority that does not follow the model that is nationally supported and encouraged by the Ministry of Education, but it aims to introduce in schools a more progressive and leftist citizenship education, it has to respond to pressures from more conservative and traditional actors in Croatia and particularly tackles the existing strong relations between Croatian politics and the Catholic Church (DEMAND 3). This is also why the municipality has decided to invest money in a longitudinal research, starting in 2019 and aimed at following all fifth graders until they finish the eighth grade (so four years of citizenship education), in order to provide evidence with a representative sample that Rijeka's bottom-up model makes a positive impact on schools and contributes to students' critical thinking.

"Rijeka has always been a bit different from the rest of Croatia... even if there is a trend in Europe and also in Croatia, this re-traditionalisation and the conservative revolution unfortunately is also hitting us here. (...) citizenship education is for a secular society and, you know, I mean, things that are going on here with the Church that is involved in politics, when our Prime Minister congratulates the birthday or something for the Cardinal, I mean, it's without sense... when our Prime Minister says that the Cardinal is an important stakeholder when it comes to this and this decision, it's very sad... it's unfortunately not saying us that citizenship education will be implemented soon."

(Interview transcript – Lana Golob, 18 May 2018)

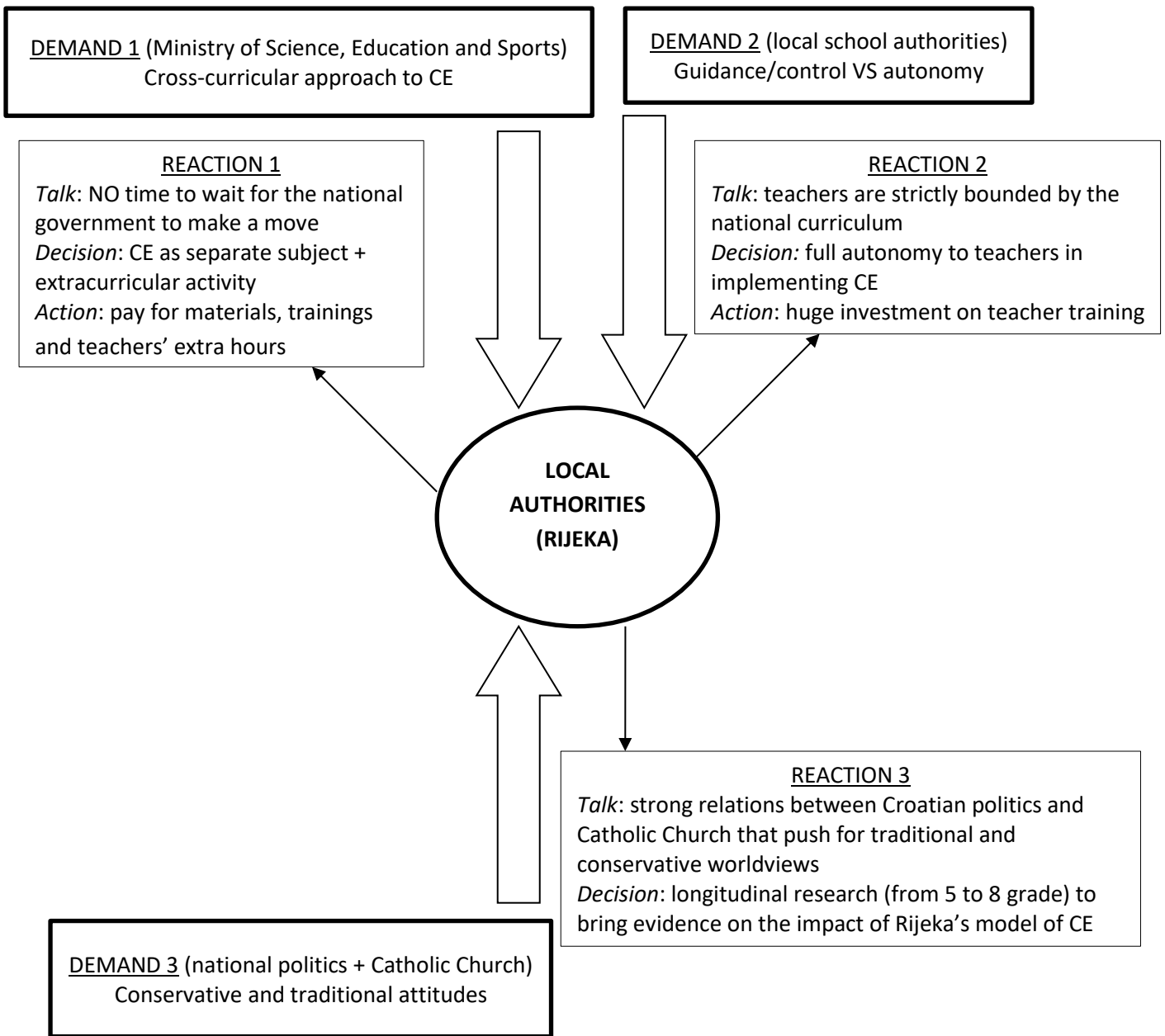
As a final remark it is important to highlight, having in mind my research questions, that Rijeka's model of citizenship education is strongly based on the Citizenship Education Curriculum (CEC) of 2010 and experimentally implemented from 2012 to 2014. Following that model, human rights are one of the six dimensions together with the political, social, (inter)cultural, economic and environmental dimensions. However, according to my interview with the representative of the city of Rijeka, it seems that human rights are at the basis and probably the most important of these dimensions.

"I don't see citizenship education without the human rights component, I think it's a crucial component and out of the 30 of our lessons, 7 of them are focused solely on the human rights component and children through various activities learn about human rights, learn about the importance of respecting others, study documents that are written on human rights, all different rights, minorities, sexual and gender, convention for the rights of children, importance of equality, equal chances for everybody..."

(Interview transcript – Lana Golob, 18 May 2018)

Using the talk-and-action approach and based on my interview findings, I thus elaborated the following conceptual map to capture demands and reactions concerning local authorities.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: LOCAL AUTHORITIES – CROATIA



5.3.4. Academia

Members of the academic community are often engaged in policy making as they are considered key to bringing knowledge and expertise on specific topics, and this was the case for citizenship education in Croatia. Several university professors were involved in the various phases of the development of laws, national policies, plans and action programmes related to citizenship education. Furthermore, they substantially contributed to the planning and delivering of teacher training, in cooperation with the Education and Teacher Training Agency and NGOs, and to the development of materials and resources. However, while the academia played a crucial role in all these endeavours, following also an explicit demand from the Ministry of Education (DEMAND 1), this work was never accomplished in the way it was planned, meaning that academic suggestions were broadly disregarded due to political changes. This happened, for example, when the evaluation of the two-year pilot implementation of the CEC was ignored and the new Ministry decided for an interdisciplinary and cross-curricular model without taking into consideration the activities and researches of the previously engaged members of the academic community (see section 5.1.4. above). Indeed, academic experts were in charge of developing a longitudinal research in the 12 schools that implemented the CEC between 2012 and 2014. They conducted visits to schools, interviews and focus groups with teachers and students, as well as questionnaires. Based on research data and results, and working within the Committee at the Ministry of Education that was responsible for deciding what could be the best way to introduce citizenship education in all Croatian schools, the group of experts made improvements to the curriculum and produced a document that was completely replaced by the Ministry with the new interdisciplinary and cross-curricular citizenship education program. Therefore, the document previously prepared by the group of experts, which aimed to a more comprehensive implementation of citizenship education including as a mandatory separate subject in certain grades, disappeared with no explanation. Moreover, those academic experts were never asked to go to the Ministry again.

“Minister Jovanović was in charge in 2012 and his focus was on introducing civic education and those two or three years were the most active. We were doing a lot of things about human rights education and citizenship education in Croatia. Then he left and now nobody is interested in that. There is no current focus on introducing this topic in schools at the Ministry level. (...) We gave our life for citizenship education for two years, or even more, and we really thought this is going to be implemented (...) For the first time I believed that okay this is really happening, I can't believe it, we really made it, it is going to the schools... and then nothing. That was very depressing at the time.”

(Interview transcript – Monika Pažur, 5 April 2018)

“Together with my group, we put so much energy when the liberal and socialist came to power, we helped them so much, they didn’t do anything. This was my greatest dissatisfaction and I started to think that things are deeply rooted.”

(Interview transcript – Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš, 11 May 2018)

As it comes out from these quotes, the fact that the academia put so many efforts that were ultimately ignored by the Ministry obviously created frustration and led these academic experts to step back from decision- and policy-making processes. University professors and researchers I interviewed seem to connect this situation to a broader general attitude in Croatian public sphere, loudly and uncritically against citizenship education.

“in public arena when it comes to citizenship education is seen as liberal agenda and that’s it, and then conservative see this just as a red dot, they don’t even read what we have and this is the wrong approach. (...) I don’t think that they read anything, that they want to know anything, they see this as ideology and we see this as a way to empower young people, and this is incomparable. (...) in Croatia there is no argument, there is no debate, there is no discussion. I am going to talk about my point of view, you are going to talk about your point of view, and we will never engage in some kind of debates.”

(Interview transcript – Marko Kovačić, 12 April 2018)

One of the interviewee tried to explain me how this conservative backlash (DEMAND 2) occurred and led, among other things, to the 2013 constitutional referendum to define marriage as being a union between a man and a woman, therefore creating a constitutional prohibition against same-sex marriage. The referendum was raised and promoted by the mobilization of civil society oriented toward traditional values, organisations related to the Catholic Church, veterans and conservative political parties. These people quickly became important stakeholders in Croatian decision- and policy-making processes, rendering also hard to engage in debates and work on citizenship education.

“until 2013 (citizenship education) was something which was connected with progressive teachers, university professors usually supported by the government, mainly by government which was social democratic but also HDZ (democratic Christians) was allowing it to happen... so social democrats are usually more left and progressive but in 2013 when the whole thing of the referendum happened they were on the power and they saw that they have to get more aligned with the conservative part of the population, so they did not pursue the curriculum from 2010 good enough, they were afraid, they hesitated and they didn’t allow it to exit the experimental stage, so it never became systematically implemented, and in 2014 they even came up with a new curriculum which actually kind of, I would say, lowers the ambitions and brings back the cross-curricular formulation and kind of allows for nothing to happen for real. (...) somehow civic education became part of the not necessarily black list but of the policies which have to be strongly controlled or religious organizations want to have involvement in the creation of this curriculum to kind of always make sure that it is not going too progressively, and then the human rights is usually the dimension that suffers the most.”

(Interview transcript – Anka Kekez Koštro, 3 May 2018)

International/regional politics have definitely an influence on the academia but it emerged from my interviews that there is often a confusing and superficial national alignment with international/regional standards (DEMAND 3).

“I think that we in Croatia have developed a wider concept because it was also based partially on the UNESCO’s history in developing human rights education, so peace education, intercultural, so it has also all these components and then has components from the regional European level that are Council of Europe and even European Union with its strategy that are giving this European identity active citizenship. (...) So Croatia looked at all these international and regional standards and then put everything in one document, in one concept.”

(Interview transcript – Monika Pažur, 5 April 2018)

“there is also a law about science in higher education that points out human rights, blah, blah, blah... but you know, in Croatia when you say human rights no one knows what that means so it is simply just put there because there is an expectation from the Council of Europe and the European Commission about that and the UN.”

(Interview transcript – Marko Kovačić, 12 April 2018)

Shaping the educational discourse and language is often necessary to access funds and resources that international/regional organisations make available, therefore the academia has to follow this path to being able to carry out projects and activities in the field of EDC/HRE.

“we started with human rights education but my idea was actually... we discussed that a lot... because for several years we had it as a title ‘human rights education’, peace was added by UNESCO because they couldn’t give us money, Croatia being in the war, without the term peace somewhere in the title of the project.”

(Interview transcript – Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš, 11 May 2018)

“We had just recently a call for applications for service learning projects which were dealing with academia but nevertheless... there is also now a call for voluntarism in elementary schools. And with the service learning, it was the call with the biggest number of applications ever so far, so there were like over 250 applicants who applied for different service learning programs, they could only accept around thirty, it was the biggest competition for ESF grant (...) through EU funding it’s quite a successful policy, it was so far the most successful instrument toward the introduction of service learning by using this grant scheme (...) So it looks like that if you talk about public policy level, instruments that do work a lot are financial grants that allow for people to actually do their projects.”

(Interview transcript – Anka Kekez Koštro, 3 May 2018)

Members of the academia are part of a system that has to deliver quality higher education and thus are subject to further demands and pressures (DEMAND 4). Professors and researchers that I talked to come broadly from the progressive side which is in favour of citizenship education and many of them were also actively involved in the development of the CEC and in the following protests after the project failed. Therefore, it is evident that they have a clear vision on citizenship education but since there is no such a subject they are faced with challenges in their teaching activities as they have to accommodate students’

expectations and preferences, as well as being very much aware of the context (faculty/department) in which they teach and from which disciplinary lens.

“in this faculty we won’t teach anything else, we won’t teach that it should be democratic, that they should use non-formal networks. And my students will become teachers in elementary school, 1st to 4th grade. We won’t teach them anything else except if they remember something that I said because not directly but I am always based on democratization and human rights, but they don’t have any subject connected to human rights education, not pre-school teachers or teachers. They can choose as an optional subject and not a lot of them goes to that and those who have it is more political education, it’s more you know to be participative in democracy.”

(Interview transcript – Monika Pažur, 5 April 2018)

“Actually we as a political science faculty, our focus is on the dimension of political education in the civic education umbrella”.

(Interview transcript – Anka Kekez Koštro, 3 May 2018)

“I work at the faculty of Political Science, here I teach two courses, one is called Introduction to Democracy and Civil Society and the other one, which is more interesting maybe to you, is Political Socialisation and Political Education. That second course is some kind of preparation of students to teach the subject Politics and Economy at the high school level in Croatia.”

(Interview transcript – Berto Šalaj, 10 May 2018)

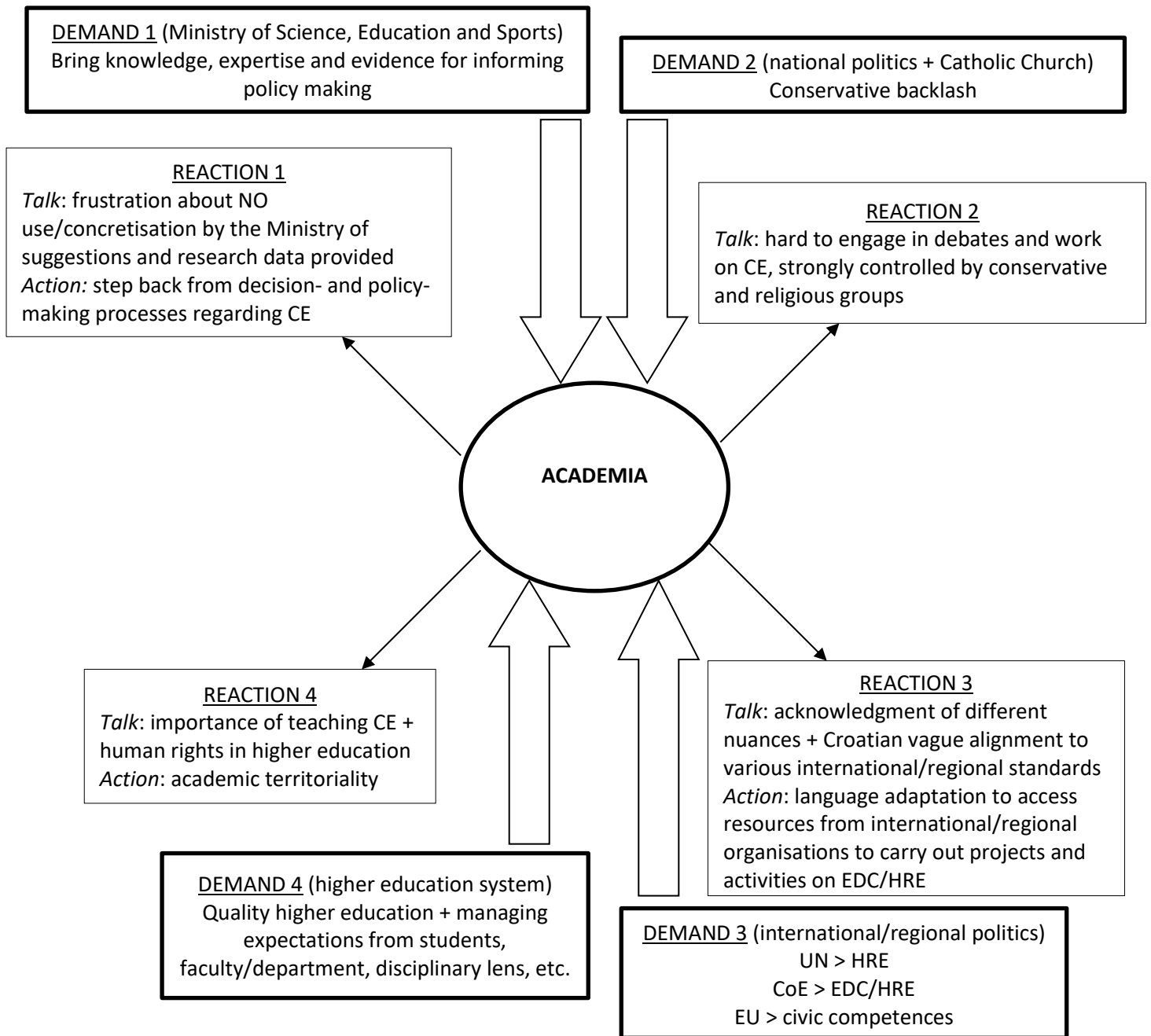
While there have definitely been efforts to create and work in interdisciplinary teams, the way citizenship education is tackled within Croatian higher education system seems to run the risk of creating what I called academic territoriality in chapter 2 of this thesis. Since there are already not that many scholars working on this issue in Croatia, it would be important to create synergies rather than work in silos.

“it hasn’t been taught, it hasn’t been disseminated as the interdisciplinary approach, this is the key problem. You have specialists in human rights education, they don’t see the citizen, they see an individual that is protected by international law. It’s nothing without a country level protection and country level protection implies citizenship. And you don’t have it, I mean... the discussions are so stuck... I mean there are little developments in the discussions of this type (...) I had many fights with my colleagues who are dealing with intercultural issues, that intercultural issues can’t go on, can’t develop without relying on human rights and citizenship education. (...) people who started to deal with interculturalism let’s say in the eighties, early time, they don’t link it to human rights. The other, the younger, they don’t have enough understanding of human rights and they are afraid of the legal theory of human rights, they don’t dare to enter the field. And it is the same with citizenship education because they think it is a political issue and actually because political science in Croatia, until few years ago, political education faculty... they wouldn’t give you the possibility to discuss it.”

(Interview transcript – Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš, 11 May 2018)

Here below is the conceptual map I developed to frame demands and pressures with which academia is confronted and how it responds to them.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: ACADEMIA – CROATIA



5.3.5. Civil society

As highlighted above, civil society was particularly involved in the development of citizenship education in Croatia and contributed quite substantially to policy making, resource development and teacher training. However, similarly to what emerged from the analysis of academia, there is a lot of frustration among civil society actors as their work did not lead to the expected outcome and change at the national level.

“you know for the last 18 years lots of things going on, especially in this field, you know, we had lots of huge discussions about health education, then we had huge discussions about civic education, then we have this huge discussion about educational reform, it’s a never ending story. (...) it’s a huge amount of events, energy spent but when you see what’s done is... I have to say, it’s nothing, you know, basically, we didn’t do anything about that.”

(Interview transcript – Mario Bajkuša, 9 May 2018)

Since civil society, together with academia and progressive actors in Croatia and Europe, supported the CEC of 2010, the fact that this project fell apart was a great disappointment.

“the Ministry in communication with the Agency just decided to like stop the process and to do something else overnight, so they like took the basic sculpture of the curriculum, they kept the six dimensions and the three levels of competences, but they created some kind of mixture of programmes that is basically completely... I have to say that is not logical at all. So basically this new programme was only cross-curricular and included citizenship education in like each subject, declaratively of course, but it didn’t actually have connections between the goals of the subjects and the topics that it would like to introduce in citizenship education.”

(Interview transcript – Martina Horvat, 15 May 2018)

As a result, while the Ministry still intends to move forward with the Comprehensive Curricular Reform and might expect civil society to participate in public debate and enter into constructive dialogue (DEMAND 1), there does not seem to be the availability on the other side.

“What changed, and that’s what I am agitating all the time, is, you know, not to go with the policy level, not to try to push any agenda through the policy level, not to try to agitate for anything and not even... try not to waste our time on agitating on the policy level and that we should be more focused on our work with schools because what I can see as a professional, working in the field of education for the last 15 years, I can see the change at the school level”.

(Interview transcript – Eli Pijaca Plavšić, 11 April 2018)

Indeed, I conducted interviews with people working in two of the main NGOs involved in citizenship education in Croatia, also part of the GOOD Initiative. They clearly lost hope in the national government and in the Ministry, therefore NGOs decided to leave aside the policy level and work directly with schools, students and teachers, providing non-formal education and extracurricular activities, developing projects and programmes at local level, organising and delivering teacher training.

“we just decided that we will make open calls for teachers and we invite schools in partnership on European projects or some other projects when we see that they are ready for partnership and if not we just make open calls for teachers that are interested... and we also cooperate with local governments because now in Croatia, at the local level, citizenship education as extracurricular activity is trying to be introduced, like Rijeka... but Rijeka’s example will be now followed by Sisak, by Osijek by regional Istria and by the region that surrounding Rijeka.”

(Interview transcript – Martina Horvat, 15 May 2018)

Strictly related to the NGOs’ loss of hope in the ability of national government to change the situation of citizenship education in the country is the decision not to organise protests anymore. As we saw in section 5.1.4. above, the GOOD Initiative and the whole “Croatia can do better!” movement mobilized thousands of people in both 2016 and 2017 to stand against the political impasse and ask for the long-needed educational reforms. This led to demands and expectations from media and the general public (DEMAND 2) but the decision was made: no more protests as it is pointless.

“For the last two years the protests were organized on the 1st June and now there are like media calling all the time asking are you going to organize this year on the 1st of June as well, you know, it’s crazy. I don’t know anywhere in the world were so many people were protesting not against reform, but for, for the implementation of the reform you know, and among other topics there was civic education as well”.

(Interview transcript – Eli Pijaca Plavšić, 11 April 2018)

Working with teachers is a crucial activity carried out by NGOs. Indeed, while the Education and Teacher Training Agency is centrally responsible for teacher professional development, NGOs provide additional trainings and programmes aimed to respond to teachers’ needs and demands (DEMAND 3).

“in Croatia when we speak about teacher professional development it’s predominantly in the sphere of the State agency, there is an Education and Teacher Training Agency which has monopoly on teacher professional development, however those seminars and support they give it’s very, how to say... superficial.”

(Interview transcript – Mario Bajkuša, 9 May 2018)

NGOs have obviously their own vision on citizenship education, and people I interviewed are definitely closer to a more progressive one. Therefore, they have to deal with the rigidities of the educational system as well as manage personal resistance that teachers might have with regard to citizenship education. This is why NGOs need to find a balance between their will to bring challenging and also political topics into schools, which is an absolutely logical ambition for citizenship education, but also accommodate teachers’ expectations, needs and preferences. For example, teachers might be scared or do not want to work on political or controversial issues (e.g. abortion, gay marriage, etc.), thus civil society actors have to encompass a variety of trainings and activities including on more “light issues” such as conflict resolution.

“especially topics that are to (teachers) more controversial, such as human rights, are the topics that are basically avoided, so they will mention that we have equality maybe in our Constitution, that we did sign some international agreements, maybe they will even mention which international agreement and so on, but they won’t do anything on understanding what equality actually means, they won’t say... except maybe just equality between men and women, and equality of different religions that exist in our society and they will maybe mention that but try to introduce or even question some of the topics like gender equality, different genders, LGBT people...”

