Young People's Understanding of European Values: Enhancing abilities, supporting participation and voice

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Report of Working Group 1 of the Jean Monnet Network Project: Citizenship Education in the Context of European Values: CitEdEV

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Young People understanding of European values: Enhancing abilities, supporting participation and voice

Summary and Principal Findings

Our analysis of young people between 10 and 20 years old discussing their identification with their country and Europe in small groups – nearly 2000 young people from 29 European states – found they referred to European values over 5,000 times. Completed unprompted, 81% of them mentioned one or more values. Over 90% of references were positive about these values. 4% were negative, and 5.5% were ambiguous or ambivalent.
79% referred to solidarity, and 44% to democracy. 27% mentioned equalities, 25% respect for other cultures, and 20% to tolerance of diversity.
Unlike any other data on young people's values, these were unprompted references, providing much more robust insights into their views than more common surveys of prompted questions.

…. in a nutshell …

1 Learning about values crucially takes place largely in the early years of life

'To understand a person you have to know what was happening in the world when s/he was twenty'. From a very early age, young people are experiencing issues of fairness, rights and wrongs, equalities and inequalities. They seek to make order of these experiences: educators have the duty – and privilege – of helping them do this.

2 Values can be developed and acquired: they cannot be formally 'taught'

Values as we understand them today are not set in stone, to be memorised and recited. Our social, technological and scientific understandings change and become more complex, and these changes reflect and modify how we formulate and apply values. The European Court of Human Rights acts dynamically to update our values.

3 Values are based on and developed around experiences of people exercising or denying values

Values are in action continuously around all aspects of our lives: we constantly witness and participate in discussion about their meaning and implementation, balancing individual, group and global rights and obligations. Young people's attention is focussed on the absence or denial of values, and this becomes an important focus for learning to understand values.

4 Young people's experiences are based around a narrow timeframe of small number of years

A young person of any age, from two to twenty–two, has a necessarily limited timeframe of experience. Their focus is understandably on their current experiences. Over the course of their education, nearly all values will at some point become current concerns. Educators must be flexible and pragmatic about what concerns young people *now,* and that understanding values is continuous, and never complete.

5 **Discussions about values are critical, in sharing experiences and deliberation about values**

Learning to understand values necessitates discussion, listening to others, making suggestions, and considering and changing ideas. Young people's skills of discussion are critical: this is not about 'needing to learn the facts first', nor about coming to a firm and unchangeable decision after formal debate. Values are framed within on–going deliberations, and educators need to be skilled in developing and managing deliberative discussion.

6 Deliberative discussions about values are *necessarily* controversial

Understanding values is necessarily controversial and educators need to be able and free to manage controversial issues, in a way that does not indoctrinate or impose. This requires forethought and preparation.

Our report explains how this can be done.

Summary

1. We define European Values as those statements of values set out in the Council of Europe's *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (ECHR) (1950) and the European Union's *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (CFREU) (2000).They are not specifically 'European', and are found in many states other than those in Europe. Their unique quality is that they are supranationally agreed and regulated under the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights. These rights are interpreted by the Court in a dynamic way: they extend and develop our understanding and implementation of values as circumstances change. They are therefore continually being contested and developed.
2. In this report, we distinguish between
   - *Structural Values*, that underpin a shared understanding of Democracy, and the Rule of Law, and set out the principles by which the law is created and administered to maintain and advance this Democracy;
   - *Fundamental Values*, that establish the principles of regard for human life, mutual respect and tolerance for other cultures, and the principles for universal inclusion in our societies; and
   - *Process Values*, that establish the practices by which social relationships are managed through Rights, Equalities and Solidarity.
3. Our analysis is principally based on a collection of transcripts of 324 small groups of deliberative discussions, held with 1,998 young people between the ages of 10 and 20, collected in 104 different locations in 29 European countries. These were open-ended discussions, largely between the young people themselves, designed to let them explore their sense of identity (or not) with their locality, country, and an undefined 'Europe.' In this body of work – some 1.25 million words, representing over three hundred hours of discussion – there were over 5,300 references to the values they held, made by over 80% of the discussants. These were made in the idiom and vocabulary of the young people, not necessarily in the formal language of values, and they were all volunteered, never made in response to direct questions about their values.
4. Young people are at a particular formative period in the development of values. They are sometimes described as 'impressionable,' which is both patronising and infantilising.
5. We found that the young people:
   - referred to all the various European values, very largely in positive terms (91%; 4% negative, 5% ambivalent), but with varying degrees of emphasis and interest;
   - based many of their observations on topical matters of interest, which had occurred in the months or couple of years before their discussion took place, often located in either their own country or in Europe, less often in their immediate locality or globally;
   - in about half of these observations (51%) they made unfavourable comments about people who did not observe these rights. Of these, just over half referred to practices by their own or another state, and about a fifth to those of older people). There was a pronounced inclination to discuss what they perceived as the abuse of rights, or of unfairness;
   - there was not always a consensus on the how these values should be applied, and there was a willingness and ability to exchange viewpoints, sometimes modifying their positions on hearing alternative opinions;

- there were a number of values that were less well understood, which our report identifies and discusses. Young people's knowledge about particular values will vary, reflecting changes in local, national and international situations. The principal areas of concern are set out below in our findings (item 9 (9a - 9e) pages 231-2).
- young people reflected on the lack of such discussion in many of their schools, and many expressed a desire to be able to hold such discussions on current issues with each other: there was a common perception that schools were unwilling, or were not allowed, to do this.

6. Based on these findings, we suggest that deliberative discussion, at class and small group level, should become an accepted teaching strategy in the promotion of understanding values. We offer detailed practical suggestions for the management of deliberative discussion, which we hope will become the basis for initial teacher education and in-service support for serving teachers in this area (pages 187-216).
7. Such a change would entail educators adopting a particular facilitating role in moderating deliberative discussions: encouraging groups to listen to, and comment on, the views of others in the group, with the teacher asking only open-ended questions to promote discussion between the group members, and not moving the group towards consensus and agreement. Values are constantly developing and changing (as the European Court of Human Rights acknowledges in its use of case law). Young people and educators therefore continue to need to debate and think about how our values change and develop. Values that are alive and debated cannot be 'taught' as 'facts,' in the conventional manner.
8. This also necessitates a clear understanding of the handling of controversial issues. The educator needs to ensure that they do not indoctrinate, but also be able to put forward the principles of the European Convention. The practice of the (updated) Beutelsbach consensus needs to be more widely known and practiced. We offer detailed guidance on this.
9. In support of such changes, this Report provides a guide to educators, educational establishments, and authorities at all levels for the implementation of this. For each value, we offer:
   - straightforward guides to the current development of the value;
   - analysis of how we have found young people deliberating it, with quotations illustrating the variety of their comments and remarks;
   - suggestions for how pedagogy needs to change and develop, with examples that can be adapted to be relevant for different age groups.

Principal Findings

Square brackets [ ] refer to page numbers in the full report.

Why is understanding values important for young people?

1 All young people in Europe need to understand the values that are fundamental to the societies they live in. These values are enshrined in binding conventions, and dynamically regulated by the European Court of Human Rights. These values underpin our rights, but respond to social, scientific and technological changes: our values respond in how they are formulated, balanced,

and regulated, and are a matter of continuous debate [1-3]. There is generational change in the development of values, which requires inter-generational respect and understanding of each other's concerns.

2 Young people are interested in these values [eg 31, 84, 101, 134, 191], and particularly about the denial of rights and values, and instances of unfairness [31, 84]. They often say they lack opportunities to discuss these matters in their schools [194-5].

3 European values are sometimes controversial, and discussing them needs to be approached in a considered way, and to be organised so as not to indoctrinate [188, 1989-202].

How do young people learn to understand values?

4. These values cannot be taught in a conventional way: they are not 'facts' to be transmitted or learned by rote [36-8, 194-6]. Young people learn to understand the nature of European values through thoughtful discussions that start from their own concerns and questions. Deliberative discussion works well with a moderator, who enables a group of young people to share experiences and raise issues with each other, by asking non-leading and open questions [5, 190-8].
5. They will naturally use their own terms and vocabulary in discussing values: doing so gives them the necessary freedom to explore values with a sense of agency and control [36-9, 192-4]. More formal terms may be introduced by young people in the course of discussion, or if necessary outside the deliberative discussion. [6, 194, 206] We give several examples of extended deliberative discussions that show interchanges between young people, with minimal guidance from the moderator [22-4;, 76-7, 106-7], and many shorter examples of what is said about values, unprompted, in deliberative discussions held in 29 different European states [43-132].
6. Such discussions may reveal intolerances and misconceptions about other people that need to be addressed outside the framework of the discussion [190-7]. There may also be instances of stereotyping other countries, or generations, or minorities: the moderator will need to help young people make appropriate qualifications and to avoid *ad hominem* generalisations [35-6, 68-72].

When do young people learn about values?

7. Our analysis is based on young people's discussions between the ages of ten to twenty, usually with peers of the same age [4, 14]. The youngest groups often made cogent points, expressed with feeling [56, 194-5]. It is very possible that such discussions could be useful with even younger age groups under ten, and with older students, particularly those in higher education leading to professional qualifications to work with young people.
8. *Any* age seems appropriate: but the years of schooling are critical, because this is a period during which young people internalise societal issues and principles as a process, rather than through acquiring facts. It should be seen as a formative period, not as one in which they are malleable or impressionable.

What values do young people seem to understand best? What are the gaps?

(These notes combine findings with suggestions for best practice. They will be of particular use for the teacher, but also for various educational authorities, from the school to the European Institutions, in understanding the range of young people's interests in, and experience of, European values.)

9. The data we have analysed was time-specific, reflecting the issues of concern at the articular dates at which it was collected. It will therefore not always reflect the full range of values described in the Convention or the Charter. There were nevertheless some that were more commonly raised, and some less frequently raised, that may reflect persistent emphases and omissions. Some of these varied across different regions of Europe. These are described in detail in the main report.

a. **The Structural values:**
   Democracy was the second most frequently referred to value, often specifically by name. However, it was often very limited (as being the antithesis to dictatorship, or representing all the people), and not usually referring to electoral systems, political parties, or distinguishing legislatures and executives. Their own country was twice as likely to be mentioned than European institutions [44-51].
   The Rule of Law was rarely referred to, and was little understood. [40-42; 52-59] Sometimes political leaders were criticised as appearing to be above the law, but it was very rare to recognise the independence of the judiciary, or how law is created and applied.
b. **Fundamental Values of Human Rights**
   These were about twice as likely to be mentioned in Nordic and Western states than elsewhere [60-5, 151-4, 163-6].
   Respect for Other Cultures and ***Tolerance of Diversity*** were most frequently mentioned, but about 20% and 16% respectively of these were negative or ambivalent [66-85]. ***Respect for Life*** and for the ***Safety of Others*** were less frequently mentioned, but more positively [86-97]. The need for ***Social Inclusion*** was much less frequently mentioned [98-102]. The outlawing of **Capital punishment** and **torture and cruel punishments** was very rarely mentioned: these seemed to be taken for granted**.**
c. **Procedural values**
   Solidarity was the most commonly mentioned of all values, often cross-referenced by the way that it sometimes (usually properly) limited individual Freedoms. Examples of forms of social and cultural support, education and health provisions, environmental protection and the promotion of peace were often cited [133 - 39].
   Freedom of Movement was a value particularly cited in those countries that had more recently joined the Schengen Area [24-8, 114-9].
   Equalities were often mentioned, most often around issues of gender [127-132].
   Fundamental Freedoms were also mentioned: most often with references to Freedom of Speech [119-26]. About 7% of Freedom mentions were negative/ambivalent, often with reference to conflicts with Solidarity and Respect for Others.
d. Other areas of concern are the occasions on which a minority of young people displayed cultural/racialised superiority, anti-Roma tendencies and Islamophobia [80-5].

Where should young people learn to understand values?

10. Schools are generally seen as a safe area to express and discuss views and issues. They can provide a programme that extends over several years of a young person's formative years, and if they provide a regular programme across all years that includes understanding values and deliberative discussion, can ensure that as issues arise and become particularly important to young people, there's a quick and straightforward way to address these. [187-189]

11. Deliberative discussion will have a place within this, but its distinctive role should be emphasised as a particular time when young people are able to share their views and opinions with each other. The teacher's particular role as a moderator creates an explicitly different relationship for young people and the teacher for the duration of the discussion.

Who's responsible for young people's learning about values?

12. Teachers and schools have a particularly direct role in this process, but need the support of educational authorities, at all levels, to deliver such a programme.

Principal Recommendations

For Teachers and Schools

1. Teachers, with the support of their school, should review their approaches to young people's understanding of values. How effective and consistent are these strategies?
2. They should consider approaches such as deliberative discussions and conversations as a way of engaging with the experiences of values and the views of their students on values. Teachers should use their expertise and experience to make this age-appropriate, according to the stage of education they are engaged with.
3. What in-service education and training might they need in acting as a moderator in such discussions, and in asking open-ended questions that empower students to articulate the issues that are of concern to them?
4. Teachers and Schools need to develop clear policies on how they handle controversial issues concerning values (how, not whether!). These should be communicated clearly to parents, who will need reassurance that their children are not being indoctrinated in any way.
5. Teachers and schools should consider how they can use immediate concerns and topical issues to deliberate with students on value-related issues.
6. Teachers should use values-based approaches to discuss issues of prejudice, stereotyping and racism, and other discriminatory behaviour.
7. Teachers and schools need to consider what action they might take to address values that they feel are not represented in their students' discussions -- such as, for example, the Rule of Law.
8. Schools and teachers should approach local and national educational bodies for support in addressing education to understand values.

For Universities and Colleges providing professional education for teachers and others who will work with young people

1. The curriculum for training teachers and others who work with young people should specifically include the support that future professionals need in supporting young people's underrating of values. They should ensure that all professionals who successfully complete their courses are able to engage with young people as moderators and facilitators in this area, and that they are competent to address all the points listed above for teachers.
2. Their training could include being actively involved in deliberative discussions, both as participants and moderators, followed by discussion on how their role in these situations is in some respects different from other teaching roles, and may in other respects have some similarities.

For local education authorities and National Governments

1. Consideration should be given to encourage all schools to develop policies for schools and other institutions working with young people to have the competencies, skills and confidence to address the understanding of values.
2. This will require the provision of appropriate in-service education for serving teachers, and support for those entering professional roles. It might also require the support of specific materials and teaching aids to help these professionals, in a range of age-appropriate settings.
3. Consideration should be given as to how good practice might be shared widely across regions and countries.

For the European Union and the Council of Europe

1. The European Union, through its Parliament and the Commission, should address how it can support educators and authorities in member states in address the values that are fundamental to the Union, in ways that do not infringe on member states' responsibilities and rights in the field of education.
2. This might involve the provision and support of Europe-wide conferences and training programmes, and the dissemination of good practice in different member states - through, naturally, the processes of deliberative discussion.
3. The Council of Europe should consider how it might further extend its education and communications policies with respect to European values and young people.

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Young People's Understanding of European Values: Enhancing abilities, supporting participation and voice

Introduction

Our objective

This report is prepared as part of the Jean Monnet Network on Citizenship Education in the Context of European Values. It investigates:

the knowledge of young people in European countries about civil society, its principles, citizenship, European values and the European Union; and

the citizenship experiences and young people's attitudes to European values and institutions, their willingness to participate in societal life and spread democratic ideas, Europeanism and global responsibility.

Our work began in late 2020, after the Coronavirus-19 had been declared a pandemic. Most European countries were moving in and out of various degrees of lockdown: new variants of the virus were emerging, and educational practice had been particularly affected, with much on-line distance learning. There were increasing reports of the effect of this, and of the lockdown, on the mental health of young people. Educational authorities were predicting that there would need to be a long period of educational catch-up once schools re-opened. Schools and educational authorities were understandably resistant to requests for surveys of students. In these circumstances, and in consultation with the Project Management Team, we decided to use an existing dataset of a wide range of European countries to investigate young peoples' knowledge and attitudes.

Understanding values has always been important. In a time when we are exposed to so many different explanations and commentaries, when social media allow and almost require instantaneous responses, that seem to have to be short, pithy, emphatic. Opinions appear as sharper, less nuanced, insistent. Conspiracy theories can become magnified, imperative and divisive. Young people in particular need to develop the resilience to resist the subversion of values, and have, in some senses, fewer resources and experiences to do so. Yet many of them can do this, and can display depths of understanding and tolerances of diversity. [1]

European Values

[1] Jolley, D., Douglas, K, Marques, M. (2023) *The Conversation*, January 20. How to talk to someone about conspiracy theories in five simple steps (theconversation.com)

European values were defined by drawing on the Council of Europe's *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (ECHR) (1950[2]) and the European Union's *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (CFREU) (2000[3]).

The European Convention on Human Rights was created as a response to both the serious violations of human rights that occurred before and during the Second World War and the development of what were seen as non-democratic regimes in the Soviet sphere of influence in east-central Europe, following the Yalta and Potsdam conferences in 1945. Many provisions in the ECHR refer to the principles 'necessary in a democratic society' (which was not defined). The Convention draws on elements of the Scottish Claim to Rights (1689), the English Bill of Rights (1689), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789), the USA Bill of Rights (1791) and the German Basic Law (1949).

By March 2022 all internationally recognised states in Europe were signatories to the Convention, apart from Belarus. The Russian Federation was suspended from the Council of Europe on 25 February 2022, following the invasion of Ukraine the previous day, was expelled on 16 March, and ceased to be a party to the ECHR on 16 September 2022.

The European Court of Human Rights is the CoE Court which interprets and enforces the Convention. The Court hears applications alleging that a state has breached human rights, which can be made by individuals, groups, or other states. The court's judicial interpretation is 'a living instrument doctrine', meaning that the Convention is interpreted in the light of current conditions.

For the purposes of this report, the term 'European Values' is not intended to imply that such values are exclusive to Europe, nor that they were necessarily only of European origin. Other states (and individual European states themselves) may refer to these values as being 'their' values. Other countries in the world may hold the same values. There are many lists of human values, most of which include social and political values, from the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights onwards. And before this, many countries have long histories of establishing citizenship rights - civil, political and social.

But in Europe, we have the particular advantage of the European Convention, to which all our countries are signatories. This dates back to 1950, and has the unique distinction, amongst all the international declarations and statements, in that it establishes the European Court, whose judgements on contraventions of these rights are implemented, as part of an international treaty.

These values apply both at the level of the individual state with respect to its citizens and inhabitants, and at the European level with respect to all European citizens. Examples young people give that indicate they uphold particular values (or do not do so) may be based on events in their own country, or in other Europe countries, or from countries outside Europe.

This means that from the viewpoint of this project, a person can say that they do not feel themselves to be a European, but only feel (say) German, but nevertheless hold some or all of the 'European

[2] At Rome,1950; and subsequently amended by Protocols 11, 14 (both Strasbourg 1994), 15 (Vilnius 2013) and supplemented by Protocols 1 (Paris, 1952), 4 (Strasbourg, 1953) ,6 (Strasbourg, 1963), 7 (Strasbourg, 1984), 12 (Rome, 2000), 13 (Vilnius, 2002) and 16 (Strasbourg, 2013). (www.echr.coe.int)

[3] The Charter was drafted by the European Convention and solemnly proclaimed on 7 December 2000 by the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers and the European Commission. However, its status was uncertain, and it did not have full legal effect until the Treaty of Lisbon was ratified on the 1 December 2009. The current version is dated 26 October 2012 (*Official Journal of the European Union*, 2012/C 326/02)

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values'. With respect to these values, we do not need to consider whether or not they feel themselves to be European, but the extent to which they hold these values described below. The degree of European feeling is regularly monitored in the EU states by Eurobarometer surveys.

For the purpose of our analysis, we have amplified the conditions and nature of these rights with specific examples of the categories young people use to describe these values, and the conditions under which they choose to discuss them.

The values set out in the Council of Europe's *Convention* and the European Union's *Charter,* are necessarily set out in legal terms, and are lengthy. For the purposes of this study, we have simplified and categorised them: we describe this in detail in part B of this report ('A pattern of rights', pp 18 - 38). In short, we categorise three major groups of Meta-values:

A. **Structural Values**: the principles which underpin how values are determined and upheld:
   1. Democracy
   2. the Rule of Law

B. **Core Fundamental Values:** based on principles of human dignity, respect, safety and tolerance of others. We identify seven broad areas:
   1. Tolerance of diversity
   2. Respect for Other Cultures
   3. Respect for Life
   4. Respect for the Safety of others
   5. Inclusion in Society
   6. the prohibitions on capital and unusual punishments, and from persecution
   7. Human Rights in general

C. **Process Values**: the mechanisms to achieve these values, with three sub-groups:
   1. Freedoms (sub-divided into fundamental freedoms and freedom of travel)
   2. Equalities
   3. Solidarity

The choice of data set

We reviewed datasets and research on young people's understandings of the kinds of values listed above as 'European values', to determine which would be most useful for the current project.

(a) Existing quantitative datasets

i) **Eurobarometer**[4]**:** regular questionnaire-based surveys by the European Union of a randomised sample of c. 1000 citizens in each member state of the EU (and candidate states), at 6-monthly intervals: this is thus of approximately 35,000 people over ages of 16. The raw data is freely available, and can be used to generate sub-sets (for example, of the 16-20 age group – approx. 70 per country). They have limited value, as they assess such matters as 'knowledge of the European Union' by asking for example the number of states in the Union, or the date on which the Euro was first introduced. Other questions are included on irregular occasions, and ask questions that seek to determine

[4] Data is held at the GESIS database, at the Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, Mannheim. Data may be downloaded in categories determined by the user.

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an individual's priorities of values. Much of this is not the kind of knowledge we are interested in, but it has some limited value.

ii) **The European Values Survey**, which was report on the 2017-20 survey in 2023, though not for Latvia and Ukraine (Covid permitting). This is only an adult survey (18 and over).

iii) The **International Civic and Citizenship Education Study** (2016 study available, 2022 study in progress). Only of 13-14 years of age only (an 'eighth grade' survey). Part of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, the raw data is less freely available, and is often presented in 'league table' formats.

Members of our working group have previously evaluated i and ii (Eurobarometer: Ross 2019 pp 50-54[5]; EVS: Loughran 2016[6].

(b) Existing qualitative dataset

One of our team (Ross) had generated an original data set of 324 transcripts of discussions/ conversations on state and political identities with 10-20 years olds in small groups (1,998 participants, in 104 locations across 20 European states). These conversations were unstructured, based largely around the terms used by the young people between themselves, using the vocabulary and examples of their choice. Leading questions were not used by the researcher. The purpose of the study was to examine how and why young people constructed multiple political identities (local, State, Europe, global), and did not necessarily focus on values. The study was not framed or carried out as check on 'what they knew', but to hear *how* they discussed their identities, and the values that *they* raised as part of this. They were highly contingent on the time and activities around the group at the location and time of each discussion. Two books have been produced that qualitatively analysed themes based on the data[7].

But there were many references to values, that were used by these young people to describe their identities. These were not necessarily described as values, nor were they necessarily described in the vocabulary of the values we are looking at. This data had the potentials to be re-examined in a quantitative way, interpreting values, relevant issues and concepts, even when these precise terms were not used to describe them. Analyses could also be made of the references to these values at different levels of political authority (local/communal; regional; state; European; global); to comparisons they made to other states around issues such as the death penalty, press freedom; social security, etc; and the particular contingent conditions at the time of the interview (thus demonstrating the nature of contemporaneous responses, and implicitly critiquing studies that ignore this).

There's a useful thought experiment that everyone over the age of 30 might try.

Imagine yourself back in your early teens – say between 13 and 15. What were the public issues of the day that you were interested in, that adults in your community of country were up to, that were in the media. Think about how you probably followed it, how you responded. Then think back, from that perspective, of how you thought of yourself five years earlier. What was going on then, was for you – now 13 to 15 – really ancient history, well beyond your current experiences and understanding.

This is sometimes referred to as an individual's 'event horizon': the historical limit of one's personal experience of an event. There's a psychological limit to how far back in time an individual can construe the social interactions that construct values, and for young people, it seems to generally be on more than a few years, back to maybe when one was 10 or 11[a].There's a saying (misattributed to Napoleon): "Whenever I am thinking of a character in public life … I always ask 'What was happening in the world when [they were] twenty'" (G.M. Young, 1949).[b]

[a] Löckenhof, C. and J. Rutt (2015) Age Differences in Time Perception and Their Implications for Decision Making Across the Life Span. In Hess, T, J. Strough and C. Löckenhof (eds) *Aging and Decision Making: Empirical and Applied Perspectives*, pp 213–233. Cambridge MA: Academic Press.
[b] Young, G.M. (1949) *Continuity: A slightly modified version of the Leslie Stephen Lecture delivered in Cambridge in May*. July 14, The Listener, July 14, p 57. London: British Broadcasting Corporation.

Young people, between 10 and 20, can and will discuss values, but their databank of the experiences they draw on to construct their ideas is necessarily limited. Earlier events – which will be referred to less frequently – will necessarily always be vicarious and mediated.

The implications of this are that young people want to discuss values that have this immediacy: this is where their attention is focussed – on when and why values are being discussed and changing. The research data we have analysed comes from a particular period, between 2010 and 2016: the examples of discussion are naturally from that period, the events of the day then current. But any similar research will be equally 'out-of-date': research in 2020 would be COVID-19 dominated, in 2022-3 be Ukraine-dominated – in terms of what values were discussed, what evidence was drawn on, either of these will be out-of-date by 2024. The implication of this is a continually changing curriculum: each year the discussion, and the examples it focuses on, will have changed.

We decided that – given the prevailing conditions of 2021-3 – we should analyse and code this data in terms of recognising the references (direct and indirect) to European values, the language and examples of values that were given, and the values that were not discussed. This database has been the principal source for the analysis we have made, and we now outline of the process of constructing the database.

The data source

(a) Source material

The source data was the transcripts of 324 deliberative discussions, held with small groups of young people aged between 11 and 20, between 2010 and 2012, and 2014-2016. The nature and extent is described in overview in Section A; more details on the individual locations and countries are given in Sections B and C. These deliberative discussions had been conducted through open-ended questioning, with an attempt to not ask leading questions or to introduce vocabulary that might be leading (e.g., using 'country' rather than 'state' or 'nation'). All answers were accepted positively, and the young people were encouraged to explore the points of disagreement they might have with colleagues. The intention was to empower the group members, so that they felt that they were largely controlling the content and direction of the discussion. Because of this, although the discussions broadly followed the following sequence, they did not do so on every occasion:

- Can you describe yourself, your identity?
- Most of you say you are [French] and/or [Algerian]: *why* are you [French/Algerian]?
- Are there things about [France/Algeria] that you think are particularly good, that you like?
- Are there things about [France/Algeria] that you think less good, that you'd like to change?
- Does everyone in the country think the same as you about these things?

  - Eg older people like parents and grandparents? People in other parts of the country?
- Do you also, sometimes, think of yourselves as also being European? [Why?/Why not?]
- What does being European mean? What are the common features of Europeans?
- This country is/might become a member of the European Union. If a country like [Russia] joined the European Union, would you think this to be a good thing, a bad thing, or would it not matter?
- Do you discuss matters like these [undefined] with your friends, your families, your teachers?

Not every person responded to every intervention by the researcher. Many conversations were largely between members of the group, with the researcher as an onlooker. If the researcher was asked questions, matters of fact were answered briefly, and questions about the researcher's opinion were not ('I'm interested in *your* views on this, we can discuss mine after we've finished the discussion').

(b) Drawbacks of using this source material for this analysis

i. The material was collected between 2010 and 2016, and is thus not current. It took place over an extended period of time, in short bursts of fieldwork. This was necessitated by it being a one-person study.
ii. The groups were not statistically representative of the countries involved.
iii. The discussions were held in a language that was not necessarily their own, or with a researcher who spoke a different language.
iv. Questions followed the contributions of the young people in each group, so there was a variety of focal points raised by different groups.
v. The terminology and range of the 'European values' that are the focus of this report were not introduced or followed up in a comprehensive or systematic manner.

(c) How these drawbacks were advantageous for this analysis

i. The currency of the discussion topics: the outstanding significance of the topics discussed was that they were substantially related to the events that were taking place at the time of the discussion. Discussions with the same group, in the same location, would have been different a month later, or even a day later, because the group members were often drawing on contemporaneous events. It was generally possible to identify when many of the examples used had occurred. It was also quite often clear that local examples were used (from the same state, or from the immediate locality). If all 324 discussions were held on the same day, this could have been avoided – the discussion points would then have been differentiated by the different news agendas in each locality. Analysis of the relationship between discussion topics and timing may suggest that that pedagogues might need to explicitly focus their teaching content on immediate events.

ii. It is not possible to gather groups of this nature on a representative basis. It was important that the group members knew each other. This gave them confidence in discussion, and obviated the need for the members to become acquainted with each other: free flowing discussion was very quickly established in each group. The samples employed, it can be argued, were more

representative of each country's population than similar studies, which often draw on university undergraduates in the capital, or a single city.[8]

iii. The questions used differed from group to group, because they were open-ended and constructed as far as possible on points that had been made by group members, using their vocabulary and examples. A common critique of questioning as a research method (whether in questionnaires or in discussions) is that respondents feel that they are expected to provide an answer that is 'correct': that they are being tested to supply an appropriate or particular answer. This is particularly true of young people in school settings, where the evidence suggests that the majority of questions used are either to test factual knowledge or as a means of control. The technique used in these discussions was to avoid any suggestion of an anticipated answer, and to avoid suggesting specific terms that might skew the answers. The great advantage of this is that we can see natural language, vocabulary and terms selected by the individuals, in a group context. Bourdieu (1973)[9] has argued that 'public opinion' does not exist: that what is presented as public opinion is largely a construct obtained by political authorities in response to questions designed to make members of the public feel that they ought to have a viewpoint on the matters being put to them.

iv. The fact that terms about European values were *not* introduced is also of value. These discussions did touch on many of these values, some more than others. They did so in the context of the participant's deciding, on their own volition, that they were useful contributions to the discussion taking place. This selection was partly in response to contingent events. But this approach also makes it possible to note which values were *not* (or were rarely) raised, and to consider the pedagogical significance of this.

Constructing the database

(a) Coding Values

A small working group was formed in early 2021 to attempt to code five randomly selected transcripts, and to compare results. An initial coding frame was jointly constructed. The group members independently attempted to use this, noting issues and difficulties, and compared results after three weeks. The coding frame was modified with a system that enabled the identification of data on an agreed common basis and understanding, and for this to be done for each individual young person in a group, recording all values each person mentioned and their context.

Essentially, each instance of the thirteen values being used was coded as present or not, and then classified by the aspect and examples being used, and then by the location of the example, by the period when the example occurred relative to the discussion, and by whether any group was 'othered' by the use of the example (e.g., a particular group not following the particular value). Finally, each occurrence of a value being present was coded by the 'strength of feeling' expressed – did the person raising this mention of the value appear positive about the value, or were they negative about it, or neutral or ambivalent.

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[8] Arnett, J. (2008) The Neglected 95%: Why American Psychology Needs to Become Less American. *American Psychologist* 63 (7): 602–614; Gosling, S., S. Vazire, S. Srivastava and O. John. (2004) 'Should We Trust Web–Based Studies? A Comparative Analysis of Six Preconceptions About Internet Questionnaires.' *American Psychologist* 59 (2): 93–104. Rozin, P. (2001) 'Social Psychology and Science: Some Lessons from Solomon Asch.' *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 5 (1): 2–14.

[9] Bourdieu, P., 1973 L'opinion publique n'existe pas. *Les Temps Modernes*, 318 (January) 1292–1309

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Within the value references made by each individual, we recorded each occasion on which the value was mentioned (some individuals mentioned the same value four or five times), and the different values that the same example might be used to illustrate.

The data capture sheet was designed to capture some similar data, and some different data, for each value, based on both our initial small-group review and the knowledge of the complete dataset by the original researcher.

For each value mentioned, we attempted to record the particular focus of the example that was given (where there was such as an example). The range of possible examples differed for different values, and the options are described below.

If there was an example given, we recorded three types of characteristic of the example:

1. Where the example was located (options: in the locality; in the country of the discussion; another location in Europe, or in Europe generally;, or elsewhere in the world);
2. When the example happened (options: historical, before they were born; within their lifetime (essentially, the previous 5 to 10 years); in the past year; in the past month; or referring to a future possibility)
3. Whether the example employed an 'other', where a group of people were described as not upholding the value (options: a specific country (Russia; Turkey; USA: any other country including their own); older people (parent; grandparent; older people in general); people living in the countryside/living in urban locations; different socio-economic groups; some other group).

   (The first two categories could be recorded for most examples; the third ('othering') was only given in a proportion of cases. The recoding of 'othering' could, with hindsight, have recorded specifics of which other countries or groups were mentioned.]

   We also agreed to note a few particularly cogent or interesting quotations that individuals made in discussion about a particular value, which might be used for illustrative purposes in the reports.

Different values had different ranges of possible illustrative examples:

Core Structural Values

Democracy

- Free and fair elections, with a universal franchise
- The formation of political parties, and the right to join these
- The freedom to run for elective office
- The separation of political activity from religious beliefs
- The expectation that the elected government will act for and secure the rights all inhabitants
- The prohibition of dictatorship and dictatorial regimes
- Democracy in general (unspecified)
- (other)

The Rule of Law

- for laws to be made by an elected body, through a specifically defined public process
- for laws to be applicable to all people
- for the judiciary and judges to be independent of political and governmental bodies
- for the law to be accessible to all

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- other

Core Fundamental Values

For each of the following values, the same set of examples was used: **Respect for Other Cultures**; **Respect for Life**; **Respect for the Safety of others**; **Inclusion in Society**; and **Human Rights in general**.

[Data was collected separately for the prohibition on capital punishment, the prohibition of harsh and unusual punishment and torture, but was then combined because of the very low numbers of examples of these two values]

- Migrants
- Asylum seekers
- Refugees
- Roma
- Other examples of race/ethnicity
- Socio-economic groups
- Gender stereotyping
- LGBT/sexual orientation
- Other minorities
- Disability
- Ageism
- Other

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Core Process Values

Freedom of movement (separated from 'Fundamental Freedoms' as described below (p 25-7; 115).

for reasons of: • work • study • leisure • family reunion

Fundamental Freedoms: freedom of

- expression
- thought
- religion
- speech
- media/press freedom
- information
- protest

Equality of rights (protection of discrimination on the grounds of …)

- Gender
- Religious belief
- Sexual Orientation/LBGT
- Race/ethnicity
- National origin
- Socio-economic equality
- Age/ ageism
- Disability

Solidarity (social/state activities to ensure the provision of a range of activities:

- Social security
- Cultural provision
- People with a disability
- Pensions
- Public Transport
- Environmental protection
- Healthcare
- Community support
- Food/air/water standards
- Education
- Worker/Union rights
- Sustainable development
- Accessibility
- Promotion of peace

Following this, each member of the group entered their data on an Excel sheet for their allocation of the 32+ transcripts that each group member had been given to analyse and code. The distribution was arranged so that each team member had transcripts from a wide range of countries (rarely more than two transcripts from a single country), and none from their own country (so that 'insider knowledge' could not influence the coding process). Coding was carried out without knowledge of the demographic data, other than the age, gender and location (town/city, country) of the discussion. An extensive on-line workshop discussed this process, with other follow-up conversations.

All coding was completed in early September, and a meeting held to discuss the process. At this point it became clear that the 'strength of feeling' coding had been construed differently by different group members. Thus if, for example, in coding freedom of sexual orientations, a young person had denounced the oppression of gay rights in Russia in vehement terms, some people coded this as a negative feeling (they were negative about the authorities' actions). Others coded this as positive, because their condemnation showed that the young person believed that the oppressed individuals should have this freedom protected by the local authorities. The intention had been that such events should be classified as positive, because we were attempting to code the *young person's view of the value* in question, not their view of the behaviour displayed in the example. These codings were adjusted to take account of this, where necessary.

(b) demographic data

Non-confidential demographic data was collected at the time of the initial discussions, through a brief questionnaire (in the language of the country) distributed before the discussion and collected at the point of discussion. This data was *not* available to those coding the values, other than the gender, age and town/country of discussion, and the date of the discussion.

These data included nationality/ies, citizenship/s, birthplace, home and other languages spoken, parental occupations and parental origins. These were originally intended to provide a broad

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indication of the representative nature of the sample. This is described in Ross 2019 (pp xxi, 38, 42,

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97-103, 296-310). Nationality and citizenships were sometimes given without reference to the internationally agreed names or legal status of countries. This data is presented in Appendix 1. It was all coded using international coding systems (particularly in some cases to make the identification of parents impossible). This data was combined with the coded data on the Values.

Presentation of the Analysis

The sections that follow present our analysis of findings.

A: The demographic characteristics of the survey population

This gives a short description of the data set: the countries surveyed, the distribution of ages and gender, the population of the locations, and parental occupations. Additional data on parental birthplaces, young people's birthplaces and languages are given in the Appendix.

B: A Pattern of Rights

This section provides an overview of how young people referred to values across Europe as a whole. It gives a useful preview of the significance of the later, more detailed analysis in sections C and D, introducing our categorisation of the various Values used in the analysis, and giving an overview of the numbers of young people referring to each of them. The intensity of discussions is analysed, and the number of overall individual references are given, contrasting these with the number of individual young people who made multiple references to the same value.

An extract from a transcript is given, with explanations of which values were identified in this.

Overall numbers of mentions are given, by the three groups of meta-values, and by the thirteen individual values.

There is a detailed sub-analysis of the particular value of Freedom of Movement: this explains why this particular value was differentiated from what we have termed the 'Core Fundamental Freedoms', and also to illustrate the close relationship between the proportion of the young people in each country who referred to Freedom of Movement was closely associated with the time when the European Union made freedom of movement available in that country, supporting the argument made in the Introduction that there is a close correlation between the mentioning of particular examples of values and the time of the discussion.

The number of individuals who mention particular values is presented at the overall European level, and then at the larger number of mentions. These latter figures are also shown in terms of the strength of feeling associated with each value, showing the generally positive view held of each value, and the relatively small number of negative and neutral/ambivalent mentions.

The characteristics used to describe examples of values are presented at the European level:

- by locations (44% at the state level, 33% at European level);
- by the time of the example (77% in the recent lifetime of the young person): this is exemplified by a comparison of the number of times that refugees were mentioned over the data collection period and the reported number of refugees arriving in Europe, again demonstrating how particular examples of values correlated with the time of particular events; and
- by examples of 'othering' used in identifying about half the examples of values.

The pedagogical implications of the patterns described in the foregoing analysis discussion of the sample at the European level.

C The European Values in Depth

The first level of detailed analysis is of the value. Each is introduced in turn, and for each there is

- an overview of the value in the current European context: its source in the Convention and the Charter, and its development and contemporary meaning;
- an analysis of how young people discussed the value –
  - differences in different Regions of Europe, and
  - differences in the characteristic descriptions, by timing, location, and type of othering
    (both of these described in terms of statistics and by quotations of remarks by young people that illustrate these); and
- a discussion of the implications of this for pedagogic practice about furthering the understanding of the specific value.

Each individual value is discussed within its meta-value, using the same sub-sections as outlined for the meta-values.

D An analysis of Regional and other Factors

We divided our 29 states into seven groups, based on proximity, recent political history, and, to an extent, cultural affinities. We describe in this section the demographic characteristics of each region and of the sample of young people in the study. We then examine the differences in responses made to each value within the region, compared to other European regions in the study..

We also examine other frameworks for analysing the data, including looking at the effect of parental occupations, and at the various heritages of the young people – the latter being of particular interest in view of the current trope of 'white replacement theory', which is supposedly undermining 'European values'.

E Teaching Issues

We draw together the implications of the analysis for educating young people about understanding these values. We specifically suggest that the research technique of deliberative discussion would be a valuable pedagogical approach, and discuss how this might be implanted. Values education necessarily involves discussing issues that are matters of contention, and we examine controversial issues in schools and colleges, and suggest how these need to be approached with clarity and consistency. Finally, we look to extend the discussion of values to look at global sustainability and environmental concerns.

F Conclusions and Recommendations

We conclude by summarising our principal conclusions, and making recommendations at teacher/lecturer, school/college, state and European level.

This resume supports the overall messages of the study: we would urge it is not used as a substitute for reading the whole report.