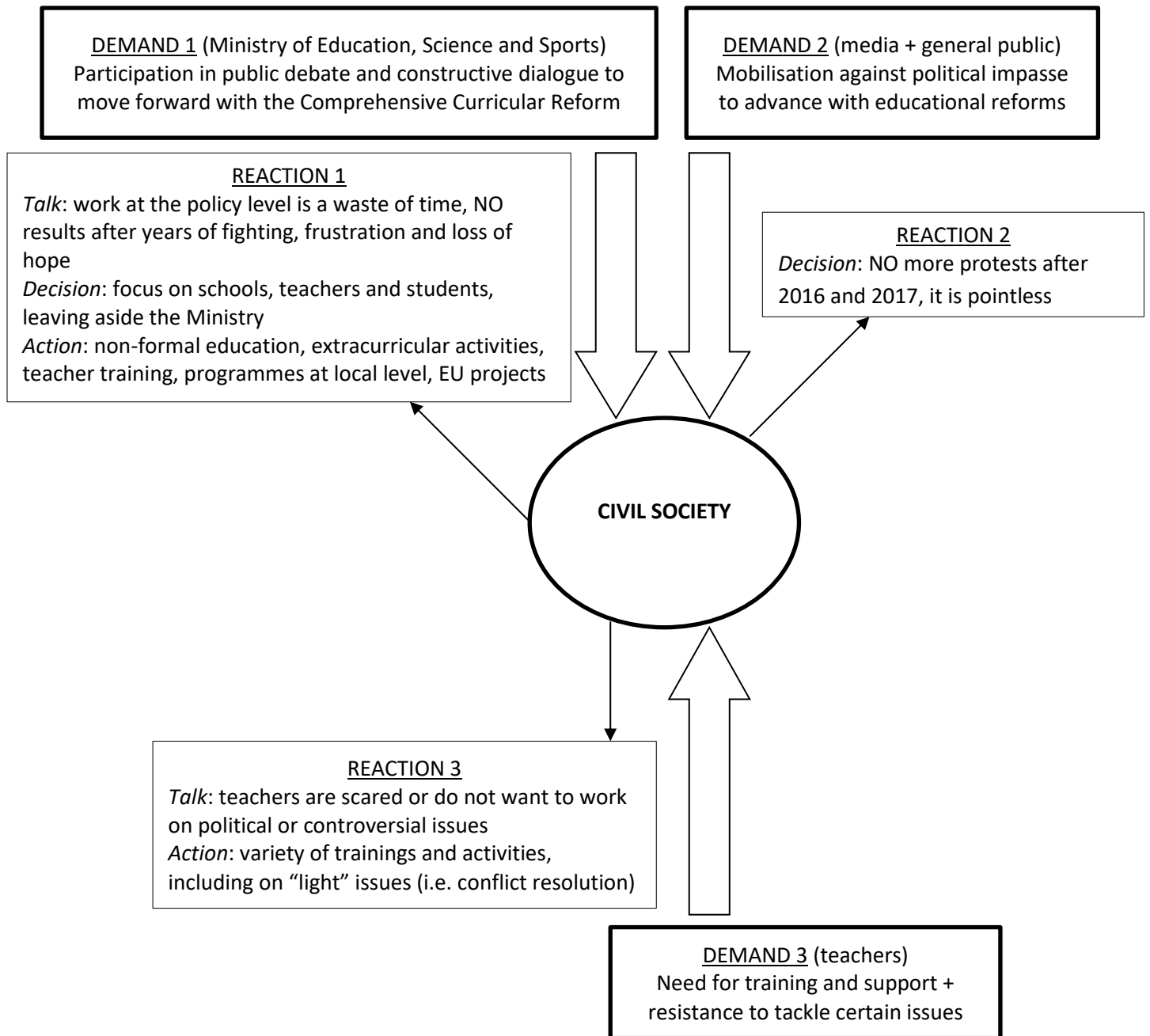
(Interview transcript – Martina Horvat, 15 May 2018)

“we have this non-violent conflict resolution mediation program, this is the most popular, you know... but we also see that... it’s not direct civic education, it’s somehow bypassing, but if we teach... mediation is much more practical, it’s not, how to say... controversial. And it could be applied immediately and teachers like that, so basically mediation takes a huge chunk of these teacher trainings.”

(Interview transcript – Mario Bajkuša, 9 May 2018)

Based on my analysis and using the talk-and-action approach, I therefore elaborated the following conceptual map where I tried to summarise demands and reactions for civil society.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: CIVIL SOCIETY – CROATIA



Chapter 5 – Conclusion

The first part of this chapter contextualised the historical policy development of citizenship education in Croatia. An interesting remark is that the country started with infusing human rights into the educational sphere even before the concept of citizenship, also due to projects and activities implemented after the war by international and regional organisations (UN, Council of Europe) and NGOs. Croatia officially showed its intention to implement HRE in national legislation through the National Program of Human Rights Education (1999-2010). Though not obligatory, this National Program marked an attempt of the government to respond to the UN Decade for Human Rights Education and introduce human rights and democratic citizenship education at all school levels with several ways of implementation.

“from 1999 we do have different parts of overall citizenship education curriculum being introduced here or there, so in recent years we tried to introduce some overarching curriculum and always human rights education was a part. So in a way, before civics, it was among the first theme that came... maybe now it popped in my head, it’s really connected even with war situation and gaining independence and having a humanitarian crisis in the country and... so these themes went very early”.

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

“In Croatia we have started with human rights education, since 1999 there was a document that was National Program for integrating human rights education and democratic citizenship education into schools. Through history, it was developed citizenship education curriculum. In citizenship education curriculum we start from human rights dimension, so it is the most important dimension.”

(Interview transcript – Monika Pažur, 5 April 2018)

By the beginning of 2000 the Council of Europe’s notion of EDC/HRE further enriched the National Program and was included in all major laws and strategic papers on education, as well as in national policies, plans and action programmes in other related sectors, such as youth development and human rights protection. While the National Program of Human Rights Education envisaged a comprehensive design, I underlined above that this was not coupled with a clear path to quality implementation, monitoring and evaluation, leading to a minimal impact. Furthermore, the non-compulsory character of the Program meant that it was followed and developed in a voluntary manner by enthusiastic teachers in a small number of schools. In 2010 Croatia adopted the National Framework Curriculum for Pre-School, General Compulsory and Secondary Education (NFC), which aimed to harmonise all the essential elements of the educational system from pre-school to secondary education. This was developed in line with the EU Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning and therefore indicated a transition from a system of knowledge

transfer to one based on competence and learning outcomes. The NFC acknowledged the importance of civic competences and made civil education one of the cross-curricular and interdisciplinary themes. The values and principles defined by the NFC of 2010 were used as the basis for the development of the Citizenship Education Curriculum (CEC) which encompassed four approaches (cross-curricular, extracurricular, research projects linking school and local community, separate subject) and six dimensions: human and legal rights, political, social, (inter)cultural, economic and environmental. The CEC was experimentally implemented in 12 schools for two years (2012-14) as a cross-curricular theme covered for one hour per school week, as well as a separate subject or extracurricular activity for certain age groups. As I explained above, the monitoring and evaluation of the CEC pilot implementation showed a number of positive outcomes and also suggested ways to address weaknesses and challenges. However, rather than building on this work and finalise the Curriculum, as it was originally planned, several political changes and resistance from traditional and conservative actors in Croatian society reversed the situation. Indeed, the CEC was replaced in 2014 by a new Program that prescribed only cross-curricular implementation of citizenship education without consulting relevant stakeholders, preparing teachers and schools or providing the necessary support to put this new Program into practice. Always in 2014-15 the Croatian Parliament started the so-called national Comprehensive Curricular Reform targeting the whole educational system and citizenship education was among the seven curricula for cross-curricular topics. All this turmoil triggered a wide public outcry and the GOOD Initiative, a network of grassroots civil society organizations and experts advocating for the implementation of citizenship education, organised two massive protests in 2016 and 2017 against the government and the political impasse to move forward with the long-needed educational reforms in the country. The current Minister of Education, appointed in June 2017, opened yet another national and international review phase of all the curricular reform documents except for the one on Informatics, and thus citizenship education was once again marginalised and dismissed. The analysis of such a course of events was crucial to frame the historical policy development of citizenship education in Croatia and consequently better understand the current situation in the country.

While it is of course very difficult to provide a general conclusion regarding the situation of citizenship education in Croatia, in this chapter I tried to respond to the research questions of my thesis using Croatian results to ICCS 2016 (section 5.2.) and the talk-and-action approach to focus on various actors

within the system of citizenship education (section 5.3.). More precisely, the chapter aimed to capture the relationship between citizenship education (CE) and human rights education (HRE) for the case study of Croatia, as well as better understand the central tensions of citizenship education related to human rights from the perspective of multiple key actors at stake. To do so, I designed a conceptual map for each of the five actors I analysed, namely ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society, in order to graphically represent demands and pressures with which they are confronted and their types of reactions differentiating between talk, decision and action. Recalling the main question in the title of this research, i.e. “what place and role for human rights?”, and drawing from my interview findings, it could be argued that citizenship education in Croatia is considered as a broader concept that includes human rights among several other dimensions, i.e. political, social, (inter)cultural, economic and environmental. This is also because people still refer to the CEC of 2010, considered by many as a landmark document and probably the most comprehensive elaboration of citizenship education ever developed. However, citizenship education and human rights education are strictly interconnected, sometimes blended and overlapping. Human rights are at the basis of citizenship education and apparently the most important dimension of it. From my interviews it emerged also that there seems to be a distinction of settings and modalities between CE and HRE as the first one is located within the formal education system, while the second is predominantly connected to the work of civil society and carried out non-formally.

“in Croatia human rights education is more aligned with the work of the non-profit sector, non-governmental organizations, and it has been taught non formally through various types of education, while citizenship education is strongly aligned with the courses such as Politics and Economy which is taught in secondary level school. So they are connected but at the same time they do have a different treatment.”

(Interview transcript – Anka Kekez Koštro, 3 May 2018)

Another feature that emerged quite strongly from my interviews is the unsystematic and patchy implementation of citizenship education in Croatia, spanning from excellent experiences led by motivated teachers to schools that are not involved at all in citizenship education. Therefore, it is really up to enthusiastic teachers and principals, willing to work on citizenship- and human rights-related issues.

“in some schools people were protecting some kind of wild flowers in their neighbourhood, in other instance I saw their radio show and so on, so they are doing stuff... sometimes it is very diverse, it's everything and everywhere”.

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

There seem to arise two main challenges connected to this patchy implementation of citizenship education in Croatia: the first one is what I called the focus on “light issues”, meaning that more controversial or political topics are left aside and not tackled in schools, thus leading to an often superficial realisation of citizenship education; the second is that when citizenship education happens, it is often in schools that are already very active and progressive on all sides, and does not for example reach more disadvantaged areas or difficult schools particularly in need of CE activities.

“When you go to the regional showcase of projects, everything is about ecology and they don’t even link it to the right, to human rights. I told you they just put citizenship education with anything they understand as citizenship education, and they understand everything as citizenship education. That’s the greatest problem.”

(Interview transcript – Monika Pažur, 5 April 2018)

“You have some kind of projects in which you have cooperation between some schools and some non-governmental organisations, but it’s not systematic. And, what is paradoxical, you have that kind of projects here in Zagreb, you have that kind of projects in Istria which is a very tolerant part, you have that kind of projects in the Northern part of Croatia, but you don’t have that kind of projects in my part of the country, where I come from, I am from the Eastern part of Croatia, from Slavonia. Slavonia was the part where there was a war, there was a fighting between Croats and Serbs but there... you have these problems at most and you don’t have this kind of projects because it’s not systematic, it’s responsibility of some teachers, some schools, some non-governmental organisations, but it’s not systematically tackled by... national government, by centralised bureaucracy.”

(Interview transcript – Berto Šalaj, 10 May 2018)

“the other possibility that scares me even more is actually that these programmes will stay for very small number of students and in Croatia all the additional projects and everything are usually... usually students that are included are the best students on all levels, you know, so those that are actually excluded from everything they stay excluded from those kind of programmes”.

(Interview transcript – Martina Horvat, 15 May 2018)

Always concerning the relationship between CE and HRE, my research findings showed that Croatian education seems to promote a more passive approach to citizenship and it is not strongly rooted in critical thinking and pedagogy, thus going more toward a cultural transmission rather than a reflective inquiry or democratic transformation approach (see section 1.3.1. above). While discursively citizenship education might embrace human rights and European values, the general practice at national level is still very much oriented toward a traditional model relying on the history and the past of the country, thus focusing on national identity, culture, etc. Citizenship education in Croatia does not or minimally refer to European and global community and it generally stops at the national one, contrary to the post-national model we saw in chapter 1 (section 1.2.4.).

“at the general level, you have at the top nationalistic sentiments and you don’t have, or you have very little, about European identity, European Union, etcetera.”

(Interview transcript – Berto Šalaj, 10 May 2018)

“many subjects are still very disputable and when you look at what is the most disputable is the topic of human rights. So you have war veterans attacking history curriculum because it’s not patriotic enough and it doesn’t teach enough about the Croatian war as righteous war where Croats were the good size and so on, that’s their word of course, so they are attacking that part... they are attacking Croatian language curriculum because there is not enough national authors that wrote nice about Croatia throughout history and something like that”.

(Interview transcript – Martina Horvat, 15 May 2018)

“I am afraid that the country is completely divided into half (...) we fell into this pit a few years ago, we divided our country or our state of mind into right (more traditional more conservative, Catholic approach of society) and then you have, on the opposite side, the liberal one, promoting post-nationalism ideas and integration ideas, and... you know, it’s a debate and it’s going on and it’s tackling every part of society...”.

(Interview transcript – Ines Elezovic, 16 May 2018)

Similarly, citizenship education in Croatia does not seem to embrace the notion of critical and transformative education I underlined in both chapter 1 and chapter 2 of this thesis.

“I truly believe that citizenship education, it quite challenges the existent power dynamics and this is the reason, in conservative countries such as Croatia, because everything is conservative in this country, is quite a big threat, and if you don’t cherish your traditions, if you don’t cherish Catholicism, if you don’t cherish, you know, the obedience... then you are just potential threat to a society and to a state. And citizenship education, in its core, has the transformative character, not only for society or state, but also for yourself, because you are starting to think about yourself as an active agent of change, and this is the reason, from my point of view, why citizenship education is so important, and this is why... it isn’t applied at all in Croatia.”

(Interview transcript – Marko Kovačić, 12 April 2018)

Another specificity of the Croatian context of citizenship education is the connection to the Catholic Church, religious education and groups. Indeed, many of my interviewees referred to researches that demonstrated that the common ground between citizenship and religious education in Croatia is enormous. This was pointed by many as a warning because there is an interference of the Catholic Church in a secular matter. However, my interview findings showed that it is often common that are religious teachers who deliver citizenship education and thus shape its content and activities toward a charitable/Catholic approach.

“it comes together with religious education and the activities of religious education and this is why I am afraid that it might be subsumed under religious education (...) Religious education is much better networked and, as I said, I am afraid that that part of citizenship social activity is much more now linked to religious education which is the reason why the teachers of religious education often mention it in their reports of their teaching. While citizenship education teachers report more on knowledge transmission than doing something in the community... they talk about the necessity of your activity but your actual activity is more linked to religion.”

(Interview transcript – Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš, 11 May 2018)

“religious education takes a lot of participation activities in the way of humanitarian life and so on, so also that charitable approach, helping approach is also something that is promoted... help the others, help the poor and so on.”

(Interview transcript – Eli Pijaca Plavšić, 11 April 2018)

Connected to this picture, through the analysis of my interviews I found out that there is also a sort of list of characteristics of “the good citizen” that is promoted through citizenship education, but also more broadly in Croatian schools. These characteristics include, for example, politeness, obedience and loyalty – once again recalling conservative, traditional and Catholic attitudes. This finding is of course quite telling about the relationship between CE and HRE in Croatia. It also winks at a minimal interpretation of CE that promotes citizens who are law-abiding, work hard and possess a good character but do not discuss societal structures and relations that create inequalities among citizens (see section 1.2.1. above).

“good citizens are citizens which are honest, which are not corrupt, which help other people, but not citizens which are critical to the political system, which have democratic skills and attitudes. The idea of citizenship education is more normative, like what they call good Samaritians... to help other people, to be honest, to respect their family, to respect their... I think it’s very wrong but I think that’s the main idea... currently it’s closer to moral than political aspects. Citizenship is a more moralistic idea than a political idea. (...) not citizen as someone who has critical thinking about the political process but someone who is loyal to his family, to his community”.

(Interview transcript – Berto Šalaj, 10 May 2018)

Chapter 6 – Case study (Italy)

This chapter looks at the second case study of my research, namely Italy, and it will therefore be structured as the previous one on Croatia. In the first part I will deeply analyse the national policy context of citizenship education starting from the long Italian tradition of civic education. Indeed, as I will show below, civic education was already grounded in the Constitution and in the first school reform of the 1950s but it found a more solid conceptualisation within the 1958 decree pushed by Aldo Moro. I will continue the contextualisation of the development of civic/citizenship education in Italy following its major steps, including the delegated decrees of 1974, a shift to intercultural education also promoted by international organisations and the range of various types of education introduced in the 1990s. This first part of the chapter will then focus on law 53/2003 that established education to civil coexistence, law 169/2008 that introduced “Cittadinanza e Costituzione” (Citizenship and Constitution) and the 2015 “Buona Scuola” (Good School) reform ongoing until the time of this writing (June 2019). This analysis aims to provide a useful informative framework to better understand the national specificities of the Italian case study.

The second part of this chapter will focus on Italian results to the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2016. More precisely, Italian data coming from the international report of ICCS 2016 and relevant to the research topic were used to frame my interview questions (see Appendix B). Following the structure of those guiding questions, in this part I will present Italian results compared to the international average set by ICCS 2016 and I will summarise the main interview findings for each question. The following areas will be discussed: level of autonomy of schools in curriculum planning; learning objectives for and aims of civic and citizenship education; conventional and social-movement-related citizenship; students’ endorsement of gender equality and of equal rights for all ethnic and racial groups; school contexts for civic and citizenship education; students’ opportunities to participate in activities carried out in the local community; teaching methods for civic and citizenship education; teacher preparation on civic- and citizenship-related topics and skills. This is the exact same structure/procedure that I used for the other case study and will allow me to develop a preliminary analysis of some of my interview findings.

Finally, the third part of this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of my research findings using the talk-and-action approach as explained in chapter 4. Indeed, adopting a multi-level actor-centred approach, each sub-paragraph will look at one specific actor aiming to identify pressures and demands with which it is

confronted and how it responds differentiating between talk, decision and action. As already explained before, I decided to focus my research on five actors: ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society. Each subparagraph of the third part of this chapter will therefore investigate one of these actors and will end with a conceptual map to graphically represent the differentiated picture of citizenship education from the perspective of multiple key actors at stake. Through this exercise it is hoped to achieve my research purpose, thus better understand the complexity of citizenship education systems and environments, as well as the central tensions related to human rights and how these are perceived by the selected actor. As a result, the main research question of this thesis about the place and role of human rights within citizenship education, or the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education, will be addressed within the specific context of the case study of Italy.

6.1. Development of civic/citizenship education in Italy

The Italian context is characterised by a long tradition of “educazione civica” (civic education). This term remains also nowadays very commonly used at the national level and includes a broad conceptualisation of both cognitive and behavioural aspects. It is very close to the concept of “educazione alla cittadinanza” (citizenship education) and therefore often combined in a single expression of civic and citizenship education, consistent with national and international most used terminology. *“Summarizing the statements of the current legislation, the term ‘educazione civica’ is used in a very broad manner in the Italian school system; is related to the knowledge and exercise of rights and responsibilities. Civic and citizenship education is essentially characterized as education for democracy and for democratic living together, with full respect for social and cultural differences.”* (Bombardelli & Codato, 2017). The meanings and uses of these terms are widely debated in the literature. According to some scholars, citizenship education differs from civic education as the former is broader in terms of objectives and contents than the latter. Indeed, citizenship education is focused on the effective exercise of that broad spectrum of competences that are generally linked not only to citizens’ awareness of their rights and duties, but also to their active participation in the political and social life. Citizenship therefore embraces different spheres of meaning, including a legal sphere (i.e. membership of a constitutional State), and in a broader sense the rights and duties derived from said membership (Chistolini, 2010), plus a sense of belonging and sharing of fundamental values of the

community which deeply impacts on the values, culture, and relational approaches that the citizen will adopt (Corradini, 2013). On the other hand, civic education is instead generally aimed, within a more traditional and formal/notional educational framework, at the transmission/acquisition of essential knowledges concerning the political organization of a state, the functioning of civil society in the context of a democratic system, etc. Also for this reason civic education has traditionally been a narrow and very marginal component of the curriculum (Lastrucci, 2006). It is surely the case that while there have been a considerable amount of activities and efforts on civic and citizenship education in Italy over the years, these often stopped short and did not achieve the desired outcome especially at the governmental and ministerial level. One explanation, probably among others, can be that education needs long-term approaches while politics is mostly dominated by short-term objectives in order to gain support and consensus (Corradini, 2016). However, civic education is recognized as a crucial pillar of the Italian school system and, following a more extensive interpretation, encompasses a wider set of objectives and contents. *“In the Italian school system, civic education is seen as one of the fundamental aims of school education as a whole. All the general introductions to curricula in force in the various school levels refer to the Italian Constitution and to the fundamental rights and duties of man and citizens that it specifies and guarantees. From what has been said so far, it is quite clear that the term ‘civic education’ is used in a very broad manner in the Italian school system, and refers to ‘that sphere of values and issues essentially concerning the domain of the citizen, without however neglecting its connections with ethical, civil, social and economic issues relating to the person and worker’, as established in a Ministry of Education directive (Educazione civica e cultura costituzionale, no. 58, 8 February 1996).”* (Losito, 2003).

Going beyond a mere linguistic nuance between civic and citizenship education, there is no doubt this education mirrors the identities and social changes of a country. Through its history one can understand not only the idea of school and state as regulated by the legislator, but also the tensions, advancements and setbacks of democratic life in a country (Santerini, 2006). The demand for an education dealing with citizenship, variously called social education, socio-political education or, more commonly, civic education, has a long pedagogical tradition and it was differently understood according to the type of government that prescribed it. The Italian civic/citizenship education has distant roots, dating back to the Constitution in which the republican school was founded. Therefore, since 1948, democracy, legality and civil ethics have

been looked as fundamental principles to inspire the educational system. However, it is only after ten years the Constitution came into force that civic education was introduced into secondary school by a decree of 1958 (Moliterni, 2006).

6.1.1. From the beginning of the Italian Republic until the end of the 1990s

The emphasis on the discourse around citizenship and its educational implications seems to be connected in the first place to the emergence of human rights, brought to the fore especially in the second half of the XX century (after the season of civil rights in the nineteenth century and the one of social rights in the first half of the twentieth century). Furthermore, it can be connected with the need to make the ideal and practice of democracy alive, especially after the unprecedented hardship of the Second World War, and inspire the life of nations, international relations and world development (Nanni, 2006). From the beginning of the Italian Republic, already during the drafting of the first school reform, the Gonella bill n. 2100 of 1951 (art.15) identified civic education as a specific teaching for every type and grade of school, having both an informative and formative character. This teaching was seen as crucial in a democratic society in order to transform children and young people into citizens, promote their rights and duties by looking at both love of the homeland and understanding of the international community. This idea, although the bill was shelved, was in line with the request of the Constituent Assembly to the Government and the Parliament, with an unanimously approved agenda dated 11.12.1947, to find an adequate place for the new Constitutional Charter in the schools of all levels to make the young generation aware of the moral and social achievements at the basis of that process. Civic education was then established in 1958 by a decree of the President of the Republic supported by Aldo Moro, Ministry of Education at that time, and entitled “Programmi per l’insegnamento dell’educazione civica negli Istituti e Scuole di istruzione secondaria e artistica” (Programs for the teaching of civic education in Institutes and Schools of secondary and artistic education) (DPR 13.6.1958, no. 585). Under this decree looking at secondary schools, civic education was connected to the teaching of history and included ethical, juridical and political issues. However, there was no separate grade and the allocated time was minimal, two hours per month (Le Piane, 2014), with the recommendation to further adopt a cross-disciplinary implementation. These features resulted in a diversified impact, largely dependent on teachers and on how they differently interpreted their role in this mission. Civic education was

then underlined in the syllabuses for the comprehensive lower secondary school in 1962 and 1979, with an interesting focus on the Italian Constitution and the role recognised to humanities teachers to develop this content, and in those for the primary school in 1985 including “Educazione alla convivenza democratica” (Education to democratic coexistence). These efforts, however, have been highlighted in the literature as very enlightening on a pedagogical level but extremely weak in terms of didactic organisation of the curriculum (Corradini, 2016).

After the 1968 movement an attempt was made to re-launch the debate on citizenship and human rights education with the delegated decrees of 1974, which brought attention to rights and duties, participation (also political), councils and assemblies, experimentation and innovation. All these issues and principles guided several projects that flourished during those years (Progetto Giovani of 1985 and following *Giovani 93*, *Ragazzi 2000*, *Progetto Genitori*, *Arcobaleno*, etc.) which gave a boost to school autonomy. These initiatives, though financed, remained confined to extracurricular activities and left entirely to the good will and personal sensibility of individual teachers. It is fair to say that they created nonetheless the opportunity, for those willing and able to attend, to open spaces for participation in schools and generated a greater social and civic sensitivity through the implicit curriculum that was intertwined with the formal one. Since 1989 intercultural education has also become high on the agenda of the Ministry, together with the issue of minorities connected to the growing migration flows to Italy, and international organisations such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe took the initiative for developing projects of inter-multicultural education in schools. Over the years, school initiatives in this field have seen the contribution of many Ministry of Education circulars. For example, Circular no. 301 of 8 September 1989 entitled “Inserimento degli stranieri nella scuola dell’obbligo: formazione e coordinamento delle iniziative per l’esercizio del diritto allo studio” (Integration of foreigners in compulsory education: training and coordination of initiatives for exercising the right to education) aimed to encourage contacts between schools that have foreign pupils and the immigrant groups and communities these pupils belong to, in order to facilitate direct communication with peer and adult immigrants who have already developed a certain mastery of the Italian language. Circular no. 205 of 26 July 1990 entitled “La scuola dell’obbligo e gli alunni stranieri. L’educazione interculturale” (Compulsory education and foreign students. Intercultural education) stressed the role of intercultural education to facilitate a constructive living together, promote the acceptance of and

respect for diversity, tackle stereotypes and prejudices towards different peoples and cultures. Further important ministerial documents related to intercultural education are Circular no. 73 of 2 March 1994 entitled “Dialogo interculturale e convivenza democratica: l’impegno progettuale della scuola” (Intercultural dialogue and democratic coexistence: the school’s planning commitment) aimed at encouraging cooperation and participation inside schools and Circular no. 56 of 16 February 1995 entitled “Campagna europea dei giovani contro il razzismo, la xenofobia, l’antisemitismo e l’intolleranza” (European youth campaign against racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and intolerance). Always in 1995 the “Consiglio Nazionale della Pubblica Istruzione” (National Council of Education) developed the document “Educazione civica, democrazia e diritti umani” (Civic education, democracy and human rights) in which it is stated that in order to counter any form of individualism, racism and massification, schools must be able to build educational paths based on knowledge of and respect for the rights of every person, dialogue, collaboration, justice, legality and peace. The limitation of the suggestions contained in all the circulars identified above, however, derives from the fact that their actual implementation largely depended on the interest and willingness of teachers inside each school who were ultimately responsible for setting up projects and initiatives in the field of civic and citizenship education (Losito, 2003). The same conclusion has been reached in the literature regarding the ministerial circulars on human rights education (Losito, 1998).

At the beginning of the 1990s, a range of various types of education was introduced into schools, trying to address the failure to properly and systematically reform the secondary school system. All these various forms and nuances of education were adopted as a response to social challenges and needs, often just for a very short period of time and as a sort of emergency reaction, and included around 30 different typologies (e.g. democracy, human rights, legality, freedom, peace, development, health, solidarity, road safety, sport, environment, food, Italy, Europe, the world, etc.) (Corradini, 2009). “Le educazioni” (the educations), starting from the one concerning health that was introduced with TU DPR 9.10.1990, no. 309, found a temporary reassembly in an organic framework with the directive of Minister Giancarlo Lombardi (8.2.1996, n. 58) entitled “Programmi di insegnamento di educazione civica” (Civic education teaching programs) and in its attachment “Nuove dimensioni formative, educazione civica e cultura costituzionale” (New educational dimensions, civic education and constitutional culture). These documents aimed to systematise all the various educations and recognised that the Italian Constitution has the unique

characteristic of founding in a unitary vision human rights and national identity, autonomy and supranational openness, school as institution and its task of research, teaching, guarantee and promotion of the person. In this sense, the Constitution becomes a crucial indicator of progress for schools and a message of hope that the older generations give to young people entering the world scene. The Lombardi directive also announced a continuous curriculum of civic education and constitutional culture from pre-primary to upper secondary school providing for this subject, renewed in its contents and perspectives, a specific timetable and a separate grade. The related programs, however, although unanimously approved by the National Council of Education with certain suggestions, were not adopted by the subsequent Minister Luigi Berlinguer who merely sent the Lombardi directive to schools without giving them a curriculum, as he was much more focused on the reorganization of cycles and school autonomy (Corradini, 2016). *“(T)he last few years have seen greater school autonomy as regards administrative-financial matters as well as in organization and teaching (Law 127 of 1997 and the subsequent implementation regulation of 1999). According to these new dispositions, the Ministry of Education is responsible for defining the general objectives of education processes, deciding on the school subjects characterizing the various school levels and on the relative teaching hours (national curricula), establishing quality standards for the school service as well as the minimum duration of the school year, the distribution of financial resources and the assigning of staff to schools, and also for establishing the criteria for evaluating the overall school system. Schools have the responsibility for deciding on teaching methodologies, teaching times and organization, also by starting up supplementary courses to the ones established at national level (up to a maximum of 15% of the total annual teaching hours). Schools can also implement initiatives for innovation, research and experimentation with a view to school development. At the start of every school year, each school must approve its own Piano dell’offerta formativa (Education Offer Plan), which establishes the projects the school plans to organise and the objectives to be achieved.”* (Losito, 2003). The objective of student participation saw the highest recognition in those years with the DPR no. 249 of 1998 containing the “Statuto delle studentesse e degli studenti” (Students’ Statute) which defines the school as a community of dialogue, research, social experience, based on democratic values and aimed at the growth of all dimensions of the person, providing also a framework for the relations among members of the school community.

6.1.2. Law 53/2003 (Minister Letizia Moratti)

An important attempt to advance citizenship education in Italy was made by law 28.03.2003 n. 53, “Delega al Governo per la definizione delle norme generali sull’istruzione e dei livelli essenziali delle prestazioni in materia di istruzione e formazione professionale” (Delegation to the Government for the definition of general education standards and essential levels of the performances concerning vocational education and training) and by the related decree 19.02.2004 n. 59, “Definizione delle norme generali relative alla scuola dell’infanzia e al primo ciclo dell’istruzione” (Definition of the general standards for kindergarten and the first cycle of education). Another important step during those years was the DM 23.4.2007, “Carta dei valori della cittadinanza e dell’integrazione” (Charter of values of citizenship and integration) developed to support immigrant people toward the Italian citizenship. Law 28.03.2003 n. 53 was particularly pushed by the Minister Letizia Moratti and broadly established education to civil coexistence in a transdisciplinary way and with no separate dedicated time, meaning that all teachers of various disciplines were responsible for teaching in their respective programs part of the fundamental principles of civil coexistence. It also specifically defined at the level of national indications the development of this civic education through six educations, i.e. citizenship, road safety, environmental, health, food and affective-sexual education. The first three dimensions concern the objective sphere, meaning the juridical-environmental norms, while the second three dimensions concern the subjective sphere, therefore the ethical and bio-psychological field. In other words, the Moratti reform aggregated the multitude of existing educations around two major poles: on the one hand the social and civil life (citizenship, road safety and environment), on the other personal identity and interpersonal relationships (health, food and affective-sexual education). Citizenship education was therefore placed in the first pole and seen as the first of the six specifications of education to civil coexistence. The national guidelines, with the specific objective of education to civil coexistence articulated in the aforementioned six educations, both for primary and secondary schools, have been widely proposed in ministerial recommendations, but then abandoned. Indeed, the complexity of this program and the provision of a separate assessment and grade of these educations led the following ministers to drop the plan and step back also from the teaching of the Constitution as envisaged by Moro in 1958. Indeed, law 53/2003 refers to spiritual and moral formation, also inspired by the principles of the Constitution, and the development of historical awareness and belonging to the local and national community, as well as to European civilization

(art. 2). As it has been questioned in the literature, one might wonder the meaning of the lack of the global or extra-European dimension in law 53/2003 (Santerini, 2006).

In continuity with Moratti's intervention, the following Minister, Giuseppe Fioroni, signed in September 2007 the "Indicazioni per il curricolo per la scuola dell'infanzia e del primo ciclo d'istruzione" (Guidelines for the curriculum for kindergarten and first cycle of education) in which citizenship education was still conceptualized as a transversal matter and described as the necessary premise for a new humanism. Furthermore, the Minister established a group on "Legalità e cittadinanza" (Legality and citizenship) within the "Comitato Scuola e Legalità" (School and Legality Committee) (Corradini & Mari, 2019).

6.1.3. Law 169/2008 (Minister Mariastella Gelmini)

Since the beginning of her mandate, Minister of Education, University and Research Mariastella Gelmini nominated a specific working group on civic education. She was also responsible for the landmark decree that then became law 30.10.2008 n. 169 (art. 1), known as "Cittadinanza e Costituzione" (Citizenship and Constitution). *"The Law 'Cittadinanza e Costituzione' 169/2008 puts the basis for regulating civic and citizenship education in the Italian school system at all levels and degrees; it is integrated by the 'Documento di indirizzo per la sperimentazione dell'insegnamento Cittadinanza e Costituzione' (Document for the experimentation of the teaching Citizenship and Constitution: Document 04/03/2009), followed by the Ministerial Circular Letter 86/2010, which explicitly introduces dedicated and cross-disciplinary themes of 'citizenship and constitution' in all possible occasions for doing so. In the curricula of history, geography and social studies in primary schools; law and economics (in the school tracks of upper secondary schools where they are taught, also technical and vocational schools), biology (bioethic), etc. it is planned to deal with issues related to civic education, although without a precise time table and without marking."* (Bombardelli & Codato, 2017). The new subject Citizenship and Constitution (C&C) aimed to develop the concept of active citizenship and to increase the knowledge of the Italian Constitution, European citizenship, human rights, intercultural dialogue, education to legality and environmental education. It was supposed to enter into force from school year 2008-2009, then postponed to school year 2009-2010, with one hour per week within either the geographic-historical or the socio-historical programmes of primary and secondary schools for a total of 33 hours per year during all primary and secondary school cycles. Therefore, although

with a limited time, C&C was situated within the hourly space of some subjects as a recognition of its relevance and importance, recalling what Aldo Moro already stressed in 1958 (Corradini & Mari, 2019). According to the new law, the acquisition of skills and competences related to Citizenship and Constitution in the first and second cycle of education has to be delivered during the teaching time of existing subjects and through a cross-curricular approach integrated into several conventional subjects (such as history, economy, law, social studies, geography, philosophy or religious education/ethics). Due to this place within the curriculum and the fact that the total teaching hours for those subjects supposed to integrate C&C remain the same, the literature argues that in spite of its official status Citizenship and Constitution has never been fully developed as a subject (Corradini, 2013). As already stated above, law 169/2008 was accompanied by a crucial and detailed document for the experimentation of C&C (04.03.2009), signed by Minister Gelmini, and by the two more explanatory ministerial circulars n. 100/2008 and n. 86/2010. In particular, circular 27.10.2010 n. 86 reiterated the importance of a dedicated time to deepen the specific contents of Citizenship and Constitution and further encouraged new ways of organizing teaching and learning, including methodologies to foster the active role and participation of students. It also underlined the effective collaboration and partnership of schools with families, student councils and associations, local authorities, police and judiciary forces, socio-cultural and sport associations, foundations and the third sector more generally. Furthermore, Ministerial Circular 86/2010 included an organic reference to constitutional values, human rights and citizenship-related issues, and provided general indications distinguishing between the “integrated dimension”, i.e. internal to the different teachings of the geographic-historical and the socio-historical area, and the “transversal dimension”, intersecting all disciplines and relevant contents (Corradini, 2011). Unfortunately, while at the beginning the Minister seemed to acknowledge the importance of a dedicated time and space for Citizenship and Constitution within the educational system, it then became a generic recommendation of cross-curricular implementation with no compulsory dedicated time. Some authors argue that this turnabout was mostly due to the urgency of other priorities that arose in the reform of the educational system and the specific request by the Minister of Economy and Finance at that time, Giulio Tremonti, to save money and resources (Corradini & Mari, 2019). As a result, the actual implementation of C&C was left to the interest and willingness of teachers inside each school. This reinforced the already ongoing Italian pattern of discrepancies in the various practices of schools and teachers, despite international

and European suggestions to thoroughly and systematically introduce education for democratic citizenship and human rights within the formal system (Marziali, 2007). The cross-curricular subject Citizenship and Constitution is basically left in the hands of teachers, who are encouraged to adopt learning objectives and develop projects with their students within a national framework that is broadly sketched. As a matter of fact, citizenship education remains confined in a sphere of non-compulsoriness since there is no assessment of learning outcomes or a dedicated teaching time. Depending on the will of teachers and schools means that there are huge differences in the country, even from one school to another. Law 169/2008 also envisioned a national experimentation of raising awareness activities and training opportunities aimed at acquiring, in the first and second cycle of education, the knowledge and skills related to Citizenship and Constitution within the geographic-historical and the socio-historical areas. However, this experimentation was not developed as prescribed by law, i.e. to explore possible innovations regarding the study systems, but it was assigned to the National Institute for Documentation, Innovation and Educational Research (INDIRE) that organised a sort of competition of ideas in which schools were invited to present good practices and projects of experimentation and innovation. The fact that this national competition saw in the 2009-2010 school year the presentation of more than 3000 projects (of which 104 were selected) and the involvement of around 5000 schools (of which 367 were awarded and received a contribution from the Ministry) is surely a positive result and should not be underestimated. It demonstrates an important commitment to citizenship education and related issues. However, this kind of projects and activities was already possible within the existing education system as autonomy allows schools to allocate time to issues related to C&C (Corradini, 2011). Therefore, the national experimentation as described by law 169/2008 was never achieved. Concerning teacher training, national and regional seminars were held involving principals and teachers, as well as INDIRE organised an online information/training environment for the training of tutor teachers.

6.1.4. The “Buona Scuola” reform

By law 107/2015 the Italian government adopted a reform of the national education and training called “La Buona Scuola” (The Good School). This reform foresees several changes in various aspects of education and training and of the curricula in order to improve the quality of state education and foster the alignment between education and labour market needs. The Good School focuses on school autonomy and strengthens

financial and operational tools, as well as economic and human resources. The reform also proposes a richer educational offer for students that looks at tradition (more Music and Art) but also to the future (more Languages, digital skills, Economics). High schools might activate optional subjects to better meet specific educational needs. Due to a strong emphasis on digital skills, the Ministry of Education announced the adoption of a national Plan for digital school, including the development of coding skills and computational thinking for primary school learners, as well as resources for teaching and teacher training. State investment in school building is confirmed, with the provision of funds for both maintenance interventions and for the construction of innovative structures. The “Buona Scuola” stresses the importance of involving the entire school community in the design and development of the “Piano dell’Offerta Formativa” (Education Offer Plan) which constitutes the foundation document of the cultural and planning identity of each institute. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR) supported the initiative of teachers’ associations, NGOs and other civil society actors for carrying out various cross-curricular and extracurricular projects and programmes on themes not explicitly envisaged by the curriculum, such as education for peace, intercultural education, environmental education, etc. Law 107/2015 also favors the opening of the school to the participation of all citizens, both through activities promoted in collaboration with families and associations during periods of suspension of teaching activities (article 1, paragraph 22), and with the alternation between school and work (article 1, paragraphs 33 and following) (Santerini, 2016). The alternation between school and work, or apprenticeship, is indeed another key element included in the reform. The law states that it will be guaranteed to all students in the last three years of high school and it could potentially be done abroad and in cultural institutions. The “Buona Scuola” pushes for meritocratic and performance indicators, echoing market mechanisms and criteria, to build up a stronger school system that reinforces the school-work relationship. *“For work-based learning, an alternating school-work programme will be compulsory for all learners in the last three years of upper secondary schools; 200 hours a year in general education (Lyceums) and 400 hours a year in technical and vocational schools. This can be arranged either during the school year or in summer, and also abroad. The law foresees the creation of a number of tools and mechanisms, such as a statute defining rights and duties of students who engage in such schemes and a national repository of companies and organisations that offer places for school-work*

*alternating programmes.*⁴⁶ The “Buona Scuola” reform, ongoing until 2019, surely contains several positive aspects and aims to address some very important issues. Concerning civic and citizenship education, it only marginally touches the topic. It has been criticized in the literature that law 107/2015 never cites the Constitution and completely forgot to mention law 169/2008 (Corradini & Mari, 2019). Furthermore, effective teaching changes in the field of civic and citizenship education remain doubtful since teachers still do not receive dedicated initial training and teaching activity is not established in an autonomous way (Bombardelli & Codato, 2017).

The Italian context is obviously influenced by international and European inputs, including at the policy level, and this is why it looked for example at the Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education of 2010, at the 2013 European Year of Citizens, and so forth. In particular, similarly to what I highlighted in the previous chapter on Croatia (section 5.1.2.), the Italian school system paid careful attention to the EU Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning (European Union, 2006). This reference framework is indeed widely accepted and quoted at the national level. Also the “Programma Operativo Nazionale” (PON) 2017 (National Operational Program 2017) launched a competition for financing projects on key competences, including civic competences by mentioning global and European citizenship, and citizenship and digital creativity. The Ministry of Education also recognised civic and citizenship education among the priorities of the 2016-2019 Teacher Training National Plan and organised a digital platform called “Sistema Operativo per la Formazione e le Iniziative di Aggiornamento dei docenti” (S.O.F.I.A.) specifically dedicated to in-service teacher training. As an overall concluding remark it might be said that also the “Buona Scuola” reform, despite the good intentions, has been unable to realise a systematic approach to citizenship education and left the burden of its implementation to teachers, resulting in a fragmented and mostly marginal impact. Another recent and relevant document adopted in Italy on the wave of international and regional standards, particularly the UN 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), is the “Strategia Italiana per l’Educazione alla Cittadinanza Globale”⁴⁷ (Italian Strategy for Global Citizenship Education). This National Strategy, approved on 28 February 2018, is the result of a collective effort of a multi-stakeholder working group involving Ministries, National Agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society actors. It defines and

⁴⁶ Retrieved from: <http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/it/news-and-press/news/italy-education-reform>. Date: 3 June 2019.

⁴⁷ Full text available in Italian at this link: <https://www.aics.gov.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/strategia-ECG-2018.pdf>. Accessed on 4 June 2019.

conceptualizes Global Citizenship Education (GCE) based on an analysis of the international context and the evolution of the concept from “civic” education, then “development” and finally to “global citizenship”. GCE is not proposed as one of the educations, nor as an additional subject, but it is conceived in the document as a transversal approach to all the disciplines within formal education, as well as non-formal education activities. The National Strategy constitutes an important and integrated reference framework detailing areas of action, actors involved and useful recommendations to make effective educational interventions in the field of GCE. A last note relevant to the contextualisation of the Italian case study, and confirmed during the finalisation of this thesis, is that in August 2019 the Italian government approved by law the introduction of compulsory civic education in primary and secondary schools starting from September 2019 and with at least 33 hours per year. While within a cross-curricular framework, the teaching of civic education is entrusted to the teachers of the geographic-historical area in the primary and lower secondary schools, and to the teachers qualified to the teaching of juridical and economic subjects in upper secondary schools. A teacher among those teaching civic education is also identified in order to provide coordination. The main topics addressed by the subject are: the Constitution, institutions of the Italian State, of the EU and of international organisations; history of the flag and of the national anthem; 2030 Agenda for sustainable development; education to digital citizenship; fundamental elements of law, with particular regard to labor law; environmental education, eco-sustainable development and protection of the environmental heritage, identities, productions and territorial and agrifood excellences; education to legality and to contrast the mafia; education to respect and enhance cultural heritage and common public goods; basic training on civil protection.⁴⁸

6.2. ICCS 2016: Italy

As I did in section 5.2. of the previous chapter on Croatia, I will now proceed with the analysis of Italian results based on data coming from the international report of ICCS 2016 (Schulz et. al., 2017). More precisely, following the several interesting findings on civic and citizenship education that I used to frame my interview questions (see Appendix B for a comprehensive overview on data and questions), the analysis compares Italian results to the international average set by ICCS 2016.

⁴⁸ See for more information: <https://www.tuttoscuola.com/educazione-civica-a-settembre-sui-banchi-di-scuola-il-testo-integrale-del-ddl/>. Date: 5 August 2019.

First of all, it is important to note that Italy took part in ICCS 2016 with 170 schools, 3450 students and 2331 teachers. The civic knowledge average score of the ICCS 2016 countries was 517 scale points and Italian students scored 524 (achievement significantly higher than international average). This score was mostly connected during my interviews to the fact that Italian students usually obtain quite positive results at the cognitive level. However, the national research coordinator of ICCS 2016 has rightfully pointed out that the Italian ranking position is not as good as it looks at first sight.

“Italy, as you said, seems alright if you look at the results, but if we look at the trend from 2009 to 2016 the picture is quite worrying in my opinion... apart from the fact that even if we look at the average score, Italy has an average score of 524 which is significantly above the international average, but we are at the very limit of significance in the sense that only the Netherlands is worse than us, they are in line with the average but have a score of 523, so only a point less than us (...) So excluding the Netherlands, if you look at the countries that are below us, and therefore below the international average: Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Bulgaria, Chile Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Dominican Republic. So we have all the European countries above us, and this is for me already quite telling... furthermore, out of 17 countries, 11 countries improve compared to 2009, and they improve significantly, then there are a series that do not improve significantly but that still tend to have a higher score than 2009, Italy is the only country that in reality, so we can't say that it gets worse because the difference is not statistically significant but probably if we had had a bigger sample it would have been significant, the trend however is that, the tendency is to worsen, in fact we had an average of 531 in 2009 and 524 in 2016. Then, the other thing, if you make the comparison with the European countries, in 2009 Italy stood out compared to the other European countries, Italy had 531 and the European average was 520... in 2016 the situation is reversed.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Laura Palmerio, 4 October 2018)

Concerning the *level of school autonomy* and looking at the ICCS 2016 context survey (compiled by national research centres), Italy presents a higher or some degree of autonomy in all decision-making processes investigated (allocating resources, curriculum planning, pedagogy or approaches to teaching and student assessment) except for one (recruiting and appointing teaching staff) that is centrally managed by the Ministry. As for the *level of autonomy of schools in planning civic and citizenship education*, the results of school questionnaire (compiled by principals) indicate that schools have complete/enough autonomy with scores significantly above the ICCS 2016 average on all of the seven areas investigated (choice of textbooks and teaching materials, establishing student assessment procedures and tools, curriculum planning, determining the content of in-service professional development programs for teachers, extracurricular activities, establishing cooperation agreements with organizations and institutions, participating in projects in partnership with other schools at national level) (see question 12 of Appendix B). My interview findings seem to indicate that Italian schools are not that autonomous, the educational system is indeed quite

structured and the curriculum set by the Ministry. However, it is true that schools are very free in planning civic and citizenship education but this is because it is not a subject and therefore schools and teachers have a wide margin of discretion, leading to a situation in which autonomy is variously interpreted and used.

“schools in Italy are not autonomous. They are not autonomous on the basis of three European principles... an organization is autonomous, according to European definition, when one recruits and pays its employees, it is not the case of the school, when it is the owner of the buildings, it is not the case of our school, when it has complete autonomy of governance... it is simply not true that principals have autonomy over the curriculum, absolutely not, the curriculum is fixed... (concerning the autonomy of schools in planning civic and citizenship education) this yes, of course. But you know why? Because it is not a subject... how can I tell you? There is an undefined thing, so you can do everything and the opposite of everything inside that.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Giovanni Biondi, 8 October 2018)

“concerning Citizenship and Constitution, for me... the result of this research (ICCS 2016) is precisely and perfectly consistent with what we said earlier about a very large-meshed standard, so one has the perception that you can do what you want, of course.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Andrea Porcarelli, 1 October 2018)

“in theory autonomy could mean what you say, better contextualize the interventions, make them closer to the local community, ensure that young people find themselves in the teachings because these are then really connected to their daily life. Actually, in my opinion, autonomy also allows for diversity in performances and approaches (...) So, how to say, it is positive because it should be so and in some contexts it is, in others it easily makes possible to deviate from the theme and perhaps simply translate it into civic education which is of course important but, from my point of view, it should not be just that in 2018.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Silvia Volpi, 2 October 2018)

Another aspect explored by ICCS 2016 concerns specific *learning objectives for civic and citizenship education* and the Italian national context survey indicated that all of them are covered within the curriculum (see question 13 of Appendix B). Regarding the *aims of civic and citizenship education*, the ICCS 2016 survey asked both principals and teachers to select from a list of items what they considered to be the three most important ones. Combining both principals' and teachers' responses, the only item where Italy scores more than 10 percentage points above ICCS 2016 average is “Promoting knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities” while it scores below ICCS 2016 average on several items more connected to skills and attitudes such as defending one's own point of view, participating in school life or preparing students for future political engagement (see question 14 of Appendix B). This is also confirmed in my interviews, the Italian education system is mostly focused on the cognitive level.

“(the fact that Italy scores above on promoting knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities) of course, because you are more on the cognitive side... it is the thing on which teachers feel more comfortable, it is easier to evaluate, it is more manageable.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Bruno Losito, 4 October 2018)

ICCS 2016 also distinguished between *conventional and social-movement-related citizenship*, both considered as forms of active citizenship, and asked students to rate whether these are important according to a list of items that have been used to derive a scale. Italian students perceive that both conventional and social-movement-related citizenship are important, scoring more than 3 score points above ICCS 2016 average on the former and significantly above the international average on the latter (see question 15 of Appendix B). During my interviews it has been highlighted that Italian schools are definitely more towards a concept of active citizenship rather than passive, but this is mostly in a conventional form and specifically connected to the nation and its symbols. Furthermore, the strong focus on the Constitution seems to derive from the Italian tradition of civic education.

“so concerning active citizenship, therefore respecting institutions, voting, etc.... compared to other countries, it seems to me that there is greater attention and affection towards our institutions and our Constitutional Charter... people on average have read the Constitution, then maybe they didn't go deeper (...) and also the role of the President of the Republic, since we have always had a very polarized, very violent political life, these reassuring guarantee symbols in some way have an importance... the feeling that I have is that they have a greater importance of social unification.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Emilia Astore, 21 September 2018)

“it is also a concept of citizenship perhaps very much within national boundaries, in teachers' mindset it is linked to the Constitution, to the strictly national context and there is still no clear passage to the global”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

“very often when I worked with teachers in schools I realized that citizenship education is very often intended as civic education... so the whole explanation of the Constitution, of the governing bodies is treated somehow, but it is missing the whole part, from my point of view of course, of what it means to be citizens”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Silvia Volpi, 2 October 2018)

Conflicting scores emerged from the ICCS 2016 attempt to measure students' endorsement of gender equality and of equal rights for all ethnic and racial groups. Indeed, while Italian students scored significantly above the ICCS 2016 average regarding positive attitudes toward gender equality (see question 16 of Appendix B), they scored significantly below the international average regarding their endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups in society (see question 17 of Appendix B). My interview findings show that there are several interesting explanations to these results. First, *gender equality*, or better equality between men and women, has been developed as a topic by both government and civil society through various activities for a long time now, therefore contributing to the increase of people's awareness. However,

this does not mean that students really understand what gender equality entails or that they are able to translate it practically in their daily lives, families, communities and society.