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A The demographic characteristics of the survey population

The corpus of work that is analysed here are 324 transcripts of deliberative discussions held with 1,998 young people, aged between 10 and 20. These all took place between late January 2010 and late January 2016, in 104 different locations in 29 different European states. The discussions were arranged to explore how young Europeans constructed their political identities, particularly around their sense of identification with their own country (or countries) and with Europe. This work was analysed in two qualitative studies (Ross, 2015[10], 2019[11]), and is here analysed afresh to examine the values that were raised by the young people in these discussions.

The original work was organised in two phases: 15 countries were visited between 2010 to 2012, primarily the states that had joined the European Union after 2003, or who were candidate states for membership in 2010: Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus[12], Czech Republic[13], Estonia, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, (North) Macedonia[13], Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Turkey. The second phase (2014 -16) included most of the pre-2000 members of the European Union and members of the European Economic Area: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.[14] These 29 states do not cover all of Europe, but constitute a substantial proportion of the population.[15] The locations of the discussions are shown on the map on the following page. The range of locations was deliberately wide: at least one location was visited in 52 of the 75 mainland Level 2 NUTS regions.[16]

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[10] Ross, A. (2015) *Understanding the Construction of Identities by Young New Europeans: Kaleidoscopic selves*. London: Routledge.

[11] Ross, A. (2019) *Finding Political Identities: Young People in a changing Europe*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

[12] Both the Republic of Cyprus ('the south') and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus ('the north' – the not internationally recognised state since 1974) were included in the study.

[13] All countries in the original publications were referred to the name predominantly used by the population at the time (hence *not* Czechia or North Macedonia).

[14] Greece was not included, because the relationship between the European Union and Greece was, following the economic crisis of 2008, very strained and this would have unduly dominated the discussions. The UK and the Republic of Ireland were originally intended to be included in 2016, but in the UK general election of 2015 the Conservative Party manifesto had included a commitment to a referendum on the future membership of the European Union. The Conservatives unexpectedly won a majority in the election: unconstrained by a coalition with the Liberal Democrats, they felt obliged to announce a referendum in 2016. This made discussions in the UK impossible in 2016, and following the unexpected result of BREXIT, impossible in subsequent years. It was intended to run the UK and Irish Republic discussions in tandem, in view of the sensitivities on both sides of the border in Ireland – there have been few such sensitivities in England – and this situation persists in 2023. It is intended at some future date to survey both countries.

[15] A phase to include the Eastern Partnership countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine was commenced in 2019, but the Covid19 pandemic, and then the Russian invasion of Ukraine halted this (two face–to face discussion in Georgia completed in 2019; two on–line discussions in Ukraine, and one each in Moldova and Belarus in 2020). These are not included in this analysis. There are also the states of the western Balkans that might be the further subject of study: Albania, Bosnia–Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia (probably in conjunction with revisiting Slovenia, Croatia and North Macedonia, and possibly Greece.

[16] NUTS: Nomenclature of National Territorial Units for Statistics: the European Union geocode standard for referencing the subdivisions of countries for statistical purposes.

Map of locations included in the survey

The sample was of groups of individuals known to each other: it was not (and could not be) representative:

1. a truly representative sample would have involved bringing together a random sample of the age group together in clusters of about six young people, which would be administratively elaborate and expensive in terms of travel and chaperones, and which would create groups in which members would not know each other. There were 182 different institutions, usually schools and colleges in the locations. Generally the selection in each location was of one institution in a predominantly working-class area, and one in a more middle/upper class area. Group members would to an extent know each other. Institutions were asked to select approximately equal numbers of males and females, in two specified age ranges (11 to 15, 14 to 20), broadly representative of the ethnic mix of the school, and not just highest or lowest ability;

2. settlements of various sizes were selected, ranging across a wide range of sized (from less than 1000 to over 13 million). They included at least two places in every country (with the exception of Luxembourg). The larger countries were visited more often, and there were at least four locations in every country with a population greater that ten million.

3. samples were proportionally larger in the smaller states, which was essential to capture sufficient data when the largest state was about 250 times larger than the smallest state. The intention was not to analyse at the state level, but to group contiguous groups of states into regions, described more fully in section D below.

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Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was given by London Metropolitan University in 2009 and again in 2014. Written consent was obtained for every young person, and from the parents or guardians of those under 16. All young people's names were anonymised with a forename that reflected both the individual's gender and the current use of given names in the country concerned. However, when an individual's given name reflected a different cultural origin, an appropriate pseudonym from that heritage has been used: for example, an Afghani-origin young man with a Pashto first name will be given a Pashto pseudonym. But had that same young man been using a given name taken from the population of the country he was now living in, a name from that country would be used as his pseudonym. Each young person quoted is also described by their gender and age. Genders are as reported; transgender individuals (at least one) by the gender category of their preferred use. Ages are those on the day of the discussion. No school names are given.

Figure A:1 shows the age distribution of the total survey group, and Figure A:2 the gender distribution.

Figure A:1: Ages of participants

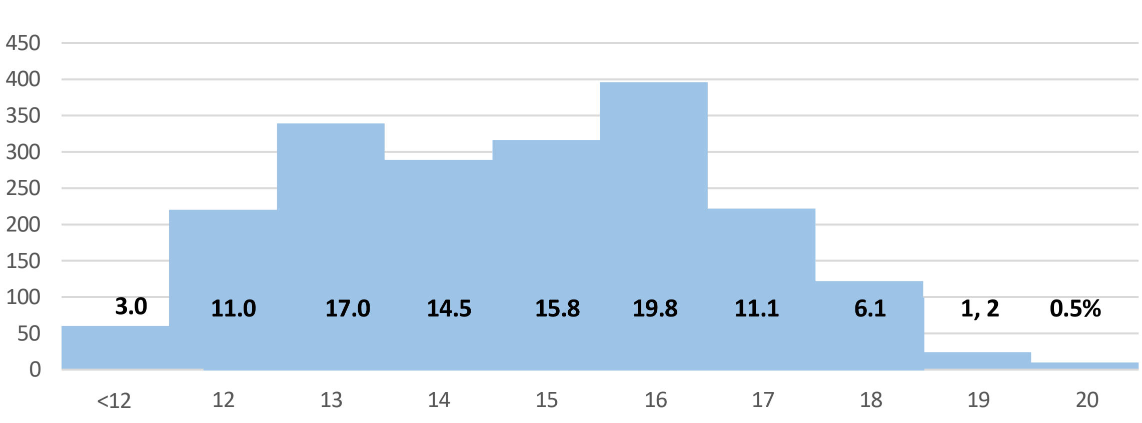


Figure A: 2: Gender

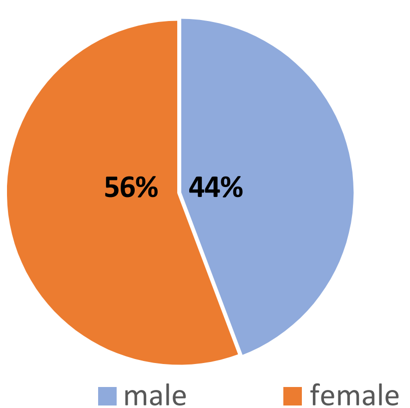


Figure A:3 shows the number of individuals in the sample from each country surveyed in green, with the total population of that country in orange: there is a broad correspondence, showing how smaller countries are necessarily over-represented.

Figure A:3: Size of sample group and size of total population.

Turkey
Switzerland
Sweden
Spain
Slovenia
Slovakia
Romania
Portugal
Poland
Netherlands
Norway
Macedonia
Luxembourg
Lithuania
Latvia
Italy
Iceland
Hungary
Germany
France
Finland
Estonia
Denmark
Czechia
Cyprus
Croatia
Bulgaria
Belgium
Austria

0 50 100 150

Numbers of individuals included in each country

900 700 500 300 100 -100

Population of each country, 100,000s

The size of settlements is shown in the following table, using Doxiadis's (1968) hierarchy of settlement sizes.[17]

Settlement category, descriptive term	Size	Number of locations	Example
Megalopolis	>10 million	1	İstanbul, Turkey
Conurbation	3-10 million	2	Berlin, Germany
Metropolis	1-3 million	7	Warszawa, Poland
Large city	300,000-1 million	23	Skopje, Macedonia

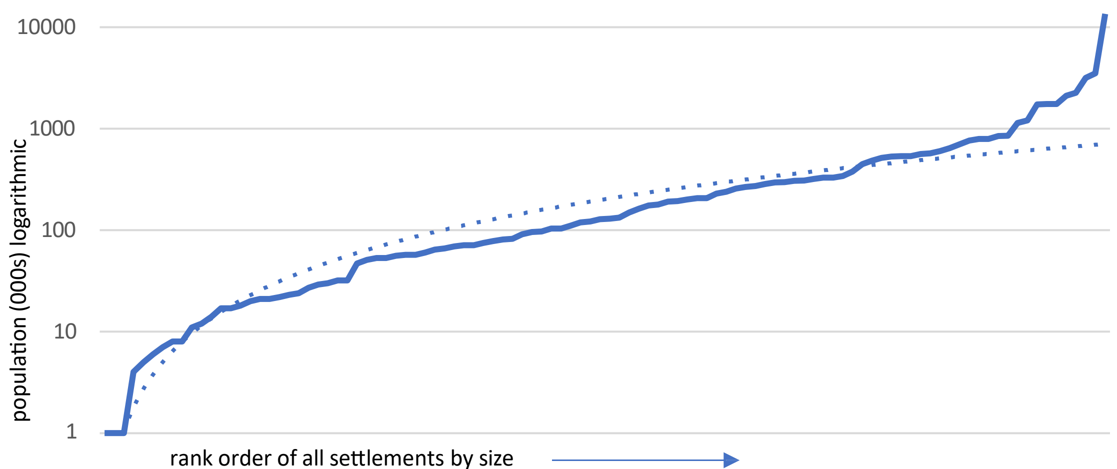
[17] Doxiadis, C. (1968) *Ekistics: An introduction to the science of human settlement*, New York: Oxford University

Press

Small city	100-300,000	28	Padua, Italy
Large town	20-100,000	30	Veliko-Tarnovo, Bulgaria
Small town	1,000-20,000	13	Hombrechtikon, Switzerland
Village	100-1000	3	Püünsi, Estonia

Most locations had a population between 10,000 and a million (less than 10,000: 9%; 10,000 to 100,000: 35%; 100,000 to 1 million: 48%; 1 to 10 million: 9%; greater than 19 million: 1%). Figure A:4 plots the size of each of the 104 locations on a logarithmic scale: the (dotted) trend line shows the selection is a reasonable fit.

Figure A:4: Size of Settlements (Log scale, '000s)



Before each discussion, some core demographic was collected from each participant, to check that an overall reasonable distribution of the population was being gathered. This included date and location of birthplace, nationality(ies), home language(s), other language(s) (but not languages that were only school taught), and the occupations of both parents. In the course of the discussions data was volunteered on parental origins.

Parental occupations were categorised using the UK code for occupational groups [18], a four digit number where the position of each digit represents a hierarchy of occupational categories (e.g. the code 5314 represents 5: skilled trades, 3 represents skilled construction and building trades [within 5], 1 represents construction workers [within 53], and 4 represents plumbers [within 531]. We had 11 of these, 10 male and 1 female. This system is compatible with the European occupational coding system. It allows us to identify categories of occupations at a variety of levels. About 16% of parental occupations were not coded, either because they were not in employment, or because the description provided (‘worker’, ‘entrepreneur’, ‘in office’, etc.) was insufficiently detailed. The following table shows the occupational classification distribution, and Figure A:5 the socio-economic class structure that might be deduced from this. The occupational categories were useful in some respects for the analysis (see pages 179-80); the socio-economic class data is deduced from occupational classifications, and appears to be less reliable.

[18] Office for National Statistics (2010): *Standard Occupational Classification, Volume 1: Structure and descriptions of unit groups.* ISBN 978–0–230–24819–9. Palgrave Macmillan

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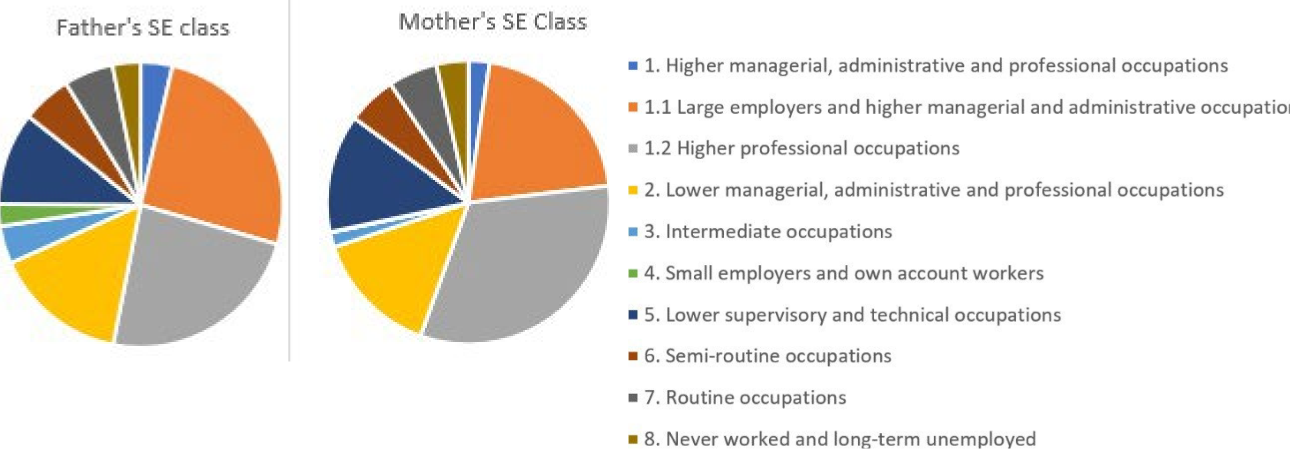
Parental Occupational categories

Major	Standard Occupational Classification 2010 (SOC2010) Modified with additional coding for ambiguous entries Only major levels shown	SOC2010 (modified) n=3361 (Fathers=1759; Mothers=1602)					
		FATHERS		MOTHERS		PARENTS	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Managers, Directors and Senior Officials	234	13.3	108	6.7	342	10.2
2	Professional Occupations	519	29.5	733	45.8	1252	37.3
3	Associate Professional and Technical Occupations	326	18.5	169	10.6	495	14.7
4	Administrative and Secretarial Occupations	89	5.1	167	10.4	256	7.6
5	Skilled Trades Occupations	265	15.1	64	4.0	329	9.8
6	Caring, Leisure and Other Service Occupations	25	1.4	101	6.3	126	3.8
7	Sales And Customer Service Occupations	65	3.7	113	7.1	178	5.3
8	Process, Plant and Machine Operatives	180	10.2	67	4.2	247	7.3
9	Elementary Occupations	75	4.3	63	3.9	138	4.1
	Totals	1759	100%	1602	100%	3361	100%

Figure A:5: Parental Socio-Economic class



Family origins were fairly diverse. 76.7 percent of the whole group had both parents from the country in which their respective discussions took place. 23.3 percent had one or both parents from another country: of these, 7.4 % had one or both parents from an EU member state, 8.5% a European state not in the EU, and 7.4% had one/both from a non-European state. This broadly corresponds to Agafiţei and Ivan's (2016)[19] data that a little more than a fifth of EU households had at least one immigrant member. The group's diversity by birthplace was less marked: 93.7% were born within the country of the discussion, and 2.6% in another EU country. 1.6% were born in

[19] Agafiţei, Mihaela and Georgiana Ivan. 2016. *First and Second–Generation Immigrants – Statistics on Main Characteristics*. Luxembourg: European Commission, Eurostat. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics–explained/index.php/First_and_second–generation_immigrants_–_statistics_on_main_characteristics#Data_ visualisation.

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another European state, and 2.2% in a non-European country. Appendix 1 shows the distribution by country of parental birthplaces, young people's birthplaces, and the range of languages spoken.

B A pattern of rights: an introductory survey

Reflecting and Referencing Rights: how young people respond

Our analysis was of some 300 hours of transcribed discussion about how these young people collaboratively constructed their identities – or their lack of identity – with their local area, their country/countries, and Europe. They did this in terms of what they valued and what they contested; of how their constructs differed from those of others (such as older people, those in other communities, regions, countries); of their experiences, whether of the immediate context, direct or media reported, or of events they remembered, or of communal experiences they had heard of. They did this, for the most part, with fluency and verve, sometimes with passion, and laced their comments with references to the values they held. Importantly, the intention of the discussions was to investigate their construction of their identities, not to explore their values: values *were* often raised by them (not the researcher) as part of the way they described their identities.

In doing so, they were behaving in very similar ways to how older people might discuss the same issues and concerns. As was explained in the introduction, they were usually not imitating or repeating what they had heard from older people: they often distinguished their ideas from those that they attributed to their parents or grandparents. Yet they were also behaving very similarly, in that most human conversations about social and political behaviour are based on, and reference, the common discourses of the moment and of the location. Regular opinion studies of matters of concern to the public show how particular issues come to the fore, and fade, as the media focus moves on. Young people are no different: their thinking is not necessarily governed by that agenda, but uses it to illustrate their beliefs and values: they draw examples from that discourse to explain and illustrate. There's a longish example of a group of French young women in discussion on pp 21-23.

Young people are sometimes described as malleable and impressionable. Some adults see them as particularly open to indoctrination, and vulnerable to having ideas imposed upon them [20]. But there is considerable academic literature that shows that they are able to manage discussion or debate about issues and change[21]. This report includes many references to this literature, and many examples of young people's discussions about values that demonstrates these abilities. Rather than being characterised as *impressionable*, we suggest that they are at an important *formative* period of their development, and need to learn to understand values rather than simply 'be told the facts'. There is also evidence that young people want to engage in discussion about current values (see page 187).

This chapter gives an overview of the scale and nature of these discussions, and of the values that inhabited them. It looks in turn at

- the intensity of the discussion about values and how many young people talked about them;
- which values were most discussed, and which were mentioned less often;

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[20] Alwin, D and Krosnick, J. (1991) Aging, cohorts and the stability of sociopolitical orientations over the life span., *American Journal of Sociology* 97 (1) 169– 195; Dinas, E (2010) *The Impressionable Years: the formative role of family, vote and political events in early adulthood*. PhD Dissertation, European University Institute; Jennings, M (1990) The crystallization of political orientations. In Jennings, M and van Deth, J (Eds) *Continuities in Political Action: a longitudinal study of political orientations in three Western democracies*, 313–348, New York NY: de Gruyter;

[21] Dinas, E (2013) Opening 'Openness to change': political events and the increased sensitivity of young adults. *Political Research Quarterly* 66 868–2; Sears, D. and Valentino, N (1997) Political matters: Political events as catalysts for pre–adult socialisation. *American Political Science Review* 91 (1) 45–65.

- the main categories discussed, positively and negatively;
- the context in which values were mentioned – locations, timings, and 'othering'; and
- the implications of the above for pedagogy.

Data is presented in a standardised form to allow comparisons between the various values. In most cases the number of times a value was mentioned is given as a number, and this is also expressed as percentage of the particular population being analysed who mentioned the value. A consistent colour coding system and coding system is employed for each Meta-Value and value, to allow for easy comparison.

The European values

These are all defined in the Council of Europe's *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (ECHR) (1950[22]) and the European Union's *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (CFREU) (2000 [23]).

In this report, we have used a structure to describe the different kinds of major groups of values and their nature. We identify three meta-values:

Structural values provide the essential framework which defines the way in which values are created by a society – the institutions and processes of Representative Democracy, and the Rule of Law.

Core Fundamental values define the general precepts that underpin the various social and political procedures – such as respect for human life and safety, social inclusion, the conditions for the acceptance of the diversity of minority views, respect for other cultures, the social inclusion of all people, and prohibitions on capital punishments, unusual punishments and torture – all of which fall under the umbrella term of Human Rights.

Process values create legislation, programmes and processes that put these core fundamental values into action, embedding them in freedoms, rights and solidarities.

Each meta-value groups together individual values. These are listed in the table on the following page.

The total number of mentions of each value are included in the table. Each value has an attachment to a specific colour code, which is used consistently through this report. The page numbers refer to where detailed discussions of the use of a value by young people, and the pedagogic issues of this can be found in this report.

Note that C7 is a residual category, for those mentioning human rights in general: most mentions were more specific. C6 is a combination of three broadly similar values, all of which were infrequently mentioned. C5 and D2 have relatively few mentions: any sub-analysis of these needs to be approached with caution, as some sub-sets will have very low values.

Detailed description of the origin of these rights in the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights (Council of Europe, 1950) and the Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the European

[22] See footnote 2.

[23] See footnote 3.

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Union (2009) is given in the opening sections on each type of value that follow this introductory section.

Both the ECHR and the CFREU include references to the core fundamental rights considered here, and the structural rights considered in the previous section (SV) and the process rights of freedoms, rights and solidarity in the section that follows (PV). The table sets out the structure of the CFREU (with references to the ECHR), and the simplified structure adopted in this analysis.

The core fundamental human rights values are summarised and contextualised in the consolidated Lisbon *Treaty on European Union* (2008/C 115/01): Article 2 states that 'the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail'.

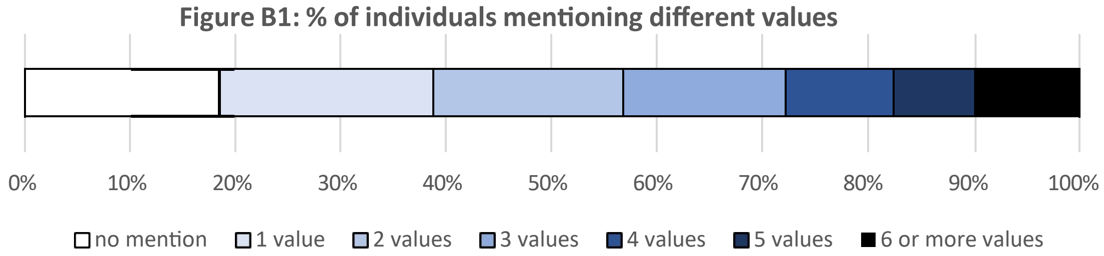
Code	pp	Meta-Value	Value	N		Cautions about low mentions of values, where sub-analysis may not be meaningful
SV	**40**		**Structural values**	**1,014**		
SV1	44	Structural	Democracy	879		
SV2	52		Rule of Law	135	*	care with sub-analysis!
CV	**60**		**Core fundamental values**	**1,467**		
CV 1	66	Core fundamental	Tolerance of Diversity	391		
CV2	76		Respect for other Cultures	492		
CV3	86		Respect for Life	218		
CV4	92		Safety of Others	194		
CV5	98		Inclusion in Society	113	*	care with sub-analysis!
CV6	103		No capital/unusual/punishment/persecution	37	**	combination values
CV7	106		Human Rights in general	22	**	residual category, ignore
PV	**108**		**Process Values**	**2,686**		
PV1	114	Process	Freedom of Movement	639		
PV2	119		Fundamental Freedoms	366		
PV3	127		Equalities	533		
PV4	133		Solidarity	1,583		

The Intensity of Discussions

82% of the 1998 individuals referred at some point in their discussion to at least one of the values. It should not be assumed that those not referring to values did not know of or understand these values: because of the non-directive nature of the discussions, no group was directly asked to suggest or talk about values.

There were in total 5,167 separate mentions of values. The average numbers of mentions for each of individual who did refer to values was 3.7 times. Males mentioned values slightly more frequently than females (84%: 80%).

Figure B1 shows the number of times Values were mentioned by an individual.



For example, 10.2% of the individuals mentioned values on four occasions, and 63.9 % mentioned between one and four values.

However, there were some interesting slight variations in the patterns of Values mentioned on multiple occasions: Figure B2 shows these: this only shows a selection of the Values.

Figure B2: the % of values mentioned when individuals mention several values

100.00
80.00
60.00
40.00
20.00
0.00
1 mention
2 mentions
3 mentions
4 mentions
5+mentions
Respect for life, safety, no capital/harsh punishment
Tolerance, Inclusion,free from persecution
Democracy
Rule of Law
Freedoms
Equalities
Solidarity

Solidarity and the various Freedoms were usually mentioned most often, and values such as the Rule of Law least often (and vary rarely when only one to three values were mentioned). Tolerance of diversity, coupled with Freedom from persecution are infrequently mentioned, and are here grouped together: there might have been more references if the study had been carried out in other times – for example, in times of invasion or open warfare.

Those people who mentioned more than one value increased their breadth of discussion: the more values included, the greater the range of values. Those mentioning five or more values all mentioned Solidarity, Freedoms and Tolerance/Inclusion. It is notable that even when five or more values were mentioned, only 28% mentioned the Rule of Law, and 76% Democracy.

We noted that not all groups necessarily chose to discuss values *per se*, but it would be unfair to characterise these young people as necessarily uninterested in values; the discussions were designed to explore how young Europeans constructed their political identities, with no immediate focus on values. However, when we analysed the relationship of groups mentioning of values, we found that only five groups (of 324) did not mention values at all, and three groups only mentioned them on one occasion. This represented just 2.4% of the total sample. On average, those groups where values were discussed mentioned values 16 times.

The following extract gives an example of this in action: a group of seven 16 year olds (exceptionally, all female) in a Paris school in May 2015. All spoke fluent English. All names are pseudonyms. Their family origins, and the number of times each referred to values, are as follows

Aimée: French (8)	Dolorès: French (2)	Paqui: Chilean (1)
Bertha: Portuguese-French (2)	Léone: British-French (4)	
Nesrine: Algerian (0)	Marinette: French (5)	(22 mentions of values)

Paqui was born in Santiago, Chile, and Léone in French Guiana, all the others in Paris.

This is a 20 minute extract from a 55 minute conversation (shortened by a 5 minute gap). Over the first 15 minutes, they introduce themselves, and describe their origins: all say that they are French, or part- French. They are then asked what it means, 'to be French'.

Marinette: I don't really know, because I was born in France, I live in France, but I'm not feeling very French – it's just the country where I live, for me …	
Aimée: I agree with Marinette – but I think we have a chance for something [in France] – [if] I have a disease, I can be treated, get health care for free – and it's not like that in some other countries. Also we don't have dictators … we are not in the best country in the world, but we really have a chance if we are French	*Solidarity: health care* *Democracy: no dictatorship*
Berthe: It's a free country – and yes, I feel French	*Freedoms: indeterminate*
Dolorès: I think all of the people of our age are proud to be French for some things, but not proud for other things. Like political things	
INT: That's interesting – what sort of things make you pleased to be French?	
Dolorès: Well, people feel equal, when there is no discrimination – but the others don't feel so proud when there is racism – or homophobia –	*Inclusion; Equalities: race +LBGT*
Léone: I don't feel as though I'm French, but I think I'm lucky to be French – because France is the dancers' country – and it's nice for music and culture, and gastronomy. But in Paris people are sad, they don't look happy, and – like, I'm always happy!	*Solidarity: cultural support*
– there's then a five minute discussion on people smiling, or not, in Paris –	
INT: Something Dolorès said earlier was that she was proud that there was equality in France –	*[a return to subject]*
Dolorès: Sometimes, not always – not everyone	
Paqui: For foreigners, it's really hard	
INT: In what way, have you found?	
Paqui: When my mum goes to the Prefecture to ask for her papers, they are not always – they are not kind. Sometimes they insult you	*Respect for other cultures; race, ethnicity [P's mother is Chilean]*
Marinette: I think that in France the Government talks a lot about wanting a country that is open and free – so it's all very much talk of equality. But when you live in this country and you see all the same things, you see it's	*Equalities: immigrants* *Freedoms*

very false – for immigrants, the government says it's an open country and France welcomes immigrants – but in the night you can see policemen in the streets who look for immigrants and do something against immigrants – but in the day, the information is always 'here is very good', 'welcome' – but in real life, it's not like this.

Safety of others

[all said not to be respected by the State]

Léone: In France – and in the world – we are not equal. Because some people are born beautiful, others are not; some people are born with a handicap, others not – so no, we are not equal, we are different and unique, so we can't be equal – but I am for equality!

She confuses 'equality' with 'being the same'

Aimée: I think that now the biggest discrimination is against *Roms* people – I have seen in the metro people who when they see a *Roms* they push them out, just because of their nationality – they say 'You're going to steal from me', awful words like that. But it's not true, *Roms* are ordinary people, like us. Anyone can steal from other people, anyone can be bad with other people – we are all the same.

Respect for other cultures/Inclusion: Roma

INT: You all sound as though you agree that you would like France to be more equal? [Yes] Do you think you are different in this way than older people, say of your parents' or grandparents' age?

[an invitation to contrast their views with other generations]

Aimée: It depends – usually people of our age think the same as their parents – but not always – sometimes we don't think the same as our parents, we really think differently. [For example?] My father is left wing [*gauche*], and my grandfather is right wing, and when we see my grandfather my father disagrees about politics

Democracy: political parties

Qualified recognition of generational difference

Berthe: My parents and grandparents are not interested in politics – I don't know if that's bad or good – they say that they are left wing, but they never talk about political problems, about equality – perhaps they think that they want France to be more open, but, for example, with the 'immigrant problem' – if we can say that – they say nothing. It's really strange.

Tolerance of diversity: migrants

Aimée: My mother works with *Médecins du Monde*, so she agrees with me – every day she sees immigrants who arrive with nothing, and babies who sleep in the streets – and my father agrees with us too. But my grandparents, earlier, when discrimination was bigger than now – it's better today than it was. So they don't have really advanced [progressive] personal opinions.

Safety of others: migrants

Generational difference is a generation earlier

Marinette: I think it depends. My parents agree with me, my father agrees with me because his education was like that. And my mum agrees with me, but she's not very interested in politics. If you talk about immigration, she'll say 'Oh yes, I agree with you' – but it's just that. My father and his parents are the same, they agree; my mother and her parents don't agree – before, when the discrimination was biggest, they think that everything was great – but it's not great, we can do more.

Tolerance of diversity: immigrants

Léone: I don't know my grandparents, but I know my parents, and I know that they are different. … When I gave a euro to a man in the street, and I told my father, he said that I can't do that, because if I do it for one person, I should do it for all people. … says it's not a place for immigrants, and I think he's so *closed*, and my mother – she's like me, she works in healthcare, she works in Africa, like Aimée's mother, and she agrees with immigrants coming to France.

Respect for life/safety: socio-economic groups

… migrants

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INT: Would you say people in Paris think differently about these issues, than people in other parts of France?

[further invitation to make regional contrasts]

Various: No/ Yes/ It depends on

Dolorès: I think in Paris we get a lot of information – I have a house in the country in a village in the centre of France. People there have an opinion too, but they don't know what is happening in the political life of France – it depends – in some places in France people don't know about these things, but just have an opinion –

Tangential reference to freedom of information

Aimée: Half of my family come from Paris, and half come from Marseilles – I don't know if it's better in the south of France. Immigrants arrive in the south from the Mediterranean, and then they go to Paris – I don't think that in the south they are more welcoming to immigrants – I have seen people who insult immigrants – I don't think it's better

Tolerance of diversity: migrants

Respect for others: migrants

Marinette: We can't generalise – but a lot of French people are very closed. Of course, not everybody – a lot of people think like me, like her – but a big part are very closed. People are closed, because they have no interest in immigrant people, they don't like politics. They are very egocentric, and just think about their own lives, they don't see further –

Respect for others: migrants

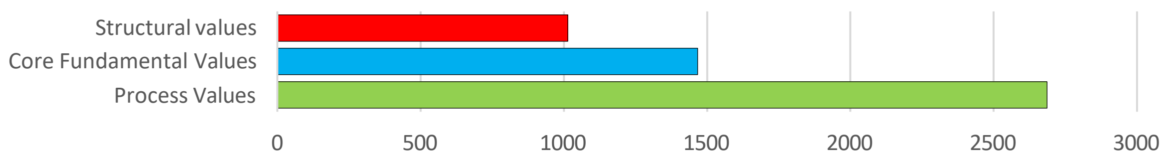
(the discussion continued for another 20 minutes)

There are here some 22 references of various values. They include some twelve references to fundamental values , particularly tolerance of diversity and respect for other cultures (generally critical of these being not observed), with eight references to process values (three equalities, three freedoms, two solidarities) and two to structural values (both to democracy). Only Neserine does not speak in this extract.

Which Values were discussed most, and least

The small number of mentions of values in this very short extract approximates to the overall pattern found in the whole sample. Structural values – democracy and the rule of law – were mentioned least (about 9% of the total). Mentions of the process values were overall 45% (though rather less in the extract above), and the fundamental values were mentioned in 40% of cases: Figure B3(i) shows the total distribution of these three meta-values.

Figure B3 (i): Total number of times a Meta value was mentioned

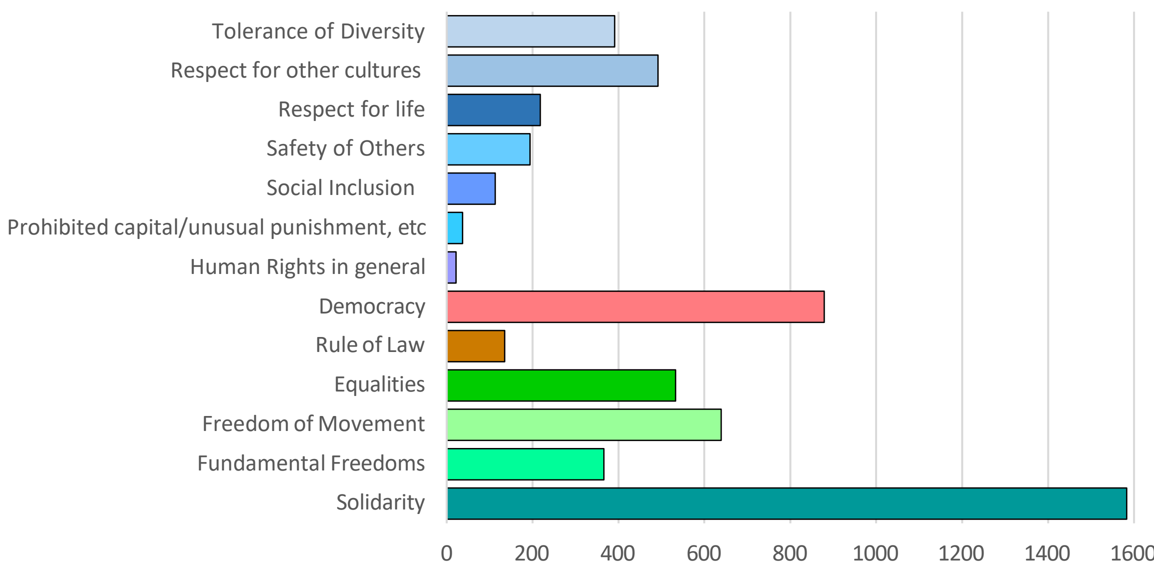


More detailed analysis of this, examining individual values, shows a more complex pattern (Figure B3(ii)).

In the first set (fundamental values, in various shades of blue) respect for other cultures and tolerance of diversity are dominant (as they were in our example above). Categories such as the prohibition of capital punishment, freedom from torture and unusual and harsh punishments were rarely mentioned, and have been grouped together: they might have been mentioned more in other times (for example, in 1939-45, or in 2022 with respect to the war in Ukraine).

The structural values (reddish-brown colours) show that democracy is mentioned most often, and that the rule of law is mentioned least often (just 2.6% of the total), a point that will be returned to in greater detail later in this report (see section SV2, p 52).

Figure B3 (ii): Total number of times a value was mentioned



The third set of process values has been shown separating the specific freedoms of movement from the other 'fundamental freedoms' (of liberty, speech, etc.). This was because of the mentions of freedom of movement – a specific European Union freedom derived partly from Acquis agreements on joining the Union, and partly on the implementation of the 1985 Schengen Agreement (and extensions to certain EFTA members). Figure B4(i) shows the great diversity of country-level responses that specified freedom of movement. Transnational mobility is sometimes seen as a way to enhance identification with the European Union, with young people in particular having opportunities to study in other EU counties through the Bologna Process [24].

This is shown in Figure B4 (i), which plots the percentage of individuals in the discussions in each country who mentioned Freedom of Movement. Thus in the case of Austria, there were 66 young people in the twelve discussion groups, and eight of them mentioned Freedom of Movement in some way: thus 12.1% of them are shown in the Figure. Romania (with a much larger population that Austria) had 105 participants, of whom 57 mentioned Freedom of Movement: this is 54.3% of the total.

The reason for this heterogeneity becomes apparent when countries are grouped by the date that they formally joined the Schengen Agreement, as shown in Figure B4(ii). Young people in those

[24] Favell, et al (2011) The Europeanisation of everyday life: cross–border transactional identifications among EU and third–country citizens. *Eurocross Working Paper* 1–54; Kohn, P. (2012) Why Educational Exchange programmes miss their mark: Cross border mobility, education and European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (6) 994–1010; Recchi, E and Favell, A. (2009) *Pioneers of European integration: citizenship and mobility in the EU*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

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countries that were first to participate, in 1995-7, were 62% less likely to mention freedom of movement than were young people in countries who were not yet in the Schengen group.

Where was Freedom of Movement mentioned most (by country) (% of each country)

Figure B4(i): Freedom of Movement: % individuals mentioning, by Country

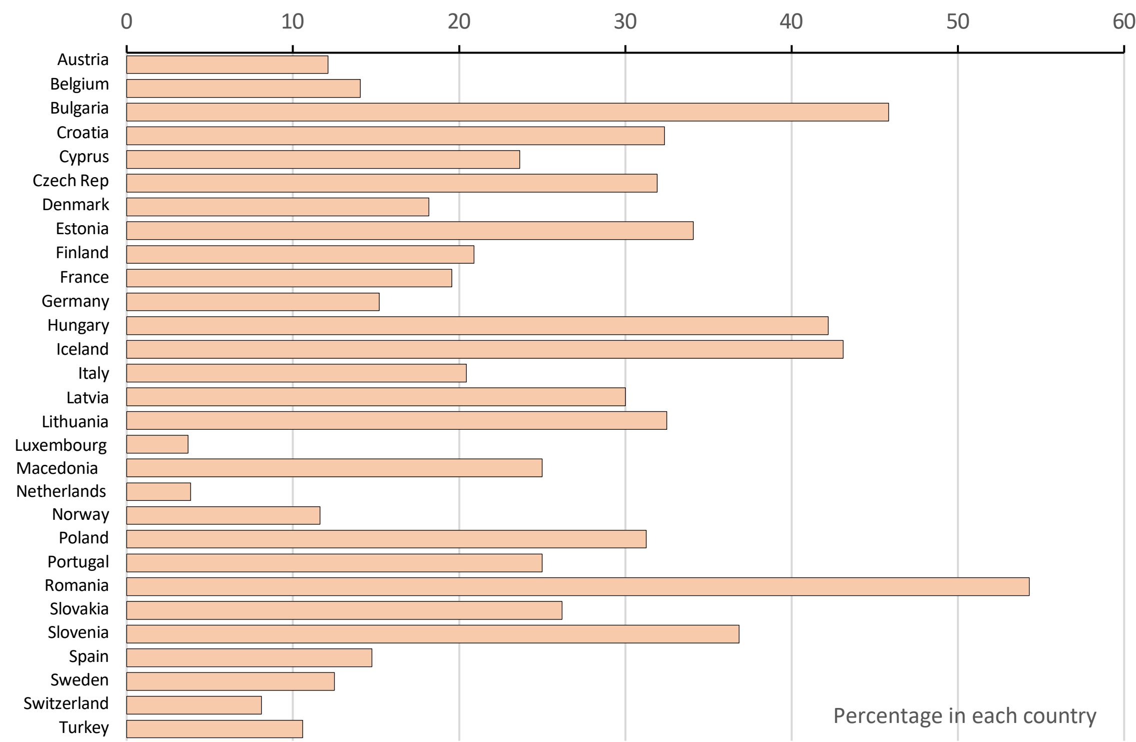
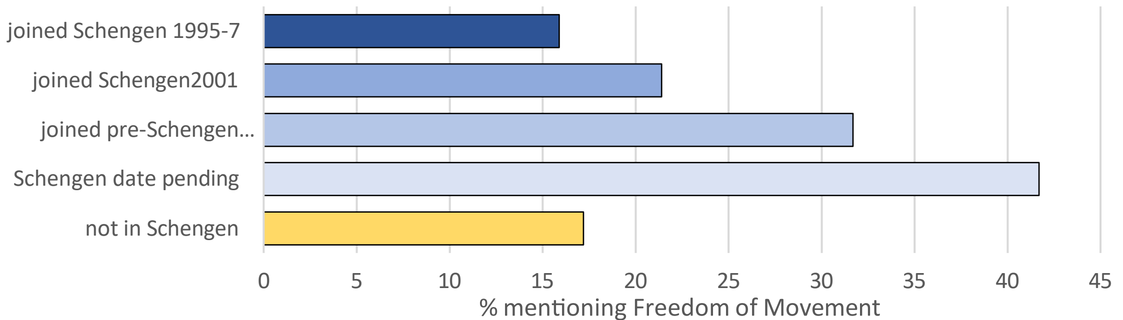
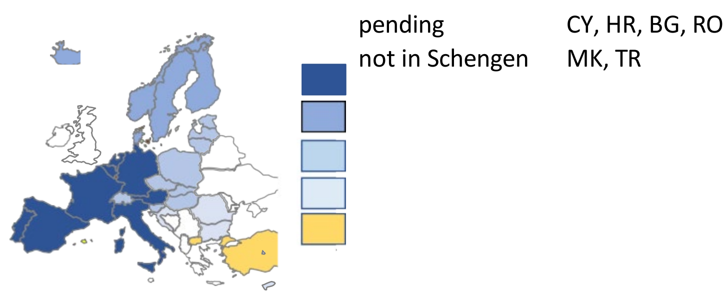


Figure B4(ii) Freedom of movement mentioned, by date of country formally joining Schengen Agreement



Joined the Schengen Agreement in …

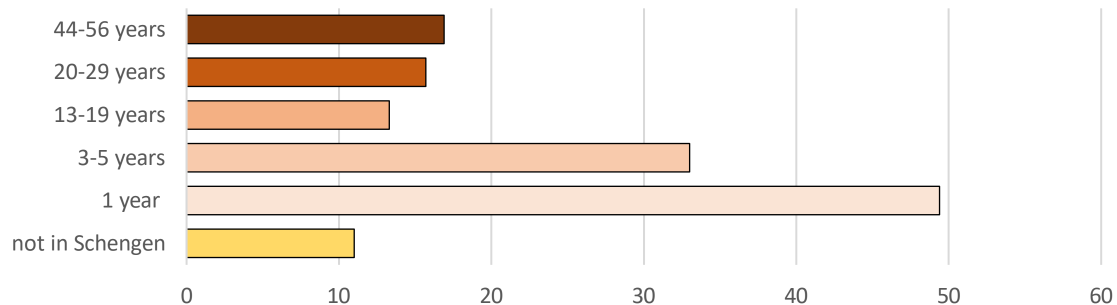
1995-97	AT, BE, DE, ES, FR, IT, LX, NL, PT
2001	DK, FI, IS, NO, SE
2007-08	CH, CZ, EE, HU, LI, LT, PO, SL, SK

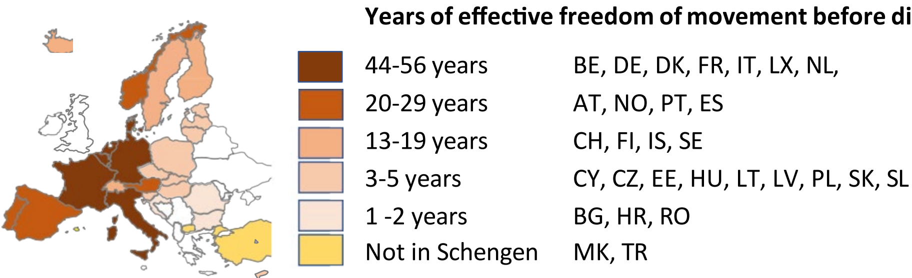


This is even more clear if the effective date of freedom of movement for employment is considered. Figure B4 (iii), which also takes account of the year in which the discussions were held in that country (average date for Denmark, Norway and Bulgaria, where data was collected over different years).

This directly relates to the ages of the young people, who were all between 10 and 20 at the time of their discussions. In all the countries where there had been effective free movement from before when all the group people were born more than 20 years ago (n=1081) it was mentioned by about 17.1% of participants. But where it was a relatively new phenomena, and would have occurred in their lifetimes (for the very youngest, when they were five) (n=760), it was mentioned by 41% of participants (the 1 to 5 year bars in Figure 4B(iii)). It was particularly vivid in Bulgaria and Romania (which also have the lowest per capita GDP of all the states that are eligible for Schengen membership).

Figure B4(iii): Freedom of movement mentioned, by number of years country has had effective Freedom of Movement to the date of discussion





Thus for many of the west Europeans, freedom of movement could be taken for granted – something that was recalled when thinking about the advantages of European Union membership. In Brussels, Loes (F/17) said 'I also don't feel European – I guess that we have advantages in that it is easier to travel, and I like that … so it is easier'. Anito (M/17) in Italy found being European was a convenience 'you can travel across all of Europe with your ID card, without a passport. But this is technical.' On the other hand, many young people in the countries where freedom to travel was something that happened to them in the past few years, the advantages were seen more acutely: for example, in Budapest, Ildikó (F/16) said 'I really want to learn abroad, and maybe I want to live in another country. France, perhaps, or Italy – to study and to live; and in the Latvian town of Rezekne, Elizareeta (F/12) said 'As we are members of the European Union, we can travel around the Union, and we are involved in many activities'. There were very clear personal advantages: in the Romania city of Timisoara, Cosmin (M/13) wanted 'to move to the UK, to England, because life is a bit better', and Nicoleta (F/16) said she would like to 'study in Europe, in Germany, or maybe England, because there are much better colleges.' But some young people saw some inherent problems in this freedom: in the Czech Republic, Varvara (F/11) saw the end of passport control as 'a disadvantage, because the criminals can misuse this', giving an example of a young girl kidnapped in Prague in the previous week: 'she might be in another country and nobody knows.'

To some of those in the Baltic states, free movement was often seen as a potential threat to the very future of the country, as large numbers of people from these very small states moved abroad for work: In an Estonian village, Marek (M/16) responded that they should not: 'it's sort of dangerous for the existence of Estonia. For example, in Latvia there was a little town, where many of its inhabitants left to work in Ireland – and they never returned. So the town stopped existing.' In Lithuania, Tadas (M/16) thought that 'if everyone gets out of Lithuania …there will be no defenders of our culture – then Lithuania culture will simply disappear'. Brigita (F/15), in Kaunas, referred to those migrating as 'running away from the problems – leaving the problems for someone else to sort out.' Žanete's (F/13) response was 'we have to make the population grow – get more babies born.'

There was a counter-narrative of individual self-interest: Monta (F/15) in Jūrmala, Latvia, who said (after a long discussion on this issue) 'well, I think more about myself, not about the country. If we speak honestly, I think more about what *I* am going to do, what *I* need, and what *I* want – not about what the country needs, what will happen to our country' [emphasis as spoken]. And In Lithuania, Aušra (F/15) argued 'I am not only a Lithuanian, but I am also a European. It's great! It's easier to go abroad. I'm not planning to stay in Lithuania – the economic situation is not very good.' Such attitudes were criticised by others. In Estonia, Indrek (M/16) expressed concerns: 'the reason why they're going is money! They're going to Norway and Finland to build houses – but they could also build houses in Estonia. Their point in going is just earning money – they're not thinking about anything else'.

This evidence, quantitative and qualitative, suggests that freedom of movement is seen as a particularly significant value in those countries where it has, perhaps particularly for young people, a degree of novelty (and of economic necessity, given these countries' relatively less wealthy position). It is mentioned considerably less frequently as time goes by. The focus on contemporary issues concerning values is significant: young people (perhaps particularly young people) are concerned to discuss values that are current or of recent origin than the same value would be discussed when it had been long-established values. This phenomenon will be observed at several points in this analysis: it has important implications for the way in which particular values are approached in discussion with young people. Events and issues that are very currently affecting their

lives have a much greater salience in their lives, and in the focus of their interest, than do those that happened when they were younger, or before they were born.

It is also clear that this ‘freedom of movement’ is qualitatively different from the other fundamental freedoms, and therefore is necessarily analysed separately.

Responses at the Individual level

Because a significant number of individuals mentioned a value more than once, a different perspective can be shown by examining the number of *individuals* who mentioned a particular value: 1,628 individuals mentioned one or more values, some 81.4% of the total population.
Figures B5 (i) and (ii) show the same data as used in Figure B3 (i) and (ii), but for numbers of individual young people mention the value any number of times, thus reducing the effect of the individual repeatedly mentioning a particular value. 32% of all the young people mentioned one or more structural values; 45% fundamental values; and 68% process values.

Figure B5(i): Numbers of individuals mentioning Meta values

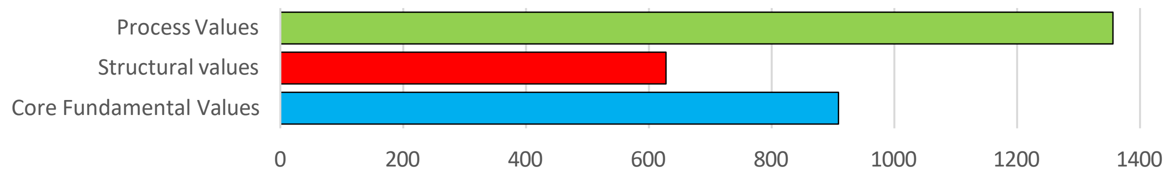
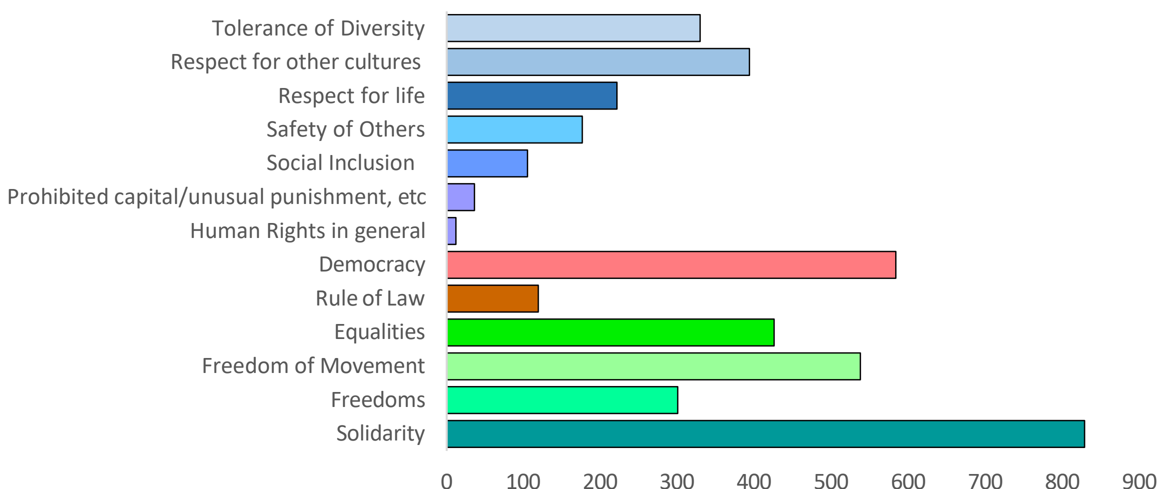


Figure B5 (ii): Numbers of individuals mentioning specific values



Positive and negative views on Values

85.6% of these mentions of Values were assessed for ‘strength of feeling’. Not all mentions of a value were positive. Sometimes there were ambivalent responses, as see in Varvara’s thoughtful suggestion (above) that free movement might also have its disadvantages (which was also a

pertinent example of the way in which issues can focus on the local – Prague was 90 kilometres away; the kidnapping was nine days before the discussion). 5.3% of all references (238) were neutral, or sufficiently ambiguous that we could not be certain that they supported the value. There were also 182 negative remarks (4.1% of the total), where it was evident that the particular value was not one that was subscribed to.

For example, Mégane (F/18) in a village in the south of France, said 'We help immigrants – we give more help to immigrants than to us – if we don't … we are treated like racists. It would be normal for us to give more money to French people, because we are French.' This was coded as not respecting the human rights of migrants. In a small town in Slovakia, Jarmila (F/16) thought it a mistake 'that people [now] go into politics, and be in high places, when they've had so very little experience', echoed by Josef (M/16): 'it's a mistake that inexperienced people can get into power'. Both were seen as being against the democratic principle of all citizens being eligible to stand for office. Jolánka (F/15) in Hungary reflected on her parents and grandparents feeling in the Communist period: 'now we don't feel the necessity of solidarity so much.'

Figure B6 (i): Strength of feeling about each Meta–value, number of mentions

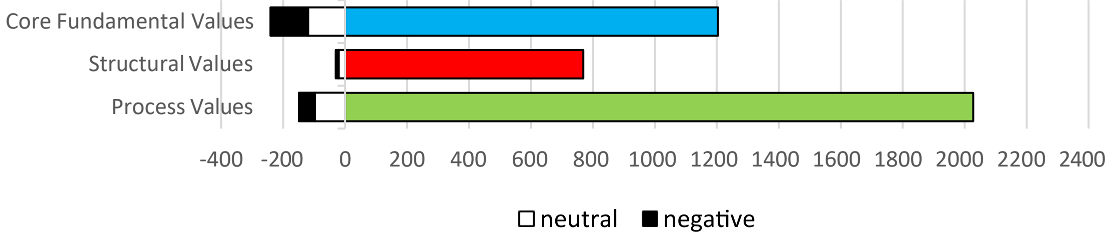
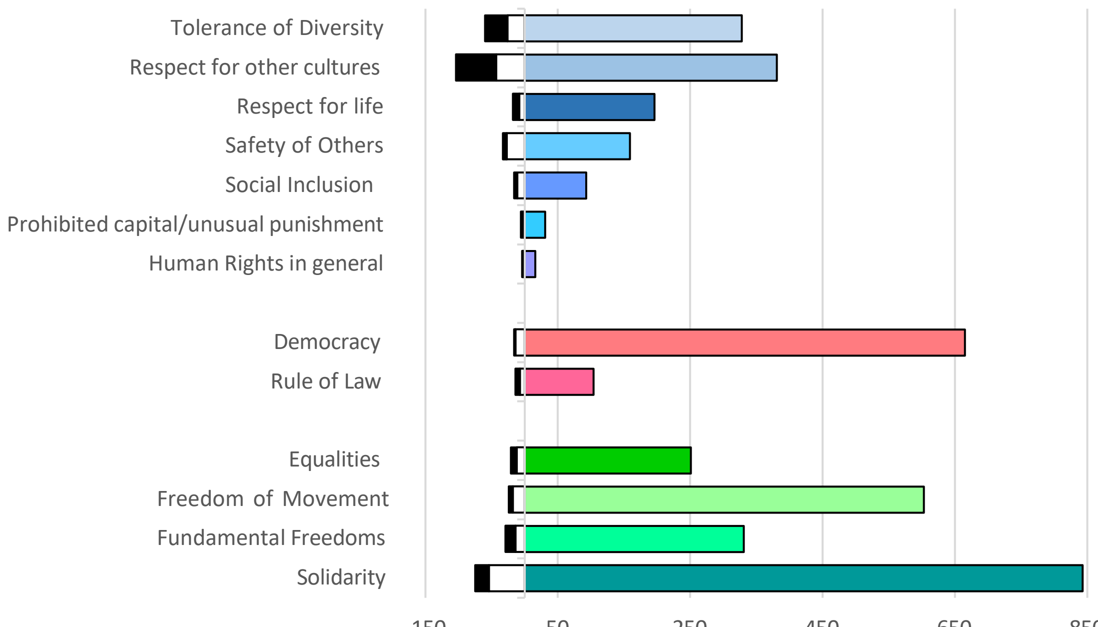


Figure B6(i) shows how each mention of a meta-value was described in terms of the 'strength of feeling' about the value, where a value was coded. Positive mentions are on the right (in colour), negative mentions on the left (in black), while neutral or ambivalent mentions are central (in white). The second figure (B6 (ii) shows this for individual values. Both tables show the absolute number of mentions of a value. It should be noted that some individuals might mention the same value sometimes in a positive way and at other times in a negative or neutral way: this is not shown in these figures.

Figure B6 (ii): Strength of Feeling about each Value, numbers of mentions



It is important to note that we are using 'negativity' in a particular way in this categorisation. There were many occasions when negative comments were made, but done so in a way that showed that the speaker was positive about the particular value in question. Examples of this include Rosalie (F/14) in Montpellier, who was incensed at the Hungarian government erecting a fence to keep out the Syrian refugees the previous month: 'I feel less European – because we can't be proud of what has happened – what Hungary is doing now is not human': she is not meaning she does not feel European here, but that she feels this action undermines her conception of what Europe means for her. In Brussels, Loes responded to a colleague's remark that Russia was not vey democratic with an impassioned 'not very democratic? I think Putin is not democratic at all – the complete opposite. It's the complete opposite of what we want to do with the European Union'. Many young people respond more often, and more strongly, to examples of the *denial* of rights and to the *contravention* of values, than they comment on the continuation of ongoing rights and values that have long been established and accepted. What motivates them to discuss and argue about rights and values is the perception of rights being contravened, of unfairness: as Charles Dickens described this in the feelings of Pip, his young protagonist in *Great Expectations*: in the world of young people, 'there is nothing so finely perceived, and so finely felt, as injustice'.

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There has been extensive research over sixty years showing that young people – as young as six – have the ability to reason and make judgements about concepts of fairness in both distribution and in decisions making[25]. In 1998, for example, Helwig[26] reported on a Canadian study that

> concepts of rights and democracy are held by elementary school age children, and that these concepts undergo important developmental changes during this period, Traditional, educators and researchers [to which one might add policy-makers] have not capitalized on these early understandings, viewing political socialisation instead as largely within the province of adolescence.

What characteristics were used to describe or locate the values?

Each time we saw that a value was mentioned in some way, we recorded three possible characteristics that were often (but not always) used:

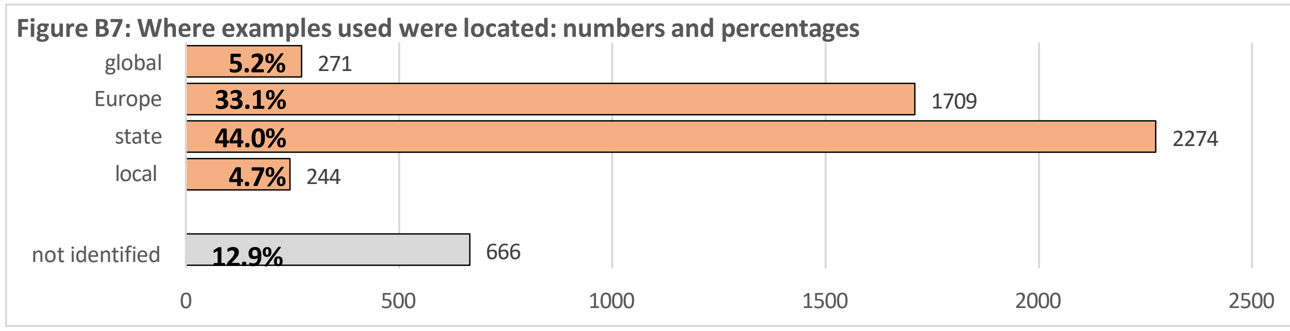
- Were they referring to something that happened locally, or in their own country, or in Europe or beyond?
- Were they referring something that took place at a particular time or period?
- In the process of describing the value, did they 'other' a particular group, who they said characteristically did not follow this value, or were inconsistent in following the value?

The following charts show the overall use of these descriptors, for all values. There were significant variations for the each of the different values: these are given in the following pages (60 - 139.

Location

Locations of examples were largely either in the country of the discussion or in Europe. Note that 'European Values', as defined, can occur anywhere in the world: they are not exclusive to occurring in a European context (these were the specific codes for the location of the example, not 'othering' codes, which are in the following chart). The pattern shown here is typical of most values.

These broad categories cover a wide range of types of reference. For example, in terms of **local** references, Oldrich (M/11), in a Czech town of about 100,00 people, spoke in detail about local public services; 'near the hypermarket … there is a new power station, and I think it's not needed … I've been trying for two years to influence the schedule of the Czech Railways because there are many problems, but I'm not very successful.' Others related their locality to particular values and rights – or lack of them – like Dragan (M/14) in Zagreb: 'here people are very different from other



[25] For example, Greenstein F (1965) *Children and Politics*, New Haven CT: Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Hess, R and Torney, J (1967) *The development of political attitudes among children*, Chicago: IL: Aldine; Ross, A (1987) Political Education in the Primary School, om Harber, C. (Ed) *Political Education in Britain*, pp 9 –24 Lewes: Falmer.

[26] Helwig, C. (1998) Children's conceptions of fair government and freedom of speech. *Child Development*, 69 (2) 518–531

parts of Europe. We don't accept differences … when Gay Pride was in Zagreb, people came just to throw stones.'

At the level of the **country**, there were sometimes expressions of a range of feelings: in Stockholm, Saga (F/15) said 'Stockholm means a lot to me, Sweden doesn't', but later 'I'm very thankful for being Swedish … we have great health care, living in Sweden is pretty good, the basic stuff, the basic human rights thing'. In Iaşi, Cristian (M/16) was unhappy about Romania: 'I don't think we have a very good administration – I mean government – we pay quite a lot of [taxes] and we don't get that much in exchange… we don't have very good streets; the education system – it's not that great', and later 'we can't compare ourselves to European countries – we aren't in the same bracket'.

Here Cristian was referencing Romania in comparison to **Europe**. Other references might be to particular European locations, as when Santi (M/13) instanced having 'I watched on TV this morning the Mayor of Calais, who entered a refugee camp and told the refugees to go to other cities – I think that's bad'. But on many occasions 'Europe' was used as an entity: in a discussion in Nantes, France, Fernand (M/14, Côte d'Ivoire father, French mother, born Nantes) observed 'we have more equality in Europe than in other countries', to which Nicinha (F/16, parents Angolan, born in Luanda) responded 'there are a lot of people in Europe who have different origins – that's not so much the case in Africa [where] there is more equality, because people have the same origins – in Europe all cultures are mixed.' And 'Europe' could be used in very different ways from the perspective of Turkey: in Istanbul, Furkan (M/18) said 'when you say 'Europe', it reminds me first of human rights, and of great possibilities for freedom … if I could be in Europe, I could say everywhere ... that I am Kurdish'. Nicinha sees 'more equality' as a consequence of 'the same origins', while Furkan sees diversity positively, because he perceived 'Europe' as a guarantor of equality.

Similarly, **global** references to the world could include specific comparisons, as when Rahel (F17) in Dortmund compared the social solidarity of 'our social insurance system, our medical insurance systems – that's a big difference to the USA.'. The world was also used as an entity, as when Loes (F/17) in Brussels spoke of the various civic identities she might adopt; 'I don't really feel Belgian … it doesn't *mean* that much to me … there are a lot of people who are really proud that they're Flemish, or they're Walloon, but it doesn't *mean* anything to me, it's not important – I'm more like a world citizen.'

Timing

The time frame within which examples of values were chosen was also significant. It was suggested above that the importance of specific values to young people often depended on their contemporary nature: values were illustrated particularly with events and issues that were taking place in the present, or recent past, as with the discussion (above: Figures B4(ii) and B4(iii)) on freedom of movement. This is shown in Figure B8: only 3% of examples were drawn from before their lifetime.

Figure B8: The timing of the examples that were given

historical 2.4%
in their lifetime,... 64.5%
in the past year 6.9%
in the last month 6.2%
in the future, possibly 8.6%
not located 11.4%
0 500 1000 1500 2000 2500 3000 3500

Note: ‘lifetime’ will include some in the previous year and month

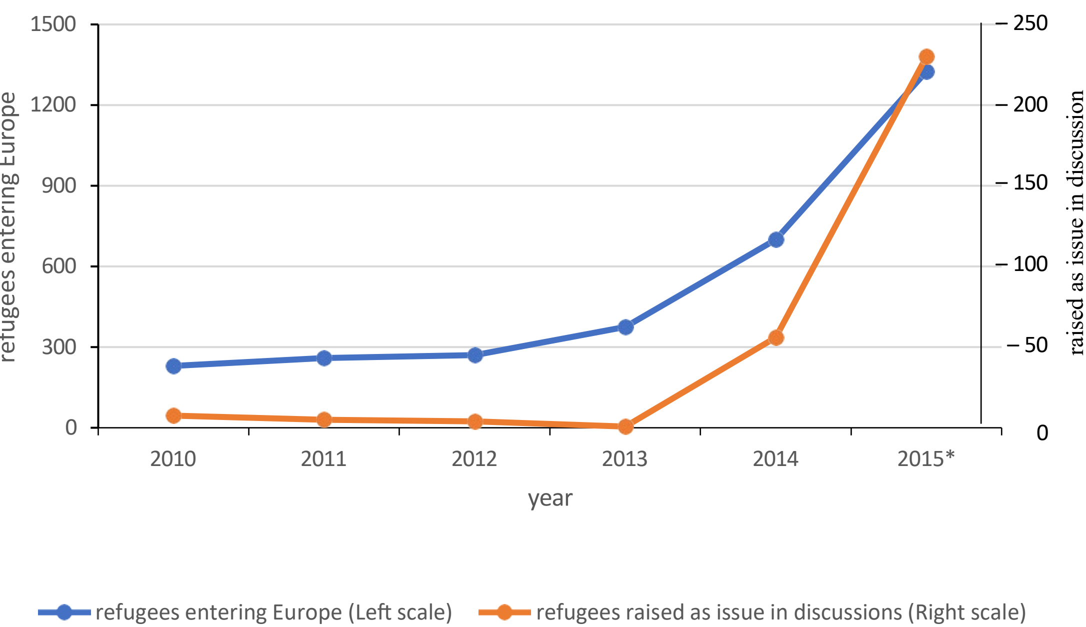
Most examples were drawn from within their own lifetime, or ‘currently’. Note that these were *young* people, so ‘in their lifetime’ refers to events that occurred largely between c 1995 and 2016). (Some examples may have historical antecedents, but is the contemporary re-emergence of these that is significant, and that is the entry-point for young people: for example, Ammert et al[27] argue that historical consciousness is significant in developing moral education, citing the Black Lives Matter movement as a trigger in 2020: but was it the immediacy of George Floyd’s murder that was the trigger for young people: this gave the impetus – and opened up the back story of the history of the Civil Rights Movement.)

The Freedom of Movement illustration shows an ‘**in their lifetime’** example. But issues used to illustrate were sometimes drawn from the events of the previous **year or months** (or even hours) – and were very often in the form of protests against perceived injustices or the flouting of values. For example, in a discussion in Seville about the Syrian migrant crisis, Julio (M/13) urged that ‘the European Union … should help the immigrants *and* the people in the European community.’ Several others agreed with him: for example, Santi (M/13), quoted above, who spoke of seeing the Calais mayor ‘on TV this morning’ – the 29 September 2015.

This characteristic of contingency can be seen in the way that the refugee movements in 2015 came to dominate discussions from mid-2015. Analysis of the occasions when refugees were brought into discussions (always unprompted) closely matches the numbers of migrants across the 2010 to 2016 period, as shown in Figure B9.

Some **historical** references were to cultural values. For example, Fanni (F/17) in Jyväskylä referred to ‘the qualities of Finns – we’re stuck with something that was given to us two hundred years ago! Like “We’re brave,” and “we’re really honest,” “we do everything from the beginning to the end, properly” – and I don’t think it really *is* that way anymore’. Domka (F/16), in the Czech city of Ostrava, referred to European culture: ‘the oldest universities at Oxford and others are in Europe. Where was opera created? In Europe. All the basic things were created or originated in Europe.’ Viviana (F/16), in Timişoara, referred back to both such romanticised historicism – ‘it’s in our blood, and our ancestors were good people … The soul of these people is very beautiful’ – and to family history, describing her grandparents’ accounts of the communist period: ‘most of the people that

[27] Ammert, N, Edling S, Löfström J and Sharp H (2022) Introduction*, Historical and Moral consciousness in Education*. London: Routledeg. p 1



Sources: Pew Research Group analysis of Eurostat data 2016; analysis of dataset of discussion groups for this study

lived under communism thought that it had its good sides – they were safe. But being safe, being warm, having a job, doesn't replace freedom – because they were lied to.' Such references to former regimes were not uncommon in the post-communist countries, such as Bulgaria: in Blaevograd, Anelia (F/18) said 'in the past, even though in the shops there wasn't such a big variety to buy things, still people had enough money and almost everyone had a job', and Maschinka (F/17) agreed: 'my granddad was telling me about how easy it was to go and find a job – there were times when you had the money, but you can't go and buy bread, and now we have supermarkets full of food but you don't have the money to pay for it.'

About half references to the future were about personal aspirations and ambitions, largely related to freedom of movement, whether for work or study. For example, Flora (F/16) in Budapest said 'I like travelling, and I want to see the world', and in Zadar, Aleksandra (F/15) – anticipating Croatia joining the EU in nine months' time – said 'of course we will have more options to go to other countries, maybe to study, to get work'. On the other hand, others were advocating political or social changes they would like to see: Margaréta (F/15) in Budapest said she and her friends 'all want to do something for the country, to do something better. One or two of us don't want to work in Hungary, but we want to do something for the world to be better – we have ambitions.' Similarly, in Sofia, Vladimära (F/16) said 'we are the future of the country, and we should make a difference', and Adriana (F/12) in Madrid said 'there is corruption [here] … it's typical of Spain – if we could change it, it would be a much better country.' In København, Frands (M/12) speculated in October 2014[28] that Russian membership of the EU 'would be a good thing because they could be on a shorter leash – right now they basically do whatever they want.'

[28] Russia had annexed Crimea in February 2014, and shortly later declared Luhansk and Donetsk as independent states,

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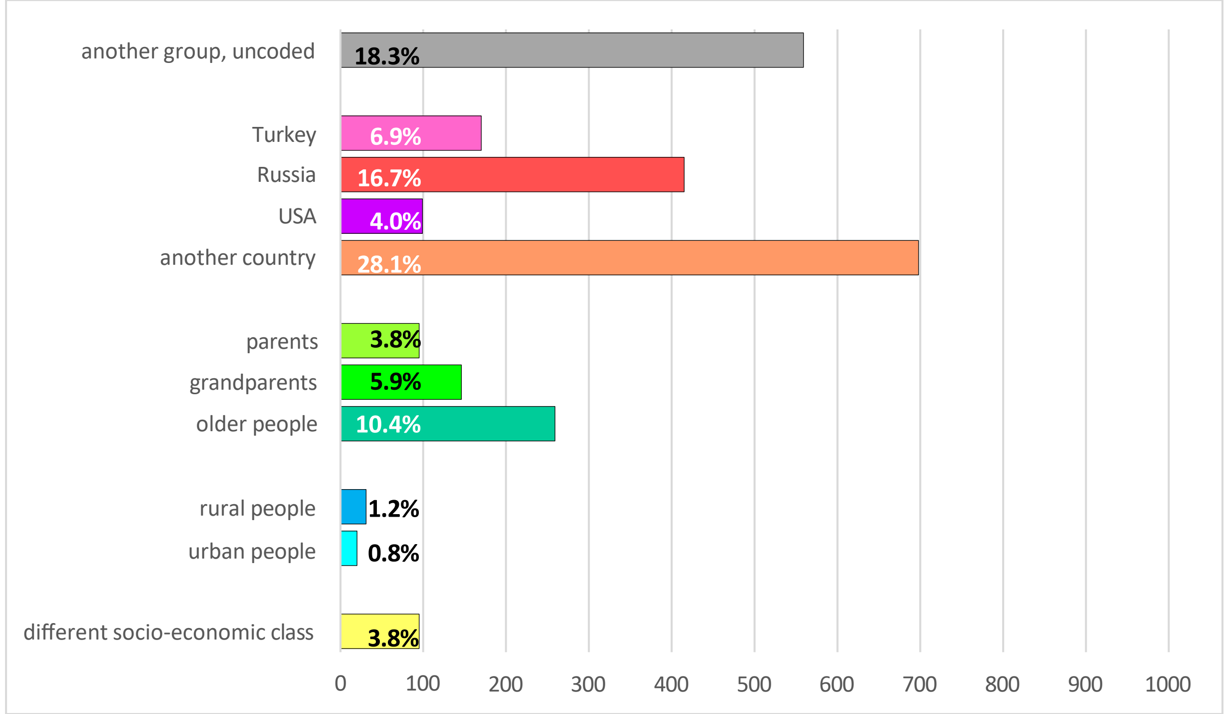
Othering

The third characteristic of issues or events that were employed to illustrate these values was the othering of different groups: using a group or identity of those who did not agree with their own view of a particular value. This was only observed in 48% of cases where values were mentioned. Figure B10 shows how these were contextualised in relation to another, oppositional, group. Figure shows that 56% of these referred to another country, and 20% to an older age group, and about 4% to either a different socio-economic group or 2% to a different settlement environment. Just over 18% fell outside these categories, and are shown as uncoded.

The significance of whom is 'othered' is that it varies according to the particular value concerned. For example, expressions about democracy sometimes 'othered' Russia as a non-democratic/dictatorial contrast; expressions about racism sometimes 'othered' older people as more likely to be racist.

This dimension showed particular distributions and characteristics on a **country** basis. For example, references to **Russia** in the Baltic states (in 2010) were either of fear of Russian incursions (by the non-Russian population) or of cultural affinity, often with some apprehension of Russian political behaviour (by the Russian-origin population). The date is significant: the Russian occupation of parts of Georgia in 2006 was sometimes cited. In the Visegrád states (2010 - 11) fear of invasion was not an element, but parents and grandparents' recollections of Soviet incursions and domination were

Figure B10: Groups that were 'othered' in defining a value (omits where none was mentioned)



cited. In south-eastern Europe (Bulgaria and Romania), such recollections, often cited, were not linked to Russia, but to the local communist regimes. And in western Europe, the western Balkans, and Southern Europe Russia was either described as dictatorial, repressive and aggressive (as when

Rufino (M/16) in Lisbon said 'Russia is a dictatorship, and most European countries (sic) are democracies') or with indifference. There were many references to what was perceived as Russians' wealth and high standard of living (yet all countries in the study had a significantly higher GDP that Russia at the time). Most references to the **United States** were critical: of capital punishment (Katrín (F/17) in Iceland: 'I like [that] in Europe the death sentence isn't allowed – I don't like that about America'); of the lack of social security (Aat (M/16) in Amsterdam: 'in America, everything's about money. Here you always have some sort of income from the state – you won't be alone in your struggles'); and to gun ownership and the Black Lives Matter campaign (Rose F/16) in Luxembourg: 'it seems normal that everyone in America has a gun, and that they have the right to shoot.').

References to **parents**, and more often **grandparents** and **older people** in general, were often critical of their racial prejudices. In København, Alvilda (F/18) said 'the most racist jokes I hear are from my parents and my parents' friends, and they don't even realise that they are being racist, most of the time'. And in Bergen, Norway Øystein (M/16) recounted how 'at the weekend I saw this old woman at the bus station – this little kid, who was Afro-American had this balloon, and he popped it – a huge noise. The old woman reacted, said horrible things about the little kid, told him to go back to Africa'. Excuses might be offered, such as Cristóvão (M/14) in Lisboa: 'some of our grandparents are racist, because of the colonies of Angola – there was a lot of racism in Angola with the Portuguese.' But there was also optimism, as when Tana (F/16), Syrian-origin, Madrid-born and working with Syrian refugees in 2015: 'a lot of associations of teenagers really work to change the situation in Spain. The close-minded people, you can find them in previous generations, not in this generation.' And many minority ethnic young people reported experiences of racism from older people: Kaia (F/16) (Somali origin, Helsinki born) described abuse from older people: they 'look at you and think "Oh, she's from Somalia" … there's a lot of *ennakkoluulo'* [prejudice/ preconceptions].

There was also othering of rural, and urban dwellers. In Amsterdam, Kawthar (F/16, locally born of African origin) contrasted attitudes towards Muslims: 'people in the city like us, we go to school with Muslims … so we're friends with them – but people in little villages, who don't see or come into contact with Muslims get stereotypical images … instead of getting along with individual people who are Muslim.' Her colleague, Renaat (M/15) qualified this: 'but not all villagers hate Muslim people – [and] here in the big city there are people who don't like Muslims – we should be careful with generalisations.' In Swiss Vevy (a small town close to the city of Lausane), Violette (F/17) spoke of the 'division of opinion between different parts of our country ... in the more central part they are more conservative ... and ... have more radical ideas about strangers. I ...don't want to put people in boxes, but ... in Central and up in the Appenzell!' Similarly in Malmö, Christel (F/11) described 'villages in Sweden where it's very conservative – you're not allowed to be homosexual, we don't like immigrants – mostly very small villages where people know each other very well. In cities like Stockholm and Malmö it's easier to be open-minded.' In the rural Belgian village of Tielt, Madelief (F/16) contrasted local peoples' views with Brussels: 'we feel like that, because we are here in the countryside – [in] bigger cities, like Brussels, they have much bigger problems there with people who are homeless, or things like that … we don't have the problem that much – we don't need to think of a solution for it, we don't see the problem.'

Implications for pedagogy

This section has given an overview of the broad pattern of values across the European countries that have been analysed, and to indicate the significant variables we have noted. Young people, in small group discussions about their sense of identity, frequently made references – largely indirectly – to the values that they held, that they felt shaped their identity. Many did so with examples to illustrate their meaning, and many of these were subtle and had shades of meaning, were context specific. There were sometimes contradictions in their statements, that were often context-dependent: sometimes a value was positive in one context, negative in another. The actual examples that were used in these discussions are not significant: they are necessarily bound up in the moment, sometimes literally of the day of the discussion. Any similar conversation will have different concerns, and cannot be predicted more than a few days in advance. What matters, in terms of educational policy and planning, is not the precise and literal focus on events and issues, but the way in which the concern with values can, at any time or period, be focussed on the fundamental values that underpin democratic society.

But there were patterns.

Their talk, their examples, were very much rooted in the present – *their* present, at the time of the conversation. This is crucial: the experiences they could draw on were very much from the recent past – very occasionally stretching back ten years or so with older ones, much less with younger people. The essential point, however, is that they were able to substantiate their grasp of the meaning of these values from their own experience. People who are older than these young people – even just ten years older – need to recognise this effect – they may have a limited historical range of direct experiences, but they can and do effectively utilise this in making sense of critically important values, and teachers and lecturers need to take account of this when they discuss issues of values and ethics with young people. (The thought experiment described on page 4 might be useful.)

Moreover, these young people were making considerable use of both their direct experiences, and those they had gathered through various media. Their media sources were diverse – in their view, significantly more diverse than older people. They were born in a context of intensive digital technology development, right after the internet had dramatically expanded in the late 1990s. When the oldest of these young people were born (January 1992), there were a mere 700,000 internet hosts in the world: when the youngest were born (December 2004) there were 285 million hosts, and by the date of the first discussions analysed here there were 730 thousand millions. The young people recognised the significance of this, and that they made much greater use of social media than older people – and claimed to be considerably more adept in its use, and critical of its content.

We have already drawn attention to the 'immature' and 'impressionable' depiction of young people as immature (page 18). This age has been recently identified as significant: *The Values and Identities Policymaker's Guide,* a European Union publication, notes that 'values are formed early in life and remain relatively stable thereafter' (2021, p 83)[29]. However, this the sole reference to young people or education in the entire document. But there are insistent contemporary accounts of how young

[29] Scharfbillig, M., Smillie, L., Mair, D., Sienkiewicz, M., Keimer, J., Pinho Dos Santos, R., Vinagreiro Alves, H., Vecchione, E. and Scheunemann, L., *Values and Identities – a policymaker's guide*, EUR 30800 EN, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, 2021.

Europeans are involved in confronting inequalities[30] for example, or are aware of and sensitive to diversity issues. [31]

What they discussed was narrow in its time frame, but very wide in its cosmopolitan diversity. The geographical range of examples, as described above, was from the local streets to far parts of the world, almost in contrast to their limited historical range over the recent past. Both these factors need to be recognised – and need to be accepted by adults who wish to support young people develop their values. There was an awareness and interest in what was happening in other countries – particularly in Europe, but also in other parts of the world: an internationalism that needs to be nurtured. The sense of immediacy in their focus is an indication of their sense of urgency, a focus on values in the here-and-now, not a limitation. Their sense of practices across the world allows them to see differences, to make 'othering' comparisons of behaviour, that they can use to refine – and if necessary, modify or qualify – their convictions and values.

Understanding and using all these characteristics of how young people deliberate on values can help educators in planning and framing the ways in which they can be supported, in ways that recognise and value their concerns and their agency[32] in a manner that is respectful of their concerns.