“in Italy there is a history of gender, 68-77, that is also reflected in schools and for which there has been a lot of work on gender over the years... so they know the theory, they really know it all... then they find hard to contextualize as usual, no? Then in the end they lack that final competence, they know the whole theory. (...) When Amnesty enters schools, I have all the right answers. Then when you see them in the proof of facts, because we then move from theory to practice, you see that the relational aspect is still violent, it turns out to be ghettoising. I worked with a school... when you work in schools with maybe just two or three... technical schools for example, right? With two or three female elements in a class of twenty... it becomes strident. It becomes really tangible even for you that you go a few hours every now and then, it becomes tangible. The element in my opinion of gender inequality is theoretically assimilated but, as usual, very badly managed in practice.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Francesca Cesarotti, 14 September 2018)

Second, regarding Italian students' low endorsement of equality for all ethnic/racial groups, it seems from my interviews that this is not surprising especially due to the current public and political debate and the high politicisation of immigration over the last several years.

“The difference between gender equality and equality, let's say intercultural equality, unfortunately does not surprise me because we are a racist country, whatever we say (...) while women concern everyone somehow, and so it was also easier to create joint parliamentary committees, no? Groups who made parliamentary proposals of a certain type. Concerning the rights of migrants and Roma people, it did not work this way (...) I think there is a problem of institutional racism, even in schools, even affecting teachers because I met so many racist teachers, at least as far as the Roma were concerned there was always in all schools some resistance from someone... while on gender equality... at least equality between man and woman, also sexual orientation and gender identity are starting to be thematized. Integration of foreigners, unfortunately, they pay the consequences of the public discourse also, which has been generated not only in these last six months, it is something that has been going on for some years now and then students, consciously or unconsciously, transmit it in my opinion... we're becoming racists.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Emilia Astore, 21 September 2018)

“Well my feeling is that young people are currently subjected to different types of propaganda. And I call propaganda everything that goes uncritically into people's minds (...) Italy to the Italians, first the Italians or something like that, right now is a slogan, quite pervasive, those who used it also from the political point of view have capitalized an advantage, those who have used opposing slogans have capitalized a disadvantage.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Andrea Porcarelli, 1 October 2018)

“you have to face the challenges of contemporary society and therefore it is closely linked, I repeat, to a climate that they breathe not only at school but also and above all outside the school... in the family, in the social and political system they live.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

Also in terms of school contexts for civic and citizenship education, the Italian case shows some deficiencies. For example, according to the questionnaire compiled by principals, Italian lower secondary school does not foresee class or school parliament representatives elected among students, differently from

the majority of ICCS 2016 countries, and Italy scores below the international average concerning engagement of the school community, meaning students', teachers' and parents' participation in school decision-making processes (see question 18 of Appendix B). These results have been confirmed through my interviews because the Italian school system was generally depicted as an old-fashioned system in which student participation is not promoted and the engagement of the school community is very low.

“it is the whole school system that must change, students are not citizens in the school, they are not treated as citizens, participation is not really fostered, there is still a didactic relationship with the frontal lesson, not... it is all an old system that therefore does not really leave room for the responsibility, for the growth of citizenship.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Milena Santerini, 5 October 2018)

“no one sees parents anymore... they no longer participate practically. And this is a problem because at that point the school becomes completely detached from the rest of society (...) the two worlds no longer communicate”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Emanuele Russo, 28 September 2018)

“it is a bit of a bounce-back of responsibility in terms of participation, so parents who say I would like to participate but they do not let me participate, the school that says I would like to involve parents but parents do not participate and students who feel a bit in the middle, no? And that they would certainly like to be more listened by teachers, to be recognized”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

The ICCS 2016 school and teacher questionnaires further investigated *students' opportunities to participate in activities carried out in the local community* but organized by the school in cooperation with external groups or organizations. Combining both principals' and teachers' responses, Italy scores significantly above ICCS 2016 average on cultural activities (e.g. theatre, music) and below on sports events, while it scores more than 10 percentage points above the international average on human rights projects (see question 19 of Appendix B). My interviewees highlighted that it is very difficult to capture what schools are actually doing concerning activities in the local community, as they all have very different experiences. It is, however, broadly recognised that it is certainly important to provide students with this kind of opportunities.

“oh yes, I believe very much in this, I believe that it is the main path to follow... people, students who enter the school live a before and an after in the community, in the family, in the territories, in the neighbourhoods... and therefore it is essential that there is a coherence which, in technical terms, is called an educational pact, which brings together those who are inside and those outside the school”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Flavio Lotti, 16 October 2018)

Concerning *teaching methods for civic and citizenship education*, the ICCS 2016 teacher questionnaire asked teachers who were teaching subjects labelled at the national level as “civic and citizenship education” how often they use specific teaching methods during their lessons and Italy scored

more than 10 percentage points above ICCS 2016 average on what could be defined as more traditional teaching methods (e.g. discuss current issues, research and/or analyse information gathered from multiple web sources, and study text books) but scored more than 10 percentage points or below ICCS 2016 average on the only two items that include a more innovative and participatory component of the class setting, namely students work in small groups and participate in role plays (see question 20 of Appendix B). These results are also broadly reflected in my interviews.

“then in my opinion in Italian schools we tend to do the easier things, less problematic, less... now I was thinking about it looking at one of the things you put here... here, this thing about teaching methods. (...) those where we are above the average are e), f), g) and h) that are students discuss current issues, students research and/or analyze information gathered from multiple web sources, students study textbooks, students propose topics to be discussed during the following lessons. In other words, the easier, more comfortable things.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Laura Palmerio, 4 October 2018)

Italian results concerning *teacher preparation on civic- and citizenship-related topics and skills* based on ICCS 2016 teacher questionnaire are generally quite good with scores significantly above the international average on several domains, including the human rights one (see question 21 of Appendix B). My interview findings, however, underline that teacher preparation in Italy is very diverse and so it is difficult to generalise. It is definitely recognized that Italian teachers are well prepared at the level of theories and knowledges but they often lack pedagogical skills that are fundamental to teach and transmit those specific contents. This is mainly explained by my interviewees as a result of the weak and inadequate initial and in-service teacher training characterising the Italian context.

“the Italian teaching staff is very variable, definitely, as regards pedagogical skills that are not required to become teachers, so for me this is already a first problem, and as for methodological-didactic competences so those who are passionate about a certain way of working have also equipped themselves with cultural tools to do it, and they are maybe even able to propose activating methods... those who have not structured themselves in this sense or have not felt they should do so, are not even equipped to do it and so the only model they know and practice is that of the frontal lesson.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Andrea Porcarelli, 1 October 2018)

“there is no national methodological training for the teaching staff, so everyone does what he/she can... and this is a problem. (...) The feeling I had is that compared to other countries, the teaching staff in Italy is very well prepared from a notional point of view, we have a much higher cultural level (...) So one says yes, I know everything about human rights education, yes about human rights per se maybe, but about methodologies and how to activate also processes of change... on this we are very weak in Italy.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Emilia Astore, 21 September 2018)

6.3. Research findings and analysis

Following the structure of the previous chapter (section 5.3.), and in line with the methodological steps of the talk-and-action approach (Zimenkova & Hedtke, 2008), I will now proceed with the analysis of my interview findings according to an actor-centred perspective. As I previously described, I decided to focus my research on five different categories of stakeholders namely ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society. The following subparagraphs aim to develop a conceptual map for each of these actors in order to identify tensions and demands with which they are confronted, as well as their types of reactions to these pressures differentiating between talk, decision and action. This will allow me not only to address the main research question, i.e. the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education, but also to capture the differentiated and intricate picture of citizenship education in Italy, analyse approaches and concepts, expectations and demands, interpretations and (re-)actions related to human rights through the lens of multiple actors at stake.

6.3.1. Ministry of Education, University and Research

As we saw above, Italy moves from a long history of civic education dating back to the 1958 with Aldo Moro's attempt to introduce the subject, and particularly the teaching of the Italian Constitution, within the formal education sector. Since then, civic/citizenship education took different forms according to the understanding of and the priority given by national politics (DEMAND 1). These include, for example, a focus on education to democratic coexistence in the syllabuses for the primary school of 1985, a shift to inter-multicultural education since 1989, "the educations" of the 1990s, education to civil coexistence established by law 53/2003 and the subject Citizenship and Constitution (C&C) introduced by law 169/2008 (art. 1). The Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR) has therefore reflected the various changes in national government and politics over the years, although always acknowledging the crucial role of an education dealing with citizenship and human rights. At the outset, with the introduction of C&C, the Ministry also recognised the importance of having a dedicated time and space for this subject, but it then made an "embarrassing reverse gear" (Corradini, 2016) pushing for a generic recommendation of cross-curricular implementation. Furthermore, the national experimentation envisaged by law 169/2008 was turned

into a competition of ideas organised by INDIRE (see section 6.1.3. above). Clearly citizenship education emerges as a complex and controversial topic, thus often subject to politicisation.

“There is a certain resistance at the political level... talking about human rights means also questioning how much human rights are first of all lived and practiced within one’s own country.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Simonetta Fichelli, 26 September 2018)

The role of the MIUR is surely not easy as it has to provide national guidelines, coordination and control but also respect school autonomy and guarantee quality standards in education and training activities. This becomes even more important considering the complexity of issues related to education for human rights and democratic citizenship as it is up to individual schools and teachers to contextualise these issues within the general framework set by the Ministry and in the absence of a specific subject on this topic.

“The other important point of the Ministry's role was to build a national system and at the same time fostering the contextualization of various educational choices and training itineraries... this because the problem of human rights in Friuli or in Trentino is obviously different from the one experienced in Sicily. Therefore, it is crucial to build a flexible, large-meshed system that must foster the contextualisation of educational choices and training itineraries but also guarantee specific competence standards and levels according to the ever-increasing complexity of the issues and the different sensitivities of the debate at national, European and international level.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Simonetta Fichelli, 26 September 2018)

In order to respond to this need for regional/local contextualisation (DEMAND 2), the Ministry organised 12 national seminars on human rights education (including European citizenship) between 2000 and 2010, with the participation of 200/250 teachers in each seminar coming from all Italian regions and in proportion to the school population of every region (e.g. Lombardy, Sicily and Campania, with the highest numbers of school population, had higher numbers of teachers attending the national seminars). These seminars were aimed to train teachers that then became tutors and through a multiplier approach trained other teachers in order to ensure greater impact on their territories. INDIRE also developed an online platform for continuous support, training and professional development. Part of the training delivered by tutors was indeed online through the use of this platform.

“the Ministry has carried out 12 national seminars on education for citizenship and human rights dealing with issues such as Citizenship and Constitution, European citizenship, human rights and further related issues, e.g. environmental education, gender equality, etc. These national seminars were addressed to all teachers of every order and grade of school identified by regional school offices, and they then had to take on the role of training tutor on these subjects in their territories and regions (...) These national seminars were held around 1-2 a year, organized jointly by the MIUR, the regions where the seminar was held and also

European institutions... and were held by national and European experts. The seminars were organized with lectures and group work and lasted about 2-3 days, so these 12 seminars were held in all regions with the attendance and participation of different teachers every time, meaning that there were never the same teachers. This was to ensure a fairly large patrol of training tutors in each region over the years”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Simonetta Fichelli, 7 September 2018)

However, Ministerial Circular 86/2010 was considered as the final outcome of the two-year experimentation envisaged by law 169/2008 and therefore after 2010 no more seminars were organised by the Ministry and the online information/training environment was shut down. This has further complicated the already confusing Italian scenario of very diverse practices and huge implementation differences concerning citizenship and human rights education, mostly left to the interest and willingness of individual teachers inside each school.

“Unfortunately these are issues that, as you well know, have no longer a specific and direct national intervention but are developed on the basis of what associations, foundations and other institutions plan in some areas of citizenship education and that the Ministry supports. Everything is left to the willingness of schools as it depends solely on schools and teachers (...) the problem of the school at national level is that of being ‘a macchia di leopardo’ (like the spots on a leopard skin, meaning patchy implementation and no systematic approach), in the sense that we cannot say one region is better than another, we cannot even say a city or a province is better than another... within the same province, within the same city there are areas of excellence and areas with very poor practices or that are not doing citizenship education at all... and this depends solely on human capital. It depends on principals, if they are motivated, if they are leaders, if they are trained on these subjects... and 90% depends on teachers.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Simonetta Fichelli, 7 September 2018)

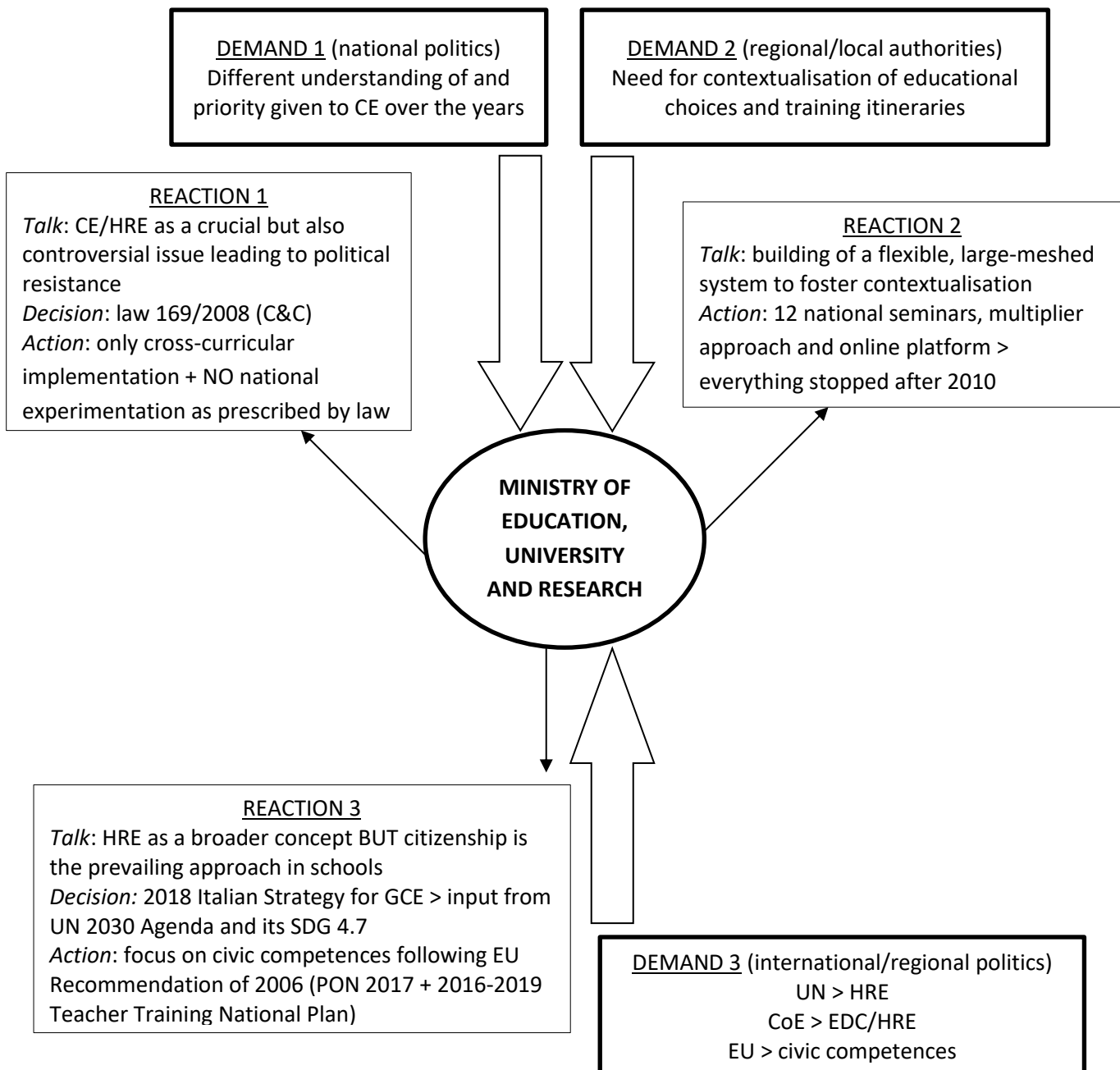
International and regional politics do also influence the national context (DEMAND 3) and this is the case for citizenship education as well. For example, the EU Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning of 2006 is widely quoted at the national level and civic competences are among the projects financed by the PON 2017 and among the priorities of the 2016-2019 Teacher Training National Plan. Furthermore, the UN 2030 Agenda and its SDG 4.7 have surely played a role in the recently adopted Italian Strategy for Global Citizenship Education (see section 6.1.4. above). All these international and European inputs are therefore shaping national politics but they also have to come to terms with the specific Italian context and history, particularly the long-standing and deep-rooted tradition of civic education. It seems in fact that at the ministerial level, while human rights education is considered broader and more holistic than citizenship education, the latter is the most prominent and widespread approach within the formal education sector.

“I see human rights education wider than citizenship education because... because it is linked to a global vision to focus on the protection of human life, the protection of the person, it is the person at the centre. If this is true, it is a much broader view than citizenship education that can be different according to different cultures and countries. If we look for example at the issues connected to migrants in Italy... these questions can only find an answer within the paradigm of human rights, they do not find an answer relying on education for Italian or democratic citizenship. (...) it is clear that in schools the approach is more of citizenship education because at the basis we have a history of civic education. And it is clear that concerning training on these issues, the concept of citizenship education, active citizenship, democratic citizenship is much more widespread”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Simonetta Fichelli, 26 September 2018)

Based on my analysis, I therefore identified three main levels of demands and in the following conceptual map I tried to summarise how the Ministry of Education, University and Research reacted to them using the talk-and-action approach as described in my methodology.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: MINISTRY ITALY



6.3.2. National agencies

I conducted two interviews with representatives of national agencies in Italy and these are INVALSI⁴⁹ (National Institute for the Evaluation of the Education and Training System) and INDIRE⁵⁰ (National Institute for Documentation, Innovation and Educational Research). While the first one is responsible for evaluation and assessment of the education and training system, including national and international surveys (I indeed talked to the Italian research coordinator of ICCS 2016), the second one looks at new teaching models, technology and innovation for redefining the relationship between space and time of learning and teaching. These national agencies are public bodies, therefore connected to the MIUR (DEMAND 1), but they are scientifically independent and have a certain degree of autonomy. However, the Ministry has a role in setting priorities and determining the activities of national agencies, thus compromises need to be found.

“if the Ministry were totally opposed to Italy's participation in ICCS, we would be in great difficulty to participate. But let's say that in general they let us decide, so far it has never occurred that they said no, you should not participate in this survey, Italy does not participate... so it is more a question of opportunity, interest and financial availability, the Ministry normally does not veto participation, but it may for example suggest us to participate in surveys, it can recommend us to participate in surveys but more or less we know the surveys we participate in, basically all of them by now.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Laura Palmerio, 4 October 2018)

The MIUR clearly exercises power and influence on the work of national agencies. For example, when Ministerial Circular 86/2010 closed the two-year experimentation envisaged by law 169/2008, INDIRE stopped its activities on Citizenship and Constitution (C&C) in full alignment with the Ministerial decision.

“Yes, a site was made when the reform started, but we talk about ten years ago. The first few years there was this site of INDIRE and there was also a series of initiatives that the Ministry asked INDIRE to do in order to launch and promote citizenship education... but then these things are... they have not been repeated, we have not received any further assignment from the Ministry on this matter. (...) generally it happens that when you make an innovation you try to support it in a first phase because then... then I guess the Ministry expects that things go up to speed, so that there is no longer need to invest on it”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Giovanni Biondi, 8 October 2018)

National agencies are thus required to support with their activities the work of the Ministry and contribute to the improvement of education and training at national level. To do so, it is crucial that their scientific/research contribution is useful for politicians and made accessible to inform, as far as possible, policy development.

⁴⁹ See for more information: <https://www.invalsi.it>. Date: 11 June 2019

⁵⁰ See for more information: <http://www.indire.it/en/>. Date: 11 June 2019.

“In my opinion, when the results of a survey go in the same direction as the will of politicians and governments, then they are used to say, for example, also OECD-Pisa confirms that this is the right direction. If they don’t go in the direction where the government wants to go, then they are simply not used (...) often the results are ignored but I think that the way in which we provide the data is not directly usable by a politician, the ministerial politician who reads the data should receive a more targeted report I believe (...) differentiated reports with an objective similar to that of OECD, Council of Europe, with recommendations and suggestions”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Laura Palmerio, 4 October 2018)

Another issue with which national agencies are confronted is the extreme diversity and variety of practices characterising the Italian context. In fact, they receive a multitude of demands from regional/local authorities to respond to context-specific needs and challenges (DEMAND 2). What national agencies can do is to provide various tools and forms of support in order to meet these needs and demands, always within a framework of common quality standards that have to be guaranteed. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to have a clear understanding of what schools are doing, also in terms of citizenship and human rights education, therefore the work of national agencies becomes even more complicated without a comprehensive monitoring system in place.

“there are eight thousand educational institutions in Italy... more than eight million students. How can you answer to a question of this kind? (...) it is impossible to generalize, it’s difficult... there is not even an actual monitoring system that can tell you what exactly is being done in the classrooms... and I think it would also be almost impossible to capture and understand.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Giovanni Biondi, 8 October 2018)

A similar concern can also be raised regarding school autonomy (DEMAND 3) that national agencies, just like the Ministry, have to respect and support. This may lead, however, to increase implementation gaps and differences. It is also accompanied with a certain resistance from schools to external evaluation that INVALSI carries out in order to assess the quality of the overall learning process. In this sense, external assessment is the obvious counterpart to the autonomy of schools and therefore essential to investigate, prevent and tackle potential inequalities and barriers in education.

“I think when you are somehow forced to do a certain thing, then you do it because you have to but then in fact it becomes as you don’t do it because it is just appearance, a formal fulfilment with no real meaning (...) So I believe in the fact that there must be autonomy, the problem is that, as in so many other things, inequality is created in the sense that if you are in a school that is placed in a certain context, that has the fortune to have a certain principal, certain teachers... you actually have different opportunities than others.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Laura Palmerio, 4 October 2018)

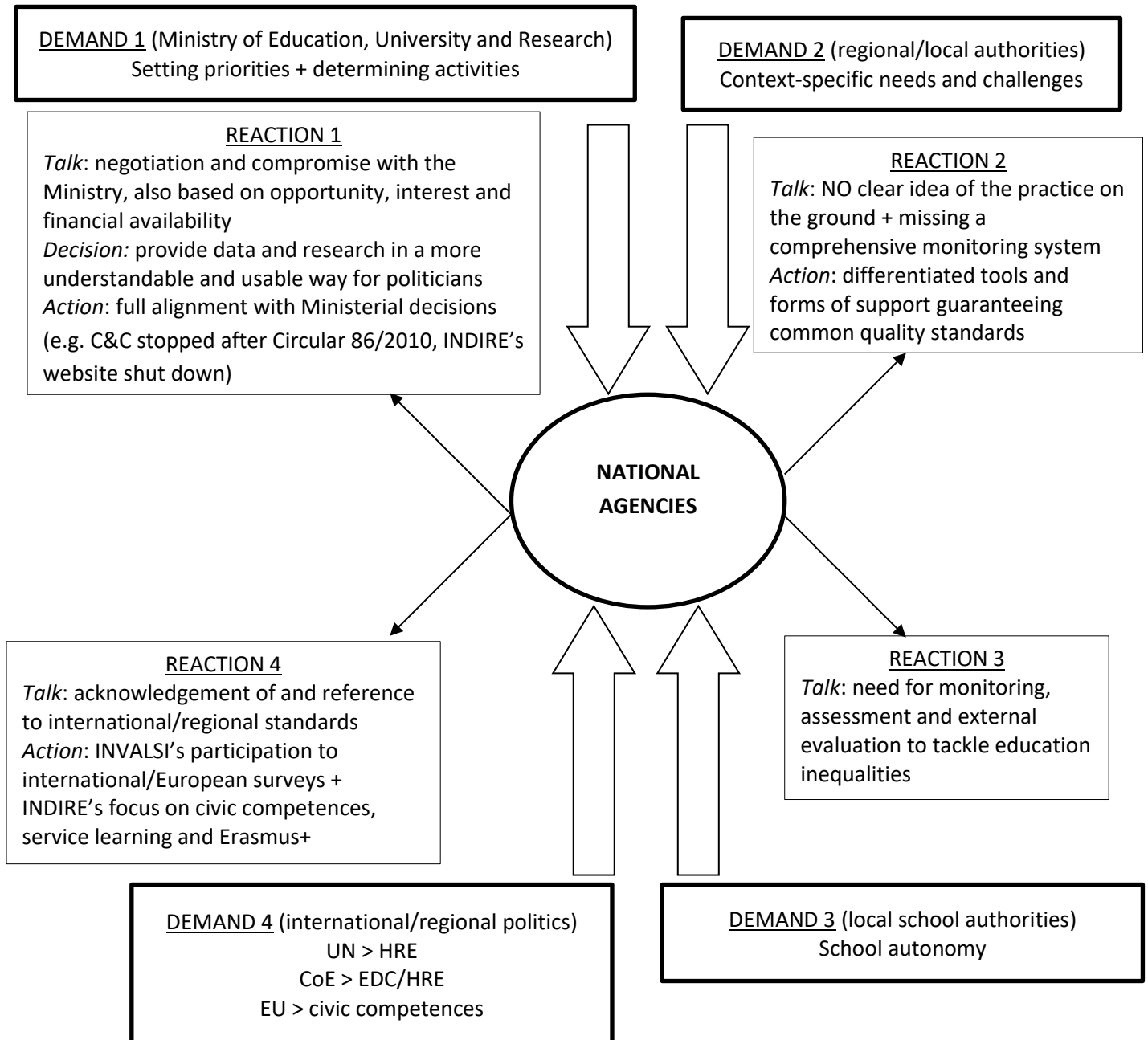
Furthermore, national agencies are influenced by international and regional politics (DEMAND 4), also because their work and activities are often part of international and European endeavours (e.g. ICCS 2016). The importance of referring to this broader international and regional framework is widely acknowledged by national agencies and this has a visible impact. For example, looking at INDIRE, civic competences are strongly promoted, together with other domains such as service learning or Erasmus+ that are directly imported from the most recent European debates, policies and ideas.

“today I believe that the crucial theme is to move from a mere knowledge-based education to an education that shapes and develops competences and therefore citizenship competences are among the fundamental ones (...) for example, introducing into the school what today is called service learning. In fact, one of the educational avant-gardes is this movement that now involves more than 800 schools in Italy, which is promoted by INDIRE... one of the ideas is that of service learning that pushes for an active citizenship based on the principles of human rights and civil coexistence. (...) INDIRE is also national agency for the Erasmus+ programme.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Giovanni Biondi, 8 October 2018)

Here below is the conceptual map I created for national agencies based on their responses to demands and pressures from other actors within the system of citizenship education.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: NATIONAL AGENCIES – ITALY



6.3.3. Local authorities

Differently from what emerged in my interviews in Croatia, meaning that I've been pointed to the specific municipality of Rijeka as a good practice of local authority dealing with citizenship education in schools (see section 5.3.3.), in Italy I had to take a different path. Indeed, the interviewees did not give me a concrete example of local authority worth further investigation as part of my research but they kept stressing that the Italian context is very diverse and there are good and bad practices spread all over the country. Therefore, as a representative of local authority in Italy, I decided to interview the Director of the Italian Coordination of Local Authorities for Peace and Human Rights.

“The Italian context, as you probably noticed already, does not have a uniform character... it is a very particular reality and we, as coordination of local authorities for peace and human rights, are surely a point of connection, stimulus and initiative among the larger in Italy. Our work addresses local authorities, schools and associations (third sector)... so we try to promote human rights education looking at the territory, in a way so that these three subjects are invited to bring together their energies, ideas and activities, according to a logic that in more scientific terms we define the educating community or the educational community. This is a bit the key in the work we carry out with our coordination since 1986.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Flavio Lotti, 16 October 2018)

The Italian Coordination of Local Authorities for Peace and Human Rights has two main strands of activities: on the one hand, promoting and supporting the educational commitment of local authorities; on the other, strengthening schools' capacities and abilities, also by building bridges between those who are inside and those who are outside the school – this is called “patto educativo” (educational pact). This work is carried out through annual or multi-year programs that are always centred on developing (quantitative) and improving (qualitative) the educational offer of schools and territories, without replacing these actors but supporting them in their action on education for peace, citizenship and human rights. Furthermore, an important aspect is that of including these activities in the ordinary institutional programming of schools rather than working through projects that are of course valuable, and should be done when there is opportunity, but are usually quite short-term and not very sustainable. The Italian Coordination has built over the years a considerable amount of networks of local authorities, schools and associations, and it turns to these networks to propose programs and activities in a voluntary manner. This is a way to respond to the fragmented and marginal interventions put in place by the Ministry (DEMAND 1) but has of course the limit of not reaching all Italian schools, teachers and students, reinforcing the already explained pattern of discrepancies and inequalities in the implementation of citizenship education in Italy. Since an organic

institutional support is missing, the Italian Coordination decided to work with its networks and support ongoing activities, sometimes taking a more formal structure through the signature of memorandums.

“the limit is that often these activities are carried out by people who are particularly sensitive, convinced, motivated, and I am referring to teachers, who do this thing often on a voluntary basis without the organic institutional support that is necessary. But the work we do is precisely that of... reinforcing the work that is already spontaneously done trying to give a broader, more solid context and thus strengthening the possibility that these individual efforts may become organic efforts shared by the entire school structure... for example, already back in the year 2000 we developed a memorandum of understanding with the Ministry of Education and this has served to open a dialogue with the Ministry to propose an increasingly mature listening and attitude towards all these issues. Then we made several memorandums of understanding with various regions to try to strengthen the connection also on a territorial level.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Flavio Lotti, 16 October 2018)

In order to raise the institutional profile of these activities, without having an organic framework at the national level, the Italian Coordination embraced and took advantage of inputs coming from international/regional politics (DEMAND 2). In particular, reference to international and European standards on citizenship and human rights education gives an extra legitimisation to the work of the Coordination. Those standards, however, have never fully entered the Italian education system and so the Coordination has decided to develop a synthesis/recomposition of various forms of education around the concept of glocal citizenship.

“in the Italian dimension, human rights education has never become fully recognized as the cornerstone of citizenship education, it has never been accepted even as a real obligation in the sense that governments have recognized it at the international level but have never really undertaken the necessary follow-up step in Italy. And so it is one of the educations that sometimes re-emerge, that someone does, that someone carries on. Alongside human rights education, various educations have emerged over the years in Italy (...) Now we need to make the transition that is what I was telling you before, that is the recomposition around a common framework that is, I believe, citizenship education that we call glocal citizenship, not global, but glocal because we need to bring together all the dimensions of citizenship (...) local, regional, national, European, global, etcetera. All of this must be recomposed within an educational project.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Flavio Lotti, 16 October 2018)

As previously mentioned, the Italian Coordination of Local Authorities for Peace and Human Rights starts from the premise that there are already initiatives and activities flourishing on the ground and therefore it is important to acknowledge and enhance this work by, for example, highlighting potentials that have not yet been developed or strengthening positive and successful elements already emerged. As for many other topics, and not only in Italy but also in other countries, education is often disregarded and negatively perceived by media and the general public (DEMAND 3), it suffices to look at current news and debates.

Quite interestingly, education is something that everyone feels entitled to question and discuss, and almost every government attempts to reform the educational system, but then since intentions are often not turned into actions it falls into oblivion quickly. This is why the Italian Coordination regularly organises meetings that aim to value existing schools' practices, promote exchanges among schools and make all of this visible to media and the society at large.

“what we do is also to create opportunities, we call them national meetings that allow exchanges among different schools that have lived different experiences perhaps on the same topics in order to increase the interaction, not only inside the school but also among different schools. These meetings also have the objective of enhancing the work that is done inside schools, bringing it into society and outside the school, trying to make it visible so that society and the media are aware of the work that is often done in silence and away from the cameras by teachers within the school walls.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Flavio Lotti, 16 October 2018)

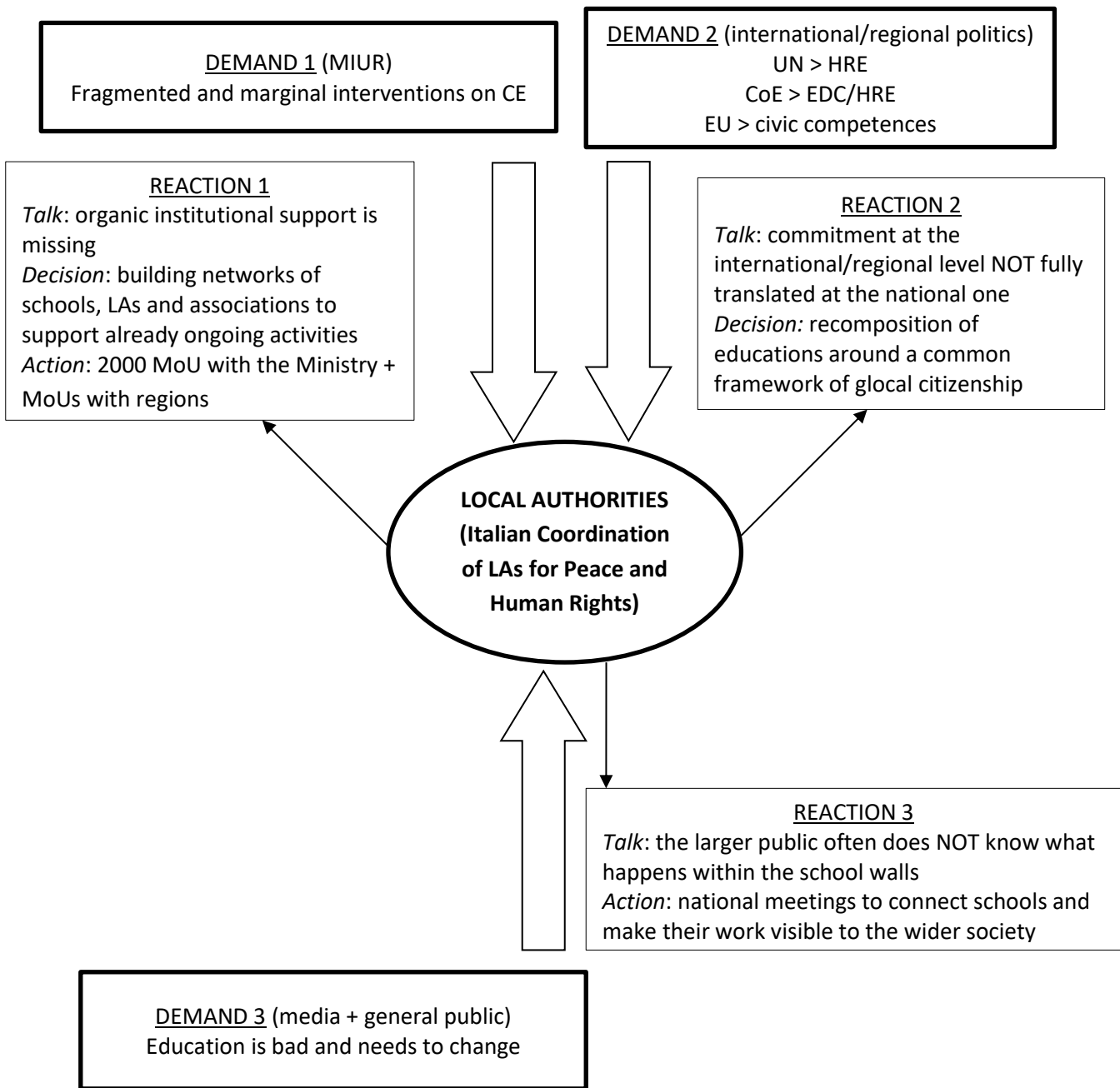
This brings us back to the initial argument, it is very hard to generalize and provide an overall picture of the status of implementation of citizenship and human rights education in Italy. There are very diverse practices and the Italian Coordination highlights that many of these coming from local authorities are extremely positive and deserve recognition.

“it really depends a lot from context to context, because there are many positive experiences around Italy, you know? We should be careful because the general picture does not do justice to the realities, the paths, the efforts that are made at the local level... and thus there are many positive experiences, but this is not systematic, it is not ordinary, it is always somehow a bit out of the ordinary. This is the limit.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Flavio Lotti, 16 October 2018)

Using the talk-and-action approach and based on my interview findings, I thus elaborated the following conceptual map to capture demands and reactions concerning local authorities.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: LOCAL AUTHORITIES – ITALY



6.3.4. Academia

Members of the academic community took an active part in the development of civic/citizenship education in Italy and therefore, as I did for the other case study on Croatia, I decided to include interviews with this stakeholder as part of my fieldwork. From these exchanges, it emerged the importance of the Italian Constitution as a crucial text that, even before the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, inspired and put the basis at the origins of citizenship education.

“To really muster the consciences of people who had just abandoned twenty years of misunderstood nationalistic pride, a new identity was needed, first of all a national one that was nourished by high profile social and civil values. The most that could be conceived in that period was the so-called constitutional compromise, therefore the constitutional charter had to be taught precisely to regenerate a founding pact at the level of social and civil identity. (...) So this idea, in this sense, was very significant for the way civic education took shape in Italy starting from the Constitutional culture.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Andrea Porcarelli, 1 October 2018)

“the knowledges that must feed citizenship competences are those of the Constitution. Therefore we have to know the Italian Constitution because it gives meaning to the competences of every citizen, person, worker of our country. But not only of our country, because this is something overlooked by many, even by politicians who often do not know this, our Constitution is twelve months prior to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (...) and what does this mean? That we should really be proud that many of our Constitutional Charter principles have converged and inspired the Universal Declaration of Human Rights... and we neglect this.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Pasquale Moliterni, 4 October 2018)

Over the years, the Ministry of Education organised various Ministerial Commissions and working groups to discuss and move forward the topic of citizenship education within the Italian school system. These Commissions were composed of experts in the field, usually academics, who, depending on the purpose and objectives of the Ministry, received specific assignments (DEMAND 1). The most important one was probably the work of the Ministerial Commission set in 2008 by Minister Mariastella Gelmini in order to develop an autonomous subject entitled Citizenship and Constitution (C&C) with a dedicated timetable (one hour per week) and separate assessment (see section 6.1.3. above). However, while this was exactly what the Commission created and delivered, the Ministry received and made public the document in the form of guidelines for the experimentation of C&C. The idea was therefore that schools had to experiment the new subject C&C and then the Ministry, based on evidence and results coming from the experimentation, would have made a decision concerning the curricular establishment and features of this subject. Unfortunately, none of these two things has been done and the Commission's document remained somehow suspended. The following decrees (2009 and 2010) framed C&C within the geographic-historical

and the socio-historical areas, thus with no autonomous hour or separate assessment, but still referred to the document produced by the Commission concerning the content of the subject. That document, however, was supposed to have a national experimentation that never occurred and it suddenly became the guidelines for teaching a subject with no longer the same characteristics of the one assigned to the Ministerial Commission at the beginning of its work. This was probably due to changing priorities and economic constraints set by the Ministry of Economy and Finance, as well as because of arising concerns about bringing substantial innovation processes in schools. Furthermore, the Ministry delegated to INDIRE the organisation of a call for projects in which schools presented their citizenship education activities, and this was considered part of the experimentation.

“(INDIRE) opened a call for applications and sent it to all Italian schools, and this was declared as the first act of the experimentation, a competition announcement sent to all schools in Italy where it asked schools to send all the projects already carried out before 2009 in the area of Citizenship and Constitution that was not even a subject yet. (...) the problem is that the ministerial bureaucracy has called experimentation actions formally falling within that spending chapter, let’s call it this way, so it is clear that you can declare that things have been done but the real experimentation has never happened, the report has not been published, no one asked, not even to us, to send a contribution...”

(Translation from interview transcript – Andrea Porcarelli, 1 October 2018)

“The first two years according to me something has been done, beyond the different positions, then the thing died for lack of support, direction, resources, things... it is not a process that continued, it was stopped. (...) until the MIUR invested resources, it had an impact on the territory because schools were encouraged to plan and do things, the MIUR was giving funding and schools were realizing, but how long did it last? One or two years?”

(Translation from interview transcript – Bruno Losito, 4 October 2018)

After the landmark law 169/2008 on C&C and the following two years of alleged experimentation and activities, citizenship education became less visible in the political agenda and this has progressively led to the current unclear and undefined status in which its implementation remains up to teachers and schools. Besides the many deficiencies and problems already discussed, this poses challenges also for initial and in-service teacher training. Indeed, the professors I interviewed who work in universities that prepare future teachers, and therefore have to follow official regulations concerning the curriculum and school education plans (DEMAND 2), highlighted several critical issues deriving from the unclear and undefined status of citizenship education. First of all, the fact that it is not a clearly defined subject means that teachers are not prepared to deal with this topic and conveys the idea of something unimportant. Furthermore, missing comprehensive guidelines on contents and approaches, everything is left to the willingness and sensitivities

of teachers who, if and when they decide to teach citizenship education, use what they already know to interpret this field and deliver one or more classes. From a pedagogical perspective this is very problematic because teachers are not trained to teach citizenship and human rights education but it is more about learning the content of a specific subject (e.g. history, economy, etc.) and then transmit this content to students without carefully considering the methodological steps and the specificities that teaching citizenship and human rights education requires.

“there is no teacher training in this field, there is a strong disinterest (...)the prevailing idea is that knowing how to teach or pedagogy are not worth anything, they are second-class things... it is enough to know the dates, after you know the dates you go to class and you explain and teach... as if the didactics mattered less, it is one of the reasons why the Italian school system is so bad because there is no training in this sense. And of course all the teachers in their first months, first year of working, they complain exactly about this, they say we know the contents but nobody taught us how to explain them.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Milena Santerini, 5 October 2018)

“There is no initial preparation, in the sense that it is not because they will have to teach Citizenship and Constitution that history teachers must take a civic education or human rights exam, it is not because they will have to teach Citizenship and Constitution that legal professors must take specific exams that prepare them for this task, so it is clear that there is a risk that each then interprets what goes under the name of Citizenship and Constitution (...) Since there is no autonomous hour and separate assessment, training in this discipline is not compulsory, this is the side effect that further weakens the teaching of this subject, there is no obligation of updating and in-service training for teachers on this discipline”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Andrea Porcarelli, 1 October 2018)

“if you take Citizenship and Constitution, that document on the guidelines of the Dutto period (2010) was fine, but even now the document on competences and assessment of competences in my opinion is well written, but if then you do not create the conditions for, you do not provide resources, you do not train teachers, you do not put people in the condition to work in that way, it is useless to have written those guidelines.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Bruno Losito, 4 October 2018)

Furthermore, the university professors I interviewed acknowledge that the Italian education system is very much based on disciplines and, similarly to what I highlighted in the previous chapter on Croatia (see section 5.3.4.), this runs the risk of academic territoriality especially in a field such as citizenship education that is no one’s responsibility and competence. Therefore, academics tend to privilege their own disciplinary lens in approaching the topic, also based on their faculty/department.

“what is done in universities has often to do with the academic reasoning and therefore it goes ahead because it has a positive implication for example for the constitutionalists, but this is not the problem... it is not an issue of placing people with a degree in law or constitutional law but it is a question of making this become a founding culture of the country.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Pasquale Moliterni, 4 October 2018)

International and regional standards do also influence the work and activities of the academic community (DEMAND 3) and the human rights language was particularly stressed during my interviews in Italy. This was, however, always connected to the specific national context and in particular to the Italian Constitution that was reiterated as a crucial content of citizenship education interpreted as a broad and multidimensional concept.

“In my opinion, the issue of human rights is structurally linked to the discourse of citizenship and I would not put it as an alternative so that... for example, in the work we did as Ministerial Commission on Citizenship and Constitution, one of the four axes of the teaching of Citizenship and Constitution is precisely oriented towards: recognition of the dignity of the person and, consequently, human rights education... as the preamble to the Universal Declaration states”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Andrea Porcarelli, 1 October 2018)

“Let’s stop having little trivial debates and let’s recompose the whole and understand what the whole itself is about. What is behind that? What is the general founding value of a society? Certainly citizenship is fundamental but how can it be exemplified? And so if I mean citizenship in an extensive way it is clear that all human rights are there, human rights that have already been explained in our Constitution”.

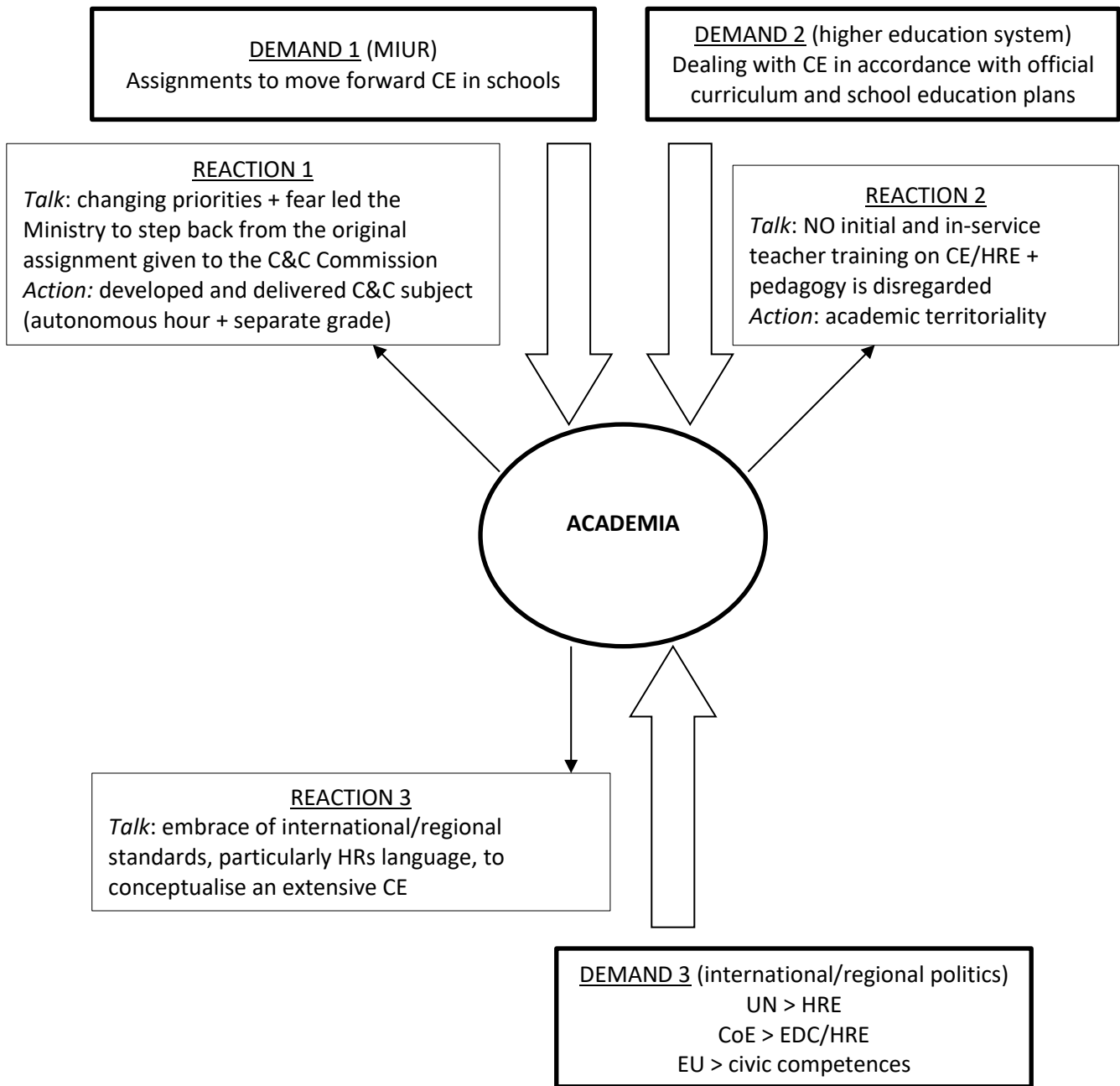
(Translation from interview transcript – Pasquale Moliterni, 4 October 2018)

“in pedagogy we do not use citizenship in a restrictive sense, in a legal sense, we mean a much wider citizenship, if you read my books you will see that I mean citizenship obviously not only as a juridical membership to a certain nationality, to a certain country, but as a sense of belonging, as the exercise of rights and duties, it is not a status, it is a process”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Milena Santerini, 5 October 2018)

Here below is the conceptual map I developed to frame demands and pressures with which academia is confronted and how it responds to them.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: ACADEMIA – ITALY



6.3.5. Civil society

Numerous civil society actors are deeply involved in the development of citizenship and human rights education-related projects and activities in Italy. They both work formally, therefore in partnership with schools and universities, but also non-formally, engaging young people outside the formal curriculum. These actors are very diverse, ranging from international to local organisations, and have different approaches, methodologies and foci concerning the educational activities they implement. This diversity is also reflected in my interviews.

“We are a non-governmental organization so we have development cooperation activities in Africa and Latin America. Our approach to education and how we fit into the Italian educational context is precisely with this specificity. So I would say that this is what characterizes us, compared to citizenship education in general we take this step of global citizenship education.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

“when we talk about human rights education in Italy, the Ministry of Education responds that yes, there is... and it is not true because there is not... it says that there is within the programs falling within active citizenship education. So if we take the perspective of the MIUR, if human rights education is inside that, we place ourselves in it. However, speaking of human rights has clearly its own specificity. And perhaps it is more active citizenship that is part of human rights education and not vice versa, in my opinion... they are all tangent spheres in which identifying a primacy perhaps makes little sense but instead identifying connections is much more fruitful for us as NGOs, I believe.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Francesca Cesarotti, 14 September 2018)

The variety of activities conducted by civil society actors, and also the different words and expressions they use to describe their approach to education (e.g. global citizenship, human rights, etc.), is surely connected to the specific characteristics of each organisation and the way its work fits into the national context, but it is also influenced by international and regional politics (DEMAND 1). Indeed, various international/regional organisations, all within a common framework of quality education, promote different nuances of citizenship and human rights education (see chapter 3) and this clearly entails that civil society actors at the national level have to take a stand and decide the approach they aim to adopt.

International/regional standards are also used by civil society actors to frame and legitimise their work.