What we now turn to is a systematic exploration of each of the core European values that are our focus. The characteristics of each of this are subtly different, and some people may need slightly different strategies to maximally develop a fruitful discussion to expand their understanding of them.

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[30] Bruselius–Jensen, M, Pitti, I and Tisdall, K. (*2022 Young People's Participation: Revisiting youth and inequalities in Europe*. Bristol: Bristol Univesity Policy Press

[31] Brownlee, J, Bourke, T. et al (2022) How epistemic reflexivity enables teacher educators' teaching *for* diversity: Exploring a pedagogic framework for critical thinking. *British Educational Research Journal*, 48 (684–703.

[32] Papadopoulou, M. and Sidorenko, E. (2022) Whose 'voice' is it anyway? The paradoxes of the participatory narrative. *British Educational Research Journal*, 58 (2) 354–370

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C The European Values in Depth

This section analyses each of the three Meta-values and the thirteen individual values.

Each Meta-value is introduced, followed by the individual values that are grouped in that Meta-value. In each case, there is firstly a brief discussion of the Meta-value or value itself. This is followed by a detailed analysis of how each value was discussed by young people in the survey data: a statistical review of the analysis, presented largely graphically, and illustrated qualitatively with a range of quotations. This is then followed by a discussion of the implications of this for pedagogic practice for the particular value.

The **Structural Values** are examined first – Democracy (SV1) and the Rule of Law (SV2). These underpin the following values, providing the structural mechanisms that ensures all other values can be delivered and maintained.

This is followed by the **Core Values** – we analysed eight of these, and found that three were mentioned so infrequently (the reasons for this are discussed) that we amalgamated them, and we added 'human rights in general' to cover the relatively few instances of unspecific mentions of human rights. We thus have seven categories, of which the first five are numerically the most significant from our data. The three combined rights are equally important as the others, so they are discussed, but with less information about young people's responses to them. Our Fundamental Core Value sections are thus: Tolerance of Diversity (CV1); Respect for other Cultures (CV2); Respect for Life (CV3): the Safety of Others (CV4); Inclusion in Society (CV5); the combined values of the Prohibition of Capital Punishment, the prohibition of cruel and unusual Punishments and Freedom from persecution (CV6); and Human Rights as a general category (CV7).

Finally, we consider the **Process Values**, which provide the mechanisms by which the values are delivered: Freedoms, divided into Freedom of Movement (PV1) and Fundamental Freedoms (PV2); Equalities (PV3); and Solidarity (or Fraternity) (PV4)– the tripartite motto or hendiatris of France and the Republic of Haiti: *Liberté*, *égalité*, *fraternité.*

These values are raised and discussed in a specific and particular order: read in sequence they provide a narrative of how and why each of these values relates to each other. There's an active interaction between the individual and the community, and a series of necessary and important tensions between – for example – the Rule of Law and Equalities, between individual Rights and the community values of Solidarity. These stresses and pressures are an essential element of values: these are dynamic, developing, continually in transition, contested – and can therefore never be learned 'by heart'. This is why discussion about them needs to be deliberative, where conflicting points of view are articulated: only through this can we all – young people and educators alike – come to realise these fragile, essential and dynamic values as being in a state of continuous evolution.

C: SV Analysis of the Core Structural Values

The nature of the political and legal foundations of values in the European context

Our analysis of European Values begins with the underlying core structural values, which support and underpin all the other values. The twin foundations that make all other values possible are Democracy and the Rule of Law, and this first section examines these, first generally, and then each in more depth. These two values are found in the core founding documents of both the Council of European (CoE) and the European Union (EU).

The Core Structural Values considered in this section are the two pink/brown shaded items:

- Democracy
- The Rule of Law

This table shows the origins of each of the values in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (lefthand column) and the CoE Convention for the Protection of Human Rights (righthand column).

Charter *Chap/ Article*		**of Fundamental Rights of the European Union**	**in this report, described as –**		**European Conv'n for protection Human Rights (CoE)**[1]
5 Citizens' rights	39	**Right to vote and to stand as a candidate in European Parliament**	**Democracy**		
	40	**Right to vote and to stand as a candidate at municipal elections**			P[2] 1, 3 the right to free elections
	41	**Right to good administration** (consultation, access to personal information, etc.)			
	42	**Right of access to documents**			
	43	Right to access European Ombudsman about maladministration in EU institutions			
	44	**Right to petition** the EU Parliament and your national parliament			
	46	**Diplomatic and consular protection**			
6 Justice	47	**Right to an effective remedy, a fair trial, and legal aid if necessary**	**Rule of Law**		6 fair trial
	48	**Presumption of innocence and right of defence**			6 presumption of innocence
	49	**legality and proportionality of criminal offences**			7 no punishment without law
	50	**Right not to be tried or punished twice for the same criminal offence**			P7, 4 no double trials or punishment

1 Numbered items refer to the article numbers in the initial 1950 Convention (Rome, 1950)

2 'P' items – the P refers to particular protocol to the convention, second number to the article in that protocol: Protocols 1 (Paris, 1952), 4 (Strasbourg, 1953), 7 (Strasbourg, 1984), 12 (Rome, 2000), and 13 (Vilnius, 2002). Additional Protocol items not in the European Union Charter are P7, 3 compensation for wrongful conviction; P12, 1 General prohibition of discrimination (repeated); and P13, 1 Prohibition of death penalty: all previous exceptions ended

The founding Statute of the Council of Europe (London, 5th May 1949), in its preamble, bases the need for the Council on the member states' 'moral values which are the common heritage of their

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peoples and the true source of individual freedom, political liberty and the rule of law, principles which form the basis of all genuine democracy'. Article 1 refers to 'realising the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress; and Article 3 requires that 'every member … must accept the principles of the rule of law and of the enjoyment by all persons within its jurisdiction of human rights and fundamental freedoms.' The European Court of Human Rights makes binding judgements on Council of Europe member States that are held to have broken the values and rights set out in the Charter.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the consequent political changes across central and eastern Europe, the CoE recognised that sustainable democracies could only be built in a constitutional framework based on the rule of law. They established the European Commission for Democracy through Law (known as 'The Venice Commission') as an advisory body of independent experts in the field of constitutional law to offer support and advice across the continent. Composed of senior academics in the fields of constitutional or international law, supreme or constitutional court judges and members of national parliaments, the Commission offers advice, assistance and opinions to individual countries on constitutional matters – particularly the Rule of Law – in order to improve functioning of democratic institutions and the protection of human rights. This is conceived of as a non-directive approach based on dialogue, providing opinions, discussing with national authorities and others, on democratic standards on the basis of common experience. In 2016 it set out benchmarks on the necessary conditions for the rule of law (which are summarised in section C: SV2 below, on pp 53-4).

The European Union equally supports these structural values that underpin equalities and rights. The Consolidating Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2016/C202/01) refers to the Union as being 'founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail' (Article 2).

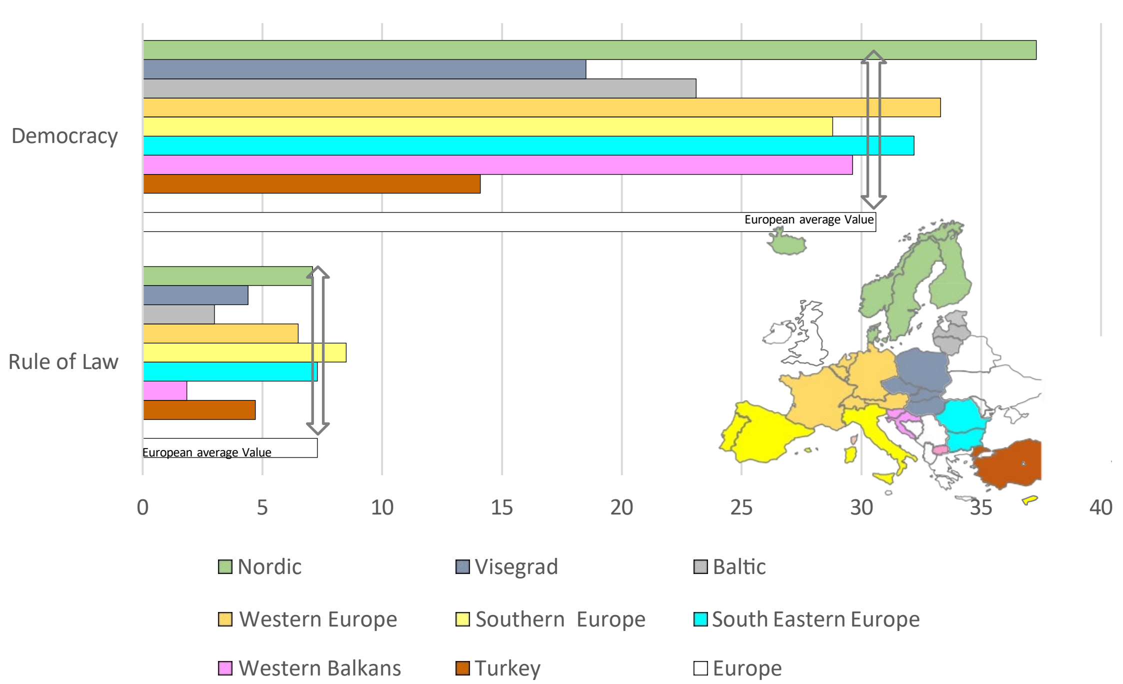
Young people's discussions of the structural values

There was a marked disparity between discussions on democracy and the rule of law. Democracy was frequently mentioned with reference to its importance in their constructions of identity, both with their own states and with Europe. But it was rarely talked about in depth, as were varieties in the type and extent of democracy. However, the consequences of the absence of democracy, particularly with reference to some non-European states, were clearly perceived as undesirable. The rule of law was referred to much less often, and with even less precision. While 'the laws' were seen as supposed to apply to all residents of a state, there was very little discussion of the need for laws to be made in a particular manner, or for the justice process to be independent. These variations will be analysed in greater depth in the following sections: but it must be noted at this early stage of analysis that understanding about the rule of law may need particular attention from educators and policy makers.

Where were these Structural Values mentioned most (by individuals in European Regions)

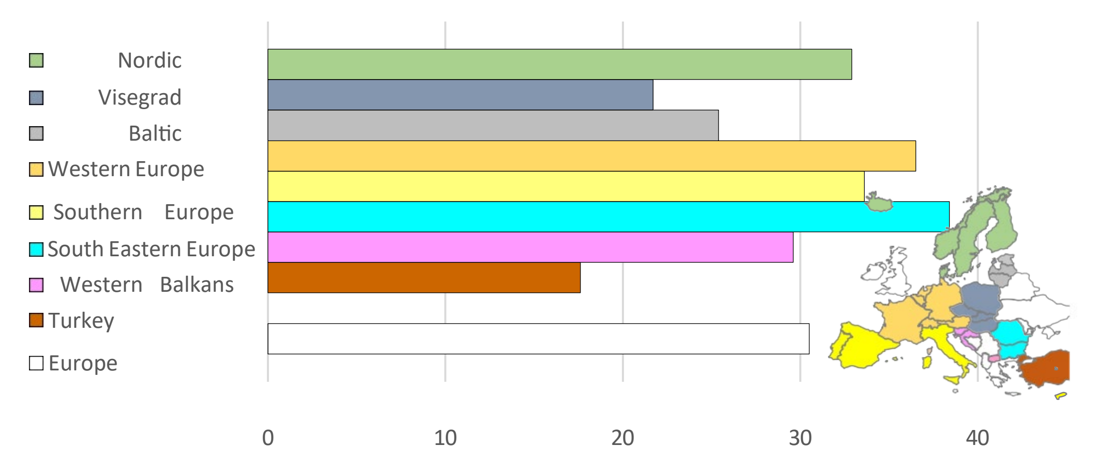
Figure CV:1 shows the disparity between the two values in different regions of Europe, and Figure CV:2 shows the aggregate values for the structural values combined. These figures are of the *percentage of individuals in each region* who mentioned (one or more times) the particular value, and are thus comparable.

Figure CV: 1 European Regions by different Structural Values



The white horizontal bar shows the average European figure for each value: it is immediately apparent that in every region of Europe, the rule of law is much less commonly referred to than democracy (the horizontal white bar in each case).

Figure CV: 2 European Regions: Structural Values



percentage in region mentioning each value

How were examples of structural values discussed, in terms of locations, time periods, and 'othering' groups of people

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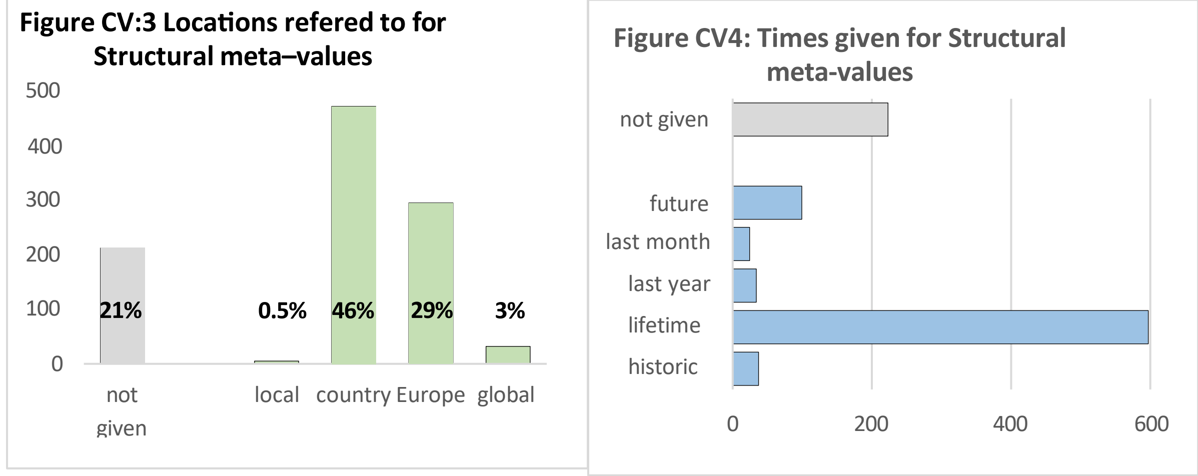
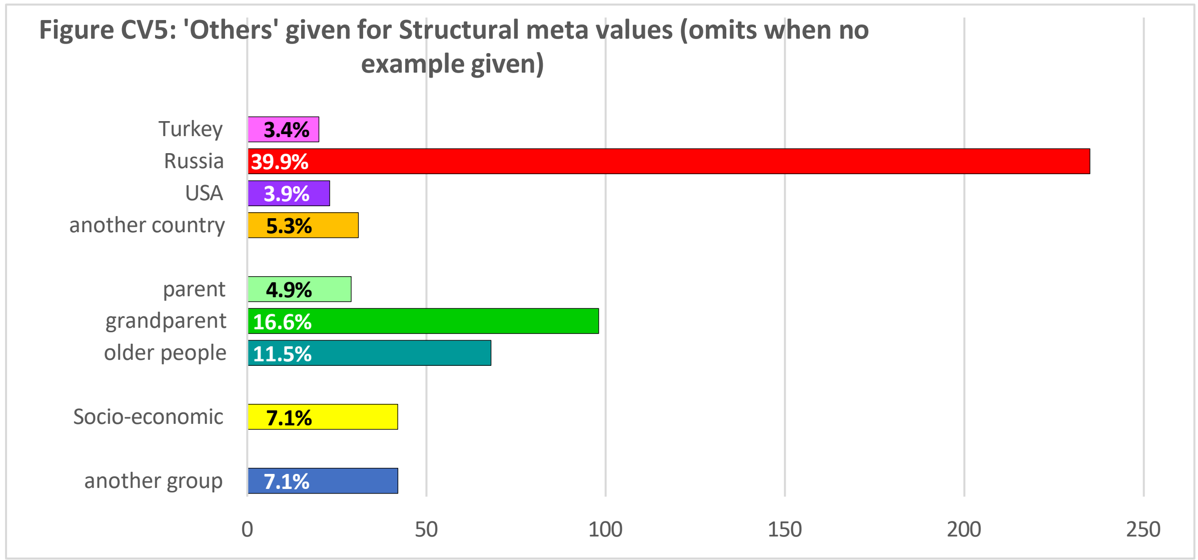
When young people raised or referred to these structural values, they were largely referring to events in either their own country or, less often, in Europe. They were also discussing relatively contemporaneous events (Figure CV:4).



There was also a tendency to refer to one of these meta-values by contrasting their country's or Europe's situation with 'others', who disrespected or did not follow that value. Prime among these was the Russian state, widely characterised as not be democratic (Figure CV:5). Only 58% of the 1,014 references to a structural value 'othered' another group: this Figure only shows the distribution of where a group was othered.



(No urban/rural groups identified)

The implications for pedagogic practice

Both of these values – and the relationship between them – need greater attention. The Rule of Law might require more systematic discussion, and there will be occasions when public events may occur that enable detailed discussions of malpractice, or dubious practice. Democracy also needs to be broadened as a discussion area, into more detailed exploration of different kinds of voting and electoral arrangements, for example. These will be discussed in more detail in the following two sections.

C SV1 Analysis of the Structural Values: Democracy

The nature of democracy in the European context

The term Democracy has been (and continues to be) used in a variety of ways. Literally 'government by the people', perhaps first described in the classical Athenian period (the Vajjika League, in the mid-Ganges plain, slightly preceded this), but there have been a wide variety of ways in which both the nature of 'government' and 'the people' have been defined, and most states in the world, and the European Union (Article 10 of the Treaty), would claim to be in some way 'democratic.' However, the form of democracy most commonly recognised in contemporary Europe is the concept of a liberal democracy, in which representatives are elected to enact laws (through a legislature) and exercise decision-making powers (through an executive responsible to the legislature), subject to the rule of law (though an independent judiciary), and in accordance with a constitution that protects individual and minority freedoms and rights, and limits the powers of the executive.

The Council of Europe's definition of democracy is set out in case law before the European Court of Human Rights. Essentially, democracy is seen as every individual citizen having the right and freedom to vote for whomever he or she wants, in elections that are fairly conducted, with news coverage and comment from a media that can report the truth without fear of persecution. It also means the absence of corruption and nepotism and the existence of strong constitutional checks and balances including the independence of the judiciary: the Rule of Law (see SV2 below) is seen as an inherent and necessary adjunct to democracy. Representative democracy is thus different from direct democracy: individuals elect members of a parliament to make decisions on their behalf. Such systems operate through political parties, which an individual may vote for, become a member of, or seek to stand for election – the classic attributes of 'the Civic Culture' described by Almond and Verba (1963)[33].

Elections need to be conducted openly and fairly, with a secret ballot, in a system that is transparent and designed to achieve as good a representation as possible. Election campaigns need to be funded in an open way, and should be reported on freely, and commented on in the media. Elected politicians need to behave with integrity, be accountable to the electorate, be honest and open in their dealings, not use their position to serve their own interests, act with objectivity and demonstrate leadership. Liberal democracies usually allow every citizen (over a specified age) to vote in national elections, and sometimes all residents (citizens or not) to vote in local elections.

The characteristics of a representative democracy are that powers of government are divided between an **executive** body that is responsible to a **legislative** or **parliamentary** body, that laws are framed in a particular process, and applied by a separate and independent **judiciary**, that operates to uphold the rule of law according to a written constitution (occasionally unwritten, but with a longstanding understanding of the constitutional processes). These three branches of a democracy provide a system of checks and balances between each other. Representative democracies may be

[33] Almond, G. and Verba, S. (1963) *The Civic Culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

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presidential (with an elected head of state) or a constitutional monarchy (with a hereditary, but non-executive, head of state).

Constitutions define the characteristics of a democracy, setting out fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens, limit the exercise of the various powers and agencies of government, and require government agencies to operate only within written and public laws, operating within defined procedures. Democracy, in this liberal and constitutional form, thus constitutes an important structural value in terms of providing a validating structure to agree on the delivery of the values of fundamental human rights, and the processual freedoms, rights and solidarity that support these.

Many democracies further divide political power by devolving certain areas of government to regional and/or local assemblies, that exercise their powers – following the same principles as national powers – in defined areas, with the same elective and representative principles.

The European Union is a particular supranational form of democracy with qualified majority voting. (In some spheres it operates by inter-governmental agreement, but all member states have governments that are democratically accountable.) Members of the European Parliament (the legislative branch) are directly elected by citizens of the member states. Members of the Council of the European Union (the Council of Ministers, the executive branch) is made up of the heads of government of each member state, themselves elected by their respective citizens. 'Qualified voting' in the Council of Ministers gives greater weight to members with larger populations, but smaller states nevertheless have a voting share greater than their numerical weight. The European Court (not to be confused with Court of Human Rights) has one member nominated by each member state.

Young people's discussions of democracy

Democracy was the second-most frequently mentioned value by the young people in their various deliberative discussions. It was mentioned by 28% of the participants, second only to mentions of various forms of solidarity (mentioned by 41%). This is very similar to the responses of 15 - 20 year old's in a Eurobarometer survey in 2013, when *respondents were presented with a list of twelve values* and asked to identify 'the three most important values for you personally', when 24% selected democracy (when given the same list, and asked which best represented the EU, 43% gave democracy).[34] The responses analysed here, however, represent occasions when 'democracy' was raised *unprompted*.

The number of mentions were overwhelmingly positive about the value – 97.7% positive, 2.1% neutral/ambivalent, and just 0.3% negative. But this does not mean that their observations about the way they saw democracy being practiced were uncritical: 84% of responses were in some way critical of how they saw democracy in action (nearly 44% were critical of democracy in states other than their own; nearly 30% critical of older people's democratic practices: this is discussed in more detail below).

[34] *Eurobarometer 79.3*, QD 9 &19, GESIS Datenarchiv ZA5689, Köln; in Ross 2019, p 53.

Figure CSV1: 1 Postive/negative responses to Process Values

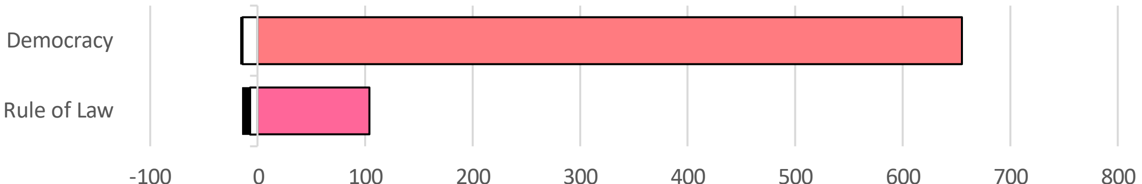
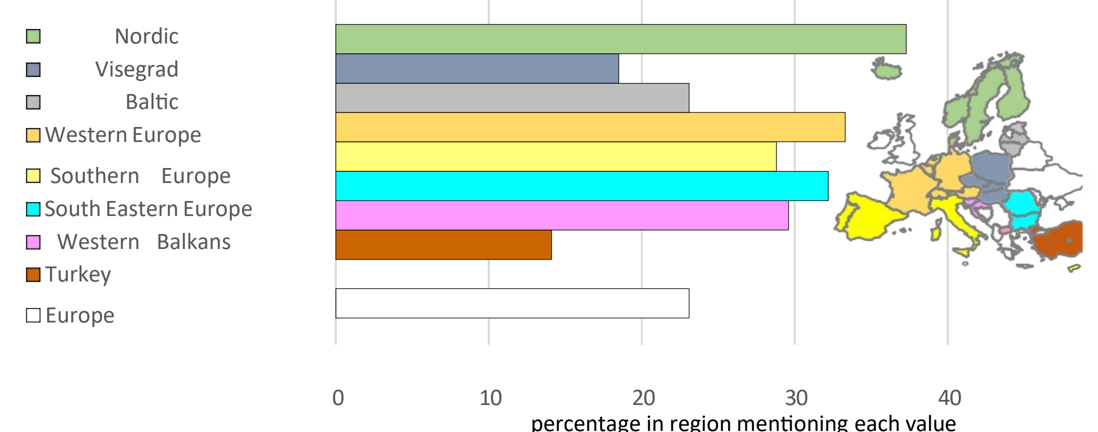


Figure CSV1: 2 Individuals mentioning Democracy, by European region



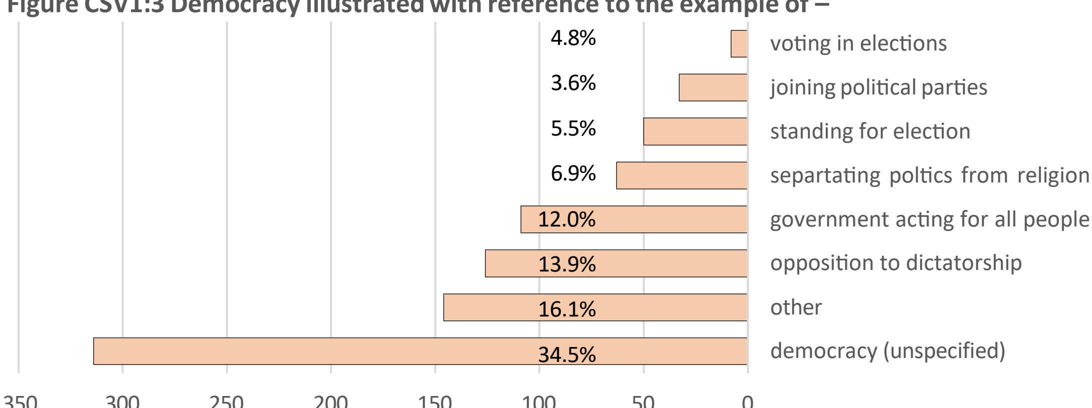
The response rate was also uneven across the various regions of Europe, and there were variations that are possibly important, as shown in Figure C SV1:2.

It was particularly frequently mentioned in south eastern Europe, western Europe, Nordic Europe and southern Europe; and particularly infrequently mentioned in Turkey, and somewhat less often in Baltic and Visegrád Europe. The reasons why democracy was mentioned in each of the different regions varied: in south-eastern Europe and southern Europe there were many references to political corruption, and sometimes to earlier undemocratic regimes. The later was also a feature in the Baltic and Visegrád states, coupled with criticism of anti-democratic behaviour in Russia. Nordic European references were often to the provision of welfare rights. These regional variations are discussed further in Section D (p 140).

What examples did they chose to illustrate Democracy?

Democracy was mentioned in a variety of contexts and with particular examples. About a third simply referred to democracy in general, not specifying any particular aspect. Figure C SV1:3 shows the different aspects of democracy that were cited: this shows the 65.5% of responses that gave a specific example. Percentages are those of all those who mentioned democracy.

Figure CSV1:3 Democracy illustrated with reference to the example of –



Voting was often referred to in connection with elections that had happened in the preceding days and weeks, particularly in Sweden and in Austria. In Sweden (where all the young people were too young to vote), there was nevertheless some keen interest in the results, and concerns expressed about the rise of the right wing nationalist *Sverigedemokraterna* (Sweden Democrats): in Malmö Anders (M/14) said 'many of the teenagers now will vote in the next election, many think the Sweden Democrats will get even more votes', and Jens (M/14) saw it as 'a big, big problem for Sweden right now … this party had a surprising number of the votes.' In Austria, where young people can vote from the age of 16, several in Wien discussed the previous day's local and regional elections: Kariola (F/16) explained 'I could vote this year for the first time, but many of my friends could vote last year, and they didn't – and I think this is bad … if you vote, and all the others vote, together you can make a change. So now I can vote, I will do this.' There was an interest in voting as a way of changing events: for example, in Lithuania Uldis (M/17) said 'we are the next generation – we are responsible for our future' , or even of standing for election in the future, as Lenje (F/16) in Groningen in the Netherlands said 'If I want to change things, I'll have to go into politics' – but she qualified this with a sense of hesitancy, of not yet being ready: 'I don't think we can do a lot, because we don't yet have the right to do it – we're still too young'.

In many countries there was not just discontent about the behaviour of current politicians, but a desire for change. There were also expressions of discontent with politicians who were thought to be acting too much in their own interests. Though these comments were particularly common in Bulgaria, Italy, Spain, North Macedonia and Romania, they were also heard in other states. In Cordoba, in Spain, Trinidad (F/14) claimed 'the politicians stole the money from Spain [so] – change the politicians!', while Fadrique (M/17) added that 'we have the liberty to express what we think, but politicians are worse … only thinking for themselves, to become richer and richer.' It was rather similar in Italy: in Bologna Adalinda (F/14) wanted politicians to 'think more about the country – it's OK if they become rich, but not as much as they do, forgetting completely the country', while in Frascati Vasco (M/16) complained that corrupt politicians set everyone a bad example: 'If our President doesn't pay taxes, how we can we pay them? If he doesn't respect the law?'

But complaints about the behaviour of politicians was widespread. In Rezekne (Latvia), Mikhail (M/11) complained 'our president, and many relatives, went to the Olympic games, spending *our* money. We could have invested this in our industry, but they spent it on their families'; in Odense (Denmark) Caecille (F/18) said 'politicians [only] think about money; and in Faro (Portugal) Antónia (F/15) also thought that they were not representative: 'I wonder why the politicians are all men and not women – it's the men who are in politics and they steal – our last Prime Minister is in prison', while in Lisboa Carme (F/13) said 'the politicians are rich, and we are getting poorer … because the

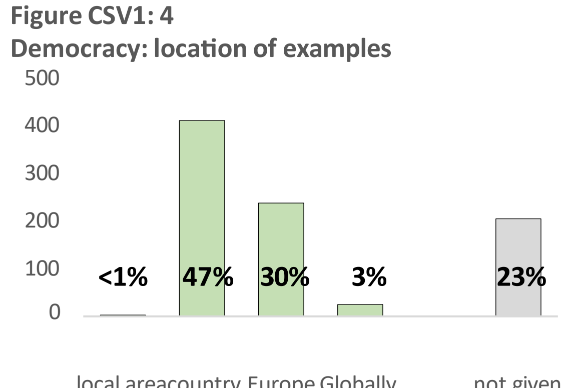
politicians can travel anywhere because they have our money.’ ‘The politicians just fight for themselves’ said Leonor, also in Lisboa.

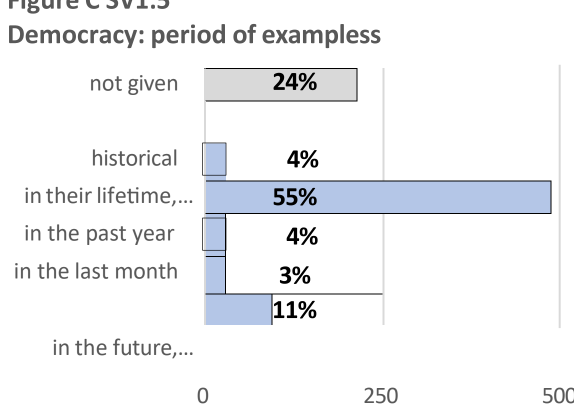
There was also some knowledge about different electoral systems. Mattis (M/14) in Malmö thought ‘the Swedish political system … it’s better than the British and American systems … we have proportional representation so that everyone, even though they haven’t a majority, can still make a difference, and I like that’.

There was also some understanding of extra-parliamentary politics. In Wien, Cordula (F/16) had proudly voted the previous day in regional elections, but also thought ‘you can make much more change than [you can] through voting if you go on the street and demonstrate. I do this – the next one’s on Friday, and it’s the right-wing party’s ball in Vienna, the *Akademikerball*’ [a European far-right elite social occasion]. And in Budapest (Hungary), Margaréta (F/16) said she thought that ‘demonstrations are OK if they are safe, and they don’t hurt anyone, but I don’t think that we need to show our opinion in this way. But it’s great that someone shows their opinion, and it’s a step forwards.’

Where were these examples located? To what period of time did they refer?

Nearly all these examples were located either in the country in which the discussion was held, or within Europe. There were very few local or more global references (Figure CSV1:4). They were also very much related to the recent period, within the previous few years, or, to a lesser extent, to the future (Figure CSV1:5).





Note: ‘lifetime’ will include some in previous year/mth

There were a few historical examples: for example, Florio (M/14) in Seville referred to the Franco dictatorship: ‘after the Civil War we had a dictatorship – and that was bad for Spain, and when Franco died the country began to be better’.

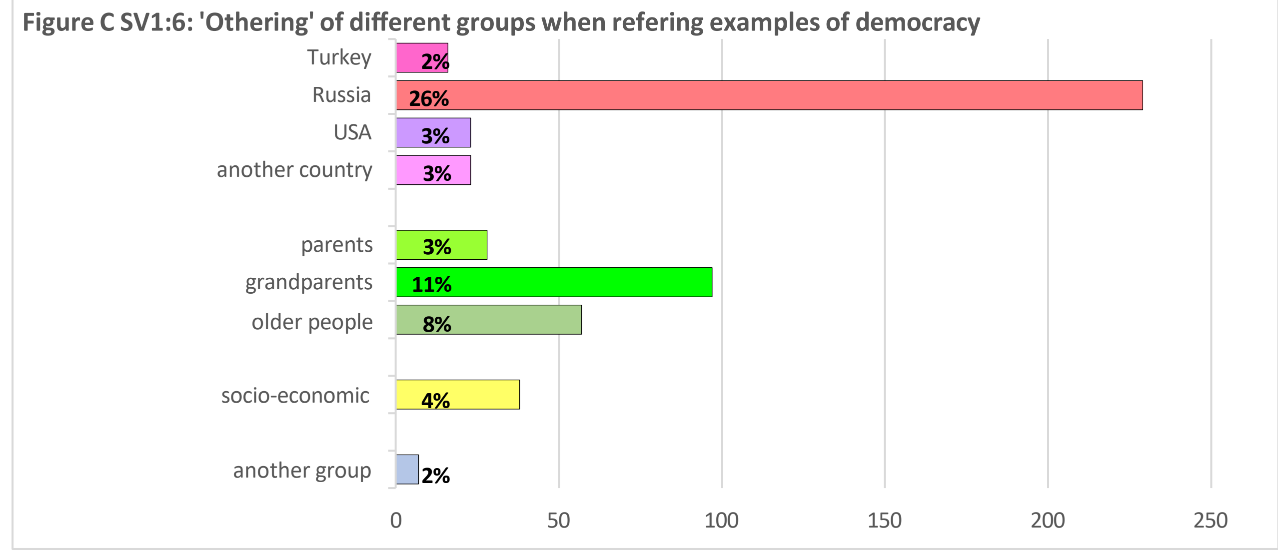
The majority of references were to contemporary events, sometimes very recent, as when in Wien Elly (F/16) said ‘my first vote was yesterday, and I really informed myself about everything that’s going on in my village’, followed by Cordula (F/19): ‘I also voted yesterday [in a village outside the city] – when you live in a village it’s important to vote – there may be just 300 people, and if you’re one of them your vote has more weight.’

In many countries there was not just discontent about the current behaviour of politicians, but a desire for change: In Italy, Jeanne (F/16) in Bologna thought 'we should vote differently and choose different politicians, to change the whole situation in Italy to be better'. Sometimes this desire to achieve change was seen in generational terms: Waltraute (F/16) in Wien said 'I think you should form your own opinion, and not copy your parents. And I think that parents should support you to form your own opinion'. Adolwia (M/13) in Liz, Austria, thought similarly: 'we haven't voted yet, but we have ideas, we know already and have chosen the parties we will vote for'. There were also more general aspirations for the future of democracy in Europe: for example, Hans (N/18) in Dortmund said he was 'really looking forward for a liberal Europe with good and stable opinions, because I think Europe is the future of this continent to living in peace and without war'.

'Othering' and democracy

The degree and focus of 'othering' non-democratic practice was notable. Other countries were referred to as not being democratic, and there were sometimes critical comments about the political behaviour of older people. Figure CSV1:6 shows these tendencies.

Note that only 61% of the references to democracy identified an 'other' group, and that this figure shows the distribution of only the cases where this occurred. Most of the ways in which this was to contrast liberal democracy (usually in Europe) with other non-democratic states, commonly Russia,



though a few young people of non-European descent, and some knowledge of their parents' country of origin, did also make critical remarks – for example in Roubaix in France, Ladislas (M/17; Kinshasa born) pointed out that 'in Congo they have precious stones and so on, but government politicians have a lot of money, but people in the country have nothing at all'. But it was Russia that was most commonly depicted as despotic. Discussing the hypothetical possibility of Russia eventually applying to join the EU, Loes (F/17) in Brussels said 'I think Putin is not democratic at all ... if we let him have more power in the European Union, then that's the end'. Adrienne (F/15) in French Lille, thought 'Russia cannot join the European Union, because the politics is too much a tyranny. There is very little liberty of expression in the press, or in politics ... For me, it's not democracy, because not everybody can vote or can express their opinions. It seems to me that to get into the European Union you have to be a democracy'. Clémentine (F/18), in Vevey (Switzerland), said 'Vladimir Putin is ... a dictator – if he goes to a meeting, he goes to show himself, not to find a solution', while Josian

(F/16) in Enschede, the Netherlands, said 'we discuss things, and Putin just does what he wants'. Frede (M/15) in Slagelse, Denmark said of Russia 'they've done a lot of things that other European countries don't do – like going into the Ukraine right now – and they have a lot of rules that are not good, that a lot of other countries don't have, a dictator and all that': he was speaking in October 2015, and referring here to the 2014 seizure of the eastern Donbas early in the previous year.

Russia was not the only country singled out in this way. Turkey was also othered. Marie-Pierre, in Ath (Belgium) though 'Turkey isn't really a democracy, because there is fighting in the country, and they don't respect our values'. In Turku in Finland, Aija (F/16) contrasted 'the human rights situation in Belarus is horrible; you don't have freedom of speech, you don't have freedom of expressing yourselves. That's what the European Union is about. In every country you are basically free, and can do whatever you want within the law – but the Belarusian situation – for example, how they are against gay people'.

But there were other 'othering' references to democracy and dictatorship, sometimes historical, as in Spain. Florio in Seville was cited earlier; others included Augustina (F/18) in Cordoba, who spoke of 'the old times [when] there was a dictator, and he told you what you had to do, and what you had to say – and if you didn't think that way, "I'll go to your house and kill you". Now we are more free – not exactly free, because we are controlled by the Government – and we can feel like we want, be like we want to be, not like other people want us to be'. Her colleague, Cándida (F/17) added 'now we haven't censored information. The people are open and see things in another way – see things differently'.

There is independently a wealth of research literature of young people's understanding of democracy. Studies draw attention to the new forms of participation that many young people in Europe appear to be seeking (and linking this to disinvestment in citizenship education[35]); or global studies young people's perceptions of democratic performance[36] (and see the reference on page 31 to Helwig's Canadian study). In parallel are policy papers from groups such as Chatham House that gather young people's view on 'democratic backsliding'[37], or the CoE/EU handbook on educational strategies to provide resilience against anti-democratic tendencies[38].

The implications for pedagogic practice

From the evidence

Democracy, as noted earlier, can have a very wide range of meanings, and it seems clear that while many young people are aware of the basic elements of elections, political parties, and the need for standards in political life, there are often gaps in understanding the varieties of political practices that democracy can include. There may be limited occasions when these are matters of public discussion, when they might be likely subjects for class or group discussion.

[35] Menezes I and Ribeiro, A (2022) Youth participation and citizenship education: an analysis of relations in four European countries. *Journal of Social Science Education* 21 (1) 4–32.

[36] Foa, R, Klassen, A et al (2020) *Youth and satisfaction with democracy. Report of the Centre for the Future of Democracy.* Cambridge: Bennett Institute for Public Policy

[37] Common Futures Conversations (2021) *How Young People can prevent democratic backsliding*. 13 July: https://www.chathamhouse.org/2021/07/how–young–people–can–prevent–democratic–backsliding

[38] Pausch. M, Hladschik, Nagem, R. and Pazderski (2021) *Resilience against anti–democratic tendencies through education: Handbook for youth and social workers*. Council for Europe/Salzburg Institute of Public Affairs

Other strategies

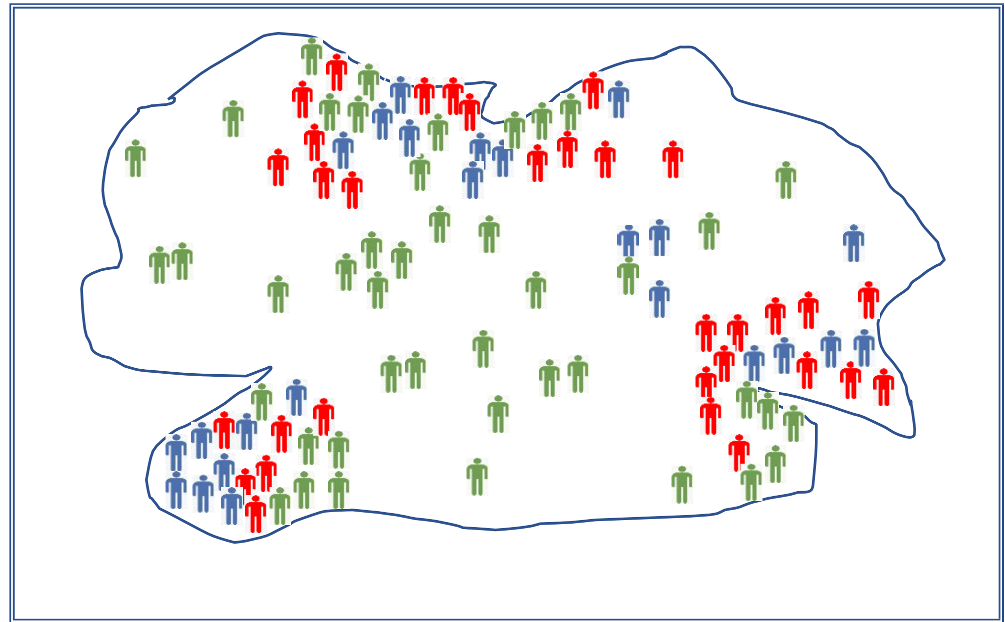
It would be possible to engage in activities and simulations that could provoke discussion what were 'fair' practices in the management of democratic processes.

For example, in terms of elections, the different kinds of electoral practices with

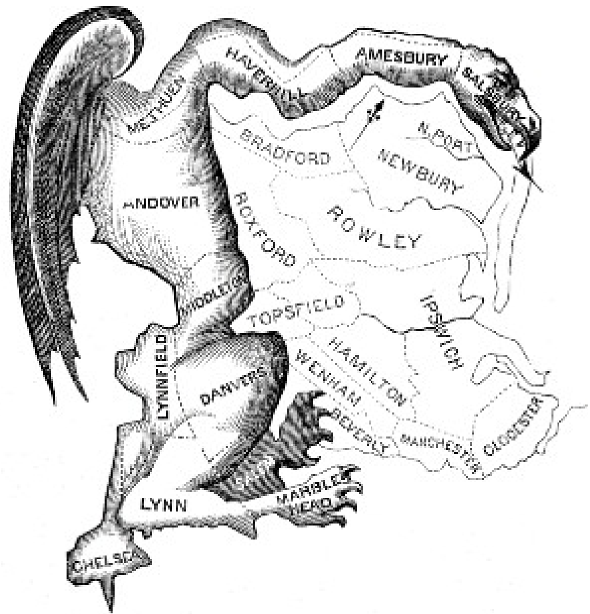
- single-member constituencies or multiple member constituencies,
- of first-past-the-post majorities; transferable vote systems,
- party lists systems,
- voter suppression (such as making it more difficult for poorer people to vote),
- types of proportional representation, and
- the implications of the drawing of electoral boundaries.
- The variety and regulation of funding of political parties, and the possibilities of corruption would be another area.
- It would be possible, for example, to devise activities that encouraged unfair mapping of constituency boundaries to give political power to a minority party, and from this to discuss how such activities should be regulated to be fair.
- Discuss codes of behaviour for parliamentarians, or for ministers, political parties; or standards expected in public life.

An example of how electoral boundaries might be manipulated:

If this map represents 100 voters, to be organised into 10 constituencies; draw boundaries that could, in a simple majority 'first past the post' system, give a majority of the 10 seats to the 24 blue party members; or other boundaries could give a majority to the 32 red party members (it is possible!), or 'fairer' boundaries that better represent the 44-strong green party.



The story of Governor Gerry in Massachusetts (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerrymandering) – and the Gerrymandering map [below] (creative commons: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:The_Gerry–Mander_Edit.png) is an interesting discussion activity



Other discussions could discuss the meaning of an ‘open election’ and the nature of the secret vote; how political parties are funded; whether elections should have limits to who can donate funding, or how much; representative elections vs referenda; discussions on what ‘open elections’ mean; plebiscites vs referenda.

C:SV2 Analysis of the Structural Values: The Rule of Law

The nature of the rule of law in the European context

The rule of law is a particular understanding of the status of the law in a society, which is significantly different from rule *by* law, or from *a* rule of law. *The* rule of law requires that all citizens and social institutions in a state or country are subject to the same laws, and that this includes leaders and law makers themselves. Every individual, and every organisation, is equally subject to the same laws. These laws must be made in a particular manner, with the authority of a particular democratic authority, and administered and enforced through a legal system that is independent of the government and the lawmakers. The rule of law is an essential safeguard against power being used arbitrarily, and establishes that laws are made and administered in a democratic manner.

The principle has evolved in Europe over the last 700 years, as arbitrary powers – such as the presumption that monarchs had a ‘divine right’ to create laws for subjects, from which they were exempt – but has origins that can be traced back to at least Aristotle’s *Politics*: ‘it is preferable for the law to rule rather than any one of the citizens’, and governors ‘must be appointed as guardians of the laws and in subordination to them’. Figures of justice in classical times were shown holding a sword and a palm (to punish and reward), or blindfolded (to act without discrimination), or carrying scales (to weigh evidence). The government of the Republic of Siena in the 1330s (the *Sala dei Nove* – the room of the nine randomly chosen magistrates) is illustrated with a fresco showing the Allegory of Good and Bad Government, in which justice is depicted in this way.

There are two current conceptions of the rule of law: the **formalist** (‘thin’) definition, and the **substantive** (‘thick’) definition.

- **The formalist construction** does not make any judgment about the ‘justness’ of the law, but defines a legal framework that includes the law to be
    - General (apply to all groups of people, not to particular individuals)
    - Public (not secret)
    - Not to be retroactive
    - Consistent (no contradictory laws)
    - Applied equally
    - Certain (same results when applied)
    - Gives little discretion to legal officers
- **The substantive construction**, in addition to this, adds that the rule of law
    - Protects individual rights
    - Puts democracy as part of the rule of law

The rule of law in most European contexts is substantive: the Statute of the **Council of Europe** describes the rule of law as a core principle: European values “are the common heritage of their peoples and the true source of individual freedom, political liberty and the rule of law, principles which form the basis of all genuine democracy" (para 3). Historically, the Rule of Law was developed as a means to restrict State (governmental) power. Human rights were seen as rights against intrusions by holders of this power (“negative rights”). But the perception of human rights has changed in many states and in European and international law: there is a trend to expand the scope of civil and political rights, especially by acknowledging positive obligations of the State to guarantee effective legal protection of human rights.

The Treaty on **European Union** states that the rule of law is a common value for all Member States;

all public powers must act within the constraints set out by law, in accordance with the values of democracy and fundamental rights, and under the control of independent and impartial courts. The rule of law includes principles such as legality, implying a transparent, accountable, democratic and pluralistic process for enacting laws; legal certainty; prohibiting the arbitrary exercise of executive power; effective judicial protection by independent and impartial courts, effective judicial review including respect for fundamental rights; separation of powers; and equality before the law (Article 2).

The volume by Tom Bingham[39] gives a succinct and lively account of the development of the concept, up to and including the decision of the UK government to support the invasion of Iraq in 2001, which he, as a Senior Law Lord, described as incompatible with the Rule of Law.

D. Equality before the law and non–discrimination

1. Are principles of equal treatment upheld, and the State required to promote equality?
2. Is non–discrimination guaranteed by law?
3. Is equality in law guaranteed?
4. Is equality before the law guaranteed? Is the law equally applied to all?

E. Access to justice

1. Are there constitutional and legal guarantees of judicial independence?
2. Are there constitutional & legal guarantees for the independence of individual judges?
3. Are there rules for the judiciary to be independent and free from corruption?
4. Is the prosecution service sufficiently autonomous?
5. Is the legal profession recognised, organised and independent?
6. Do individuals have effective access to the courts?
7. Is the presumption of innocence guaranteed?
8. Are fair standards applied in trials? (No unlawful evidence, due speed in decisions, access to documentation, right of fair hearing, reasoned judgements, appeal processes, etc.)
9. Are judicial decisions effective?
10. Is constitutional justice provided by specialist constitutional court or a supreme court?

F. Challenges to the Rule of Law

1. Are there measures to prevent corruption in public duties?
2. What are criminal law measures against corruption?
3. How is compliance with these measures ensured?

1. Are laws easily accessible?
2. Are court decisions accessible?
3. Are the effects of laws foreseeable?
4. Are laws stable and consistent?
5. Can those acting in good faith on the basis of law achieve their legitimate expectations?
6. Is retroactive legislation prohibited?
7. Is the principle that without a law, there can be no crime and no penalty?
8. After a final adjudication is reached, are further appeals not possible?

C. Prevention of misuse of powers

1. Are there legal safeguards against arbitrary and misuse of powers by public authorities?

The Court is dynamic: it makes rulings based on the changing conditions of modern society, for example, related to new technologies, bioethics or the environment. Its rulings on matters such as abortion, assisted suicide, body searches, domestic slavery, adoption of children by same-sex partners, and the retention of DNA data have led to changes in the policies of member states. The Court's judgements are binding: States which commit a violation must provide redress for the damage, and make sure that no similar violation occurs in future: changes in legislation may follow. Examples of this include Cyprus abolishing the criminal offence of homosexuality, membership of a

[39] Bingham, T. (2010) *The Rule of Law*, 2010, Penguin

union no longer being required in Denmark, France recognising equality of rights between legitimate children and those born out of a marriage, and the United Kingdom prohibiting corporal punishment in State schools. The Court interprets its work dynamically, in the light of present-day conditions. Case-law judgements continually extended the rights set out in the Convention.[40] The Convention is not inscribed on a stone: it moves to meet modern conditions.

The World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators score all countries annually on six indicators of good governance, of which the rule of law is one. Each country is scored on this from a number of sources (usually more than ten), and Europe as a whole scores highly. Of the 240 states analysed in 2013 (the midpoint for our data set), 16 European states were placed in the highest-scoring decile, compared to 8 from the rest of the world. and in the next decile (80-89.9) there were 7 European states and 17 non- European. Half of the 47 European countries fell within the 20% highest scoring nations for Rule of Law: it is clearly one of the defining characteristics of the continent.

Young people's discussions of the Rule of Law

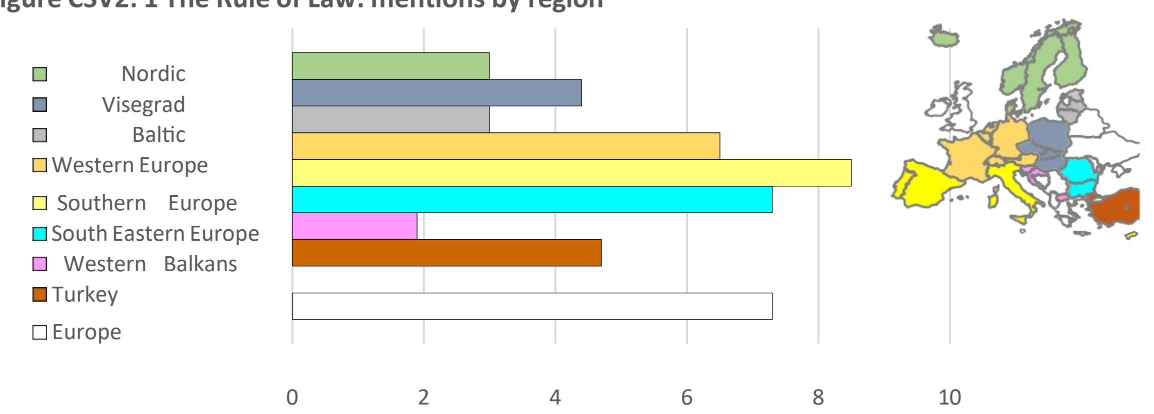
For the purposes of our analysis of the discussions, we set out four particular aspects that covered most of the examples given:

- Laws must be created by an elected legislature
- Laws applied to all individuals equally
- The judiciary should act independently of government and parliament
- The law should be accessible to all people
- (other mentions)

Our analysis shows that the Rule of law was one of the least often mentioned values, mentioned by just 119 individuals (5.5%). The relative position was the same within each region, and the variation shown in Figure CSV2:1 is based on these very low numbers, and is not significant.

Where was the Rule of Law mentioned most (by region within Europe) (% in each region)

Figure CSV2: 1 The Rule of Law: mentions by region

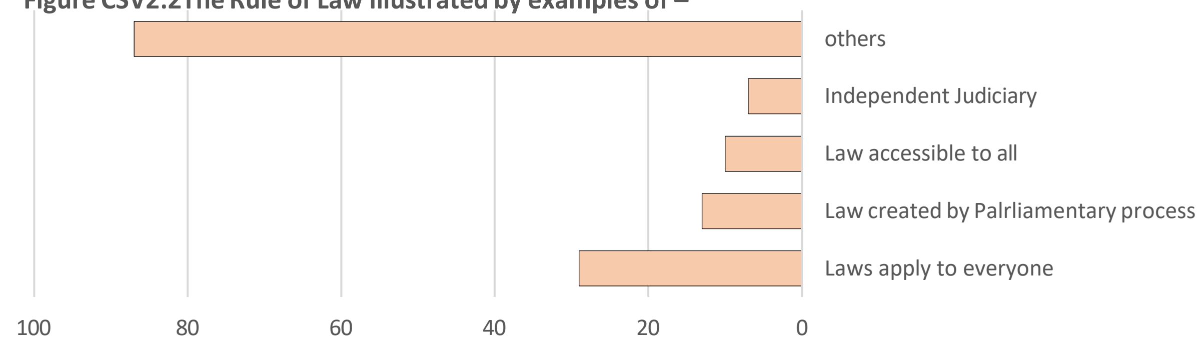


[40] This draws on the European Court's publication ECHR (2022) *The European Convention on Human Rights: A living instrument*. European Court of Human Rights (September 2022) (https://echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_Instrument_ENG.pdf

What examples did they chose to illustrate the Rule of Law?

On more than half the occasions that the importance of the law and legal systems were mentioned, no specific examples of this were cited, or none within our coding frame (59%). The examples that were given are shown in Figure CSV2:2: the most common was that the law should apply to all people. There were also some references to the ways in which laws were created, and fewer on the need for the law to be accessible, and for the judiciary to be independent. (Not all references to the Rule of Law gave a specific illustration: 8% did not do so). The totals in this Figure therefore do not total 100%.) For example, the general application of the laws to all the population was on some occasions seen positively, as an attribute of national identity. Aušra (F/15) in Kaunus felt that 'Being Lithuanian means I have to respect the law, and I have duties that I have to do', while in Stockholm Alfhild (F/14) said 'a very good thing about Sweden is that everybody follows the same rules … it's the same for everyone – everyone gets the same punishment if they do the same crimes, so it's fair.' On some occasion there was criticism of others for not respecting this, as when Ventsislav (M/16) in Sofia referred to local people not following rules: 'If there's a law – "do not throw garbage on the

Figure CSV2:2The Rule of Law illustrated by examples of –



floor" – you should not do that, and you shouldn't … break the law when no one will see you. We must change the mentality.'

But it was more common to refer to politicians as feeling able to ignore the law and act corruptly. In Spain, Adelaida (F/14) in Segovia spoke of 'the corruption of politicians – I would change this. Politicians steal our money and use it for themselves – for their personal use – it's a big problem'; and Encarnación (F/17) in Sabadell said 'politicians take money from normal people … they are corrupt – I think it's a contradiction.' In Frascati in Italy, Sylviane (F/16) though this a bad example; 'when the government is corrupt, and the people who should give an example behave the worst – how can the other people behave well?' Mihail (M/15) in Bucharest demands 'all the corruption in the Government – it should disappear overnight.'

There were also some references to the law enforcement system being unequally applied. For example, in Paris, Marinette (F/19) spoke of the French government 'talk[ing] a lot about … equality. But it's very false – the government says France welcomes immigrants, but in the night you can see police in the streets who look for immigrants and do something against immigrants.' In the same group Valéry (M/16) observed that while all might theoretically 'have the same fundamental rights, but if you are judged, someone who is poor cannot pay a very good lawyer – a rich man can buy one or two good lawyers, and easily win a judgement – compared to someone who has not so much money' (see the box on the pages 53 -54 about the European Commission for Democracy – item E 6: Equal access to Justice.)

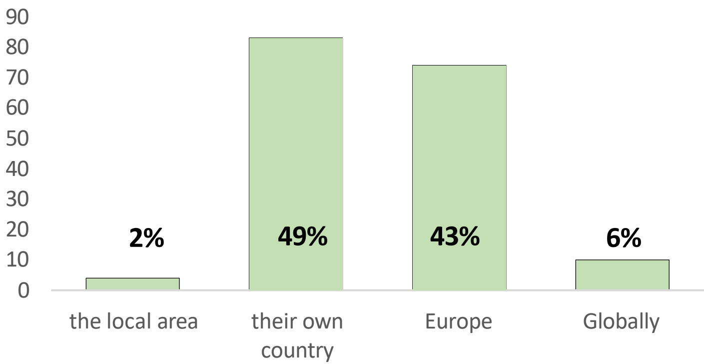
Judicial independence was noted by Renaat (M/15) who valued living in Amsterdam because of 'good justice – I think in Europe we have one of the best systems – I think in a lot of other countries you don't have an independent law system.'

The Rule of Law was never specifically mentioned, but on one occasion it was indirectly referred to by Samaria (F/16) in Berlin – her reference to 'this new regime in Poland' was to the Law and Justice (PiS) party's actions on the rule of law in 2105 – 'What makes the European Union so special is a completely different idea of justice … the opportunity to move to a European court that can set a precedent. The European Union has always been very keen on promoting human rights. And this new regime in Poland – it gives us the chance, as a European Union, to re-evaluate it in accordance with core European principles.'

Where were these examples located?

Nearly all these examples were located either in the country in which the discussion was held, or within Europe. There were very few local or more global references (Figure CSV2:3).

Figure CSV2:3: illustrative examples of Rule of Law

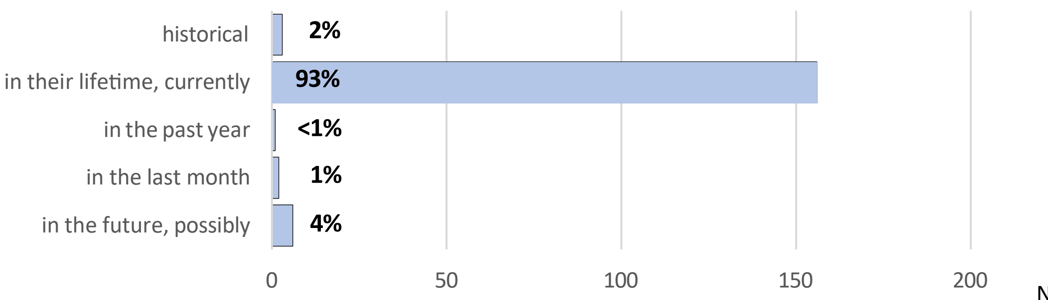


Most of the examples cited earlier were made with reference to their own country – Renaat in Amsterdam also referenced Europe. But there were almost as many references to Europe. Some of these were to Europe in general – such as Agustín (M/14) in Madrid, who described the European Union as 'different countries, but we are subject to common rules, that you have to apply to be European. ... we are organised, and we've got common laws'. These laws governed European's freedoms, said Olga (F/11) in Blagòevgrad (Bulgaria): 'if the law says that there shouldn't be any discrimination, then Europeans shouldn't have any discrimination. Legally this is the direction'.

Others were more specific about how the rule of law in Europe affected individuals and particular countries. In Lille, Blaise (M/15) referred back to 2000; 'when Jörg Haider [Austria] was elected, some Europeans tried to install some sanctions and penalties when he took away some rights of homosexuals an unmarried couples– the European Union was there to restrain him – it's like a dog leash'.

What time period did these examples relate to?

It is perhaps unsurprising that most of these references were to contemporary events, as shown in Figure C SV2:4.

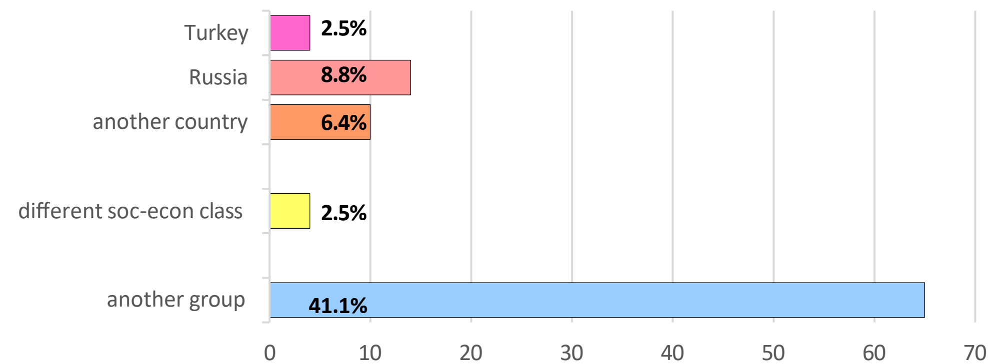


Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

But there were also some aspirations for better implementation of the rule of law in the future. For example, in the North Macedonian town of Prilep, Georgios (M/18) hoped that in the future, possibly in the European Union, 'maybe life in Macedonia will be more comfortable than now. There will be laws and rules that will not be broken and will be respected. And that will make a difference – between a real European country and the others.' Others, already in the European Union, also expressed hope for better respect for legislation: when one member of her group in Matera, southern Italy, spoke despairingly of law-breaking, Maud (F/16) responded 'I don't think we should say that "We don't respect the rules, so Italy is not an honest country". We can say we don't respect the rules so we can change to be better – I'm very optimistic.'

Some examples 'othered' groups, whom it was felt did not uphold Rule of Law values

It was often the case that the rule of law was raised by giving examples of when there appeared to be disregard for the principle, by 'othering' those who did not follow it. Figure CSV2:5 shows that these examples were drawn from a very wide range of examples (the cases of political leaders, corruption, and general disregard for the law have already been referred to above, and in this figure are subsumed within the final 'another group' category.



(Only 61% of references to the Rule of Law 'othered' a particular group: the totals in the figure represent the percentage of the total number of references who 'other' the specified group.) For example, a group in the small town of Ath, in Belgium, discussed what Russia would need to change in order to become a member of the EU. Boniface (M/14) said 'Russia must respect the rules – human rights, the laws, all the laws, European laws', and Timothée (M/17) added 'well, if they are to

be in Europe, they *have* to respect – the rules – that's why they aren't in Europe, because they don't respect them'. Similar criticisms were made of Turkey, Theodora (F/10), in the Danish town of Haslev: 'I don't know that much about it, but there are certain things in Turkish law that are against what Europe believes in – in the European Union there are certain rules that you have to follow – and Turkey are not following all these rules – human rights things and democracy'.

There was also othering in respect of a local minority Roma community in Ostrava, Czechia, who were alleged to be exempt from the legal code: Zora (F/14) said 'I think people should adjust to the majority they live with – the Roma people are very different,' and Verushka (F/12) argued that they needed to obey the laws – 'by the same laws that are applied in one specific country'.

The implications for Pedagogic practice

From the evidence:

The very low level of observations about the rule of law is concerning. It is not possible, from our analysis, to say that this reflects young people's knowledge of the issue – because we were always observing volunteered statements, not requiring that particular points be addressed, we cannot be certain. It is certainly possible that there was a very low level of public concern about rule of law issues at the time the discussions were organised: it is not often a matter of media or public concern.

But it should not be argued that, because it is infrequently a matter of concern, it therefore does not matter that young people are unaware of the issues involved. The concerns of the Venice Commission (The European Commission for Democracy) cited at the beginning of this section are fundamental to the structure of the democratic processes that are essential to maintain equalities and freedoms.

Other strategies

There will be occasions when discussions spontaneously arise on these issues, but these will be relatively rare, particularly in some countries where the principles may be well understood. In other countries, there may more often be opportune moments when there are particularly prominent issues surrounding democratic processes and the rule of law that are debated.

Hypothetical issues might be addressed:

- How should judges be appointed? What qualities should a good judge have, what kinds of experience?
- Should the Government be able to appoint only judges who support the ruling party? Are there dangers with this?
- Why should people who make the law also have to obey the law? Why can't they just change the law if they appear to have broken it?
- Why is it important to insist a person accused of a crime is innocent until they've been proved guilty?
- Who makes the law? Is there a difference between 'the law' and rules made by an association or a community?
- Does the law always treat everyone the same?

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- How should corruption – by lawmakers, by governments, by judges and lawyers – be dealt with? Should they be stopped from continuing to do these tasks?

C: CV Analysis of the Core Fundamental Values

These Core Fundamental Values are a summation of the Human Rights values identified in the introduction, with an additional 'human rights in general' category for unspecific mentions. These nine have been drawn from the Council of Europe's *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (ECHR) (1950[41]) and the European Union's *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (CFREU) (2000 [42]).

Both the ECHR and the CFREU include references to the core fundamental rights considered here, and the structural rights considered in the previous section (SV: 40 - 59) and the process rights of freedoms, rights and solidarity in the section that follows (PV: pp 108 - 139). The following table sets out the structure of the CFREU (with references to the ECHR), and the simplified structure adopted in this analysis.

The core fundamental human rights values are summarised and contextualised in the consolidated Lisbon *Treaty on European Union* (2008/C 115/01)): Article 2 states that 'the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail'.

The Core Fundamental Values considered in this section are the seven blue shaded items in the diagram on the following page

- Tolerance of Diversity
- Respect for Human Life

[41] See footnote 2.

[42] See footnote 3.

- Respect for Other Cultures
- Inclusion of all in Society
- The Safety of other people
- Prohibition of capital punishment, cruel/unusual punishments

and an additional category to include all those referring to

- Human Rights in general, without a specific description as above

This table shows the origins of each of these values in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (lefthand column) and the CoE Convention for the Protection of Human Rights (right hand column).

Chap/	*Article*	**Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union**	**In this report described as –**	**European Conv'n for Protection Human Rights (CoE)[1]**
1 Dignity	1	All have the right to be treated with dignity	**Respect for life**	1 Respect for life
	3	**Right to integrity of the person**		
	2	Right to life, death penalty forbidden	**Prohibition of unusual punishment**	2 Right to life (P13[2])
	4	**Prohibition of torture and inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.**		3 Prohibit torture
	5	**Prohibition of slavery and forced labour**		4 prohibit slavery, forced labour
2 Freedoms	6	Right to **liberty and security**	**Safety of others**	5 liberty & security
3 Equality	22	**Respect for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity**	**Tolerance diversity**	
			Respect for other cultures	
			Inclusion in Society	

[3] Numbered items refer to the article numbers in the initial 1950 Convention (Rome, 1950)

4 'P' items – the P refers to particular protocol to the convention, second number to the article in that protocol: Protocol 13 (Vilnius, 2002). Additional Protocol items not in the European Union Charter are P13, 1 Prohibition of death penalty: all previous exceptions ended

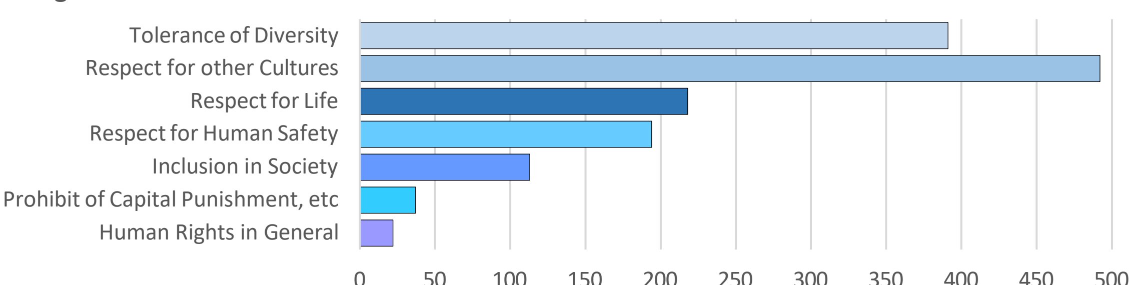
Young people's discussion of the Core Fundamental Values

These are broad findings, relating to these fundamental values as a whole. More detailed analysis, with examples of comments made in the discussions, will be given in the sections that follow on each particular value.

The core fundamental values were not discussed equally (Figure CV: 1). Respect for other cultures was referred to in examples much more than any other value (33.5% of cases), and four values in particular were mentioned over 190 times (each over 13.3%): these four constituted nearly 90% of all mentions. Inclusion in society was mentioned much less often (just 7.7% of cases). The three values relating to capital punishment, cruel punishment and torture were rarely mentioned, and have been combined here (2.5% in total).

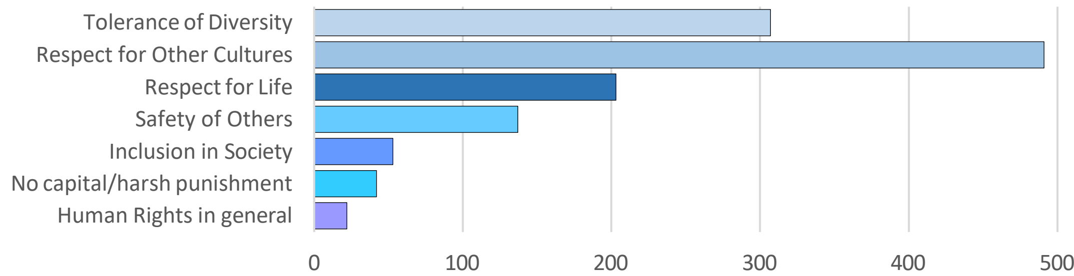
Finally, there were a residual 22 cases where human rights were referred to in general, or in a way that they were not classifiable: 1.5% shown in the figure is only these indeterminate cases: all the values shown here are more specific human rights values.

Figure CV: 1 Mentions of each Fundamental Value



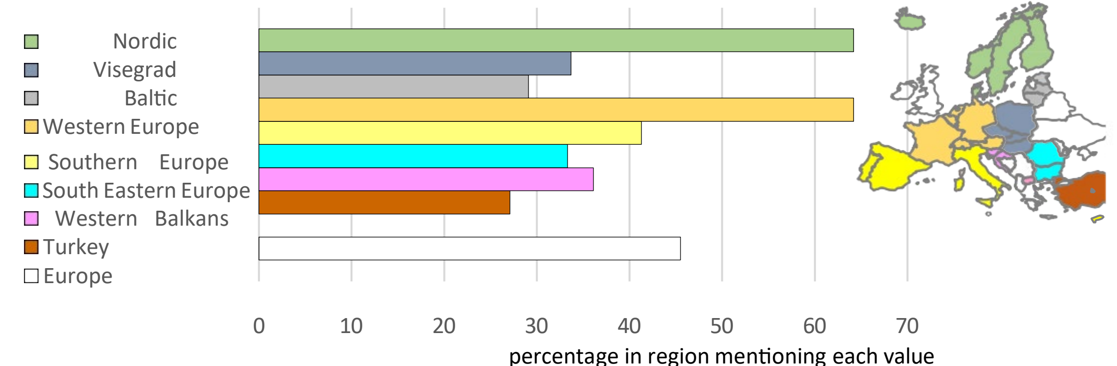
References were made to refugees and asylum seekers in 12% of the cases given, partially the consequence of having a significant proportion of the discussions in the April 2015 to January 2016 period, when the relatively large refugee movements from Syria and other states was taking place (91 discussion groups, involving 587 young people (29% of the total) – all the participants in Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Portugal and Spain, and a few from Denmark and Norway). This did, to an extent, impact on the frequency of mentions of particular values, and Figure CV:2 presents the distribution of the data having removed the particular references to examples that referred specifically to refugees and asylum seekers. The rank order remains the same; some values are mentioned less frequently.

Figure CV: 2 Mentions of each Fundamental Value (omitting Refugee and Asylum seeker examples)



These Fundamental values of Human Rights were not equally raised in the discussions in the different regions of Europe. Table CV: 3 shows the distribution of the proportion of times each fundamental value was mentioned within a European region. Western and Nordic Europe scored highly, followed some way further by Southern Europe. The Baltic states, South-eastern Europe, the Western Balkans and Turkey all mentioned these values at a half or less the rate they were mentioned in Western Europe and the Nordic states. To an extent, this was contingent on the timings of the discussions in each region: the refugee migration of 2015 was a frequently cited example of some of these rights in parts of Western Europe and Southern Europe, but the percentage of group members in discussions *after* early April 2015 was 47% in Western Europe, 49% in Southern Europe, and 12% in the Nordic states (39% overall), sufficient to only partially explain the levels of difference observed.

Figure CV: 3 Where Core Fundamental Values, were mentioned, by region



What examples did they choose to illustrate these Core Fundamental Values?

Examples of these values were given in many cases. Table CV: 4 shows the distribution of these. Over 70% were references to ethnic minorities (including Roma), migrants and asylum seekers.

Figure CV: 4 examples chosen to illustrate Core Fundmental Values

other	7.5%
minorities	5.5%
Roma	3.2%
socio-economic	4.3%
refugees	16.4%
asylum	0.9%
migrants	11.8%
LBGT	3.0%
ageism	0.7%
disability	0.6%
religion	4.6%
ethnicity/race	40.1%
gender	1.4%

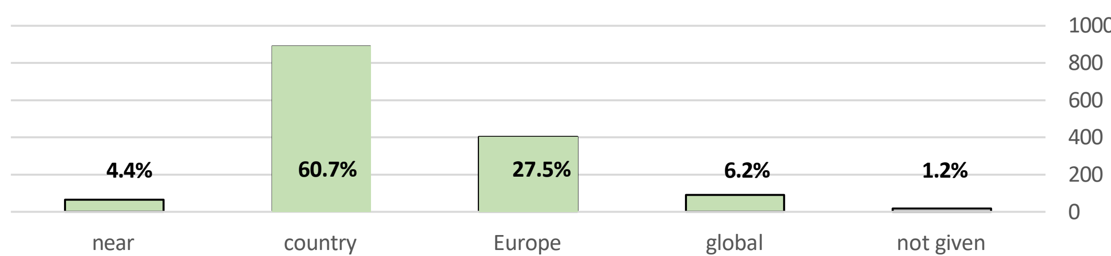
600 500 400 300 200 100 0

Only 90.6% of all references were to particular examples shown in the table above, which omits values referenced without giving a specific example.

Where were these examples located?

The majority of the references (65%) were to events in the country in which the discussion was being held. Almost 30% were located in Europe (either a specific other country or in general (Figure CV: 5).

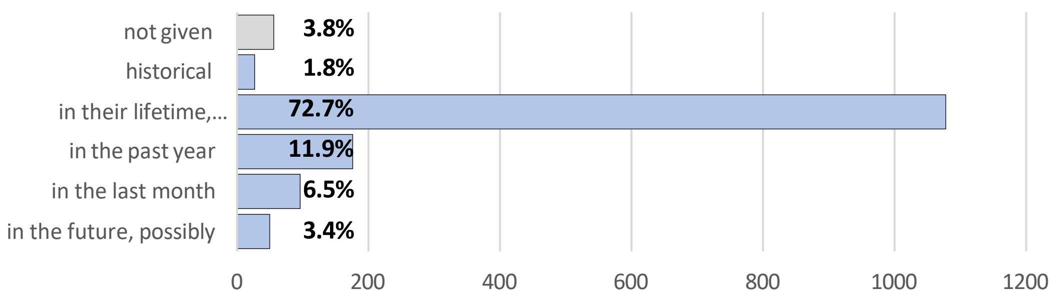
Figure CV: 5 Location of examples of Core Fundamental Values



Over 98% of references were located in a geo-political location.

What time period did these examples relate to?

It was usually possible to identify the time at which examples took place. Figure CV:6 shows that the great majority (95%) were located within the lifetimes of the young people themselves (usually in the previous five years. They were primarily using examples of their own direct experience or of contemporary media accounts. Note that some of the category 'in their lifetime' will include instances where events were very likely to have been in the previous year and month: this is true of all the examples in these analyses.



Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

Nearly every reference (96%) gave an example that could be classified to time period.

Examples of 'othered' groups (of whom it was felt that some did not uphold Core Fundamental Values

Finally, in about 37% of the examples given there was an indication given of some group who were seen as not upholding a particular value. These are shown for all these Fundamental Values cases in Figure CV: 7. Some 43% referred to either individuals from other countries, or state actors from other countries. We captured mentions of Russia, Turkey and the USA specifically: these were the most frequently mentioned, making some 54% of the total of countries, the remaining 46% were not separately identified. Older people were identified in 20% of the cases, sometimes specifically parents or grandparents. There were a few references to people living in urban or rural environments. 30% of the cases fell outside these categories, and are shown here as 'another group': a proportion of these were individuals or groups of people within the country of discussion who did not fit these categories.

Figure CV: 7 Those 'Othered' in discussing Fundamental Values

Turkey 9.1%
Russia 10.4%
USA 3.0%
another country 19.5%
parents 3.1%
grandparents 2.3%
older people 15.5%
rural people 1.7%
urban people 1.5%
different socio-economic class 3.7%
another group 30.2%
0 50 100 150 200 250

Only 53% of responses 'othered' a group in this way.

The following sections analyse each value in more detail, exploring the different ways in which each value was characterised, giving examples of what was said in discussions about the value. Pedagogic

implications are drawn in each case, which could be useful in determining how each of these particular values might be approached in an educational environment, and the kind of discussion that might take place.

Implications for pedagogy

There is quite a wide range of responses to particular individual Values. This is not necessarily an indication of the level of interest in these Core Values by young people: given the way the data was (deliberately) collected, it may reflect no more than the contemporary media agenda. These values do have a high degree of overlap, and all the Values were referred to in some way or other.

It was noticeable that many references were located at the country level (60%), rather than at the European level (27%). It may be that the work of the Council of Europe and its Court of Human Rights, and of the European Union' Fundamental Charter could be brought more to the fore in the classrooms and lecture rooms of our students.

Specific pedagogic strategies will be considered on a value-by-value basis in the following pages.

C: CV1 Analysis of the Core Value: The Tolerance of Diversity

The nature of the value of the Toleration of Diversity in the European context

The tolerance of diversity was one of the most frequently mentioned core values. The description of this value – particularly the use of the word 'tolerate' – has given rise to some discussion: it is argued that to tolerate something is a rather grudging term, that might be seen as implying that diversity is something to be endured, 'to be put up with' , and that it would be better expressed as 'welcoming' diversity. *Respect* for other values is rather different, and is discussed in further in the Teaching section. (Section E, page 197).

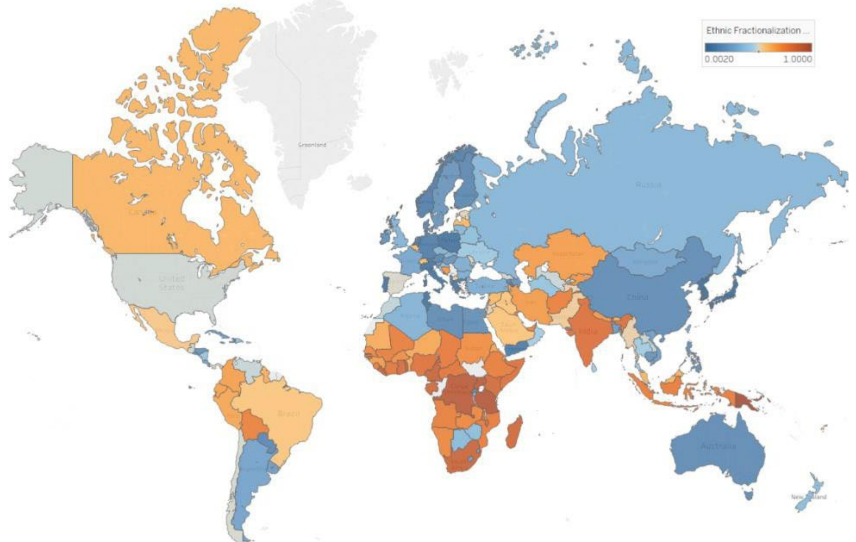
Tolerance has two different usages, which are loosely related to each other –

1. Being willing to accept ways of life or beliefs that are different to one's own, not dismissing them, even though they might be something that one disagrees with
2. The capacity to endure something such as a drug, or an environmental condition, without an adverse reaction, harm or damage.