“I think it has a lot to do with the initial perspective from which someone starts so even if you talk to, I don't know, those who work at the European Commission or in the National Youth Agency they will perhaps have a more focused expertise on key competences and lifelong learning, they will therefore tend to refer to that kind of context and also definitions. In my case, I refer to those of the Council of Europe”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Emilia Astore, 21 September 2018)

“I am part of the Rete Educare ai Diritti Umani (Human Rights Education Network), the acronym is REDU, since its foundation, therefore substantially since 2000. And the network is a network that was born from a group of trainers who worked and are still part today of the pool of trainers of the Council of Europe with the aim of transferring tools, practices, manuals and educational methodologies to the local context”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Silvia Volpi, 2 October 2018)

“over the years we moved fluctuating between the various norms and regulations... let's say that the most recent one to which we have adapted a little and that also recognizes the three spheres of global citizenship education which are the cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural spheres, as three dimensions that global citizenship has to develop... is the UNESCO document”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

A specific feature emerged from my interviews with civil society actors is that their work is mostly dependent on funds, either public or private, and thus also priorities and activities are driven by the need to access resources.

“the vast majority of activities related to this topic are not funded through programs but are funded through projects. That is how the vast majority of the third sector works. (...) The problem is that the development and deepening of these themes, at least in the formal educational structure of our schools, is mainly guaranteed by the third sector... and the third sector is almost completely financed through projects, so it never succeeds in having the sufficient breath (time) to be able to create truly effective paths”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Emanuele Russo, 28 September 2018)

While the Ministry of Education, University and Research is the main actor responsible for setting priorities and defining actions concerning education at the national level, and this obviously impacts on the work of civil society (DEMAND 2), there are also other stakeholders, both public such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and private such as foundations, that play a decisive role because they make funds available. Civil society actors are therefore pushed to plan and develop their educational activities and projects according to the guidelines set by those donors, obviously within the framework of the priorities of the Ministry of Education. It came out from my interviews in Italy that the current educational focus strongly pushed at the national level is that of Global Citizenship Education (GCE), also because of the recently adopted National Strategy (see section 6.1.4. above).

“(recently increased attention on education for democratic citizenship) because it was easier, because it falls more clearly in the priorities of the funds of the European Commission, of the national funds, it depends a bit on the contexts, now in Italy (...) it seems to me that there is a greater thematization and experience on development education, for example, there is a national strategy that was promoted by the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Emilia Astore, 21 September 2018)

“the most recent one is perhaps the Italian Strategy for Global Citizenship Education (...) I believe that today, perhaps, the most significant signs of change that I have seen in recent years,

it's more a reception at the level of national policies that are also citing global citizenship education as a priority. I am thinking of the training plan for teachers, for example, that includes precisely global citizenship education as one of the priority areas on which teachers must be trained. I am also thinking of the PON programs that have dedicated specific projects to global citizenship education over the last three years."

(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

"if I want to develop a project I have to apply to a call for tenders and thus the strategic lines and also, let's say, the values on which my project will be built do not depend on what I want to do but depend on what the donor will tell me".

(Translation from interview transcript – Emanuele Russo, 28 September 2018)

My interview findings pointed out that civil society actors in Italy, also because of the fragmented and unsystematic implementation characterising the national context already discussed above, are taking the lead of the educational component related to citizenship and human rights. It seems in fact that schools are delegating this task and while it might be positive on the one hand, as NGOs often have more expertise in these topics, it might also become a discharge of responsibility because teachers undervalue this function or they are not prepared/do not want to deal with the issue.

"it is often delegated to associations. Which from a certain point of view can be interesting because you give students the opportunity to meet with other educators too, with other educational agencies if you want. But somehow you perhaps take away from the teachers the responsibility of these aspects... all of the external projects that are carried out on bullying, for me they are a pedagogical failure, schools should have their internal tools to manage bullying, to prevent it, to recognize it."

(Translation from interview transcript – Emilia Astore, 21 September 2018)

The fact that civil society actors enter schools to carry out projects means that they are subject to pressures and demands at the level of local school authorities (DEMAND 3), coming particularly from principals and teachers. Indeed, there is first of all an issue of resources because schools have very limited capacities and do not have money to spend on this kind of activities. Furthermore, and partially connected, principals and teachers often do not understand citizenship and human rights education, thinking for example that it might be confined to a one-hour intervention, and this leads to confusing expectations put upon civil society who has to keep working with schools and find a delicate balance between providing quality education and managing available conditions. My interviewees, however, remain often disappointed by the general underestimation they encounter at school level concerning citizenship and human rights education.

"unfortunately this also makes the difference for today's schools, much more than in the past, is your educational offer free? Because schools also suffer economic problems... and this may perhaps prevent them from doing as many projects as they were able to do in the past thanks to regional or provincial funding, etc."

(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

“when they ask me to intervene in a school, teachers always tend to combine as many classes as possible... we have a 200-seat assembly hall and I ask the same question every time: would you teach math in this classroom? And they say no. So why me that I am not even a teacher and I meet those students for once in a lifetime, why shall I be considered able to change their mind or their heart if I see 200 of them in a blow?”

(Translation from interview transcript – Emanuele Russo, 28 September 2018)

Civil society organisations who deal with teacher training on citizenship and human rights education in Italy seem also to acknowledge that teachers (DEMAND 4) are still very knowledge-focused, thus expect to receive trainings of this kind but they also need support on methodologies, struggle to understand who is responsible for teaching these topics in schools and are generally overburdened and frustrated, so they see this as just extra work on top of what they already have to do. Therefore, civil society has to accommodate teachers' needs and demands but also provide training that is aligned with its ideas and principles concerning citizenship and human rights education.

“when teachers participate in training or refresher courses, their expectation is very often to work on knowledge. Which is important, in the sense that you can't do human rights education without knowing, the same for citizenship... without knowing the tools, so the normative framework must be known, but it is not the only thing to know... if then we do not work on how this knowledge is transferred to attitude, to behaviour, then there is a problem, there is an incongruity.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Silvia Volpi, 2 October 2018)

“unfortunately, when we work with teachers, we often encounter this kind of difficulty. Who carries out these issues? As if there were the teacher in charge of tackling some issues in the classroom. No, it is an approach, it is a way of living in today's society and it is a shared responsibility to be part of it and promote behaviours that respect human rights, for human rights and citizenship, so... I think this is the key to be passed on to the world of school.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

“the educational offer for teachers is generally very structured, we have from 6 to 9 courses per year for teachers from Piedmont to Sicily. So this allows focused and motivated teachers... always motivated, always because the training is an extra load, the projects are an extra load, everything is an extra load... which is going to fall on a category by definition tired and frustrated.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Francesca Cesarotti, 14 September 2018)

Finally, and I did not include this demand in the conceptual map below as it is an indirect one but I think it is important to mention because it clearly emerged from my interviews, families might also indirectly put pressures on civil society actors via principals and teachers, as they often want to have a say in the education of their children particularly when it concerns issues that can be seen as controversial.

“I believe that sometimes the courage to pursue a certain path can be strongly influenced also by the ‘power’, in quotes, that families today have on schools. The school should be free to address any possible issue, without being accused of doing politics. And unfortunately the fact of having often to face also conflicts that perhaps were less obvious before can become a brake

and for this reason perhaps even this resistance arises or there is less courage in facing some issues. Universal values should not be discussed, despite the political position that a teacher has, universal values are universal values, if we talk about human rights they are those and they should be conveyed.”

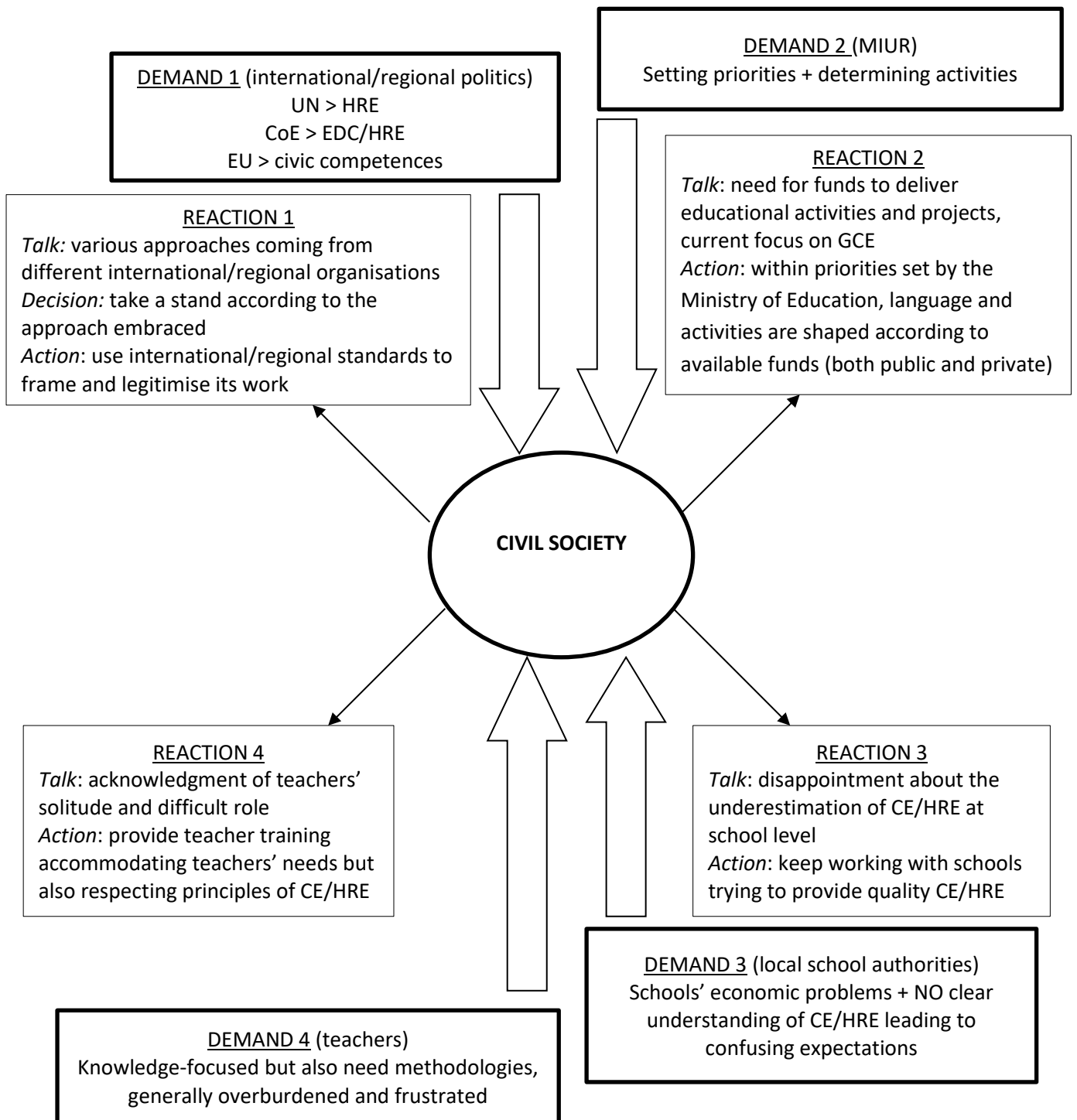
(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

“nowadays talking about immigration at school, teachers are afraid (...) teachers simply don't do it, I don't propose a project related to human rights because I could potentially receive a criticism from parents, the parent moves the principal who in his/her autonomy also sees the risks and therefore it is a more vulnerable school... autonomy has led to a much more pronounced vulnerability of the school, there is fear among teachers. And this worries me. (...) certain themes are scary. Everyone is afraid of the parent, the school council, etc. (...) I sometimes had requests from some principals to explain what kind of material we were bringing, what kind of approach we used for fear that the children would be taken, how to say, into a path of controversial sexuality... which is ridiculous.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Francesca Cesarotti, 14 September 2018)

Based on my analysis and using the talk-and-action approach, I therefore elaborated the following conceptual map where I tried to summarise demands and reactions for civil society.

CONCEPTUAL MAP: CIVIL SOCIETY – ITALY



Chapter 6 – Conclusion

The first part of this chapter analysed the development of civic/citizenship education at the national policy level starting from the beginning of the Italian Republic until today. Indeed, already in 1958 there was an attempt made by Aldo Moro to introduce the teaching of the Italian Constitution in secondary schools. Civic education was then underlined in the syllabuses for the comprehensive lower secondary school in 1962 and 1979, and in those for the primary school in 1985. The delegated decrees of 1974 gave a boost to school autonomy but citizenship and human rights education remained confined to extracurricular activities and carried out by motivated teachers. Since 1989 intercultural education entered the political agenda, also pushed by UNESCO and the Council of Europe, and saw the contribution of several ministerial circulars on this issue. Once again, however, the limitation was that the implementation of all the suggestions contained in these documents depended on the interest and willingness of teachers inside each school. At the beginning of the 1990s around 30 different typologies of education were introduced into schools as a sort of emergency reaction to respond to emerging social challenges and needs. These “educations” found a temporary reassembly in the Ministry of Education directive 58/1996. Indeed, the Lombardi directive aimed to provide an organic framework and systematise all the various educations. Furthermore, it recognised a continuous curriculum of civic education and constitutional culture from pre-primary to upper secondary school, including also a specific timetable and a separate grade, but the following Minister did not give a curriculum to schools and therefore the project was abandoned. An important step in the policy development of citizenship education in Italy was law 53/2003 with which Minister Letizia Moratti established education to civil coexistence in a transdisciplinary form and with no separate dedicated time. Citizenship education was the first of the six specifications envisaged for education to civil coexistence, but also this program was left behind and dropped by the following ministers. A real turning point was made by law 169/2008 with which Minister Mariastella Gelmini introduced the subject “Cittadinanza e Costituzione” (Citizenship and Constitution) within the geographic-historical or the socio-historical programmes of primary and secondary schools. While at the beginning the Minister seemed to acknowledge the importance of having a dedicated time and space for the new subject within the official curriculum of schools, it then became a generic recommendation of cross-curricular implementation with no compulsory dedicated time and also the national experimentation as envisioned by law 169/2008 never occurred. As explained in detail above, due to this

chaotic policy framework citizenship education has still today an unclear and undefined status within the formal education system in Italy, and the burden of its implementation is basically left to teachers with no explicit and comprehensive guidelines. The last reform called “La Buona Scuola” (The Good School), adopted by law 107/2015, only marginally touches upon citizenship and human rights education and therefore schools continue to have very diverse practices and huge implementation differences. From the policy analysis of the Italian case study, it clearly emerged a high level of politicisation of citizenship education. This is also a mirror of the tensions, advancements and setbacks of the Italian society and it is connected to the fact that citizenship- and human rights-related issues are surely very complex and might also become controversial, especially when they are framed within an educational discourse. Indeed, over the years, citizenship education has been variously interpreted by different governments and ministers who usually wanted to distance themselves from the predecessor, leaving previous projects and programs unfinished in order to introduce new proposals, reforms and buzzwords.

“here the fault lies with politics (...) everyone has done this operation of erasing what had been done before. While the most beautiful thing that happened in our country, the most beautiful things that happened in our country, took place in the 70s and 80s where the governments were very shaky but there was a cultural structure, a very pregnant cultural flow and... I would say karstic, so that it crosses all social, political cultures... and we did the best things in those years because even if governments were falling the cultural processes were going on, we made the best reforms in those two decades. (...) we should help the institutions and people involved to know how to make use of this process that happened because otherwise every time, every change of legislature or government and of the Minister the words change and people do not understand anything anymore. (...) I mean here is about playing with words, exactly... because what happens? Each of us wants to stand out for having said different things from others and this does not do the general good.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Pasquale Moliterni, 4 October 2018)

While it is of course very difficult to provide a general conclusion regarding the situation of citizenship education in Italy, in this chapter I tried to respond to the research questions of my thesis using Italian results to ICCS 2016 (section 6.2.) and the talk-and-action approach to focus on various actors within the system of citizenship education (section 6.3.). More precisely, the chapter aimed to capture the relationship between citizenship education (CE) and human rights education (HRE) for the case study of Italy, as well as better understand the central tensions of citizenship education related to human rights from the perspective of multiple key actors at stake. To do so, I designed a conceptual map for each of the five actors I analysed, namely ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society, in order to graphically represent demands and pressures with which they are confronted and their types of reactions

differentiating between talk, decision and action. Recalling the main question in the title of this research, i.e. “what place and role for human rights?”, and drawing from my interview findings in Italy, it could be argued that CE and HRE are strictly interconnected and it is hard to set clear boundaries between one concept and the other. Generally citizenship education seems to be considered broader than human rights education, though human rights are probably the most important component of citizenship.

“I think that those who do citizenship education are also doing human rights education, there is no such distinction.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Bruno Losito, 4 October 2018)

“Obviously there can be many ways to see the link between the two dimensions, what I see is citizenship education in a broader sense therefore a wide field of research, teaching and so on, within which we can have many approaches, many specifications, so many more detailed ways to look at citizenship... and rights are one of these.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Milena Santerini, 5 October 2018)

“they are contiguous, they can also overlap... certainly the wider container, the more inclusive, is that of citizenship education which in itself contains, I would say, all the educations that have to do with the construction of a... the education of an aware and responsible person. And human rights education is the heart of citizenship education if you want... and it is perhaps the most international expression of what we understand as citizenship education.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Flavio Lotti, 16 October 2018)

However, some of my interviewees, especially coming from the civil society sector, believe that human rights education is the overarching concept that includes citizenship education, but they acknowledge at the same time that there are strong connections and overlaps even sometimes in the implementing actors. These similarities were already highlighted on a theoretical level between HRE and GCE (see chapter 2), particularly referring to their stated goals, approaches, strategies and implementing actors (Monaghan & Spreen, 2016).

“The two concepts are clearly related both from the point of view of objectives and also of methods that are then used, I would say that education for democratic citizenship may have the more specific focus of working on the principles of citizenship in democratic processes, and therefore citizens’ participation in decision-making processes that human rights education includes... I could consider human rights education as perhaps the more general, more holistic field that takes elements from education for democratic citizenship, development education, intercultural learning... then the definitions vary a lot from country to country and also depending on policies (...) surely there are correlations both thematic and methodological and above all of subjects/actors that apply it”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Emilia Astore, 21 September 2018)

“(advocates of global citizenship education and advocates of human rights education) they both consider essential the fact that when we reason in this field we make a reasoning of cognitive and methodological type, as well as at the level of activation, that the three things must be together, that they cannot be in contradiction with each other and that the ultimate goal is to create a human rights friendly environment. So there are those who shift the focus more on

human rights and therefore on the more juridical-political component of this theme and then in my view they will tend to move more towards embracing human rights education as a definition rather than global citizenship education and it is certainly my case for example... ”

(Translation from interview transcript – Emanuele Russo, 28 September 2018)

“they are close in methodological terms but not completely... if you compare the documents, for example, the Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training, that of the United Nations, or the UNESCO documents you see that the difference between the two areas is quite... for the experts it is quite marked, we are talking about things that run close but not exactly the same thing. Clearly the same approach remains, the one I am interested in and that is the cognitive one, the one of the skills and then that of the activation that remains the same for both (HRE and GCE)”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Francesca Cesarotti, 14 September 2018)

Another feature that emerged quite strongly from my interviews is the unsystematic and patchy implementation of citizenship education in Italy, characterised by very diverse practices spread all over the country. An idiomatic expression that was very often used to describe the national context is “*macchia di leopardo*” which literally means “like the spots on a leopard skin” and this is how citizenship education is implemented in Italy: it is here and there, there are good and bad practices, and also schools that are not even addressing the topic.

“educational policies in Italy are a bit ‘a macchia di leopardo’, they are very localized, as it happens somehow on everything, on refugee integration policies, on... because we have very marked regional autonomy compared to other contexts”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Emilia Astore, 21 September 2018)

“it’s true, it’s ‘a macchia di leopardo’ and it’s ‘a macchia di leopardo’ that is much darker in the north than in the south”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Emanuele Russo, 28 September 2018)

“There is no systemic approach. Everything is decentralized, cooperation is decentralized, education is decentralized, we have school autonomy and this makes the ‘macchia di leopardo’.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Francesca Cesarotti, 14 September 2018)

Another specificity of the Italian context emerged from my interview findings is that there is a sort of vicious circle concerning the work of civil society organisations in schools. Indeed, while they are taking the lead of the educational component related to citizenship and human rights, also to fill a gap that exists in schools, this kind of outsourcing does not allow schools to become independent and is not very sustainable. Surely there are excellent and innovative activities conducted by civil society, and these actors can also provide an expertise that teachers might not have, however there is a risk to become a short-term isolated intervention that is detached from the overall educational offer of the school. This means that when the external organisation completes the activity and leaves, schools and teachers are again left alone to deal with

citizenship and human rights education. While some of my interviewees critically highlighted that there is an interest for civil society organisation to establish this dependency relationship in which schools need them to carry out projects and activities on certain issues, some others have stressed the awareness of this problem and explained measures through which they are trying to solve it.

“the other problem is that sometimes there is a kind of delegation to the external subject of a part of these paths, which are not codified as a discipline (...) there are two main cases for those who are called on a project: either they receive a fee from schools, which however have little money, or they receive an upstream fee and therefore have to demonstrate to the foundation or other actor from which they depend that they went at least twenty times in schools because in this way the financing for this activity of image promotion, of promotion also of the activity of the NGO is guaranteed and can be disbursed. So it is clear that the idea of saying, what the old proverb said, give a man a fish and you feed him for a day, teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime... it's not convenient for NGOs”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Andrea Porcarelli, 1 October 2018)

“This is also a bit like the Italian model for which volunteering, in a way, is self-feeding. There is little collaboration with teachers to become, at a certain point, unnecessary... that is a bit like development cooperation, the difference between I come there and I build you the well or I come there, I give you the tools and then the well is yours. I think that this approach has been taken for too long, outsourcing things rather than using the same resources not for external projects but for teacher training.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Emilia Astore, 21 September 2018)

“Creating the alliance between civil society and school is one of the strategies that we have adopted, in the sense that... in the end we are not at school every day with students, teachers are there, so it would also be foolish to continue on a path as it was the one pursued in the past by associations or NGOs which consisted of going for a workshop of 4 or 6 hours in schools, but then students no longer saw you and life continued as if you hadn't passed (...) Doing an alliance with teachers through training, through an accompaniment that is more constant over time and also translated into opportunities (...) I believe this is the right path.”

(Translation from interview transcript – Marina Lovato, 3 October 2018)

A further concern expressed in my interviews is that teachers, since citizenship education is completely left to their good will, might decide to call and work with certain organisations for a number of different reasons, including personal interests and contacts, therefore not ensuring that these activities are really carried out following students' best interest and educational needs.

“then I think, well, at the level of school, of students, what is the reason why you come into contact with an NGO or not? Is it random? Does it depend on the teacher? Does this give you an opportunity that maybe others do not have?”

(Translation from interview transcript – Laura Palmerio, 4 October 2018)

“the teacher turns to the one (NGO) he/she knows, the one he/she is part of, or the one he/she came into contact with”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Bruno Losito, 4 October 2018)

“It is clear that if I need this audience because anyway I need it a little, I find a network with, I don’t know, two teachers who are my friends, a principal who has somehow a sympathy more for my organization than for the other one, because there is also this”.

(Translation from interview transcript – Andrea Porcarelli, 1 October 2018)

Final conclusion

In the previous chapters specifically dedicated to each of my case studies, Croatia (chapter 5) and Italy (chapter 6), I tried to respond to the main research question of this thesis: what is the relationship between citizenship education (CE) and human rights education (HRE)? For both of my case studies I demonstrated that while there are strong interconnections, citizenship education is considered as a broader concept that includes human rights and this is the prevailing approach in schools. Human rights are generally understood as the most important component of citizenship but this has not yet been translated into the critical and transformative approach to education I described in chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis, neither in Croatia nor in Italy. Through the contextualisation of CE national policy development in my two focus countries, the discussion of Croatian and Italian results to ICCS 2016, and the analysis of my research findings using the talk-and action approach, I was able to design 10 conceptual maps, 5 for each country, in order to investigate the perspective of my focal actors (ministry, national agencies, local authorities, academia and civil society) and specifically address the following aspects:

- identify the differentiated picture of CE actors as seen by the actors themselves, including their beliefs, conceptions and perceptions;
- better understand the complex systems and environments of citizenship education focusing on multiple key actors at stake;
- discover (inconsistent) demands and central tensions of citizenship education related to human rights and how these are perceived by the selected actor;
- analyse the reactions of each respective actor to the demands previously assessed, pushing for a thorough differentiation between talk, decision and action.