Tolerance of diversity is the first of these usages, and originates in the aftermath of the Second World War, when international jurists debated how a particular right could be established that would proscribe the intolerant behaviours that had been displayed by totalitarian and fascist regimes, particularly but not exclusively in Europe. Globalisation leads to greater mixing of ethnicities and cultural beliefs, and the need to accept different cultural practices and beliefs thus becomes more necessary, though this is not to mean that all such viewpoints and customs should be accepted: for example, religious practices such as child marriage, female genital mutilation, or human sacrifice infringe other basic rights and are therefore proscribed.

Cultural diversity was defined in the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) as 'the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group', including lifestyles, value systems, traditions, and beliefs. Such diversity is not easily quantifiable, and common indicators are the number of languages and culturally different groups (ethnicities) found in a particular region or state. In 2003, James Fearon analysed countries on a diversity scale that examined ethnicities, languages and religions (Figure CCV1:1).

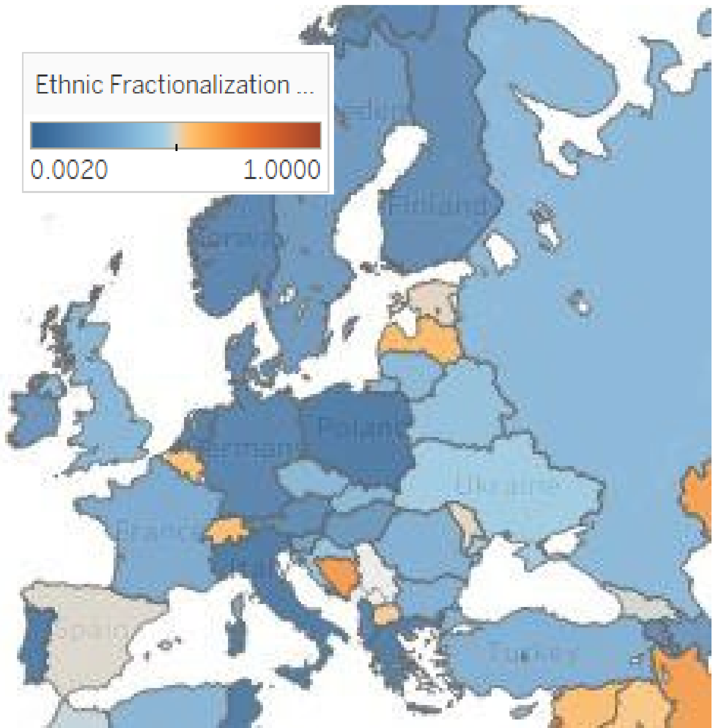
Figure CCV1:1 Global cultural diversity, by State, after Fearson



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_diversity#/media/File:List_of_countries_ranked_by_ethnic_and_cultural_diversity_level,_List_based_on_Fearon's_analysis.png

This suggests Europe is not a highly diverse region of the world: the noticeably more diverse states are Belgium (Flemish-Walloon), Switzerland (German-French-Italian), Estonia, Latvia and Moldova (with large Russophone minorities), Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo (Figure CCV1:2). More globally, it is also based on categories of ethnicity and language determined by each state's data-codification structure, which may reflect particular narratives of history, nation-building and political ambition.

Figure CCV1: 2 European diversity, after Fearson.



These low European levels of diversity are the consequence of the collapse of the large land-based Empires after the First World War and the subsequent treaties (following US President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points) that established independent states based on 'clearly recognizable lines of nationality [for Italy], … the freest opportunity to autonomous development [in Austria Hungary] [Wilson's point 10], … the Balkan states [being established along] historically established lines of allegiance and nationality' [11], other nationalities … under Ottoman rule should be assured … autonomous development [12] [and] an independent Polish state [of] territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations [13]'.

These changes were followed by widespread population shifts (and further boundary changes) between 1945 and 1956. Most European states have a single dominant ethnicity. (And given the manner in which the European states had divided up Africa between their Empires, largely in the second half of the nineteenth century, oblivious to the ethnic grouping of the continent, it is unsurprising that contemporary African states are so diverse and plural – as seen in Figure CCV1:1 above.)

Contemporary European States' 'tolerance of diversity' is thus largely focused on the acceptance of migrant origin non-European populations, and to a lesser extent of eastern European migrants. Gatrell (2019)[43] identifies five major stages in the post 1945 history of migration within and to Europe. This has led to demographic changes over much of Europe, including rural-urban internal migration, guest workers, migrancy from former colonies, refugees and asylum seekers, and those migrants created ('reframed', as Brubaker (1996) puts it[44]) by the dissolution of the USSR and Yugoslavia, who found themselves involuntary members of 'new' minorities. An estimate was that

[43] Gattrell, P. (2019) The *Unsettling of Europe: The great migration, 1945 to the present,* London: Allen Lane.

[44] Brubaker, R. (1996) *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe.* Cambridge University Press.

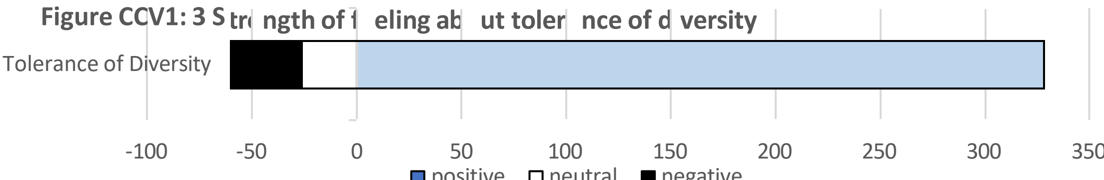
by 2014 just over a fifth of all EU households included at least one person of migrant origin (Agafiţei and Ivan 2016)[45]. These changes are not completely homogeneous: in Central Europe, the post-2004 members of the EU have had relatively few migrants, the majority of the changes having been in the 80% of the European population living in the west European and Nordic regions.

Tolerance of others has important implications for the nature of democracy. It requires democracies not simply to be based on the desire or will of a majority, but also the protection of minority wishes, limiting the freedom to impose on others. The utilitarian precept of 'the greatest good of the greatest number' is necessarily limited to also protect any consequential harm to 'the smaller number(s)'.

Young people's discussions of the value of toleration of diversity

Given this background of European diversity, and particularly its relatively recent development, how do young people respond to this? How willing are they to accept (or tolerate) this, and do they think their perceptions of what constitutes diversity are different from the views of older people? These questions will be addressed, as with the previous values, by looking at first the attitude towards diversity, positive and negative; and their range of concern with the issues in different regions of Europe, the particular examples of tolerance that the young people chose to use as examples in their discussions, and the locations (local to global), timeframes and instances of 'othering' that they highlighted. This value was one of the most commonly mentioned Core values: it was 28% of all references to core values.

Attitudes towards diversity were predominantly positive.



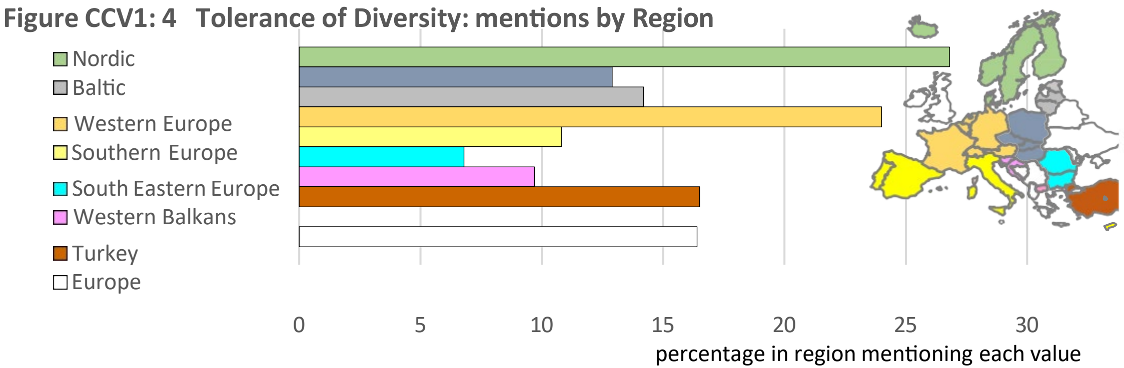
84% of all mentions of diversity were positive, and 9% were negative. The remaining 7% (white in the figure) were neutral or ambivalent. But the fact that about one young person in six or seven disagrees with, or has some reservations about, this value is significant: on average, there will be three or four young people in each class who will have such a position.

Where were the toleration of diversity mentioned most (by region within Europe)

The proportion of the population in each region who mentioned this value varied considerably. It was most frequently discussed in Western Europe and the Nordic states (24% and 27% of the number of young people), and by 16% in Turkey; between 11 and 14% of young people in the Baltic, Visegrád and Southern Europe; and least in the Western Balkans (10%) and South-Eastern Europe (7%). This may reflect, in some cases, the extent of non-European migrancy and the time at which it became particularly salient in public discussion.

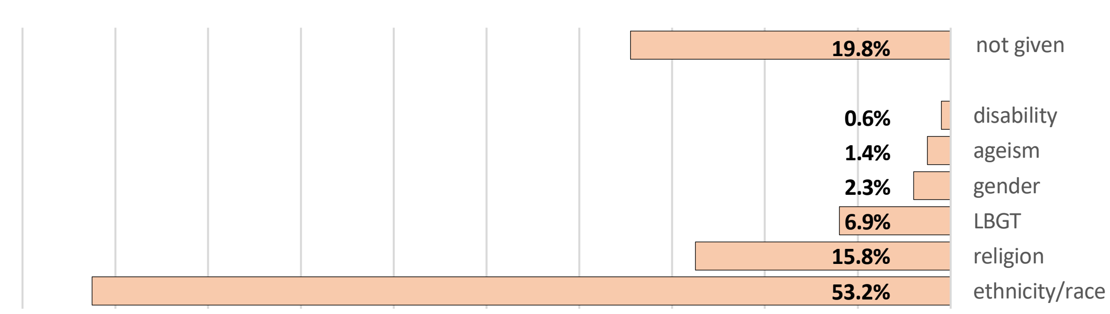
The implications for each region are considered in section D (pp 140 - 176).

[45] Agafiţei, M. and Ivan, G. (2016) *First and Second–Generation Immigrants – Statistics on Main Characteristics,* Luxembourg: European Commission, Eurostat.



What examples did they choose to illustrate the Tolerance of Diversity?

The young people in these conversations saw race and ethnicity as the principal focal point in their discussions of diversity: nearly 70% talked of tolerance (or not) in this context (Figure CCV1: 5). A further 19% talked about religion, and 8% about tolerance of sexual diversities.



Examples of Tolerance were given in 80% of the cases it was mentioned. This is reflected in the percentages given in the table. The issue of race or ethnicity was raised by young people from ethnic minorities and those who had their family origins in the country in which the discussions were held – approximately in proportion to their proportions in the sample. Unsurprisingly, those from minorities were particularly indignant. In Nantes (France), Laure (F/14) – who initially described herself as 'Tunisian – and French' – said that one of the aspects of France that she'd like to change was 'Racism. Some people in France don't accept foreigners.' She elaborated on her personal experience: 'I get looks from people that are not nice, people talk about me – I don't hear what they say, but I know they are talking about me,' and particularly identified 'Older people are very racist – a lot of them.' But others had different experiences: in Roubaix (the most impoverished commune in France) Ladislas (M/17) said 'I'm proud of France because there are many ethnicities in France – we are all mixed together, and we have equality – that's what I love in France.' Those of French family origin were for the most part accepting of the changing ethnic composition of the country: in Lille Marie-Paule (F/16) observed 'it interesting to see different cultures in the same country, and at the same time the mix between our origins and the fact that we are French makes things interesting', and Blaise (M/15) said that '"being French" nowadays doesn't mean a lot any more – there are not a lot of people with full French roots – I don't think we know anyone who's entirely French.'
Sweden has had a more recent experience of those from ethnic minority migrant backgrounds. In the town of Gävle, Måns (M/12) felt that 'Swedes are pretty welcoming to people. They're not afraid of people who don't do things like they do – because I think we're one of the only countries that actually allow the most people to come here, that are not Swedish.' In Malmö, a much larger city,

Kajsa (F/16) had a similar position: ‘the thing that we love about Malmö [is] that it’s striving towards becoming very open. Our culture is everybody’s culture – it’s a culture that embraces every other culture’, but Mårit (F/16), in the same group, was more cautious: ‘we are kind of suspicious about people that we don’t know, based on maybe skin colour, or what area in Malmö they live in … you can be suspicious of people that look like you too – but you don’t know the individual it’s really easy to … stereotype.’

Others appeared unaware of the racism about them. In a group in Helsinki, Kaia (F/16, Helsinki-born of Somali parents) said there was a great deal of *ennakkoluulo* (prejudice) around. The rest of the group were all of Finnish origin, and when the conversation returned to this topic later, Villhelm (M/18) said he had ‘been expecting to see racism at bus stops and in metro stations, so that I could fight back and say “you must not speak like that to other people” … but I don’t really see it – I wish I did, because everyone’s talking about it. Of course, it’s real …’ Kaia then described a series of incidents of being abused, and Vilhelm was visibly shocked: ‘What kinds of people say these things?’ Aune (F/16) rather caustically observed ‘Vilhelm, if you are part of a minority, you will see it better – if you are white and Finnish no one will talk to you like that.’

Others were aware of the issues around migration: in Hengelo, in the Netherlands, (Aadje M/15) noted ‘the Dutch are very happy with this country, but people from abroad, foreigners, are not very happy, I guess, because they can’t stay in the Netherlands, I think that they want to change that, so they can stay here.’ And changes were also noted – and linked to differences in attitude by different generations – in Denmark: Agnethe (F/18) in Odense observed ‘the term ‘being Danish’ changes all the time … today it’s normal to see people on the streets from different nationalities who have immigrated to Denmark, and the older generation, like my grandparents generation … didn’t really know the whole immigration thing … so … for them it’s strange that being Danish today is about having different cultures.’

The second most noted set of examples were related to the diversity of religions. This was usually related particular to the practice of Islam. Usually there was a degree of tolerance expressed by young people, but often noting that there were others in the country who were more hostile. In the Austrian town of Linz, Siegfried (M/14) linked racism and Islamophobia: ‘a few people are racist, and don’t like people from other countries. […] not too many .. I play ice-hockey, and there are team mates who don’t like people who have another religion.’ In a small village in the south of France (in September 2015, at the height of the ‘migrant crisis’, two 15 year old young women discussed the attitudes of ‘some people’ – Amandine spoke of how ‘in France there are a lot of Muslims, and some people fear them – there is a lack of tolerance, there is a lot of Islamophobia – who don’t agree with their religion – and I think they’re scared of the way Muslims live, and they’re also scared about their principles,’ and Mélanie said it was ‘a common fear, not of the number of people who are coming in, but terrorists – we hear that Muslims are coming in, and I think most people here are scared of terrorism.’ And some young people were openly hostile to diversity in general: Josian (F/16) in Hengelo was forthright: ‘If you come to the Netherlands, you should take our values – you should arrange yourself to what we think.’

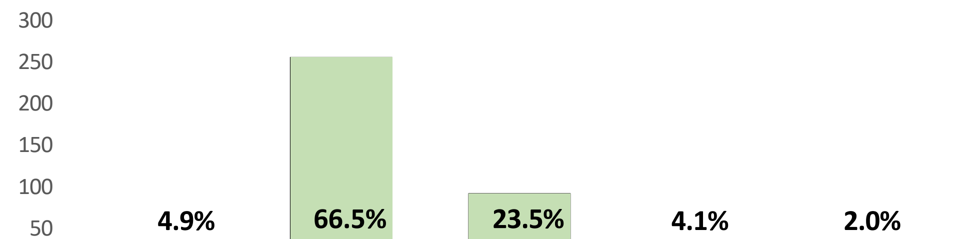
The range of responses was rather different in the east/central counties. In Warszawa, Rostek (M/16) acknowledged the strength of Christian feeling in the country, but argued that while ‘Religion is very important – it gives us a moral spine – we can’t be blinded by what we believe in – we can’t think that if someone thing thinks differently from us we should dislike the person, or get mad with them.’ His colleague. Klaudia (F/16) said she ‘believed that Poles are still not very tolerant of

diversity – but it is changing, slowly, but it is changing.' In North Macedonia, where there was tension between Macedonians and the indigenous Albanian Muslim population in the west of the country, Atanas (M/18) in the provincial town of Prilep was hostile to migration from Turkey: 'the Muslims will come to Europe and will want work. We don't want the people to mix – we don't want to see Muslims meet white people, or Black people in Europe. They [i.e. we] want to stay as they are, all the native European peoples.' Cvetko (M/14) in the capital, Skopje, was quite different; 'maybe we should learn to live in harmony, not 'You're Albanian' or 'You're English', or [differences] based on religion or race – even your skin used to be a very big problem.'

Where were these examples located?

These examples of the value of diversity were drawn predominantly from the country in which each discussion took place, but a quarter were related to Europe as a whole (Figure CCV1: 6).

Figure CVV1: 6 illustrative examples of Tolerance drawn from –



Diversity was sometimes seen as oppositional to the sense of nationalism. In North Macedonia, Gabriela (F/17) in Prilep had a clear sense of the need for a united approach that excluded any sense of diversity: 'it's really unfortunate that the Albanians that are born here and lived here their entire life, yet their mother language is Albanian, and they don't see themselves as Macedonian, they see themselves as Albanian. I don't think that's right – they should see themselves as Macedonians.' A similar definition of hegemonic nationalism was also not uncommon in Turkey: in the small city of Çanakkale Bugra (M/14) said 'everybody has different ideas … about what it means to be a Turk. It may depend on ideological view, on the person's racial [*iksal*: blood lineage/ stock/ racial] background – we should respect their different points of view.'

But there were many more tolerant views, particularly in the context of European references. Thus Smiljana (F/15) in Zagreb said 'you're not supposed to be the same in everyone's eyes, so you don't judge someone by their nationality – you have to meet someone first, and then develop a full picture about the person'. This could be linked also to generational differences: in Berlin Jamie (M/15 – UK born and parentage) spoke of the city as being 'relatively special, because... the way that they accept you – other parts of Germany aren't as friendly – it doesn't matter who you are – Black, White, Mexican – if you are homosexual, transvestite, or what – it's still accepted, it's normal – it's not as racist as in other cities in Germany.' In Kraków, Dorotka (F/15) observed that in 'in Europe are similar. We have different customs, but we are similar people. We are more open to other countries.'

What time period did these examples relate to?

Nearly all the references to accepting diversity were drawn from periods in the young people's own lifetime (Figure CCV1:7). As noted earlier, this was true of most references, it was particularly marked for the particular value of diversity. This may be because diversity in their societies, and its

broad acceptance by this generation, was seen by so many of them as something relatively new, and their attitudes towards it thus differentiated them from older people.

Figure CCV1: 7 Time example tolerance of diversity refered to

not given	5.1%
historic	2.6%
lifetime	89.0%
last year	2.8%
last month	0.3%
future	1.2%

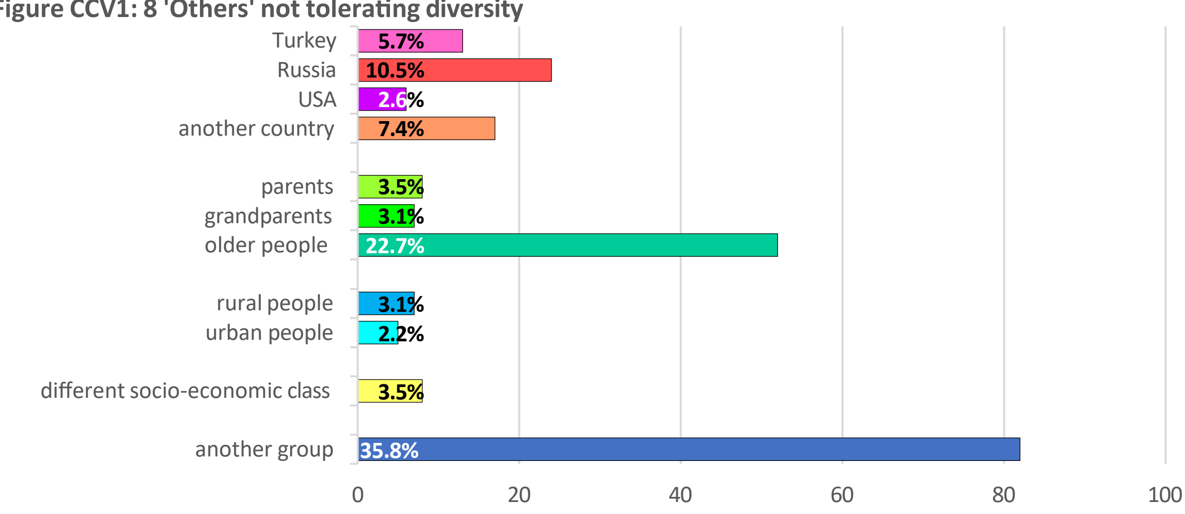
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350

Note: ‘lifetime’ will include some in the previous year and month.

Some examples ‘othered’ groups whom it was felt did not uphold tolerance of diversity

In about 80% of the occasions on which tolerance of diversity was discussed, some group of the population was ‘othered’, and used to identify those who did not uphold this value. Figure CCV1: 8 shows this distribution. About a quarter of these cases referred to people of another country (most frequently Russia or Turkey). Slightly more – 28% – othered an age-group different to their own, generally simply ‘older people’, sometimes specifically parents or grandparents. Note that 41% of the mentions of Tolerance of Diversity did not ‘other’ another group. The Table and percentages only show those who engaged in ‘othering’.

Figure CCV1: 8 'Others' not tolerating diversity



Russia was othered in a variety of ways: their attitudes toward diversity and rights in general were seen as very different and broadly not compatible with the idea of ‘being European’. (This data was gathered before the 2022 war with Ukraine, though after the invasion of Georgia in 2008. The initial invasion of eastern Ukraine in 2014 took place part of the way through the collection of data analysed here, and was occasionally referred to. Russia was particularly ‘othered’ in the Baltic states, particularly Estonia and Latvia, where there are substantial minorities of Russians, and there have been continuing instances of antagonistic behaviour by Russia towards the Baltic states. In the Visegrád states (Poland, Hungary, Czechia and Slovakia) many young people referenced the behaviour of the USSR towards their countries in the 1946 to 1989 period, based on parents and grandparents accounts and history lessons, using these as material for ‘othering’. This was less

evident in the south-eastern states of Romania and Bulgaria, and in the Western Balkans. The majority of these othering references are not specific to human rights and values as such, and have been analysed elsewhere with reference to the development of national identity.

References to acceptance of diversity and Russia included such comment as those of Dante (M/18) in Bernalda (southern Italy): 'in Russia, there's a different vision of human rights – than most European countries', or Omer (M/15) in the Belgian town of Ath, who, discussing the hypothetical possibility of Russia becoming a future member of the European Union, said: 'It's a bad thing, because Russia doesn't respect human rights.'

Turkey was othered for similar reasons by Augustyn (M/16) in Warszawa: ' but if Human Rights are broken, then I don't think Turkey can join [the European Union]'.

Older people were frequently othered with respect to their attitudes of social and cultural changes: several examples have been instanced above. In Berlin, Margareta (F/16) described how 'the younger generation is more accepting … in Germany …. the people that are full-German are not that friendly …they have this look on their faces [of] "don't talk to me"'. Theodora (F/18) in the Danish town of Haslev, similarly drew attention to the acceptance of diversity as a specific youth culture: "it's a culture between young people, to be accepting, to be yourself ... no matter who you are – if you're gay, you're gay; a boy can dress up as a girl; it doesn't matter anymore. Young people think 'why should it matter to be black?''

Implications for pedagogy

From the evidence

These findings suggest several important points for pedagogical approaches towards the tolerance of diversity. It will be important, in any classroom discussion, to recognise that there will probably be some young people who are a less tolerant minority, who may need to be supported in expressing their reservations, so they do not feel silenced and excluded by the majority – and supported in listening to those who are more tolerant, and in discussing with them why their views differ.

There are various research papers that address young people and tolerance of diversity.[46] These include studies of young peoples' attitudes towards media accounts of refugees[47], and a four-country study of 'world-mindedness' of young people in the 2015 migration event[48].

Many discussions are likely to focus on particular areas or examples of diversity. It seems clear from the evidence here that ethnic and racial diversity is likely to be one of the predominant issues. This may have a non-European dimension, but the continuing second-country migrations (within the European Union member states) will also be addressed, as may migrations from eastern Europe,

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[46] These include a recent chapter that draws on this study: Loughran, T, Ross A, Spinthouarkis J (2004): Young Europeans' constructions and discussions of Migrancy and Refugees' In Downes, P, Anderson, J, Behtoui A and van Praag *(eds} Promoting Inclusive Systems for Migrants in Education*, London: Routledge

[47] Debrael, M, d'Haenens, L, De Cock, R and De Coninck, D (2021) Media Use, fear of terrorism, and attitudes towards immigrants and refugees: young people and adults compared. *International Communications Gazette*, 83 (2) 148–168

[48] Hanus, M, Tani, S. Beneker, T. and Höhnle, S (2021) Young people´s world–mindedness and the global dimension in their geography education: a comparative study of upper secondary school students´ ideas in Czechia, Finland, Germany and the Netherlands. *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education* 22 (2013), 322–336

particularly currently Ukraine[49]. Other likely examples may be religious diversity – generally with reference to Muslims, but also in certain areas to the major branches of Christianity. Tolerance of the LGBT community is a possible third area of discussion.[50]

In all of these, it is likely that firstly young people will draw on their personal experiences of tolerance and intolerance that they have witnessed: the evidence is that this will be a particular and distinctive element of discussions around this particular value. Examples will probably be predominantly drawn from their own country/countries, but may well also have references to European examples. The example from Helsinki, in which Vilhelm listens to Kaia's experience or racism, is particularly instructive: it can be argued that getting young people to respectfully listen to each other's experiences needs to play a much more prominent role in group learning.

Secondly, it is likely that young people discussing diversity will recognise as a relatively new and changing situation: understanding that their experiences of living in a multi-ethnic society are different from those of their parents and grandparents, and that attitudes and beliefs about diversity are changing. There are similar generational differences with respect to sexuality and gender, that may lead them to understand generational change.

The meanings of 'tolerance' and 'diversity' themselves may be a useful focal point for discussion at some stage – perhaps as a discussion at a later stage, when personal experiences have been discussed at some length. The opening section of this part explored some aspects of this that may be useful (pp 46-68).

Other strategies

There may well be a need for some more direct input on the nature of diversity, and why diversity in many areas of Europe is becoming increasingly evident.

Some of the (lack of) knowledge about other parts of the world was evident in the remarks of some young people – seen particularly in the following section on Respect for Other Cultures (see p 76-7 in particular) show a particular notion of European/White superiority over particularly 'third world' countries: it may be that curriculum authorities in these countries need to pay specific attention to countering the lazy and ill-informed stereotyping that appears to be taking place.[51]

There was also evidence of lack of empathy and understanding of the position of minorities in some other cases and locations. Some young people, even though in diverse classrooms, were not able to understand or be aware of the discrimination going on about them, although others in the same classroom were well-able to understand the position of minorities (for example, Kia and Vilhelm, above. p 70).

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[49] Brownlee, j., Bourke, T, Rowan, L. Ryan, M. Churchward. P et al. (2022) How epistemic reflexivity enables teacher educators' teaching *for* diversity: Exploring a pedagogical framework for critical thinking. *British Educational Research Journal*, 48, pp 684–703.

[50] Kudrnác, A. (2022) Is classroom political discussion able to reduce anti–immigrant attitudes in adolescents? Testing the effect of frequency, length, and topic of classroom political discussions on anti–immigrant attitudes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 52, pp 220–232

[51] Bigler, R. and Liben, S. (2006) A developmental group theory of social stereotypes and prejudice, Advances in *Child Development Behavior*, 34 (39–80). Bigler, R. & S. Liben, (2007) Developmental Intergroup Theory: Explaining and Reducing Children's Social Stereotyping and Prejudice. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *16*(3), 162–166

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Some direct historical consideration of the population changes in Europe might be useful (Gattrell's book, referenced on p 64 might be of value), and of the great changes that have taken place in both the early post 1945 period, and more recently in the past two or three decades. German young people in the survey were particularly aware of the migration of displaced German relatives in the 1946-54 period, and sympathetic to subsequent migrants. Role play might be another strategy: imagining themselves in situations of war, famine, and other situations leading to refugee status could be useful. There might also be ways of involving young people in service education, where they took on an active civic role in supporting new minorities and diverse populations in the locality. However, such active service activities need to be linked to discussion and exploration of the reasons leading to populations becoming more diverse, and not just be left at the level of doing 'good works', which can lead to patronising attitudes and behaviours.

Consideration of diversity is closely linked to the value that follows: Respect for Other Cultures.

C: CV2 Analysis of the Core Value: Respect for Other Cultures

The nature of the value of Respect for Others in the European context

The value of showing respect for other cultures has some similarities with the previous value, tolerance of diversity. The case for the mutual respect for other cultures is set out at some length in the Council of Europe's *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue: Living Together As Equals in Dignity* (2008).[52] The following paragraphs draw on this.

Intercultural dialogue is defined as the open exchange of views between individuals and groups who have different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, undertaken with mutual understanding and respect. To be successful, this needs both the freedom and ability to express oneself and the ability and willingness to listen to the views of others. Such dialogue fosters equality, human dignity and a sense of common purpose. It should develop an understanding of different world views and practices, encouraging co-operation, personal growth, and the promotion of tolerance and respect.

The purposes of such intercultural dialogue are essentially to promote respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law, leading to the development of inclusive societies, in which no one is marginalised or seen as an outsider. Intercultural respect therefore:

- is an instrument for mediation and reconciliation;
- addresses social fragmentation and insecurity; and
- fosters integration and social cohesion.

The development of such cultural respect needs:

- open-mindedness;
- the willingness to engage in dialogue and allow others to express their ideas;
- the capacity to resolve conflicts by peaceful means; and
- the recognition of the reasoning of others.

(Dialogue with those who refuse to engage will not be possible – but open democratic societies must always offer opportunities for dialogue.)

Every individual has the fundamental freedom to choose their own culture – but also have the right to change and adopt different cultural attachments. Every individual is in part the product of his or her heritage and social background, but in contemporary democracies they can also enrich their identity, integrating other cultural affiliations. The data analysed in this study, for example, includes discussions by young people who explicitly experience such integrated cultures: in the Danish town of Odense, a group of 17 and 18 year old young people discussed their sense of cultural and political identities.

Cæcilie I feel –very Danish [laughs] – even though my grandfather immigrated from Scotland – so –

Evald I also feel Danish, and I also feel like the others, quite free in my life. But my father and my grandfathers, my grandmother, they emigrated from Germany, so I also feel some connection with Germany – but I feel mostly Danish, so –

[52] https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/white%20paper_final_revised_en.pdf

Hussein My parents are originally from Palestine, but I'm born and raised in Denmark – I don't feel as quite as Danish as the others, I feel more a bit of both – I feel more European than Danish – it's like the same culture as Arabic.

Lilli I feel that it's mostly about the culture of the country. When I say I feel Danish it's not like I feel that I *belong* in this country, I could easily move to another country, but it's more about the culture… like what we eat, what we say to each other, how we feel about life in general, I guess.

Cæcilie I think most of it has to do with the way I was raised – for example, my mum feels more Scottish than me, so she sort of raised me to be proud to *be* Scottish – the culture that it has, just like when there are tourists here we talk about our culture – like she [Lilli] said, what we eat and what we do, and celebrate

Hussein When we talk about different identities, people often mistakenly say that there is a clash of cultures, that the youngster doesn't know where to put himself. Is he German or Danish or Palestinian or something. But I see different cultures as being an advantage – you take the best of both cultures, the best of both identities and make you own – that's an advantage, from my point of view. I don't fancy the Danish culture as much, but I'm born and raised in Denmark, so a lot of what I do can be interpreted as being Danish – but I consider myself as being more Arabic than Danish – that's not because I'm not integrated into society, just because I feel more Arabic than Danish –

Julius I agree very much with that and I agree with Lilli that I feel Danish too – and that makes it much easier, because you have a lot of people that you feel connected to in that way, and that you have this – when you're travelling, when you're abroad you can go and find Danish people and then you feel at home. … I try to look away from nationalities more or less, because I want to be able to travel and feel at home everywhere I go with different cultures. I agree with Hussein that you can learn a lot from different cultures – every time I go abroad my identity changes a bit, because I pick up from different cultures what I find interesting – and what I find is an improvement to my Danish culture – and then I think the Danish culture will change a bit if everybody goes abroad and we'll get stuff in from different places in the world – but you will also try to stick with certain ideas and certain norms, the Danish values – because it's such a big part of your life that you'll never give them up

Cæcilie I think our nationality is also a way of expressing ourselves both when we're abroad, but also when we're at home, using it to feel secure, even if you're in a culture that you're not used to – you can tell people that I do this and that because I was raised in Denmark, or because I feel Danish – and then you can use it to advantage, For example, I feel European as well, because we have some fair rules and stuff that unites us – even though we have very different cultures in the different countries in Europe

Hussein If you feel Danish, [if] … you feel integrated into the culture, that you do something because you so like this culture that you feel you are Danish. But loving the country, that's nationalism … this concept is new, and it's being eradicated, because we are a global society and even more a European society – because we have the United Nations, and so on – so the world is being more globalised – you can see we are just six people here, and half of us have different roots than just Danish, though we are in Danish town.

Julius Yes, you can have Danish passport without feeling Danish, and you can also feel Danish without being able to get a Danish passport – so it's very hard to say 'now you're Danish' or 'now you are something else – Palestinian' –

Evald It's very hard to define what is Danishness, or what it means to be a Dane – it's something we do ourselves – we create what we think is Danish in ourselves, and then if some other person is asked 'What does it mean to be Danish' they might answer something completely different from me. For example, if you come from another culture, then you can take something of that culture in and sort of mix it with the Danish to create a new sort of Danish identity – but that would still be a Danish identity – so I think it's a very blurry line between being Danish and not Danish– it's not something that you can just say.

Intercultural dialogue helps avoid some of the problems of identity policies.

The development of such intercultural respect has its roots in history. The period of the nation-state in Europe – particularly at its height between around 1870 to 1945 – assumed that all those living within a state boundary should be assimilate to its predominant ethos, being socialised into this by national (sometimes nationalistic) rituals. Those unwilling to do this were (at best) marginalised – and sometimes treated far worse.

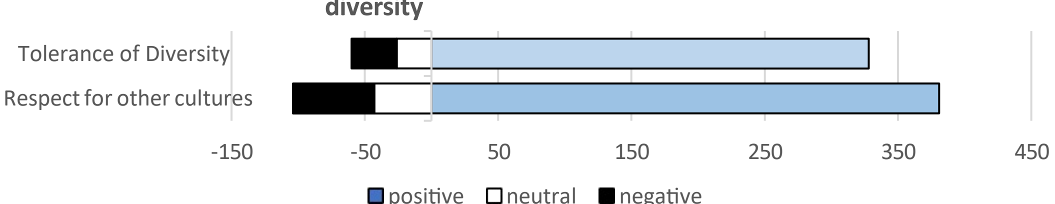
But there were also over past centuries more positive experiences in Europe, demonstrating how different cultures and religions might coexist with mutual tolerance and respect. The experiences of immigration (intra-European and non-European) in Western Europe after 1945 was often associated with the new concept of multiculturalism. Sometimes this allowed the political recognition of the different ethos of minority communities to be seen as equivalent to those of the 'host' community – radically different from the earlier policies of assimilationism: but this also sometimes underpinned an oppositional conception, of a society of majorities and minorities. The CoE Opatija Declaration (2003)[53] rejected this paradigm, setting out cultural diversity as a principle that 'cannot be applied exclusively in terms of "majority" or "minority", for this pattern singles out cultures and communities, and categorises and stigmatises them in a static position, to the point at which social behaviour and cultural stereotypes are assumed on the basis of groups' respective status. Overlapping, multiple identities are thus not contradictory – rather they can be a source of strength and allow the possibility of common ground.

This emerging interculturalist paradigm can be seen as incorporating elements of both former policies. It takes from assimilation the focus on the individual; it takes from multiculturalism the recognition of cultural diversity. And it adds the new element, critical to integration and social cohesion, of dialogue on the basis of equal dignity and shared values.

Young people's discussions of the value of respect for other cultures

Some 34% of responses to the Core Values referred (directly or indirectly) to the value of respect for other cultures, making it the most commonly mentioned core value – rather more than the value of tolerance for diversity (27%). But there were more negative or ambivalent references to inter-cultural respect: the number of positive references was almost the same as the positive references for tolerance of diversity (Figure CCV2:1).

Figure CCV2 :1 Strength of feeling: resepect for other culures & tolerance of diversity



There is not insubstantial level of either hostility (12.6%) or ambivalence (8.8%) to this particular value, the highest level of negativity of any of these values. That one young person in eight is

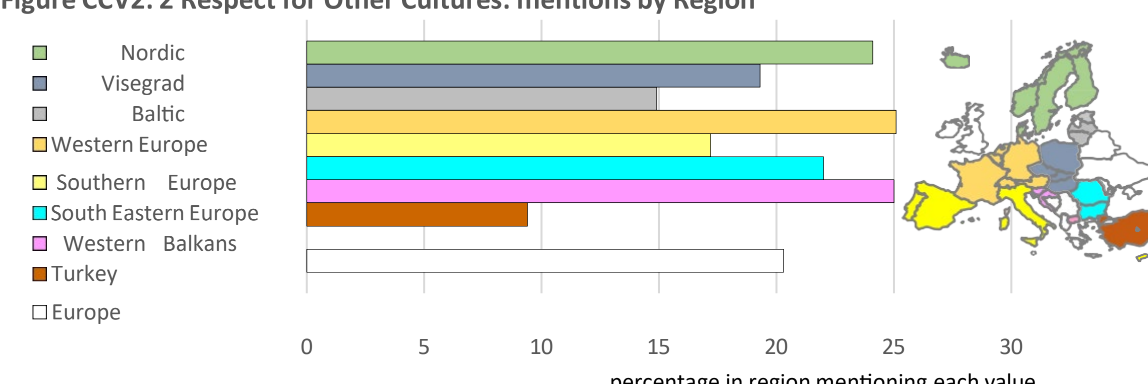
[53] *Declaration on Intercultural Dialogue and Conflict Prevention*, adopted by the European Ministers responsible for Cultural Affairs Opatija (Croatia), 22 October 2003 at http://www.ericarts–institute.org/web/files/131/en/OpatijaDeclaration.pdf

seemingly hostile to other cultures, and a further one in nine is ambivalent may be a minority, but it is a substantial minority, and should be a cause for concern.

Where was Respect for Other Cultures mentioned most (by region within Europe)

As with the previous value, the proportion of the population in each region who mentioned this value varied considerably. It was most frequently discussed in Western Europe, the Nordic states and the Western Balkans (24%, 25%, 25% respectively), and by slightly less in South-eastern Europe (22%) and the Visegrad Region (19%). Southern Europe and the Baltic states were less (17% and 15%), and Turkey (9%) was least. The reasons for this variation are unclear, and will be discussed further in the Regional section that follows. The data on positive/ambivalent/negative feelings is difficult to analyse at the regional level, because the data is too attenuated to come to any conclusions.

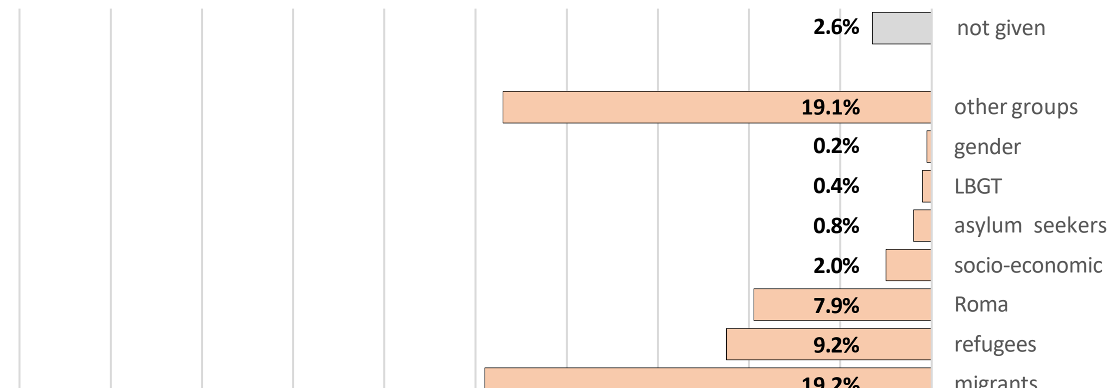
Figure CCV2: 2 Respect for Other Cultures: mentions by Region



What examples did they choose to illustrate Respect for Other Cultures?

The categorisation analysis we undertook was not sufficiently refined to identify particular cultures that were being referred to – in a great many cases no particular culture was identified – but Figure CCV2:3 shows that the majority of references – almost 38% – concerned mentioning cultures concerning ethnic or racial minorities. Migrants and refugees also figured strongly (19% and 9% respectively, followed by specifically Roma culture (8%). Together, these constitute over 75% of examples.

Figure CCV2: 3 Respect for Other Cultures illustrated by examples of:



The range of responses towards different cultures can be seen in these three reactions to other cultures in the Swedish city of Malmö (from three different groups). Predrag (M/14, Swedish born, both parents Serbian) was dismissive: '"immigrants" bunch up in their groups and only speak their own language between them – they won't learn Swedish culture or learn Swedish – so the Swedish people don't like that.' Tore (M/15) was receptive to the range of cultures in the city: 'this part of a multicultural country and multicultural world here – I mostly meant the cultures that the immigrants bring here with them,' linking this viewpoint to his generation. Fred (M/16, adopted, of Chinese parentage) was particularly appreciative, describing Malmö as 'a city that mixes all the different cultures together, and it really feels like you're part of it. You're part of the special Swedish culture in Malmö.'

As was the case with Tolerance of Diversity, young people of colour particularly drew on personal experience of cultural intolerance. In Berlin, Liselotte (F/15, German mother, Black UK father) described a family visit to a Dresden coffee shop: 'this old lady came and said "What do you want?" – she was really, really unkind, she was a White old lady– my dad asked if she could speak English – and [she said] "No", and went away ... Then this younger guy came, and he was really nice ... I think that younger people are more open to other cultures.' But many young Germans spoke positively about migrant and refugee culture – discussions in Germany were all in January 2016, five months after Merkel's ('*Wir schaffen das*') decision to accept as many as a million refugees – Constanze (F/15) in Berlin said 'in Germany it's easy for us ... to be accepted for who you are – we have a large diversity of nationalities in our class, and we don't judge them on their nationality – more or less we are open to everything', and in Dortmund Käte (F/17) said 'nobody has the right to say that someone is more valuable than another – every life should be the same – and some people don't understand this.' Eight months earlier, In Lille, Laurence (F/16) linked migrant culture, poverty, and right-wing politics: 'in France today there's a big issue about the older people – but also younger people too, living in neighbourhoods where there's not that culture to think differently – all these people, who did not have the luck that we've had are the 10% of unemployed. These people are afraid of what's going to happen – and that fear is what turns people on foreigners, and [to] voting for the extreme right.' Others also spoke for refugees' rights to be accepted. In a small village in the south of France, Rosalie (F/14) was angry that 'the Hungarian government authorised the army to shoot on the migrants, they also rejected the refuges – in France we try to welcome the refugees as well as we

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can.' There were contrary voices: in Faro (Portugal), Macario (M/12) said 'about things we want to change, I think that we shouldn't accept the refugees.'

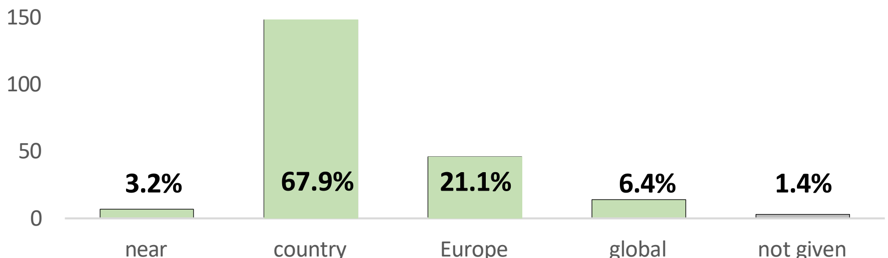
There were also some clear calls to reject any idea of cultural mixing. Sometimes this was specifically about Muslim culture: in Rijeka (Croatia) Tanja (F/13) said 'we are sort of afraid of spreading the Turkish culture and tradition', and Maks (M/13) in Koper (Slovenia) was even more specific: 'countries in the European Union still have a similar cultures, and I really don't think it's a good idea that other cultures, like Muslims, become part of it – because I think it's not a good idea that these cultures should mix'. There was through most the Balkan area and south-east Europe a legacy of hostility towards the Ottoman Empire and Turkey: in Bulgaria in particular the trope of 'centuries under the Turkish yoke' was heard on multiple occasions. In Oradea (Romania), Diana (F/13) speculated that the immigration she was aware of in Western Europe might mean that 'Europe will have people of different races, different colours.' Asked if this would be a good thing or a bad thing, she responded 'Half good, half bad'.

It was also noted that the educational curriculum in some east-central European states seemed to particularly support negative stereotypes of non-European cultures: In Pécs (Hungary), Kata (F/13) talked of geography lessons about the 'awful situation they have in Asia and in Africa. We don't have … people dying of hunger'; in Olsztyn (Poland) Iwonka (F/12) referred to 'people living in Africa usually are much more undressed than people in Europe,' while in Kraków, Olesia (/15) said 'I saw [Africa] on TV – they have completely different clothes. They still wear clothes like in the bush.' In the town of Banská Bystrica in Slovakia, Iven (M/14) distinguished continents by dietary culture: 'American have fast food, African have what they can find, Indians have bamboos and plant roots, and Europeans have normal food.' In the same group Ctibor (M13) added 'well, in Africa there are cannibals.' In another group the same town, Hedviga (F/13) said 'a European is one who has a white skin colour, who looks like me,' and Boleslav (M/13) said he wouldn't consider a non-white person to be European, as did Simka (F/17): 'Europeans are white.'

Where were these examples located?

Figure CCV2: 4 shows the distribution of where these examples were set: the very common pattern for all these core values.

Figure CCV2 :4 Examples of Respect for other cutural drawn from –



The stereotypes cited in the final paragraph of the previous section illustrate how the idea of 'a European culture' can be constructed in a way that excludes (and misunderstands) other cultures, with the suggestion that school curricula may support this process.[54] There is a similar sense of

[54] Bigler, R. and Liben, S. (2006) A developmental group theory of social stereotypes and prejudice, Advances in *Child Development Behavior*, 34 (39–80). Bigler, R. & S. Liben, (2007) Developmental Intergroup Theory: Explaining and Reducing Children's Social Stereotyping and Prejudice. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *16*(3), 162–166

cultural superiority evident in Omiros's (M/12) comment in Nicosia: 'other parts of the world people are not as civilised as Europeans – and we know this because of the wars that happen every day' (this comment was made in 2011).

The idea of a specific European culture was also sometimes used as a benchmark for describing the national culture: in Iaşi (Romania), Dumitru (M/14) said 'I don't feel European, because the other countries in Europe look at us like sheep – they think we are gypsies, that we do all the bad things in Europe – they think that we are on the border, at the end of Europe!' Others described pressures to modify the way they spoke about their own construction of their culture: In Jyväskylä (Finland), Terttu (F/17, Finnish born of Kosovan parents) said 'I feel that I'm Albanian, but not many people understand the meaning of Kosovan Albanian – it's easier for me so say I'm Albanian, or from Kosovo.'

And a number saw their cultural references as global, like Daniel (M/16) in Sofia (Bulgaria): 'I feel myself more like a citizen of the world – not European .. because borders and languages are not so important. I like going to other countries and seeing their culture.'

What time period did these examples relate to?

The great majority of references were, again, to events within their lifetimes: in the case of this particular value, we can locate a greater proportion of them being within the previous month or year, as many references were to the refugee exodus of 2015 (Figure CCV2:5).

Sometimes the discussions of this were completely contemporary, of the day. In a school in Olsztyn (Poland) there were parallel classes for Roma young people and those of Polish origin, and some of the Polish young people commented positively on this arrangement: Maigozata (F/12) said 'but actually the children find it good that the gypsies [sic] try not to let their own tradition die out: that they promote their tradition, that they keep their traditions.' Iwonka (F/11) advocated bringing the classes together: 'If the classes really were to be mixed, then it shouldn't be just one gypsy in a whole class of Poles, it should be balanced, so that at each desk there should be one Pole and one gypsy'.

Figure CCV2: 5 Time which examples refered to

not given	1.8%
historic	2.4%
lifetime	75.8%
last year	8.5%
last month	6.9%
future	4.5%

0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400 450

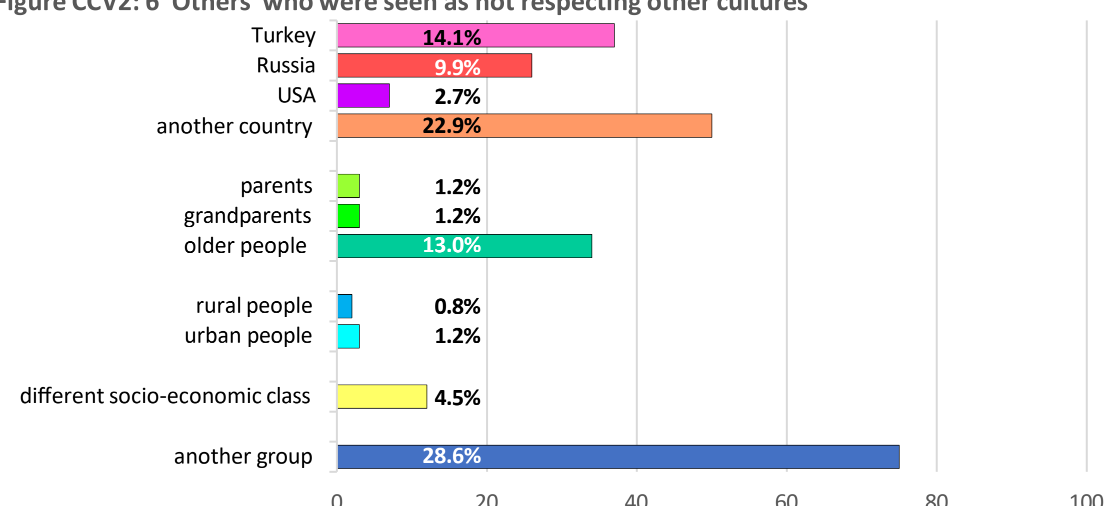
Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

Which groups were 'othered', as not respecting other cultures

In 53% of the cases where respect for other cultures were mentioned there was an identification of an 'other' group that was thought to fail to recognise the value (Figure CCV2: 6). Comparisons with other countries were made in half of these cases, Turkey and Russia featuring in 24% of all cases.

Older people were also identified (15%). 'Another social group' (29%) often referred to people or groups in the country in which the discussion was taking place.

Figure CCV2: 6 'Others' who were seen as not respecting other cultures



Russians were identified as being both more belligerent and more opposed to LBGT culture. Aarão (M/14) in Faro described Russia as 'a bad country that wants war – I know that Russia is coming more to Europe and their lands, and the people from Russia are good people – like us, some are good, some are bad'. In Slagelse (Denmark), Janko (M/15) defended perceptions of Russian homophobia: 'you say Russia doesn't agree with their rights, but it's also against their religion – they're Orthodox Christians and it's not normal for people to be with the same kind of – er – homosexuality – it's against their rules, it's not normal for them – that's the reason why they don't want to have that in their country'. Other current tensions were expressed in terms of cultural differencing: on Serbian-Croatian relations, Berivov (M/14, Croatian, in Rikjeka, explained 'there's a lot of hate. From our generation, and from older people'. There was also a lack of cultural understanding in Prilep in North Macedonia, Atanas (M/18) was dismissive of the Albanian minority; 'if we chose to live in this society, then the minorities in Macedonia are our enemies, because I don't think there is a middle – we cannot compromise, I don't think that this exists. In this society there is no grey, there is only white and black'

In Jyväskylä, a young woman of Russian origin felt that their minority cultures were not accepted by all Finns. Sari (F/18, born in Vladivostok) said 'the racism in Finland is pretty big – I've had to stand racism my whole time I've been her, 12 years, and it has been pretty rough because the Finnish are pretty closed about immigrants. I really want to be a European, but I have only the nationality of Russia, I still don't have Finnish nationality – so that doesn't make me an EU citizen – and as long as I don't have EU citizenship, I don't feel myself as a European. I came from the Asian side of Russia. And that makes me feel Asian'. In the same group Miina (F/16, Finnish born with a South African mother) described how her Finnish grandmother rejected other cultures (including Miina's South African possessions): 'she's got this mindset that everything Finnish is good, and if something is from abroad then it's dirty and bad. Like food – she won't buy anything from abroad, because it will be dirty and bad, and carry diseases.' In the same small city, Aulikki (F/15) talked of 'dark skinned people' – ' my grandparents have been really afraid of them. My mum is really different – she's really anti-racist, she doesn't like racism at all, and she has taught me to be like that. And my views are really different to my grandparents – there's a really big gap'.

There were particular cultural references to the Roma, most of which rejected their culture (the Polish examples in the previous section being an exception). In Iaşi in Romania, Anca (F/14) complained 'the gypsies are not Romanian, they are different from the Romanian people – they are their own nationality. Europeans make this confusion, that Romanians and gypsies are the same.' And Regina (F/16) in Oradea felt that 'Romanians are denigrated in other countries – I think this is not all our fault … in the majority of the cases the gypsies are not a good commercial for us' Similar anti-Roma views were expressed in Ostrava (Czechia): Verushka (F/12) talked of 'the Roma people here – I mind them being here, because they moved here and now they're here. And they have a lot of children, because they get welfare for them.' A group of young Roma in Novo Mestro, Slovenia described how they felt treated by non-Roma Slovenians: Matic (M/14) said he would like them 'to talk with us – *Civili* [the group's term for the general population] turn away from us whenever they see us. Some of them accept us, some do not.' 'Roma … are treated differently to other people – in the shops, in the streets. *Civili* always look as though they are avoiding Roma,' added Anže (M/13). He wanted to be seen as Slovenian, and he thought his parents and grandparents would support him becoming part of *civili* society. 'They'd say it was a good thing, good for us – to marry Slovenians and become part of Slovenian society.'

There were also some arguments in the small town of Sostro in Slovenia about accepting Bosniaks (Bosnians of Muslim faith) displaced into the country. Taj (M/13) spoke of 'kids whose parents are from Bosnia – and they feel that they are from Bosnia too – and they dress like that, Bosnian style … their haircuts, their shoes.' Katerina (F/14) pulled him up quite sharply: 'I don't think it's right that we separate people into different groups according to what they are wearing – because it doesn't change anything, how you are dressed'.

Implications for pedagogy

From the evidence

There are some important implications for educators in these findings. As with most of these values, spontaneous discussion is likely to arise from personal experiences of events in the very recent past, and it will not be possible to systematically plan discussion topics very far in advance: an opportunistic approach will be needed. This might be combined with a more structured approach to have case-study material – these could be based on local or near-local events that may have happened a few years earlier, or on events in other countries where there had been intercultural tensions – to prompt discussions about the application of the value of intercultural respect. Although 'othering' can be a useful way to encourage young people to recognise inequalities and unfairness, it may be necessary to stress that it is *individual behaviour* that is being discussed, not all the members of a group. A significant minority of young people are showing forms of racialised intolerance and Islamophobia (the high level of othering Turkey is an example of this, as are other comments about Islam in other countries).

The evidence of a significant minority of young people displaying forms of cultural intolerance and a lack inter-cultural understanding and acceptance clearly needs attention in educational settings. [55] Some of the very outdated descriptions on non-European cultures and practices needs to be

[55] Isac, M. L. Palmeito and M van der Werf (2019) Indicators of (on)tolerance towards immigrants among European youth: an assessment of measurement invariance in ICCS 3016. *Large Scale Assessments in Education* 7 (6) 1–21)

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radically revised: there is a strong case for teacher education, initial and in-service, to be updated in some areas. A common useful strategy is to focus on the similar values and underlying objectives shown by different cultures: they may carry these out in ways that appear to be very different, but the intentions will be very similar, and drawing attention to such similarities with the familiar local cultures of students can be very effective. Comparing how different cultures operate to carry out the concepts of cooperation, the division of labour, the distribution of power and authority (and the differences between these two), social control, conflict, interdependence, tradition and social change in ways that may at first sight seem very 'different' can be a useful and effective way of promoting the acceptance of cultural differences.

Other strategies

As in the previous section on Tolerance of Diversity, there is much work to be done in classrooms and colleges on intercultural understanding. There is a fundamental majority of young people who are expressing various levels of culturally sensitivities, often with high degrees of empathy and understanding. They need support and a greater depth of understanding about the issues of intercultural respect, but could act as role models for their less respectful peers.

Some work on the recent history of cultural migrations (and on its long historical roots) would be appropriate. Most European countries, however, have a distinctly difficult history of cultural intolerance over the past century, and it would be important that there was a more frank and open discussion about what happened in terms of ethnic cleansing across much of Europe both before and in the decades after the second world war.

Exploring the local environment for evidence of past intolerances towards other cultures, and of local historical records, when these are available, would be one strategy in conveying to young people the complicity of a wide range of European countries having a history of intolerance. Equally, there could be exploration of the movements in more recent times to address past inequities and exploitation in many countries, and in the work of both the Council of Europe and the European Union.

C: CV3 Analysis of the Core Value: Respect for Life

The nature of the value of Respect for Life in the European context

Respect for human life and dignity is a cornerstone of modern European society and is protected by various legal and moral frameworks.

The concept of respect for human life and human dignity has its roots in the writings of Aristotle and Plato. It was developed in the Enlightenment, with the argument that all individuals should have certain inalienable rights, including the right to life and the right to be treated with dignity. These became codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), which sets out in its preamble 'whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.' This affirms the inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family – and transformed the idea of 'dignity' away from something that was the consequence of class, race, or another advantage to being something all humans are born with. The simple fact of being born human means that all people deserve respect. Human rights naturally spring from this dignity.

Respect for human life and dignity is of particular importance in Europe, which has a history of both trying to uphold these values and sometimes failing – disastrously – to do so. The European Convention on Human Rights (Council of Europe, 1950) sets out a number of fundamental rights that are protected under international law. These include the right to life and the right to be treated with dignity. Despite this, respect for human life and dignity is not always a given in European societies. Various challenges threaten them – wars, discrimination, hate crimes, and violations of human rights. In recent years, Europe (and beyond) has experienced a rise in populist and nationalist movements that have sought to undermine the values of respect, tolerance and diversity that are seen as central to the European project. The defence of human rights and dignity becomes crucial in ensuring that all individuals are treated with respect and equality, regardless of their race, religion, or nationality. These issues are of particular concern for young people, who may be more vulnerable to some of these abuses.

There is evidence to suggest that young people in Europe may have a different perspective on respect for human life and dignity than older generations. Lewis-Smith et al (2021) [56] found young people (12 to 17) readily able to discuss the meaning of 'values' and their own personal values, demonstrating significant understanding of the meaning, origins and functions of values: the study suggested young people may welcome and benefit from opportunities to discuss their values. These findings are also evident in the study and the data on which this analysis is based.

Other studies have found that young people in Europe are more likely to support the rights of minority groups and to express a strong commitment to human rights values, suggesting many young people may have a more inclusive and progressive view of respect for human life and dignity. But there are also challenges facing young people in this: the study by Bayer and Bard et al. (2020) [57] found that young people in Europe are more likely to be exposed to hate speech and other forms of

[56] Lewis–Smith I, Pass L, Reynolds S. (2021) How adolescents understand their values: A qualitative study. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. 26(1) 231–242.

[57] Bayer, J. and Bard, P. (2020). *Hate speech and discrimination online: A study on the experiences of young people in Europe*. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.

online discrimination, and these can negatively impact on their sense of self-worth and dignity, and can undermine their commitment to human rights values.

The expression of all values raise issues of definition and limits. The Universal Declaration, and its European definition, are interpreted in their immediate form as the dignity and value of human life, that is independently sustained. Others may wish to extend similar rights to other animals, for example, and others consider human life to exist from the point of conception, rather than of birth. Dignity and the right to life also can be debated about people suffering from incurable, painful and permanent illnesses: campaigners both for and against assisted suicide argue that dignity is on their side.

Dignity also means that certain acts, such as torture, are prohibited because in order to protect both the dignity and the physical and mental integrity of the individual. Dignity in this sense is to protect from destruction. And in considering the right to health, for example, dignity is something aspired to: people have basic rights in order to lead a dignified life. The right to not be discriminated against is essential, because all human beings are ‘free and equal in dignity and rights.’

Young people’s discussions of the value of respect for Human Life

This value was mentioned just over 300 times in the discussions, and had the highest proportion of positive mentions (93%) of all these fundamental values. 3% of references were neutral, and 4% negative (Figure CCV3: 1).

Figure CCV3: 1 Strength of feeling about Respect for Human Life

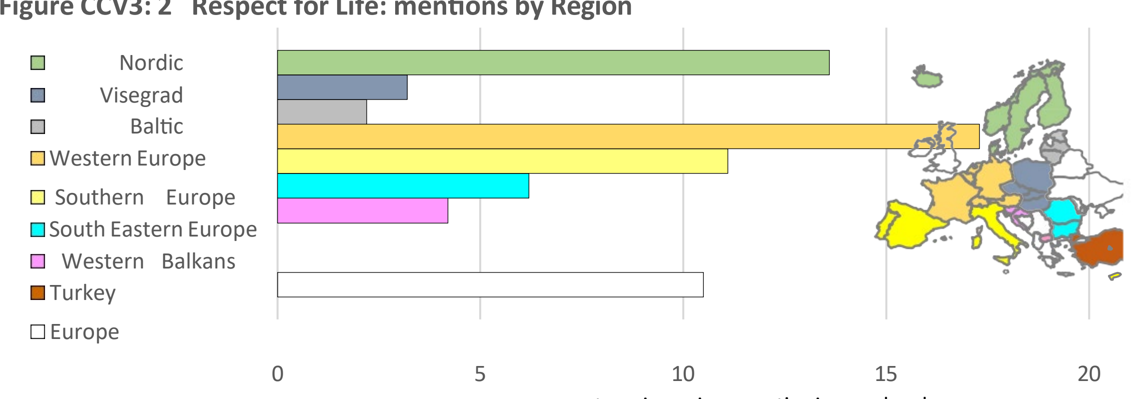
Respect for life

-50 0 50 100 150 200

positive neutral negative

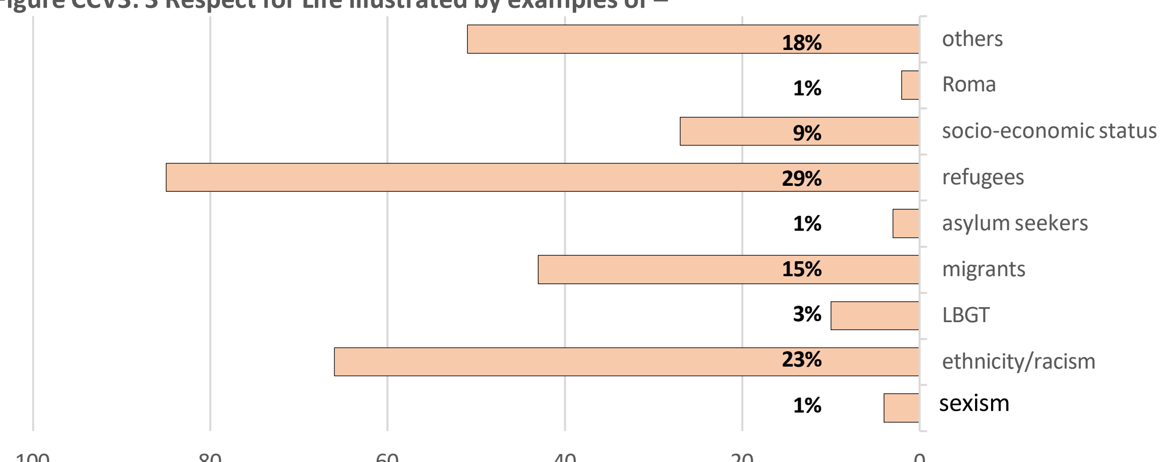
It was mentioned very variably across the various regions of Europe – between 11% and 16% of individuals in Western, Nordic and Southern Europe mentioned the right to life (Figure CCV3: 2), but less than 6% elsewhere. Turkey was a particular exception (0%), but this may be a consequence of a small and possibly rather skewed sample.

Figure CCV3: 2 Respect for Life: mentions by Region



What examples did they choose to illustrate Respect for Life?

This value was most frequently raised about the treatment of refugees and other migrants, and those who were seen as victimised in some way because of their ethnicity or race (Figure CCV3:3). Behaviour towards people with lower socio-economic status was also mentioned in some cases.



Positive remarks about both refugees and migrants were common (these terms were often not distinguished between, and were more common than 'asylum seekers': they are simple analysed here as the term that was used in a particular contribution to the discussion). References were made to both Europe-wide and to state responses. Being 'human' or 'a person' was given as the explanation in several cases: for example in Spain Estefania (F/16) in Segovia talked about the need to support refugees: the Spanish government should 'just treat them another way and greet them – they are humans, and people like us,' and Trinidad (F/15) in Cordoba said 'the refugees from Syria – everybody is a person. They are welcome in Spain.' In Matera in Italy, Eustachio (M/17) used the metaphor of the family: 'when we speak about Europe, yes, we have to speak about a big family, that has to help the different members – and I think sometimes this doesn't happen – for example, immigrants.' Børre (M/18) from Lillehammer (Norway) put the need for respect in the context of the development of multi-culturalism: 'we have a very multi-cultural society, with people from all over the world living in Norway – and I think most of the people accept this – that's a really good thing.' Gerold (M/15) in Berlin was also aware of the fragility of wider community support: referring to the alleged assaults on young women in Köln on New Year's Eve in 2015, he was 'very proud that Germany can welcome so many refugees – and that occasion that happened in Cologne doesn't help.'

There were also a small proportion of less positive comments, for example in Portugal those made by Macaraio (M/12) in Faro: ' I think that we shouldn't accept the refugees'.

Where were these examples located?

Some two-thirds of the examples were made about events and experiences in the country of the discussion, and a quarter were references to Europe (Figure CCV3: 4).

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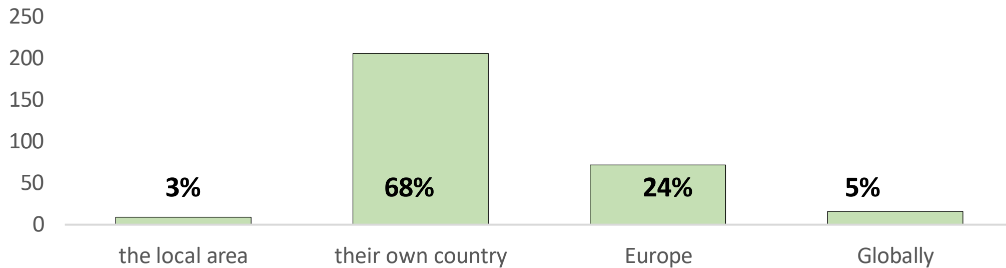
Figure CCV3: 4 illustrative examples of Respect for Life drawn from –

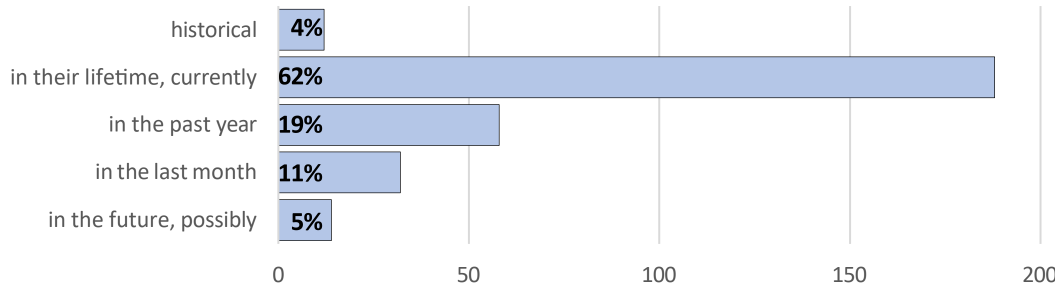


Country-specific examples include Annegret (F/15) in Berlin: 'Germany is a lot safer than other countries......the fact that the refugees can be shown as positive, because … it's great that Germany is helping them so much.' In a small village in the south of France, Romaine (F/17) distinguished migrants who came to work, and the need to support those who were needed assistance: 'immigrants who arrive in France and who work for the country don't get support – while immigrants who arrive and who don't have do anything special to get support very quick.' Philomène (F/14) in the Belgian town of Ath specifically linked the response to migrants to Europe: 'I don't think in Europe there are [any] countries that don't respect human rights – I think that all the countries in the European Union respect human rights.'

What time period did these examples relate to?

As with most of these values, the great majority of examples were drawn from the young people's own lived experiences (Figure CCV3: 5) The 'refugee factor' in 2015 meant that we could locate a higher proportion of responses to events in the month or year previous to the date of the discussion.

Figure CCV3: 5: Time the examples chosen referred to



Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

There were some specific and notable exceptions. In Germany in particular, there were about 15 references to family members who had themselves been refugees (or 'displaced persons'), refugees from the area of Germany between 1870 and 1945 that was transferred to Poland, and from the Sudetenland, in 1945-6, and internal migrants from the former DDR to the Länder in the FDR after 1989.

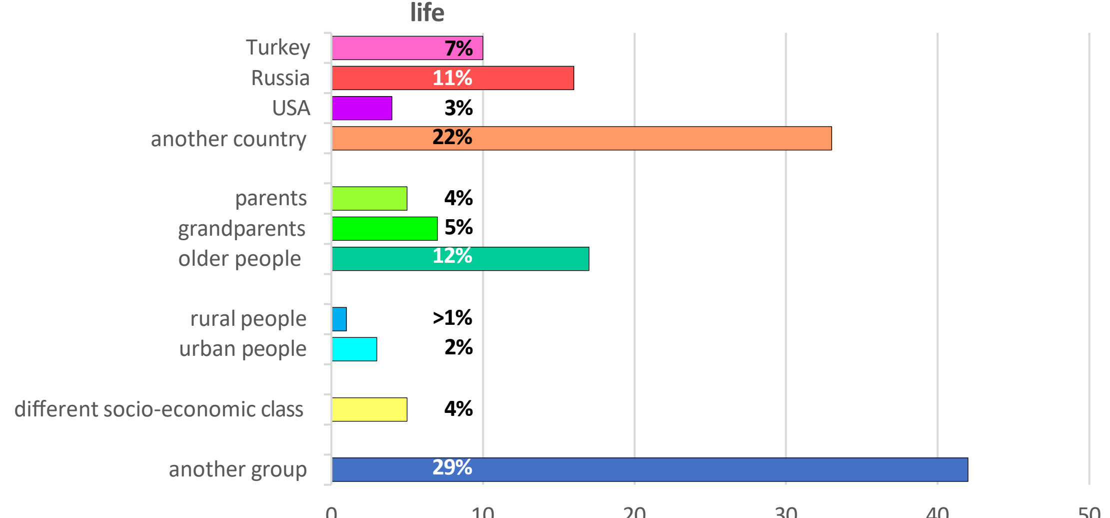
Prisha (F/15) in Berlin (German born, of Indian parentage) talked of German-origin friends whose grandparents has been refugees then: 'they can understand how the refugees feel – and they have empathy, they felt the way that the refugees feel today.' Also in Berlin, Annegret (F/15) had 'grandparents on my dad's side [who] had to flee in the second world war … there might be more of an understanding than with people who haven't experienced anything like that.' Gerold (M/15), in the same group, explained that his grandmother had fled from Poland, and his father was a refugee from the former DDR (East Germany) to the FDR (West Germany). 'we have a huge discussion at home that we think we should welcome all of them – my family is split … I think when we get

refugees from Syria it's OK, because they are running to save their lives – when you think sixty years back in Germany, I think two and a half million people were running.'

'Othered' groups, whom it was felt did not uphold respect for life

Some 43% of those 'othering' people who did not respect this right referred to other countries: there were a wide range of countries in this group. A further 21% mentioned older people (41% of these being older members of their families).

Figure CCV3: 6 Those described as 'Othering' – and not supporting espect for life



Othered countries included Turkey: Marie-Pierre (F/14) in Ath (Belgium) said 'Turkey isn't really a democracy – and they don't respect our values – so I don't consider it as European country.', and Albin (M/18), in the town of Forst on the Polish border, referred to the action of the government of 'Hungary, because they closed the border to refugees – they wouldn't find a solution to deal with the amount of refugees coming to the country.'

Othering older people was seen in the comments in Finland by Teija (F/16): 'the older generation, they call black people *neekeri* – but it's normal to them, because they were told to call them that. But for us it's different, for us it's very offensive – though if we say it to our friends, like it's a joke. But they don't consider the immigrants the same as us – though we also have racists among our generation.' There were also references to degrees of tolerance varying within countries: for example, in a small town in Francophone Switzerland Violette (F/16) described 'a division of opinion between different parts of our country ... in the more central part they are more conservative ... and ... have more radical ideas about strangers. I ...don't want to put people in boxes, but ... in Central and up in the Appenzsell.'

Implications for pedagogy

From the evidence

The fact that the great majority of young people were, at the time of this study, positive about respect for life should not lead to complacency. The findings of Bayer and Bard, referred to in the opening remarks in this section, suggest that hate speech and intolerance are growing on certain on-line sites and in social media use by some young people.

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The use of discussion may be particularly appropriate for this particular value. There are frequent, if not regular, incidents of disrespect for the lives of other people, particularly around migrancy and asylum seekers, within Europe and at its borders, very often leading to well-reported legal cases challenging the action of certain states. These may well provide good examples and case studies that can lead to useful discussion between young people about the values involved.

Other strategies

Role play:

- What do you think would be you and your family's options if you had to move home suddenly?
    - Natural disasters: (earthquakes, flooding; etc)
    - Climatic change (flooding, desertification, rising sea-levels)
    - Political changes (invasion, occupation, discriminatory laws)

Case studies of population movements, migrancy and refugees

- Europe in the 1930s
- Post-war Europe – changes to state frontiers, 'displaced persons', wholescale population movements
- Refugees from wars and political persecution un the 21st Century?

CV4 Analysis of the Core Value: Respect for Human Safety

The nature of the value of Respect for Human Safety in the European context

The European Human Right of respect for the safety of others is another fundamental principle, enshrined in various legal instruments and declarations, including the European Convention on Human Rights (CoE) and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (EU). This value is regarded essential, both for the protection of the physical integrity and dignity of all individuals, and for the promotion of a peaceful and harmonious society.

The origins of this value can again be traced back to the aftermath of World War II, when the international community recognised the need to establish a system of human rights protection in order to prevent the reoccurrence of similar atrocities. The CoE drafted the European Convention on Human Rights, and by this established the European Court of Human Rights.

One example of the importance of the European Human Right of respect for the safety of others can be seen in the case law of the European Court of Human Rights. The court has consistently held that states have a positive obligation to protect the lives of their citizens and to take appropriate measures to prevent deaths that are the result of the actions or omissions of public authorities. This includes, for example, situations where individuals are at risk of harm due to the actions of state agents or due to the failure of the state to take necessary precautions.

An example of the importance of this value of respecting the safety of others can be seen in the context of violence against women. The Council of Europe has taken a strong stance on this issue, recognizing that violence against women is a serious human rights violation that can have serious and long-lasting consequences for both the individual victims and for society as a whole. The Council of Europe has adopted a number of legal instruments and initiatives aimed at preventing and combating violence against women, including the Istanbul Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence. This followed debate by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe against all forms of violence against women, calling for legally-binding standards on preventing, protecting against and prosecuting the most severe and widespread forms of gender-based violence. National reports and surveys revealed the magnitude of the problem in Europe, with a large variation across Europe of national responses to domestic violence. European standards were proposed to give the same level of protection everywhere in Europe. The convention came into force in 2014, and currently 45 countries have agreed to it (Turkey withdrew in 2021): Azerbaijan has not agreed, Russia and Belarus are not members of the CoE. (The UK was the last to ratify the convention, in 2022). There was considerable opposition in some countries: in 2018 the Council of Europe stated ‘despite its clearly stated aims, several religious and ultra conservative groups have been spreading false narratives about the Istanbul Convention’. The CoE said that the convention did not seek to impose a certain lifestyle or interfere with personal organization of private life; instead, it seeks only to prevent violence against women and domestic violence. ‘The convention is certainly *not* about ending sexual differences between women and men. The convention aims at prevention of violence, victim protection and to end the impunity of perpetrators’.

Another example was the case of Osman v. the United Kingdom in 1998, where the European Court of Human Justice held that the state had a positive obligation to protect the life of an individual who had received death threats and who had informed the authorities of the danger. The court found that the authorities had failed to take appropriate measures to protect the individual and that this

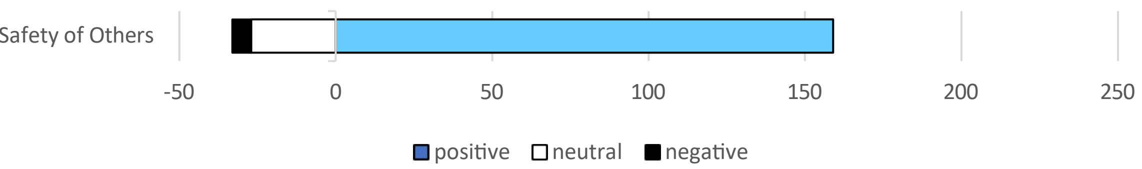
had resulted in his death. As a result, the court held that the state had violated the right to respect for the right to life, as protected by the European Convention on Human Rights.

There is limited research on the views of young Europeans on the issue of respect for the safety of others.

Young people's discussions of the value of upholding human safety

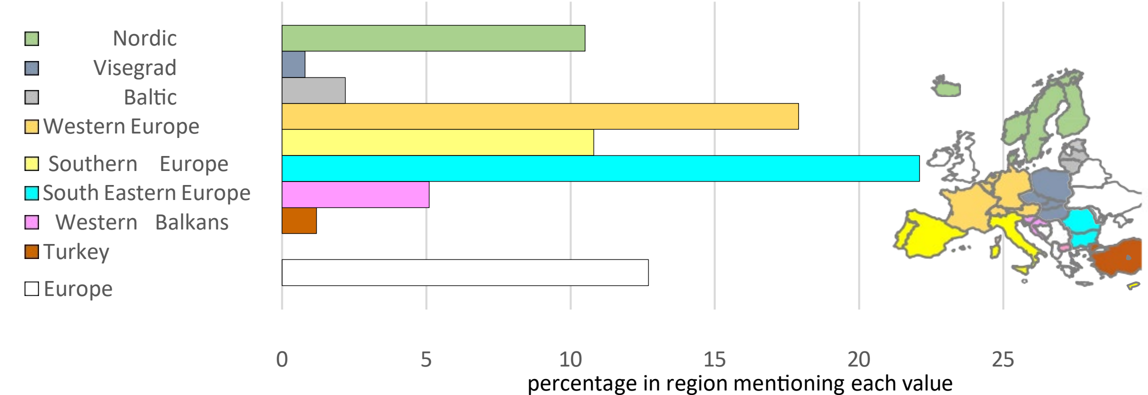
There were 281 references to this particular value, making it the fourth largest value, and representing about 15% of all human rights value references (Figure CCV4: 1). The proportion of neutral or ambivalent comments was relatively high (12%); the negative comments were relatively low (4%).

Figure CCV4: 1 Strength of feeling about Human Safety, numbers



There was a particularly wide variation between the different regions of Europe, only one region with over 20% of individuals mention this (Figure CCV4: 2). Western Europe, Nordic Europe and Southern Europe regions to have between 11% and 18% mentioning the value: all the others are less than 5%. Turkey does not feature at all (see the earlier remark on Human life and dignity: Turkey was a relatively small sample).