In this final conclusion of my research work, I will turn to a sort of intertwined analysis between the two case studies. Indeed, so far everything has been tackled separately, also to mirror and deeply analyse the specificities of each national context and to follow the characteristics of my methodology. This has also allowed to capture country-specific patterns such as the connection of citizenship education to the Catholic Church in Croatia and the vicious circle concerning the work of Italian civil society organisations in schools. However, I think that combining the findings emerged from my two different case studies will add a further and very interesting layer of complexity to the research. Furthermore, as explained in section 4.6 above, this

research can be framed as comparative case studies. More precisely, the comparison can be made between Croatian and Italian results to ICCS 2016, as well as between interview findings coming from both countries. The conceptual maps I developed concerning each actor in each case study (5 conceptual maps for Croatia and 5 for Italy) can also be used to identify some major highlights in the comparison of the same focal actor in the two different countries. I will now start with the results to ICCS 2016. In terms of *students' civic knowledge*, both Croatia and Italy had a score significantly higher than the international average set by ICCS 2016. Based on my interview findings, this result was quite unexpected in Croatia, where students usually prove very poor civic competences and political literacy, while in Italy it was reported that students tend to obtain quite positive results at a cognitive level. Regarding *school autonomy*, both in general and in planning civic and citizenship education in particular, there seems to be a common element between my focus countries. Indeed, my interviews pointed out that the educational framework, system and curriculum in Croatia and in Italy are defined and structured by the Ministry of Education, therefore school autonomy is necessarily limited. However, due to the fact that civic and citizenship education is not a subject and has an unclear status in both countries, schools have a wide margin of discretion on this field and “can basically do what they want”, leading to a multitude of different practices on the ground. Indeed, a patchy and unsystematic implementation of CE and HRE is probably the strongest finding that emerged from my interviews and this applies to both Croatia and Italy. Concerning the *aims and objectives of civic and citizenship education*, my interviews highlighted a tendency in Croatia to prioritize developing a sense of national identity and allegiance, leaving aside the more political component of CE to focus on “light issues” such as the environment and conflict resolution. In Italy, it emerged once again the focus on the cognitive component which often completely neglects skills and attitudes especially related to human rights. This finding recalls what has been described in the literature as mainstream citizenship education that puts emphasis on memorizing facts about the constitution and other legal documents, learning about various branches of the government and developing patriotism to the nation-state, with very marginal attention given to critical thinking skills, decision making, and action (see section 1.2.4. above). Regarding *conventional and social-movement-related citizenship* as forms of active citizenship, and the fact that students perceive both as important, this was in general a surprise in Croatia because my interviewees were expecting a tendency toward passive citizenship, while Italian interviews confirmed that schools are more towards a concept of

active citizenship rather than passive but mostly in a conventional way and very much connected to the nation and its symbols. This might be connected to the traditional national model described in the literature that tends to glorify national socio-cultural characteristics and political institutions, rather than embracing a post-national and transformative citizenship education (see section 1.2.4. above). The difference between the two countries was also related to the long-standing and deep-rooted Italian tradition of civic education that did not come out from the analysis of Croatian policy development where human rights started to be infused into the educational sphere even before the concept of citizenship, also due to projects and activities implemented after the war by international and regional organisations (UN, Council of Europe) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The ICCS 2016 items on *gender equality* and *equality for all ethnic/racial groups* opened up very interesting conversations during my interviews. Indeed, while there seems to be a common explanation in both Croatia and Italy on students' positive attitudes toward gender equality, and this is because various projects and activities carried out over the years by government and civil society have contributed to increase people's awareness on this issue, there is also a common sense of resignation regarding students' real understanding of what gender equality means and entails to practically translate it into daily lives, families, communities and society. This might be connected to what has been described in the literature as minimal and mainstream approach to CE that basically reinforces the status quo and the dominant power relationships, does not challenge or disrupt the class, racial, or gender discrimination in the schools and society. The fact that both Croatian and Italian students scored below the international average regarding their endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups, instead, was differently explained in my interviews in the two focus countries. In fact, in Croatia the result was very much connected to the history and the past of the country, the war and reconciliation processes, the fact that Croatia is a homogeneous society and a still relatively recent democracy. On the other hand, Italian interviews connected the result to the present situation, particularly the current public and political debate, and the high politicisation of immigration over the last several years. I think this is a very important finding also in light of the talk-and-action approach and its specification between post-socialist transformation countries and "old" democracies. In terms of *school contexts for civic and citizenship education*, my interviews showed that both Croatia and Italy are still far from what I described in my literature review as holistic approach to education (see section 3.1.2. above), which means addressing in formal, non-formal and

informal learning settings all of the following interrelated components: content, knowledge and understanding (about); pedagogy and methodology (through); action and empowerment (for). Indeed, my interviews in both countries depicted an education system that predominantly relies on old-fashioned practices and does not, or only partially, promote student participation. Regarding *students' opportunities to participate in activities carried out in the local community* but organized by the school in cooperation with external groups or organizations, this appears to be something quite widely carried out by schools in Croatia, though with a limited focus on “light issues” and leaving aside more controversial and challenging topics (e.g. sex and gender, political issues, etc.), while my interviews in Italy broadly stressed that it is very difficult to generalise because schools have very different experiences of activities in the local community. Concerning *teaching methods* for and *teacher preparation on civic and citizenship education*, the situation in Croatia, according to my interview findings, seems more worrying than the Italian one. Indeed, Croatian schools are still centred on a more passive transmission approach and the use of participatory and interactive methodologies remains an exception to the broader traditional and conservative national trend. In Italy, it emerged that teachers have very diverse methods and preparations but they are usually well prepared at the cognitive level (theories and knowledges), while they often lack pedagogical skills. These findings confirm a warning already pointed out in my theoretical framework, namely the sole focus on didactic methodologies characterising the formal schooling sector. In fact, didactic methodologies are antithetical to the substance and goals of HRE if they are the only methodology used, due to the lack of participation and critical reflection. This is particularly problematic for the Values and Awareness Model that is the only HRE Model to rely on didactic methodologies and, as the findings from Croatia and Italy demonstrate, struggles to move towards approaches that foster empowerment and transformation (see section 2.2.1. above). Furthermore, both in Croatia and in Italy my interviews underlined the inadequate initial and in-service teacher training as probably the most important challenge that affects the education system in general, as well as CE and HRE in particular.

The findings coming from the 10 conceptual maps I designed can also be read through an intertwined analysis that looks at the same focal actor in the two different countries. This is an attempt to push the boundaries of my methodology as described in chapter 4. Indeed, the talk-and-action approach to citizenship education focuses on the importance of adopting an actor-centred perspective that looks at the

specific beliefs, conceptions, perceptions and reactions of each focal actor – and this has already been largely discussed. However, since this research is also framed as a comparative study between Croatia and Italy, I decided to extend the actor-centred approach cross-nationally. This might also lead to new and very interesting research questions and paths to be explored. The research, in fact, does not only provide a within-system insight into demands and reactions of citizenship education related to human rights from the perspective of various focal actors but it also attempts to capture a cross-system analysis comparing the same focal actor between the two case studies. Below some of the major highlights resulting from the comparison between Croatian and Italian conceptual maps for the five different categories of stakeholders I identified in my research.

Ministry of Education

In both Croatia and Italy, national politics put pressures on the Ministry of Education who discursively highlights the importance of CE/HRE but in practice does not adopt a separate subject for it, preferring to maintain a cross-curricular approach where human rights are not of primary concern. International/regional politics generally influence the work of the Ministry and the EU Recommendation on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning of 2006 has particularly impacted on both countries. Regional/local authorities need guidance/control but also autonomy from the Ministry in order to contextualise their educational interventions, therefore the Ministry has to manage these demands in both Croatia and Italy. While the Ministry in Croatia seems to receive a pressure from NGOs who have been quite vocal about their opposition to government in relation to the educational reform, this dynamics does not appear in the Italian conceptual map where civil society actors seem to plan and develop their educational activities within the framework given by donors and the Ministry of Education. This is a very interesting finding that might create new research questions concerning the role and work of NGOs in the field of CE/HRE and further investigate their relationship with the Ministry of Education that seems discrepant between Croatia and Italy.

National Agencies

The Ministry of Education obviously impacts on the work of national agencies who, in the framework of a certain autonomy and scientific independence, are definitely subject to political pressures in both case studies. Regional/local authorities, as well as local school authorities, expect to receive guidance and support from national agencies who respond by trying to find a delicate balance between control and autonomy, providing differentiated tools and highlighting the importance of monitoring, assessment and external evaluation. International/regional politics have a quite substantial influence on both Croatian and Italian national agencies who not only refer to international/regional standards but they also have entire chunks of their work strictly connected to international/regional politics. While they obviously have their own specificities, it is quite striking the similarity between the two conceptual maps of national agencies in Croatia and Italy, particularly the common challenges this actor seems to face in the two countries.

Local Authorities

The Ministry of Education obviously puts pressure on local authorities (LAs), but while the Croatian conceptual map shows the resistance of the City of Rijeka, the Italian conceptual map highlights that the Coordination of LAs for Peace and Human Rights works within the given framework. The conceptual map of the Italian Coordination of LAs also shows that it takes advantage from international/regional standards to legitimise its work and reacts to the negative perception of the media and the general public concerning education by making the work of schools visible to the wider society. The Croatian conceptual map, instead, shows that Rijeka has to respond to the need for support coming from local school authorities, as well as to conservative and traditional attitudes coming from national politics and the Catholic Church who are aligned with the position set by the Ministry of Education and that the city has decided to resist and overturn. LAs probably show the biggest difference resulting from the comparison between Croatian and Italian conceptual maps. As such, this research can lay the foundation for further investigation, having for example representative samples of LAs in both countries to confirm/disconfirm this difference on a national level or even conduct a more in-depth analysis of different CE/HRE practices carried out by Croatian and Italian LAs in order to have a more comprehensive picture of this focal actor.

Academia

Both conceptual maps show that the Ministry of Education puts pressure on the academia to contribute to policy making but this is more a question of convenience – political decisions always prevail in the end, also when it comes to go against or leave aside the academia. Academia seems to be influenced by international/regional politics and standards in both countries, but in Croatia it also reacts to this pressure by adapting the language in order to access resources from international/regional organisations to carry out EDC/HRE projects and activities (similarly to what the Italian civil society does in response to a pressure from the Ministry – see below). The higher education system is another actor pushing on the academia and a common reaction highlighted in both conceptual maps is that of academic territoriality, meaning that both Croatian and Italian academics tend to privilege their own disciplinary lens and approach, also based on their specific faculty/department. This finding is strongly connected to what has previously been analysed in the conceptual framework concerning the interdisciplinary and heterogeneous nature of HRE (see section 2.1. above). While these features constitute a strength in developing the theory and practices of HRE, they also pose challenges that would deserve more attention, especially from the HRE scholars and other actors who are contributing to develop those theory and practices. The Croatian conceptual map also shows that the academia receives a pressure of conservative backlash from national politics and the Catholic Church, while this nexus does not emerge in Italy. This remark might provide a springboard for researchers interested in the relationship between religion and education to better understand the situation in Croatia and Italy.

Civil society

Both conceptual maps demonstrate that there is a pressure from the Ministry of Education but while Croatian civil society reacts by stop working at the policy level because of a loss of hope in the national government and in the Ministry, Italian civil society seems to follow the priorities set by the Ministry in order to access funds (both public and private). In both countries teachers push demands for support and civil society responds by providing a variety of trainings that meet teachers' needs and expectations without abandoning certain quality standards and principles. Pressure from the media and the general public on civil society is evident in the Croatian conceptual map, while Italian civil society seems to be influenced by international/regional politics and by local school authorities. Due to the major role of civil society in the field of CE/HRE, there are many paths that future research might want to embark on. Among the most

interesting ones, and based on some of the findings of this work focused on Croatia and Italy, more research is needed to better understand how civil society and teachers are working together on the ground, as well as how NGOs, as intermediary actors, are putting the HRE discourse to work in the local context through their practice (see section 3.3. above).

Afterword

At the conclusion of this PhD thesis, it is hoped that the overall research can do justice to the characteristic diversity and inconsistency of citizenship education and its non-linear, intricate development emerging from a multitude of actors and interests, approaches and concepts, expectations and demands, interpretations and (re-)actions. Citizenship education is a complicated matter, closely related to controversial and political issues, and when human rights are also brought into the equation then the picture becomes even more complex. I believe that this research provides a very interesting insight into the relationship between CE and HRE in Croatia and in Italy. Unfortunately, it tells us that in both countries we are still far from making a reality of what late professor Antonio Papisca (1936-2017) used to argue: “human rights education is today’s civic education”. However, this work could offer an avenue for future research aimed to investigate the place and role of human rights within citizenship education. Indeed, the preparatory work for ICCS 2022⁵¹ is already being started and therefore the structure of this PhD research can be replicated in Croatia and Italy, as well as extended to other participating countries and/or including other actors.

⁵¹ See for more information: <https://www.iea.nl/studies/iea/iccs/2022>. Date: 5 August 2019.

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Appendix A: GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW

Participant background

1. What is the institute/organization you are involved in?
2. What is your title/role?
3. How is your work connected to citizenship education? Please explain.
4. How does your work involve/promote human rights education? Please explain.

Defining the concepts

5. How do you define citizenship education? Feel free to refer to your own professional/academic experiences.
6. How do you define human rights education? Feel free to refer to your own professional/academic experiences.
7. Are you aware of any international/regional standards dealing with these concepts? E.g. United Nations, Council of Europe, European Union.
8. Are you aware of any national laws or policies dealing with these concepts? E.g. national education plan, curriculum.

Relationship between citizenship education and human rights education

9. What is your understanding of the relationship between citizenship education and human rights education?
10. Are there any differences between the two concepts? Are they the same? One feeds the other? One contains the other? Please elaborate.
11. Now think about your national context: is there a distinction between citizenship education and human rights education in both theoretical definition and practical implementation?

ICCS 2016

Summary of the study

The International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 (ICCS 2016) is an internationally renowned study conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). ICCS 2016 investigates the ways in which young people are prepared to undertake their roles as citizens in a range of countries in the second decade of the 21st century. It studies students' knowledge and understanding of civics and citizenship as well as students' attitudes, perceptions, and activities related to civics and citizenship. It also collects and analyses a rich array of contextual data from policy makers, teachers, school principals, and the students themselves about the organization and content of civic and citizenship education in the curriculum, teacher qualifications and experiences, school environment and climate, and home and community support. Based on nationally representative samples of students, the study also examines differences among countries in relation to these outcomes of civic and citizenship education, and explores how cross-national differences relate to student characteristics, school and community contexts, and national characteristics. ICCS 2016 gathered data from more than 94,000 students in their eighth year of schooling (students approximately 14 years of age) in about 3800 schools from 24 countries. The main survey data collection took place between October 2015 and June 2016 using the following instruments:

- international student cognitive test, consisting of items measuring students' civic knowledge and ability to analyse and reason (45 minutes);
- international student questionnaire, measuring students' perceptions about civics and citizenship as well as information about each student's background (30-40 minutes);
- teacher questionnaire, administered to selected teachers teaching any subject in the target grade and gathering information about teachers' perceptions of civic and citizenship education in their schools, their schools' organization and culture as well as their own teaching assignments and backgrounds (30 minutes);
- school questionnaire, administered to school principals of selected schools and capturing information about school characteristics, school culture and climate, and the provision of civic and citizenship education in the school (30 minutes);

- national context survey, compiled by national research centres and synthesizing information about the structure of the education system, civic and citizenship education in the national curricula, and recent developments in civic and citizenship education (online survey).

Croatia took part in ICCS 2016 with 176 schools, 3896 students and 2723 teachers. The civic knowledge average score of the ICCS 2016 countries was 517 scale points and Croatian students scored 531 (achievement significantly higher than international average).

According to the ICCS 2016 national context survey, intended approaches to civic and citizenship education in the curriculum for Grade 8 students in Croatia are as follow.

Approaches to civic and citizenship education in the curriculum at the target grade					
	Taught as a separate subject by teachers of subjects related to civic and citizenship education	Taught by teachers of subjects related to human/social sciences (e.g. history, geography, law, economics)	Integrated into all subjects taught at school	An extracurricular activity	Considered the result of school experience as a whole
Croatia		X	X	X	

What do you think about this preliminary picture of civic and citizenship education in Croatia?

The following questions present selected data emerging from ICCS 2016 to open up a discussion on several aspects of civic and citizenship education in Croatia. Please bear in mind that we are referring to students in their eighth year of schooling (students approximately 14 years of age).

Level of autonomy of schools in curriculum planning

12. The national context survey (compiled by national research centres) shows that schools have a lower degree of autonomy in curriculum planning but, according to school questionnaire (compiled by principals), schools' autonomy in planning civic and citizenship education scores more than 10 percentage points above ICCS 2016 average.

How do you interpret these findings? Do schools follow curriculum defined by educational authorities or do they autonomously plan civic and citizenship education?

Learning objectives for civic and citizenship education

13. The national context survey asked national centres to indicate whether the curriculum for the ICCS 2016 target grade specified certain learning objectives in their civic and citizenship education provision. The following list of learning objectives for civic and citizenship education was provided and Croatia indicated all of them:
 - a) knowing basic facts;
 - b) understanding key concepts;
 - c) understanding key values and attitudes;
 - d) communicating through discussion and debate;
 - e) understanding decision-making and active participation;
 - f) becoming involved in decision-making in school;
 - g) participating in community-based activities;
 - h) developing a sense of national identity and allegiance;
 - i) developing positive attitudes toward participation and engagement;
 - j) understanding how to resolve conflicts;
 - k) understanding principles of voting and elections.

Do you think that these learning objectives for civic and citizenship education are all integrated in the curriculum of Croatian lower-secondary schools? Or some are maybe prioritized over others? Is there any learning objective for civic and citizenship education missing from the list provided?

Aims of civic and citizenship education

14. The ICCS 2016 survey asked principals and teachers to provide information about the importance of different aims of civic and citizenship education. The school and teacher questionnaires both asked respondents to select from the following list what they considered to be the three most important aims of civic and citizenship education:

- a) promoting knowledge of social, political, and civic institutions;
- b) promoting respect for and safeguard of the environment;
- c) promoting the capacity to defend one's own point of view;
- d) developing students' skills and competencies in conflict resolution;
- e) promoting knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities;
- f) promoting students' participation in the <local community>;
- g) promoting students' critical and independent thinking;
- h) promoting students' participation in school life;
- i) supporting the development of effective strategies to reduce racism;
- j) preparing students for future political engagement.

Based on both principals' and teachers' responses, Croatia scores significantly below ICCS 2016 average on (a) and (j), and significantly above ICCS 2016 average on (c).

What do you think are the most important aims of civic and citizenship education in Croatian lower-secondary schools? Is there a connection between these aims and the promotion of a universal culture of human rights? Please explain.

Conventional and social-movement-related citizenship

15. In the academic literature there is a distinction between active (conventional and social-movement-related) and more passive citizenship elements (national identity, patriotism, loyalty). The ICCS 2016 questionnaire asked students to rate the importance of conventional as well as social-movement-related citizenship through a list of items that have been used to form an IRT scale. Croatian students perceive that both conventional and social-movement-related citizenship are significantly important.

	ITEMS	SCORE
Students' perceptions of the importance of <u>conventional citizenship</u>	(a) voting in every national election; (b) joining a political party; (c) learning about the country's history; (d) following political issues in the newspaper, on the radio, on TV, or on the internet; (e) showing respect for government representatives; (f) engaging in political discussions.	Significantly above ICCS 2016 average
Students' perceptions of the importance of <u>social-movement-related citizenship</u>	(a) participating in peaceful protests against laws believed to be unjust; (b) participating in activities to benefit people in the local community; (c) taking part in activities promoting human rights; (d) taking part in activities to protect the environment.	Significantly above ICCS 2016 average

What kind of citizenship is promoted through education in Croatia? Does civic and citizenship education infuse the students with active or more passive elements of citizenship? And if active is the answer, is conventional or social-movement-related citizenship given more importance?

Gender equality

16. Positive attitudes toward equal opportunities for all groups within a society, independent of their gender or origin, are widely regarded as part of the ideal of a democratic society. The ICCS 2016 student questionnaire included six items to derive a scale reflecting (positive) student attitudes toward gender equality. Croatian students score significantly above the average.

	ITEMS	SCORE
Students' endorsement of gender equality	(a) Men and women should have equal opportunities to take part in government; (b) Men and women should have the same rights in every way; (c) Women should stay out of politics; (d) When there are not many jobs available, men should have more right to a job than women; (e) Men and women should get equal pay when they are doing the same jobs; (f) Men are better qualified to be political leaders than women.	Significantly above ICCS 2016 average

Do you think that civic and citizenship education in Croatia is based on certain values? What are they? Are these values driven by the state/nation or do they recall other sources? E.g. human rights principles and standards, European values.

Equality for all ethnic and racial groups

17. Another important aspect of students' regard for equity and tolerance is ethnic and racial background. The ICCS 2016 student questionnaire included five items to measure students' endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic/racial groups in society. Croatian students score significantly below the average.

	ITEMS	SCORE
Students' endorsement of equal rights for all ethnic and racial groups	(a) All <ethnic/racial groups> should have an equal chance to get a good education in <country of test>; (b) All <ethnic/racial groups> should have an equal chance to get good jobs in <country of test>; (c) Schools should teach students to respect <members of all ethnic/racial groups>; (d) Members of all ethnic/racial groups should be encouraged to run in elections for political office; (e) Members of all ethnic/racial groups should have the same rights and responsibilities.	Significantly below ICCS 2016 average

Does civic and citizenship education in Croatia recognize and embrace diversity? How do you see the challenge of providing citizenship education capable of accommodating multiple forms of difference and embracing an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all citizens

are committed? Do you think that in Croatia the curricular content, attitudes and values reflect the fact that citizenship transcends the nation-state (post-national model) or is there a traditional national model of citizenship education (tendency to glorify national socio-cultural characteristics and political institutions)?

School contexts for civic and citizenship education

18. There are several contexts that have the potential to influence not only students' learning outcomes in the field of civic and citizenship education but also their civic engagement. These contexts include the wider community, the school and classroom, the home and peer environment, and characteristics of individual students. ICCS 2016 considered students' civic learning outcomes as the result of not only teaching and learning processes but also of students' more general experiences in their schools. What students experience daily at school is deemed of particular relevance for the development of their attitudes and dispositions. Students' participation at the school level, the interpersonal climate of the school and classroom, and the quality of the relationships between students and teachers and among students are of vital importance.

To measure students' perceptions of student-teacher relationships at school, the ICCS 2016 student questionnaire included the following set of items and Croatian students score significantly below the average.

	ITEMS	SCORE
Students' perceptions of student-teacher relations at school	(a) Most of my teachers treat me fairly; (b) Students get along well with most teachers; (c) Most teachers are interested in students' wellbeing; (d) Most of my teachers listen to what I have to say; (e) If I need extra help, I receive it from my teachers.	Significantly below ICCS 2016 average

The ICCS 2016 international student questionnaire also included a question asking students about the level of verbal or physical bullying they had personally experienced at school. More specifically, this question asked students to respond to the situations depicted in each of the question's items by indicating how often they had experienced these situations within the past three months. Croatian students score significantly above the average.

	ITEMS	SCORE
Students' experiences of physical and verbal abuse at school	(a) A student called you by an offensive nickname; (b) A student said things about you to make others laugh; (c) A student threatened to hurt you; (d) You were physically attacked by another student; (e) A student broke something belonging to you on purpose; (f) A student posted offensive pictures or text about you on the internet.	Significantly above ICCS 2016 average

Based on these findings and on your experiences, does Croatian civic and citizenship education adopt a holistic approach, including formal, non-formal and informal learning? Or do you think the focus is mostly on formal aspects? For example, is careful consideration given to the quality of the relationships between students and teachers and among students? Please provide examples.

19. Several studies illustrate the important role that students' activities in the community play in students' construction and development of knowledge and skills for active citizenship. Links between the school and its local community represent an opportunity for involving students in activities related to positive civic outcomes and that thereby contribute to the enhancement of civic engagement. The ICCS 2016 school and teacher questionnaires included questions about the opportunities that target-grade students had to participate in activities carried out in the local community but organized by the school in cooperation with external groups or organizations. Principals could respond "all or nearly all," "most of them," "some of them," "none or hardly any," and "not offered at school", while teachers could respond a simple "yes" or "no" to the same list of activities:
- a) activities related to environmental sustainability (e.g. <energy and water saving, recycling>);
 - b) human rights projects;
 - c) activities for underprivileged people or groups;
 - d) cultural activities (e.g. theater, music);
 - e) multicultural and intercultural activities within the <local community> (e.g. <promotion and celebration of cultural diversity, food/street market>);
 - f) campaigns to raise people's awareness (about social issues, of environmental issues);
 - g) activities aimed at protecting the cultural heritage within the <local community>;
 - h) visits to political institutions (e.g. <parliament house, prime minister's/president's official residence>);
 - i) sports events.

Based on both principals' and teachers' responses, Croatia scores significantly above ICCS 2016 average on (a), (b) and (g), and more than 10 percentage points below ICCS 2016 average on (f).

What do you think about this link between school and local community as part of civic and citizenship education? Do you agree with a conception of transformative citizenship education that enables students to take actions to create just and democratic multicultural communities and societies? Can you think of any examples from your national context?

Teaching methods for civic and citizenship education

20. The ICCS 2016 teacher questionnaire asked teachers who were teaching subjects labelled at the national level as "civic and citizenship education" how often ("never," "sometimes," "often," "very often") they used specific teaching methods during their lessons. The question on teaching methods included eight statements:
- a) Students work on projects that involve gathering information outside school (e.g. interviews in the neighbourhood, small scale surveys);
 - b) Students work in small groups on different topics/issues;
 - c) Students participate in role plays;
 - d) Students take notes during teacher's lectures;
 - e) Students discuss current issues;
 - f) Students research and/or analyze information gathered from multiple web sources (e.g. wikis, online newspapers);
 - g) Students study textbooks;
 - h) Students propose topics/ issues for the following lessons.

Croatia scores significantly below ICCS 2016 average on (a) and (e), and more than 10 percentage points below ICCS 2016 average on (b), (d) and (g).

What kind of citizenship pedagogies (teaching, learning, and assessment practices) are adopted in Croatian lower-secondary schools? Does civic and citizenship education rely on a cultural transmission approach (passive students participation, content centred around positive knowledge and uncritical beliefs in loyalty and patriotism) or does it apply critical pedagogy (active students participation, critical thinking, questioning power relationships and taking action against oppression, discrimination and injustice)? Are the rights of both educators and learners respected in learning and teaching civic and citizenship education (education though human rights)?

Teacher preparation on civic- and citizenship-related topics and skills

21. Several studies have shown that teacher preparation is one of the most important factors influencing student achievement. ICCS 2016 asked teachers of civic and citizenship education subjects to report how well prepared (“very well prepared,” “quite well prepared,” “not very well prepared,” “not prepared at all”) they felt to teach the following set of civic- and citizenship-related topics and skills:
- a) human rights;
 - b) voting and elections;
 - c) the global community and international organizations;
 - d) the environment and environmental sustainability;
 - e) emigration and immigration;
 - f) equal opportunities for men and women;
 - g) citizens’ rights and responsibilities;
 - h) the constitution and political systems;
 - i) responsible internet use (e.g. privacy, source reliability, social media);
 - j) critical and independent thinking;
 - k) conflict resolution;
 - l) the European Union.

Croatia scores significantly below ICCS 2016 average on (a) and (d), and more than 10 percentage points below ICCS 2016 average on (b), (c), (e), (f), (g), (h) and (l).

Do you think that teacher preparation on civic- and citizenship-related topics and skills is an issue in Croatia? Please elaborate.

22. Do you have any other comments or information that you would like to add?

Appendix B: SCALETTA DI INTERVISTA

Background dell'intervistato/a

1. Qual è l'istituto/organizzazione per cui lavora?
2. Qual è il suo titolo/ruolo?
3. In che modo il suo lavoro è collegato ad educazione alla cittadinanza?
4. In che modo il suo lavoro è collegato ad educazione ai diritti umani?

Definizione dei concetti

5. Come definirebbe educazione alla cittadinanza? Si riferisca pure liberamente alle sue esperienze professionali e/o accademiche.
6. Come definirebbe educazione ai diritti umani? Si riferisca pure liberamente alle sue esperienze professionali e/o accademiche.
7. È a conoscenza di norme o strumenti internazionali/regionali che trattano di questi concetti? Es. Nazioni Unite, Consiglio d'Europa, Unione Europea.
8. È a conoscenza di leggi o politiche nazionali che trattano di questi concetti? Es. piano di educazione nazionale, curriculum.

Relazione tra educazione alla cittadinanza ed educazione ai diritti umani

9. Come interpreta la relazione tra educazione alla cittadinanza ed educazione ai diritti umani?
10. Ci sono differenze tra i due concetti? Sono la stessa cosa? L'uno alimenta l'altro? L'uno contiene l'altro?
11. Ora pensi al suo contesto nazionale: esiste una distinzione tra educazione alla cittadinanza ed educazione ai diritti umani sia a livello di definizione teorica che di implementazione pratica?

ICCS 2016 – Sintesi della ricerca

L'International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2016 (ICCS 2016) è un'indagine comparativa internazionale, promossa dalla IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement), che mira a conoscere i modi nei quali i giovani sono preparati ad assumere il loro ruolo di cittadini nel secondo decennio del ventunesimo secolo in una serie di paesi del mondo. Da una parte sono indagate, quindi, la conoscenza e la comprensione dei principi civici e di cittadinanza da parte degli studenti, dall'altra i loro atteggiamenti, percezioni e attività collegate a tale ambito. Queste ultime informazioni, insieme a quelle relative ai contesti scolastici e di comunità e alle caratteristiche nazionali, sono utilizzate per approfondire le differenze che emergono fra i paesi partecipanti. ICCS raccoglie informazioni, oltre che dagli studenti, anche dagli insegnanti, dalle scuole e dai sistemi educativi per poter descrivere e analizzare come i risultati sulle conoscenze e competenze civiche e di cittadinanza sono collegati ai contesti e agli ambienti di apprendimento. Data la rappresentatività dei campioni di studenti a livello nazionale, lo studio esamina anche le differenze tra i paesi in relazione ai risultati di educazione civica e alla cittadinanza, ed esplora le differenze transnazionali in relazione alle caratteristiche degli studenti, ai contesti scolastici e comunitari e alle caratteristiche nazionali. ICCS 2016 ha raccolto dati da più di 94000 studenti frequentanti l'ottavo anno di scolarità (14 anni di media) in circa 3800 scuole di 24 paesi. La raccolta dei dati è stata condotta fra ottobre 2015 e giugno 2016 utilizzando i seguenti strumenti di rilevazione:

- prova cognitiva studente, composta da item che misurano la conoscenza civica degli studenti e la loro capacità di analisi e ragionamento (45 minuti);
- questionario studente, utilizzato per raccogliere informazioni sia sulle percezioni degli studenti in merito a temi civici e di cittadinanza, sia sul background di ciascuno studente (30-40 minuti);
- questionario insegnante, somministrato agli insegnanti di qualsiasi materia selezionati nel grado di riferimento e con domande relative alle loro percezioni dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza nelle loro scuole, sull'organizzazione e la cultura della loro scuola, nonché sul loro background e sui loro incarichi di insegnamento (30 minuti);
- questionario scuola, che chiede ai dirigenti scolastici di fornire informazioni sulle caratteristiche e sul clima della scuola, oltre che sull'offerta di educazione civica e alla cittadinanza (30 minuti);
- questionario online sul contesto nazionale, compilato dai centri nazionali e da esperti coordinati dal National Research Coordinator di ciascun paese. Le informazioni raccolte tramite questo strumento

riguardano la struttura del sistema educativo, la presenza dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza nei curricoli nazionali e i recenti sviluppi nell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza.

L'Italia ha partecipato a ICCS 2016 con un campione di 170 scuole, 3450 studenti e 2331 insegnanti. Il punteggio medio dei risultati nelle conoscenze civiche dei paesi partecipanti a ICCS 2016 è stato di 517 punti e il punteggio medio degli studenti italiani di 524 punti (significativamente sopra la media internazionale).

Secondo quanto riportato dal questionario sul contesto nazionale di ICCS 2016, le modalità di insegnamento dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza nel curriculum italiano per gli studenti di grado 8 sono le seguenti.

Modalità di insegnamento dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza al livello scolastico di riferimento					
	Insegnata come materia autonoma da insegnanti di materie correlate all'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza	Insegnata da insegnanti di materie correlate alle scienze umane e sociali (es. storia, geografia, diritto, economia)	Inserita in tutte le materie insegnate a scuola	Attività extracurricolare	Considerata come il risultato dell'esperienza scolastica nel suo complesso
Italia		X	X		X

Cosa ne pensa di questo quadro preliminare dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza in Italia?

Le seguenti domande presentano alcuni dati selezionati emersi da ICCS 2016 per aprire la discussione su vari aspetti dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza in Italia. Si prega di tenere presente che ci si riferisce a studenti (14 anni di media) frequentanti l'ottavo anno di scolarità (per l'Italia III secondaria di primo grado).

Autonomia scolastica

12. Nell'ambito dell'autonomia scolastica i centri nazionali sono stati invitati a fornire informazioni su cinque processi decisionali della scuola secondaria inferiore (stanziamento di fondi; pianificazione del curriculum; pedagogia o approcci all'insegnamento; reclutamento e nomina del personale scolastico; valutare gli studenti) e l'Italia registra un medio o più altro grado di autonomia in tutte le voci ad eccezione di reclutamento e nomina del personale scolastico. Per quanto riguarda il livello di autonomia della scuole nella pianificazione delle attività di insegnamento di educazione civica e alla cittadinanza, i risultati del questionario scuola (compilato dai dirigenti scolastici) indicano che le scuole hanno completa/abbastanza autonomia con punteggi significativamente sopra la media internazionale rispetto a tutti e sette gli aspetti indagati (scelta dei libri di testo; esaminare e valutare; pianificazione del curriculum; crescita professionale specifica degli insegnanti; organizzazione di attività extra-curricolari; stabilire accordi di cooperazione con organizzazioni e istituzioni; partecipazione a progetti con altre scuole).

Come interpreta questi risultati? Ritieni che le scuole seguano il curriculum definito dalle autorità educative o pianifichino in completa autonomia l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza?

Obiettivi di apprendimento per l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza

13. I centri nazionali sono stati invitati a specificare se esiste, nel curriculum del livello scolastico oggetto di indagine, un elenco degli obiettivi di apprendimento per l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza. Nel curriculum italiano per l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza agli studenti di terza secondaria di primo grado, sussistono tutti gli undici obiettivi presi in riferimento.
- l) Conoscere i fatti di base;
 - m) Comprendere i concetti chiave;
 - n) Comprendere i valori e gli atteggiamenti chiave;
 - o) Comunicare attraverso la discussione e il dibattito;
 - p) Capire come prendere le decisioni e come partecipare attivamente;
 - q) Essere coinvolti nelle decisioni da prendere a scuola;
 - r) Partecipare alle attività della comunità;
 - s) Sviluppare un senso di identità e lealtà nazionali;

- t) Sviluppare atteggiamenti positivi verso la partecipazione e l'impegno;
- u) Comprendere come risolvere i conflitti;
- v) Comprendere i principi del voto e delle elezioni.

Ritiene che tutti questi obiettivi di apprendimento per l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza siano integrati nel curriculum italiano della III secondaria di primo grado? O alcuni hanno la priorità su altri? C'è qualche elemento mancante dall'elenco fornito?

Obiettivi per l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza

14. I dirigenti e gli insegnanti hanno dovuto valutare quanto una serie di obiettivi fossero importanti per l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza. La stessa domanda è stata inclusa sia nel questionario per la scuola che in quello per l'insegnante. In particolare, i dirigenti e gli insegnanti sono stati invitati a individuare i tre obiettivi più importanti dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza fra i seguenti dieci:
- k) Promuovere la conoscenza delle istituzioni sociali, politiche e civiche;
 - l) Promuovere il rispetto e la salvaguardia dell'ambiente;
 - m) Promuovere la capacità di difendere il proprio punto di vista;
 - n) Sviluppare le abilità e competenze degli studenti nella risoluzione dei conflitti;
 - o) Promuovere la conoscenza dei diritti e delle responsabilità dei cittadini;
 - p) Promuovere la partecipazione degli studenti alla <comunità locale>;
 - q) Promuovere il pensiero critico e autonomo degli studenti;
 - r) Promuovere la partecipazione degli studenti alla vita scolastica;
 - s) Sostenere lo sviluppo di strategie efficaci per ridurre il razzismo;
 - t) Preparare gli studenti per un impegno politico futuro.

Sulla base della combinazione delle risposte dei dirigenti scolastici e degli insegnanti, l'Italia ha ottenuto un punteggio significativamente inferiore alla media ICCS 2016 per (b), (c), (h) e (j), e significativamente sopra la media ICCS 2016 per (e).

Quali pensa che siano gli obiettivi più importanti per l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza nella scuola italiana? Esiste una connessione tra questi obiettivi e la promozione di una cultura universale dei diritti umani?

Cittadinanza convenzionale e cittadinanza connessa ai movimenti sociali

15. Nella letteratura accademica esiste una distinzione fra gli elementi attivi della cittadinanza (convenzionale e connessa ai movimenti sociali) e quelli passivi (identità nazionale, patriottismo, lealtà). Il questionario ICCS 2016 ha chiesto agli studenti di valutare l'importanza sia della cittadinanza convenzionale che di quella connessa ai movimenti sociali attraverso una lista di item che sono stati utilizzati per formare una scala IRT (Item Response Theory).

	ITEM	PUNTEGGIO
Percezione degli studenti relativamente all'importanza della <u>cittadinanza convenzionale</u>	(a) Votare a tutte le elezioni nazionali; (b) Aderire ad un partito politico; (c) Conoscere la storia del proprio paese; (d) Seguire le questioni politiche sul giornale, alla radio, in TV o su internet; (e) Mostrare rispetto per i rappresentanti del governo; (f) Impegnarsi in discussioni politiche.	Più di 3 punti sopra la media ICCS 2016
Percezione degli studenti relativamente all'importanza della <u>cittadinanza connessa ai movimenti sociali</u>	(a) Partecipare a proteste pacifiche contro leggi ritenute ingiuste; (b) Partecipare ad attività a sostegno delle persone nella comunità locale; (c) Partecipare ad attività di	Significativamente superiore alla media ICCS 2016

	promozione dei diritti umani; (d) Partecipare ad attività di protezione dell'ambiente.	
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Che tipo di cittadinanza ritiene sia promossa in Italia attraverso l'educazione civica? Crede che l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza infonda negli studenti elementi di cittadinanza attiva o passiva? E se la risposta è attiva, è data maggiore importanza alla cittadinanza convenzionale o a quella connessa ai movimenti sociali?

Eguaglianza di genere

16. Gli atteggiamenti positivi nei confronti delle pari opportunità, in termini di diritti e doveri per tutti i gruppi di una società indipendentemente dal genere o dalle origini, sono ampiamente considerati come parte fondamentale di una società democratica. Il questionario studente di ICCS 2016 ha incluso sei item per ricavare una scala che riflettesse l'atteggiamento (positivo) degli studenti verso l'eguaglianza di genere. Gli studenti italiani hanno ottenuto un risultato significativamente superiore alla media internazionale.

	ITEM	PUNTEGGIO
Sostegno degli studenti all'eguaglianza di genere	(a) Uomini e donne dovrebbero avere le stesse opportunità di partecipare al governo; (b) Uomini e donne dovrebbero avere gli stessi diritti in tutti i modi; (c) Le donne dovrebbero rimanere fuori dalla politica; (d) Quando non ci sono molti posti di lavoro disponibili, gli uomini dovrebbero avere più diritto a un lavoro rispetto alle donne; (e) Gli uomini e le donne dovrebbero ottenere lo stesso salario quando fanno gli stessi lavori; (f) Gli uomini sono più preparati delle donne per essere dirigenti politici.	Significativamente sopra la media ICCS 2016

Ritiene che l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza in Italia sia basata su determinati valori? Quali sono? Questi valori sono guidati dallo stato/nazione o richiamano altre fonti? Per esempio, principi e standard dei diritti umani, valori europei.

Eguaglianza tra tutti i gruppi etnici/razziali

17. Un altro aspetto rilevante legato al sostegno degli studenti verso l'equità e la tolleranza è collegato al background etnico e razziale. Il questionario studente di ICCS 2016 ha incluso cinque item per misurare il sostegno degli studenti a diritti uguali per tutti i gruppi etnici/razziali nel proprio paese. Gli studenti italiani hanno ottenuto un risultato significativamente inferiore alla media internazionale.

	ITEMS	SCORE
Sostegno degli studenti all'eguaglianza tra tutti i gruppi etnici/razziali	(a) Tutti i <gruppi etnici/razziali> dovrebbero avere pari possibilità di ottenere una buona istruzione in <paese di riferimento>; (b) Tutti i <gruppi etnici/razziali> dovrebbero avere pari possibilità di ottenere buoni impieghi in <paese di riferimento>; (c) Le scuole dovrebbero insegnare agli studenti a rispettare <i membri di tutti i gruppi etnici/razziali>; (d) I membri di tutti i gruppi etnici/razziali dovrebbero essere incoraggiati a candidarsi per le	Significativamente sotto la media ICCS 2016

	elezioni politiche; (e) I membri di tutti i gruppi etnici/razziali dovrebbero avere gli stessi diritti e le stesse responsabilità.	
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L'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza in Italia riconosce e include la diversità? Come considera la sfida di fornire un'educazione alla cittadinanza in grado di accogliere molteplici forme di differenza e, allo stesso tempo, abbracciare una serie di valori, ideali e obiettivi condivisi a cui tutti i cittadini sono dediti? Pensa che in Italia il contenuto, gli atteggiamenti e i valori curricolari riflettano il fatto che la cittadinanza trascende lo stato nazionale (modello post-nazionale) o esiste un modello tradizionale di educazione alla cittadinanza nazionale (tendenza a glorificare le caratteristiche socioculturali e le istituzioni politiche nazionali)?

Il contesto scolastico per l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza

18. Vi sono diversi contesti che possono influenzare non soltanto i risultati degli studenti nell'ambito dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza, ma anche il loro impegno civico: il contesto della comunità locale, il contesto scolastico e di classe, il contesto familiare, l'ambiente dei pari e il contesto personale degli studenti. ICCS 2016 parte dalla considerazione che i risultati di apprendimento degli studenti siano il frutto non soltanto dei processi di insegnamento e di apprendimento, ma anche dell'esperienza che gli studenti quotidianamente vivono a scuola. Quest'ultimo aspetto è ritenuto di particolare rilievo per lo sviluppo delle attitudini e delle disposizioni degli studenti. La partecipazione degli studenti a livello scolastico, il clima interpersonale della scuola e dell'aula e la qualità delle relazioni tra studenti e insegnanti e tra studenti sono di vitale importanza.

ICCS 2016, nel questionario rivolto ai dirigenti scolastici, ha chiesto loro se e in che misura gli studenti partecipano alle elezioni dei propri rappresentanti di classe e alle votazioni delle elezioni per il consiglio di istituto, prevedendo come modalità di risposta le opzioni "Tutti o quasi tutti", "La maggior parte", "Alcuni", "Nessuno o quasi nessuno" e "Non applicabile". Quest'ultima opzione è stata introdotta per considerare le diverse normative in materia di partecipazione degli studenti; ad esempio in Italia, queste due forme di partecipazione sono previste dalla legge soltanto nelle scuole del secondo ciclo. L'analisi dei dati mostra che nelle scuole secondarie di I grado italiane non sono previsti (come prevedibile) rappresentanti di classe o di istituto eletti tra gli studenti, mentre in quasi tutti i paesi partecipanti a ICCS, in terza secondaria di primo grado, non soltanto è presente la partecipazione degli studenti alle elezioni dei loro rappresentanti di classe o di scuola, ma è anche molto elevata (media ICCS rispettivamente pari a 85% e 74%). L'Italia si discosta significativamente dagli altri paesi con una percentuale di studenti appartenenti a scuole nelle quali soltanto il 22% degli studenti appartiene a scuole ove gli stessi eleggono i propri rappresentanti di classe o soltanto l'1% a scuole ove votano alle elezioni del consiglio di istituto.

Inoltre, il questionario scuola rivolto ai dirigenti scolastici ha chiesto loro di indicare quanto gli insegnanti, i genitori e gli studenti sono coinvolti nei processi decisionali della scuola ("Molto", "Abbastanza", "Poco", "Per niente").

	ITEMS	PUNTEGGIO
Percentuali di studenti appartenenti a scuole i cui dirigenti segnalano l'impegno della comunità scolastica	(a) Gli insegnanti vengono coinvolti nei processi decisionali; (b) I genitori vengono coinvolti nei processi decisionali; (c) Le opinioni degli studenti vengono prese in considerazione nell'ambito dei processi decisionali; (d) Norme e regolamenti vengono rispettati dal personale docente e non docente, dagli studenti e dai genitori; (e) Agli studenti viene data l'opportunità di partecipare attivamente alle decisioni	Più di 10 punti percentuali sotto la media internazionale per tutte le voci, ad eccezione di (b) che comunque risulta significativamente sotto la media ICCS 2016.

	scolastiche; (f) Ai genitori vengono fornite informazioni sui risultati della scuola e degli studenti.	
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Sulla base di questi risultati e delle sue esperienze personali, ritiene che l'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza in Italia adotti un approccio olistico, che include l'apprendimento formale, non formale e informale? O crede che l'attenzione sia principalmente focalizzata sugli aspetti formali? Ad esempio, si tengono in debita considerazione aspetti quali la partecipazione degli studenti a livello scolastico, il clima interpersonale della scuola e dell'aula, la qualità delle relazioni tra studenti e insegnanti e tra studenti, il coinvolgimento di insegnanti, genitori e studenti nei processi decisionali della scuola? Se possibile, fornisca esempi concreti.

19. Diversi studi mostrano l'importante ruolo che le attività svolte dagli studenti nella comunità locale gioca nella costruzione e nello sviluppo delle conoscenze e delle competenze per una cittadinanza attiva. Il legame tra la scuola e la comunità locale è un'opportunità di coinvolgimento degli studenti in attività legate all'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza che permettono di rafforzare l'impegno civico, attraverso l'esperienza di contesti di vita quotidiana. Il questionario scuola e il questionario insegnante di ICCS 2016 hanno incluso domande sulle opportunità che gli studenti hanno di partecipare ad attività civiche svolte dalle loro scuole all'interno della comunità locale, in collaborazione con gruppi e organizzazioni esterne. I dirigenti scolastici potevano rispondere "tutti o quasi", "molti di loro", "alcuni di loro", "nessuno o quasi nessuno" e "non offerte a scuola", mentre gli insegnanti potevano rispondere con un semplice "sì" o "no" allo stesso elenco di attività:
- j) Attività legate alla sostenibilità ambientale (ad es. risparmio di energia e di acqua, raccolta differenziata);
 - k) Progetti per la difesa dei diritti umani;
 - l) Attività rivolte a persone o gruppi svantaggiati;
 - m) Attività culturali (ad es. teatro, musica, cinema);
 - n) Attività multiculturali e interculturali nella comunità locale (ad es. attività di promozione della diversità culturale, mercatino equo solidale);
 - o) Campagne per sensibilizzare le persone su temi specifici, come ad es. la Giornata mondiale contro l'AIDS, la Giornata internazionale contro l'omofobia, la Giornata della legalità;
 - p) Attività di tutela del patrimonio culturale nell'ambito della comunità locale;
 - q) Visite a istituzioni politiche (ad es. Parlamento, Quirinale, Municipio);
 - r) Eventi sportivi.

Sulla base della combinazione delle risposte dei dirigenti scolastici e degli insegnanti, l'Italia ha ottenuto un punteggio significativamente superiore alla media ICCS 2016 per (d) e inferiore per (i), mentre più di 10 punti percentuali sopra la media per (b).

Cosa ne pensa di questo legame tra scuola e comunità locale nel contesto dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza? È d'accordo con una concezione di educazione alla cittadinanza trasformativa, che permetta cioè agli studenti di intraprendere azioni per creare comunità e società multiculturali più giuste e democratiche? Può fare riferimento ad alcuni esempi nel suo contesto nazionale?

Metodi di insegnamento per educazione civica e alla cittadinanza

20. Nell'indagine ICCS 2016 è stato chiesto agli insegnanti della materia di "educazione civica e alla cittadinanza" con quale frequenza ("Mai", "Qualche volta", "Spesso", "Molto spesso") utilizzano i seguenti metodi di insegnamento durante le loro lezioni:
- i) Gli studenti lavorano su progetti che implicano la raccolta di informazioni all'esterno della scuola (ad es. interviste condotte nelle zone circostanti la scuola, indagini su scala ridotta);
 - j) Gli studenti lavorano su diversi argomenti divisi in piccoli gruppi;
 - k) Gli studenti partecipano a giochi di ruolo;
 - l) Gli studenti prendono appunti durante le lezioni dell'insegnante;
 - m) Gli studenti discutono delle questioni di attualità;
 - n) Gli studenti ricercano e/o analizzano informazioni raccolte da diverse fonti sul Web (ad es. enciclopedie e quotidiani online);

- o) Gli studenti studiano su libri di testo;
- p) Gli studenti propongono gli argomenti da discutere durante le lezioni successive.

L'Italia ha ottenuto un punteggio significativamente sotto la media ICCS 2016 per (a) e più di 10 punti percentuali sotto la media per (b) e (c). Significativamente sopra la media ICCS 2016, invece, il risultato dell'Italia per (h) e più di 10 punti percentuali sopra la media per (e), (f) e (g).

Che tipo di pedagogie della cittadinanza (insegnamento, apprendimento e pratiche di valutazione) sono adottate nelle scuole italiane? L'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza si basa su un approccio di trasmissione culturale (partecipazione passiva degli studenti, contenuti centrati sulla conoscenza positiva e sentimenti acritici di lealtà e patriottismo) o applica una pedagogia critica (partecipazione attiva degli studenti, pensiero critico, messa in discussione dei rapporti di potere e sviluppo di azioni contro oppressione, discriminazione e ingiustizia)? Sono rispettati sia i diritti degli educatori che degli studenti nell'apprendimento e nell'insegnamento dell'educazione civica e alla cittadinanza (educazione attraverso i diritti umani)?

Preparazione degli insegnanti su argomenti e competenze di educazione civica e alla cittadinanza

21. Diversi studi mostrano che la preparazione dell'insegnante è uno dei più importanti fattori che influenza l'apprendimento degli studenti. Il questionario rivolto agli insegnanti nell'indagine ICCS 2016 prevede una domanda in cui è stato chiesto loro di riportare quanto si sentono preparati ("Molto preparato", "Abbastanza preparato", "Poco preparato", "Per niente preparato") a insegnare il seguente elenco di argomenti e competenze di educazione civica e alla cittadinanza:

- m) Diritti umani;
- n) Votazioni ed elezioni;
- o) Comunità globale e organizzazioni internazionali;
- p) Ambiente e sostenibilità ambientale;
- q) Emigrazione e immigrazione;
- r) Pari opportunità;
- s) Diritti e doveri dei cittadini;
- t) Costituzione e sistemi politici;
- u) Uso responsabile di Internet (es. privacy, attendibilità delle fonti, social media);
- v) Pensiero critico e indipendente;
- w) Risoluzione dei conflitti;
- x) Unione Europea.

L'Italia ha ottenuto un punteggio significativamente sopra la media ICCS 2016 per (a) e (g), e più di 10 punti percentuali sopra la media per (c), (e), (h) e (l). Significativamente sotto la media ICCS 2016, invece, il risultato dell'Italia per (i) e (k).

Ritiene che la preparazione degli insegnanti su argomenti e competenze di educazione civica e alla cittadinanza rappresenti un problema in Italia?

22. Vorrebbe aggiungere altre informazioni o commenti?