CCV4: 2 Respect for the Safety of Others



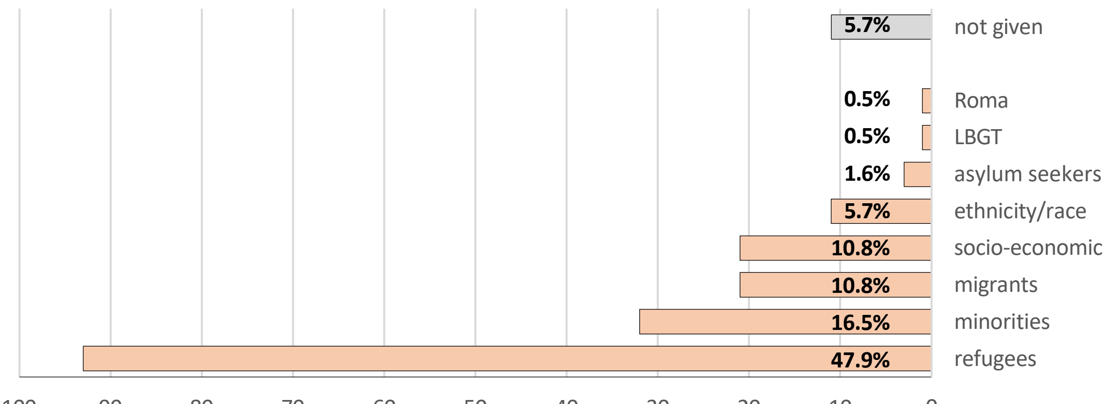
What examples did they choose to illustrate the Safety of Others?

Human safety was particularly mentioned with respect to refugees (48%), and to migrants and asylum seekers (12%), and to ethnic and racial minorities (22%) (Figure CCV4: 3).

Sometimes references were general, and not made with reference to a particularly identifiable group: for example Aalbert (M/16) in Hengelo, the Netherlands, was concerned about instances of random violence: when he said 'sometimes for no reason, there are stories about people getting beaten up.' Others linked the value to the specific instance, for example Abadi (M/18, German born, Iranian parentage) in Dortmund saw helping others as being 'part of our communal values in Europe

and that all western countries have to help each other to manage the situation, and that the refugees are the big problem of the present'. Similarly, Beltrán (M/14) in Seville said 'the most

Figure CCV4: 3 Safety of Others illustrated by examples of:



important value that we share is that we all help each other – for example, when Greece fell into a crisis, everyone in Europe tried to help them, and we are still trying. So that value has to be shown with the refugees – that if we were them, we'd like help, We need to help them because we are all humans, and we should help,' linking the value to two very different examples.

Refugees were a common example, because of the time the discussions took place:

- April 2105, Netherlands, Hengelo: Aagie (F/16) 'when people have to run from their country, I think we should and can provide for them – but I do see the other side, that when they come it also means lot of tax money goes to them'.
- September 2015, France, Montpellier: Zaif (M/13, French born, Moroccan parentage) 'Also help for the refugees – houses and shelters for the homeless – homeless associations'.
- January 2016, Germany, Forst: Katrin (F/17) 'I have nothing against the refugees – I don't have a problem .,.. when they come to Germany and live here – but I think it should be controlled ... we don't have an overview of how many are in the country – so it's kind of a mess – we don't have enough places for them to sleep, or enough food – and they suffer from this. They come from a country where they have bad living conditions ... to Germany with their hopes ... and they still suffer.'

These responses seem both principled and empathetic, but also practical and thoughtful.

Where were these examples located?

These examples were drawn from both the country in which the discussion was held and from Europe as a whole. More came from the country (56%) than from Europe (37%), but this value and respect for other cultures (CV2 above), this was the only two values with more than 25% of examples coming from Europe (again, a possible consequence of the 2015 refugee migration being seen as a European issue) (Figure CCV4: 4).

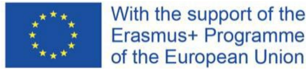

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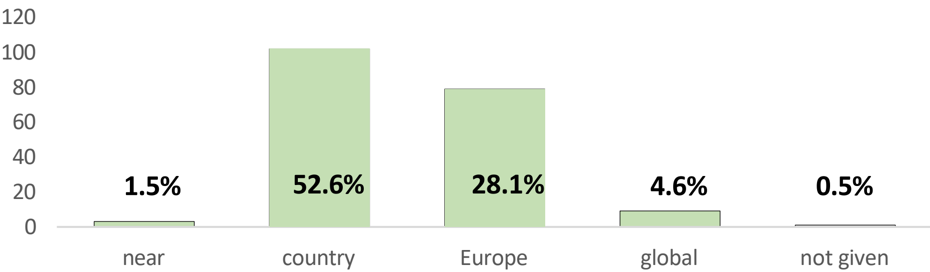
Figure CCV4: 4 Illustrative examples of Safety of Others drawn from –



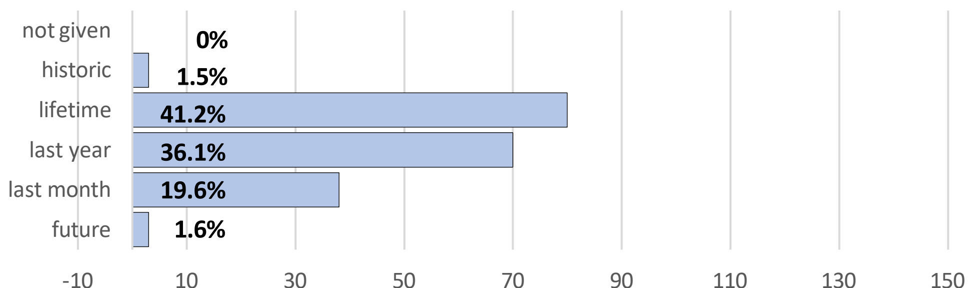
Examples based on the local country were often linked to comparisons with other countries, or locating their country in multinational settings. Thus in København Ole (M/15) explained that 'in Denmark we have a very good mentality about things, like we don't have as many guns as in the United States, and very, very few people shoot each other – it's quite peaceful,' while Salomão (M/14) in Lisboa said 'Helping the refugees can be hard – because of the problems we are already having – but that proves we are a country that is helpful, and – I am proud of Portugal'. Some comments were cautionary, to preserve current and local safeties, as when Connie (F/15) in København explained how 'the Dansk Folkeparti don't want people who are running from war and stuff like that, for example from Iraq, to come to Denmark, because they are afraid of them.'

References could also sometimes be very contextualised to immediate events: in Frascati (Italy), two 16 year old young women reflected on the Charlie Hebdo murders in Paris just four weeks earlier (7 January 2015) : Sylviane and Karine used almost the same words: 'I really felt European after what happened in *Charlie Hebdo* – because of the union that this thing created among Europeans.' Similarly in Spain, Jacinta (F/17) in Sabadell (a small city in Catalonia) spoke in September 2015 of the Hungarian response a month earlier to the refugee situation: 'that's a big divergence from the European mindset, which is that we should help them.' This was echoed a week later by Julia (F/13) in Sevilla: the European Union 'should help the immigrants and the people in the European community.'

What time period did these examples relate to?

Again, the time was particularly recent – about half the references were to events in the precious year, most of these being in the previous month (Figure CCV4: 5)

Figure CCV4: 5 Time example refered to



Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

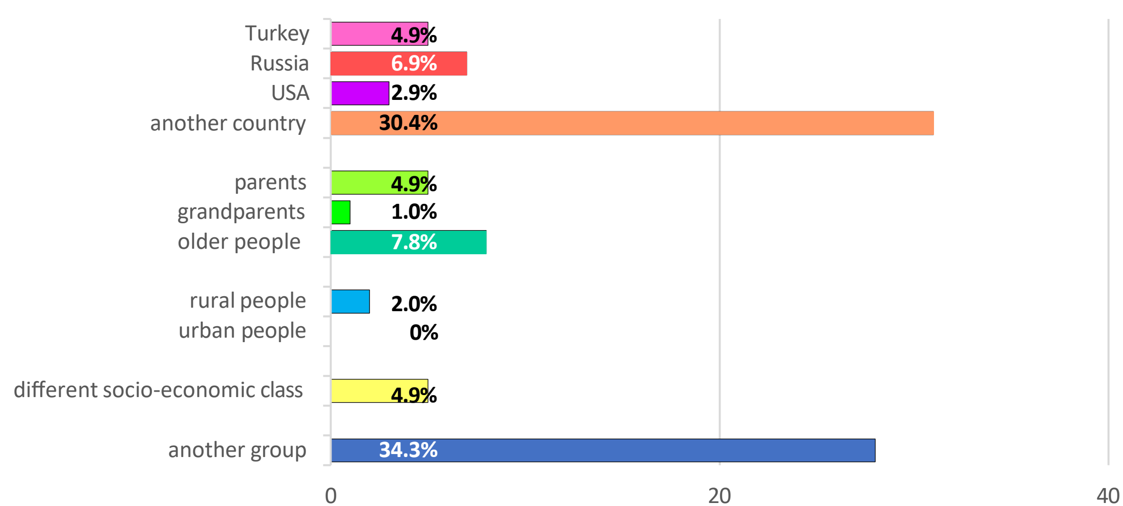
Most of the 'historical' references were made in German discussions: in Forst Gerhard (M/16) spoke of 'when we get refugees from Syria it's OK, because they are running away from war and want to save their lives. And when you think sixty years back in Germany': and in Dortmund Abadi (German born, Iranian parentage) said ' I don't think any of our generation have to feel guilty about the past

... it was many years ago, it's important to know what happened ... it's a good symbol to welcome refugees – but ... in Europe it's a part of our communal values' (an interesting use of the words 'we' and 'our').

Examples of 'othered' groups whom it was felt did not uphold the safety of others

A large proportion of the references to the safety of people were othering people or policies in other countries (45%), from a particularly wide range of examples (we do not have details of the 'another country' category) (Figure CCV4:6). Only 53% of those mentioning human safety identified an 'other', whom they thought were disregarding this value. This Figure shows only the instances where an 'other' was identified.

Figure CCV4: 6 Who was 'othered' as not respecting human safety value?



Many comments were made about other people in their country being perceived as not respecting the safety of others, particularly when the well-being of refugees was concerned. For example, Nielsine (F/12) in København said 'in Denmark there's a lot of racism – and we should help people all over the world come to Denmark and build their life up here', and Aagie (F/16) in Hengelo (Netherlands) referred to the 'news about refugees coming to the Netherlands – there's a fear that a lot of people are coming to the Netherlands.'

Some of these 'othering' comments were displays of being negative about the value, showing hostility to particular minorities: for example, Roldão (M/17, Moldovan born and parentage) in Faro, Portugal: ' I don't like gypsies – I get mad when I see them – I live on a farm, and I have them near me, and they are always doing stuff, stealing.'

Russia was perceived by several young people as not respecting human safety. Gerold (M/15) in Berlin said 'Russia doesn't care so much for people, and the European Union does'.

Implications for pedagogy

From the evidence

The discussions that took in this value tended to refer to it in either a very specific way (about a particular group, or a specific instance of harm, or potential harm), or to be very generalised, almost incidental remarks that we categorised as referring to 'human safety' because of their context, referring to other people in situations of harm, when there were feelings that something needed to be done.

It might be helpful to young people if discussions in educational institutions if more focus could be put on building up a more coherent and unified description of the responsibility of care to others.

It is also apparent that many of the *processes* by which this value is translated into programmes, actions, initiatives and legislation in the Equalities and Solidarity value (particularly the later, in terms of general provision). These activities were much more frequent and prominent in the discussions than was general safety. It might well be possible, in a classroom situation, to link up a series of solidarity actions – such as the provision of healthcare, of pensions and social security, of environmental and food standards, for example – to the common concern of all of these with supporting and improving the safety of people's lives, and why this might be a common fundamental value.

Other strategies

Some of the activities suggested in the previous section (Respect for Life) might also be appropriate in this context.

CV5 Analysis of the Core Value: Inclusion in Society

The nature of the value of Inclusion in Society in the European context

Social inclusion is the process of ensuring that all members of a society, particularly marginalised or disadvantaged groups can fully participate in the social, economic, and political life of the community. It is closely tied to the values of equality, diversity, and solidarity that are part of the European aspiration a just and cohesive democracy. Social inclusion is a fundamental human right, specified in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights: ‘all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, and they have ‘the equal protection of the law.’ Ensuring that all members of a society can participate fully in the life of the community is an essential requirement for this.

But social inclusion also benefits individuals and society:

- for individuals, it can give a sense of belonging and purpose, access to personal and professional development, and improve mental and physical health outcomes; and
- for society, it can help build more cohesive and harmonious communities, promoting mutual understanding and respect, and can also contribute to economic growth, stability and sustainability, enabling all members of society to contribute to the workforce, and it can also allow more innovation and creativity, using diverse perspectives, experiences and ideas.
- Social inclusion, in its broadest sense, includes socio-economic exclusion, ethnic/racial exclusion, gender-based exclusion, and other exclusions based on a wide range of personal characteristics (able-bodiedness, sexual orientation and identification, age, nationality, etc.). Most of these are addressed through various policies and legislation on equalities, with the objectives both of promoting mutual understanding and respect among diverse groups and ensuring that public and private organisations and individuals act to ensure that no one is adversely treated because of having such characteristics.

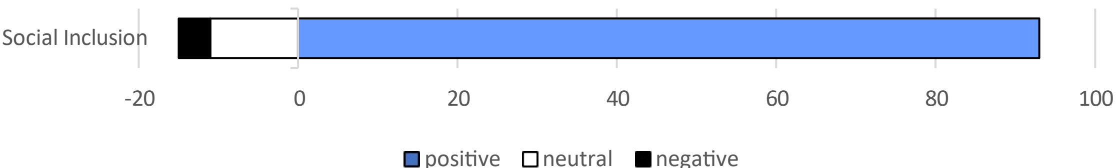
The EU’s principal programmes to support social inclusion are the European Social Fund, which funds projects aimed at promoting employment and social inclusion, and the European Disability Strategy, which promote the participation of people with disabilities in all aspects.

This Core Value is thus operationalised in the Equalities process value, considered in the following section.

Young people’s discussions of the value of inclusion in society

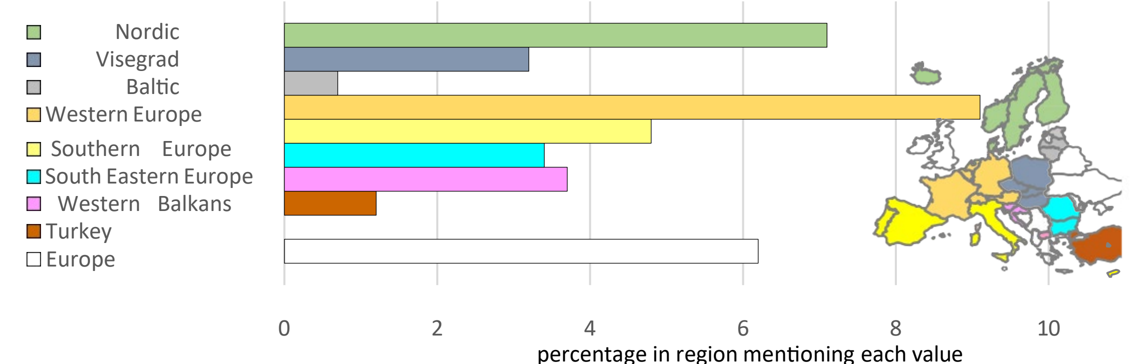
There were only 113 references to this particular value, much fewer that the fundamental values considered above (about 8% of all the mentions of fundamental values (Figure CCV5: 1). It was generally seen as particularly a positive value (85%), with a number of neutral or ambivalent comments (10%); the negative comments were about average (5%).

Figure CCV5: 1 Strength of feeling about each value, numbers



There was a particularly wide variation between the different regions of Europe, though only one region reached 9% of individuals mention this (Figure CCV5: 2). The relatively few mentions of the value mean that analysis at the regional level needs to be treated with caution (the small percentages for Baltic and Turkey represent a single individual in each case). There was no response identified in the Western Balkans.

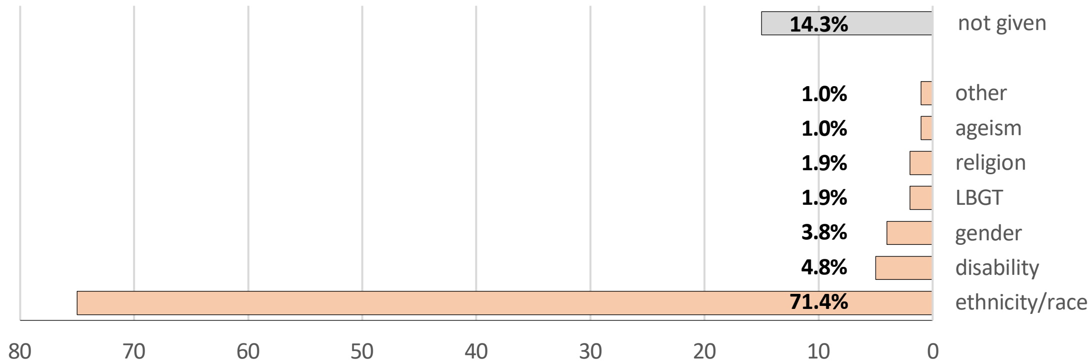
Figure CCV5: 2 Inclusion in Society: mentions by Region



What examples did they choose to illustrate Inclusion in Society?

Examples of inclusion in society centred very strongly on ethnicity and racism, but with small numbers for a wide range of potentially excluded categories – sexual diversity, gender and disability, also religion and disability (Figure CCV5: 3).

Figure CCV5: 3 Inclusion in Society illustrated by examples of:



Sometimes this was through examples of particular exclusions young people had experienced. For example, Alpasian (M/13, Turkish origin) in Wein described being with a friend in a queue waiting to be served in a shop: '… there were a lot of Austrians, [we] were from Turkey …. we were second place … the man [shop assistant] said 'No, you wait', and served the Austrian guy first.' On other occasions, it was observations about other members of society – some of the Roma young people in Novo Mestro, Slovenia were, they said, being encouraged to integrate into Slovenian society: Anže

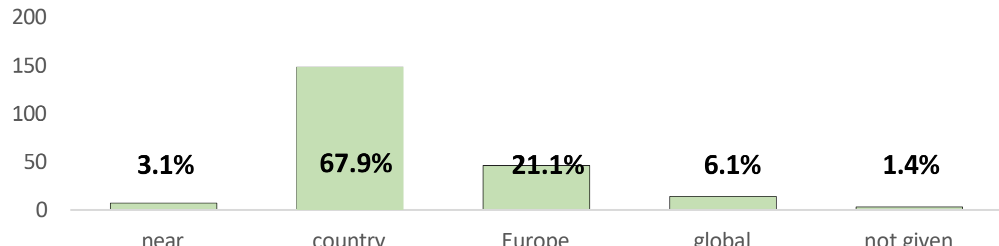
(M/13) said that grandparents were telling them 'it was a good thing, good for us, to marry Slovenians and become part of Slovenian society.' And others were analytic of general political behaviour: in Catalonia, Ordoño (M/17) observed that in a recent election campaign 'the key phrase of a political party for the campaign was 'Let's clean Barcelona' – which has a significant percentage of immigrants. I think that's the first thing we need to change, to eradicate the racism that is still there.' In Frascati, Lamberto (M/16) had similar frustrations about Italian society: 'if we don't change our minds about some stupid things like racism, or corruption, if we could just think about things … we could change the world – but until we want to, we can't change things. It isn't just a problem of government; it is *our* problem. In Italy, for example, the LGBT community isn't recognised by anyone … if we don't support each other, how can we change the world?'

There were also some more nuanced comments. In Lillihammer in Norway, Ingebørg (F/18) wanted social inclusion of migrants, but would not accept this without some cultural change around some practices that infringed some young migrants human right: 'I want to be open to immigration, and it's OK – but it can be a bit too much, especially when immigrate to Norway and expect that they can keep their culture – 100% in Norway – like child abuse, forced marriages…'

Where were these examples located?

As with most of the fundamental values, examples tended to be drawn largely from their own country of residence, but with about a fifth drawn from Europe (Figure CCV5:4).

Figure CCV5: 4 Illustrative examples of Social Inclusion drawn from –



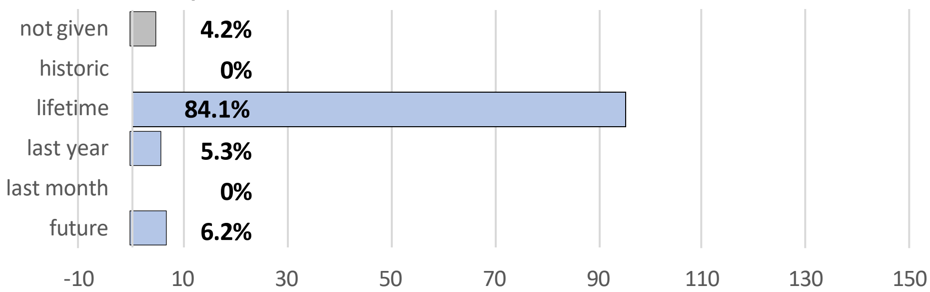
Some local comments were very positive (perhaps over-positive), as when Aristofane (M/16) in Bologna, Italy said that 'living in Italy is sufficient to be Italian – so, for the immigrants, when they are here they are welcome, and once they are here they are Italians.' Others reflected on social change in this area, and were critical of older generations: in Berlin, Constanze (F/15) thought that 'Germany was very, very racist earlier [and some older people are] basically stuck in that time, and ...don't want to accept that Germany has changed ... that the generations have changed and it's [Germany] more open to everything now.' Others gave examples of forced integration: in Tetova, North Macedonia (a predominantly ethnic Albanian town), Fatlinda (F/15, Albanian) described how the Macedonian authorities had changed her surname to Macedonian when she enrolled in school: 'the Macedonians changed all the names'.

Other references were to the need for European action. In Lisboa, Agostrinho (M/15) said 'it's very difficult, but the European Union should try to come up with a process to separate the people who really, really need our help and those who are – of course it's important – are looking for a better life – we should prioritise what sort of people we are helping.'

What time period did these examples relate to

Again, the great majority of examples were drawn from the recent past, form their own personal experiences (Figure CCV5: 5).

Figure CCV5: 5 Time example referred to



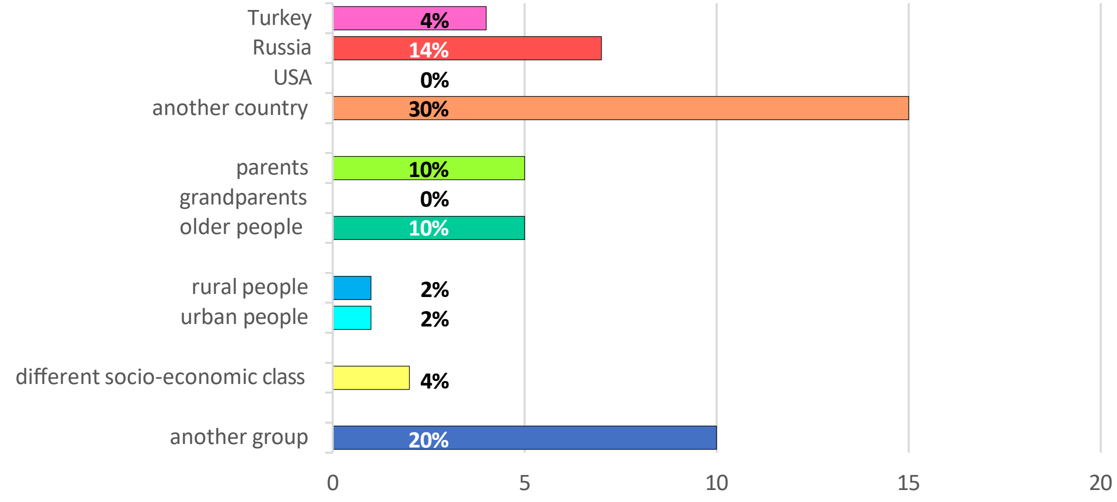
Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

An example of a possible future example of social inclusion was the aspiration to be included in EU membership, by Çağan (M/15) in the central Turkish town of Tokat: 'They will take anyone – But who they accept should be an improved country. Who should be in – everyone could be in, I think. But first of all – us!'

'Othered' groups, whom it was felt did not uphold social inclusion

Only 45% of the examples of Social Inclusion involved 'othering' a group. These otherings are shown in Figure CCV5:6 below. Othering was predominantly about people in other countries (48%), Russia in particular, who were held not to show social inclusion Figure C6:6). Some older people in general were also thought not to be inclusive (20% of examples).

Figure CCV5: 6 'Others' social inclusion



The 'Other' group (21%), as in the figure above, often referred to individuals in the country of discussion: for example, local officials who were slow in making benefits available in Hoogezand in the Netherlands: Mies (M/14) spoke of 'a problem – people who are on the dole, or those with benefits, don't get the money on time – then they have a problem, because they then can't pay for food, or pay the person who helps their child because they have a disability.'

The behaviour of some older people being unwilling to include other groups was sometimes explained, as in Kolding, Denmark: Mirjeta (F/18, Kosovan/Albanian origin) explained 'when older people went to school, maybe there was one from another culture in the class … and in our class we're eleven other cultures … so we learn to live with each other, and to accept each other and what we are.' On other occasions, there was less explanation, just descriptions: in Turku, Finland, Edvard (M/18) just described how 'older people … maybe our grandparents and great grandparents, compared to young people, are – at least stereotypically and generally – much more "Finland is our home", much more strongly "only Finnish", more reluctant to accept strangers and foreigners'.

Implications for pedagogy

From the evidence

The smaller numbers of respondents to this value mean that any conclusions must be treated with some caution. But, on the other hand, most of the social processes that address the issue of inclusion draw on the equalities agenda, the implementation processes, and here (section D3 below), there were many examples raised by young people about inclusive equality agendas. It might therefore be appropriate (as with the Safety of Others, CV5 above), to start discussion around equalities, and move from this to the over-arching theme of inclusion: it might lead to a greater and richer set of examples being brought together to strengthen and consolidate the concept of inclusion.

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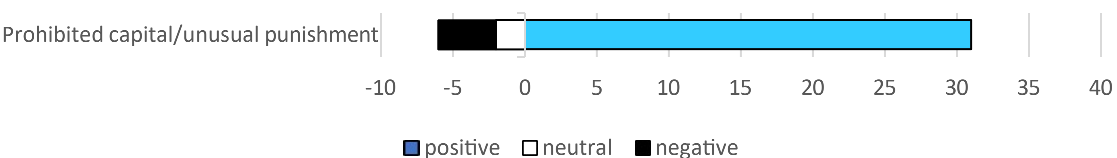
CV6 Analysis of the Core Values: The prohibition of Capital Punishment, other cruel and unusual punishments, of torture, etc.

The nature of the values of prohibiting Capital punishments, cruel and unusual punishments, etc in the European context

These values have been significant elements of the CoE's Convention for the Protection of Human Rights provisions. The prohibition on capital punishment originally had various exceptions (primarily about its use during wartime). These were progressively made more exceptional, and finally pronounced as an absolute prohibition, with no exceptions, in Protocol 13 in 2002. Many countries in Europe had implemented this earlier.

There were only 37 references to any of these values in the entire corpus: 31 positive, 2 neutral, and 4 negative (Figure CCV6: 1).

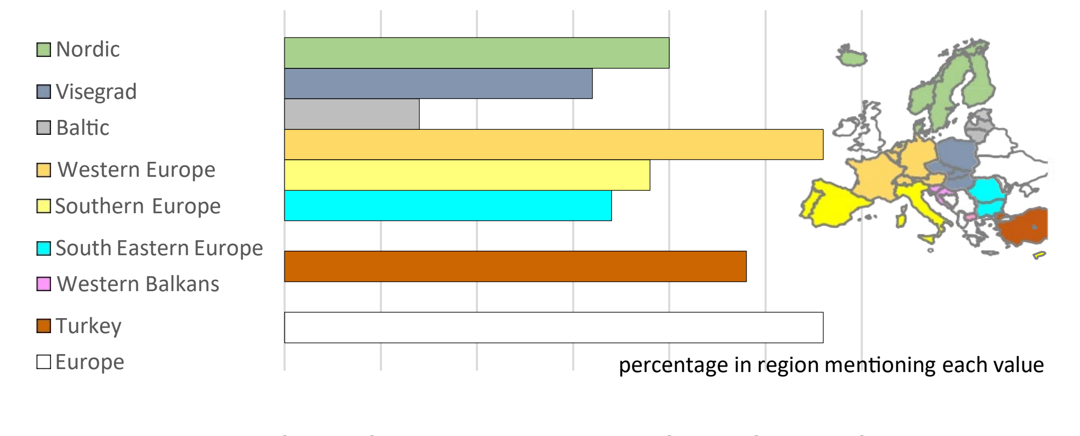
Figure CCV6: 1 Strength of feeling about each value, numbers



Young people's discussions of the value of prohibiting capital and other cruel punishments and torture

Only 36 individuals were involved in making these 58 references: the distribution of these is shown in Figure CCV6: 2, but this is merely for information – no inferences can be made from this.

Figure CCV6: 2 Prohibitions on Cruel/Capital/Persecution: by Region.



What examples did they chose to illustrate these Prohibitions on Cruel/ Capital /Persecution?

The examples chosen to illustrate these values are shown in Figure CC6:3. This is for information only: only 37 mentions were made of these value in the whole sample of 1,998 young people, and 11 of these gave no specific examples.

Figure CCV6: 3 The Prohibition of Capital Punishmenst, etc: illustrative examples:

Category	Value
not given	40%
Roma	0
LBGT	0
migrants	0
gender	3%
socio-economic	3%
asylum seekers	5%
ethnicity/race	8%
refugees	8%
minorities	35%

14 12 10 8 6 4 2 0

Most comments on the use of the death penalty were firmly against its use. Some were specifically against the reintroduction of this in their country, as when Aliénor (F/15) in Lyon, France, said 'even for those people who do terrible things – taking someone's life is even worse, is even more horrible – I wouldn't be indifferent if the death penalty was reinstalled in France – I wouldn't be walking in the street in the same way, and I don't think that the re-establishment of the death penalty is part of France – this isn't legal.' Other gave examples of its (mis)use in other countries: Blanche (F/14, part of the same discussion in Lyon) added 'because in North Korea people die from the death penalty, and they are innocent.' There were also occasionally more political remarks, such as that of Laurence(F/16) in Lille, France: 'Viktor Orbán … tried to reintroduce the death sentence, and because of Europe he couldn't – he just abandoned the project – so I think that's a nice aspect of Europe.'

There were also a few voices in favour of the death penalty, such as Ashyia (F/14) in the Lyon groups: 'I would like to re-establish the death penalty – some people don't deserve to live'.

(That all these remarks are from France has no significance: it was one of the topics focused on for a short while with this particular Lyon group.)

Where were these examples located? What period did these examples relate to?

Figures CCV6: 4 and CCV6: 5 give this data for illustrative purposes

Figure CCV6: 4 illustrative examples of rejecting Capital Punishment, etc

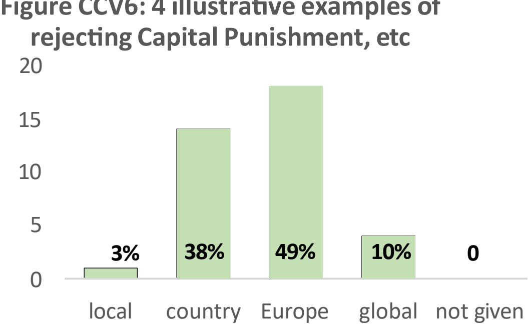
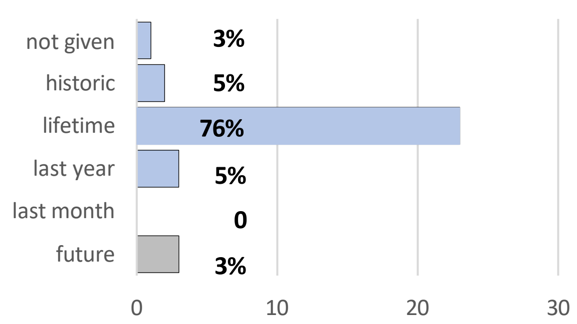


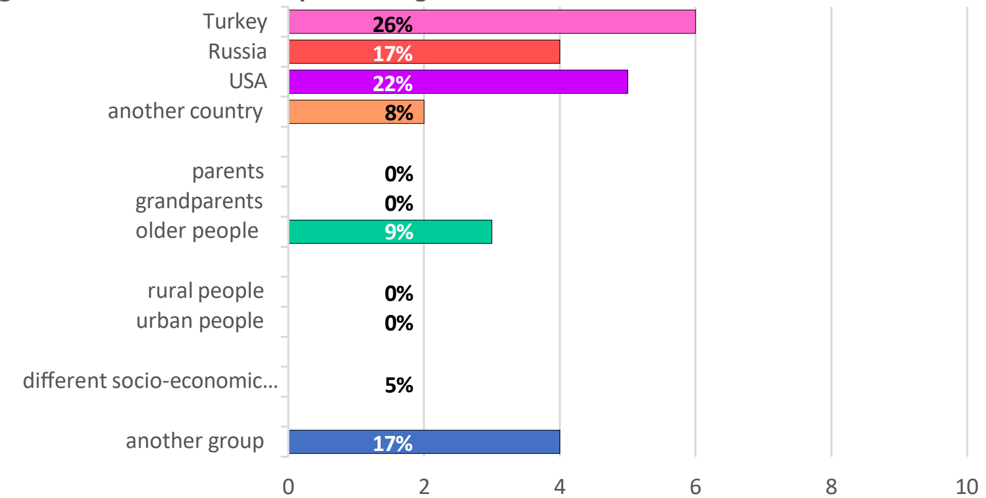
Figure CCV6: 5 Time example refered to



Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year/month

Some examples 'othered' groups whom it was felt did not prohibit capital/cruel punishment

The data for this is given in Figure CCV6: 6. Only 62% gave an 'other' group. Though the figures are low, it is perhaps interesting that criticism is particularly directed towards states that are seen as perpetrators (73% of those 'othered'). (Note that capital punishment was formally abolished in Turkey in 2004, and has not been carried out since 1984.)



Implications for Pedagogy

From the evidence

These values were rarely raised in discussion. This should not be seen as a lack of interest in the subjects: issues were very much raised in the context of their discussions about the nature of their identification with Europe and their own countries, and this was not a significant news item during the period of investigation. When it was raised, it was often prompted by media reporting from other counties, and used to distinguish their country/Europe from them.

It is possible that discussions held at a different time would prompt a greater level of references (for example, the discussion might be greater during the period and aftermath of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Other strategies

There might be some value in discussing punishments in general: what are the reasons for imprisoning offenders (generally considered to be for three broad reasons: to deter other potential offenders; to offer support and education and reformed behaviour; and to protect the public from the particular individuals repeating their offences). What other punishments might be appropriate (such as fines, or community service)?

Should sentences of imprisonment be fixed, discretionary, and/or have maximum and minimum terms?

Capital punishment was used internationally for those convicted of particular responsibility for war crimes in the immediate post 1945 period.

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CV7 Analysis of the Core Values: Human Rights in General

Young peoples' interest in these core human rights values has been demonstrated in the previous sections. This section merely notes that occasionally there were mentions of 'human rights' values in general, or remarks about human rights that it was difficult to classify. These were only 22 such occasions (by 12 individuals), just 1.2% of the total number of references made.

All such comments were positive. There were too few references to analyse by region (all were in Nordic, Western and Southern Europe).

European values were occasionally discussed in quite abstract terms: For example, Alfhild (F/14) in Stockholm said 'the European Union countries cooperate well – they are based on certain principles and rules, and one of these is human rights, in a better way than the [United] States,' and Jacintha (F/17)in Barcelona remarked on 'a very common value of all European countries is open-mindedness – to certain degrees, different countries are more open-minded than others – but the fact of being together and so different – countries from the east are very different from countries in the south or the west.' And Fabrico (M/16) in Madrid said that European countries 'don't want to promote any special human rights – but I'd say that in most of them you have your human rights guaranteed – and in Africa and in some parts of Asia, you don't have them guaranteed. So in Europe you don't have any special human rights, but you have them guaranteed' 'Nowadays people want to be in the EU because of these values that it upholds,' said James (M/18, UK citizen) in Turku, Finland.

The idea of European values can *develop* through deliberative discussion. To conclude this section on these fundamental values, here is an extract from a discussion by a group of 17 and 18 year olds in Holzwickede, a tiny German town on the outskirts of Dortmund.

Helmut (M/18) .. there are not any values or characteristics or stereotypes about Europe itself – are there? What is typically European? There is nothing that binds or holds us together as Europeans, and creates this unity that is necessary for feeling a group.

researcher Käte (F/17) talked [earlier] about Europe being a community, not a family – what does a community have in common?

Helmut Currency.

researcher That's it?

Helmut Well, what more is there?

[The discussion moved on. Then, five minutes later …]

Helmut Germany plays – I think – a pretty important role – in the European Union, I don't think that German views differ from the European views so much, in contrast with Russian views.

researcher You said earlier that Europe had nothing in common apart from the currency?

Helmut That's a good point – that must have been [something] I hadn't really thought about [laughing] – um – no, of course, here in this western world we do have democracy, and everyone has the right to state his opinion and we do protect everyone who lives in the European Union – Of course, are values that connect those countries.

researcher Are there other values that connect the European countries?

Berend (M/17)	I'd say it was hard to define what European values are. … I don't know that you can talk about 'European views' – it's different for each country –
Helmut	But on the other hand .. the fact that every individual has to be protected, and that everyone should be able to state their opinion, that the leader of a state should be elected, shouldn't just be European values, or German or French, but should be like human, general values. When I say that everyone on this planet should live a healthy, free and good life – that isn't really connected with the European Union, for me. The fact that it's just wrong to go into another country with tanks and say 'This is ours' doesn't make it un-European, but not really – human. [January 2016]

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C: PV Analysis of the Core Process Values

The Process values are the ways in which legislation, programmes and processes put the core fundamental values into action, embedding them in the social, political economic and cultural activities of each state in the Council of Europe. The Core Process Values considered in this section are the:

- Fundamental Freedoms
- Freedom of Movement*
- Equalities
- Solidarity

Detailed description of the origin of these Core Processes in the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights (Council of Europe, 1950) in the left-hand column and the Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2009) are shown to the right.

Charter *Chap/ Article*		of Fundamental Rights of the European Union	In this report –		European Conv'n for protection Human Rights (CoE)[1]
2 Freedoms	7	**Respect for private and family life**	**Fundamental freedom**		8 private family life
	8	**Protection of personal data,** to be processed fairly and with consent			
	9	**Right to marry and right to have a family**			12 right to marry
	10	**Freedom of thought, conscience and religion**			9 free thought
	11	**Freedom of expression and information**			10 free expression
	12	**Freedom of assembly and of association**			11 free assembly
	13	**Freedom of arts, sciences and a**cademic freedom			
	14	**Right to education**			P[2] 1, 2 right to education[2]
	15	**Freedom to choose occupation, right to work**			
	16	**Freedom to conduct a business**			
	17	**Right to property,** possessions, intellectual property			P1, 1 right to property
	18	**Right to asylum.**			
	19	**Protection in removal, expulsion, extradition**			P4, 3 no expulsions
(5)	45	**Freedom of movement and of residence**	**Freedom of movement**	*	P4, 2 freedom of movement
3 Equality	20	**Equality before the law**	**Equalities**		
	21	**Non-discrimination** on grounds of sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or other belief, political opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation			14 Prohibition of discrimination – sex, race, colour, language, religion, political opinion, national/social origin, national minority, property, birth or status

	No.	Value	Group		Protocol
	23	**Equality between men and women**	**Equalities**		P7, 5 Equality between spouses
	24	The child's best interest must be the primary consideration			
	25	**rights of the elderly** – to live a life of dignity and to participate in social and cultural life			
	26	**Integration of persons with disabilities**			
4 Solidarity	27	**Workers' right to information and consultation**	**Solidarity**		
	28	**Right of collective bargaining and action**			
	29	**Right of access to placement services** to look for work			
	30	**Protection against unfair dismissal**			
	31	**Fair conditions** – including safe working conditions, maximum hours per week, rest periods, annual leave			
	32	**Prohibition of child labour and protection of young people at work**			
	33	**Family and professional life** – including right to maternity/paternity leave			
	34	**Social security and social assistance.**			
	35	**Health care**			
	36	**Access to services of general economic assistance**			
	37	**Environmental protection**			
	38	**Consumer protection**			

[1] Numbered items refer to the article numbers in the initial 1950 Convention (Rome, 1950)

[2] 'P' items – the P refers to particular protocol to the convention, second number to the article in that protocol: Protocols 1 (Paris, 1952), 4 (Strasbourg, 1953), 7 (Strasbourg, 1984). Additional Protocol items not in the European Union Charter are P7, 3 compensation for wrongful conviction; P12, 1 General prohibition of discrimination (repeated); and P13, 1 Prohibition of death penalty: all previous exceptions ended

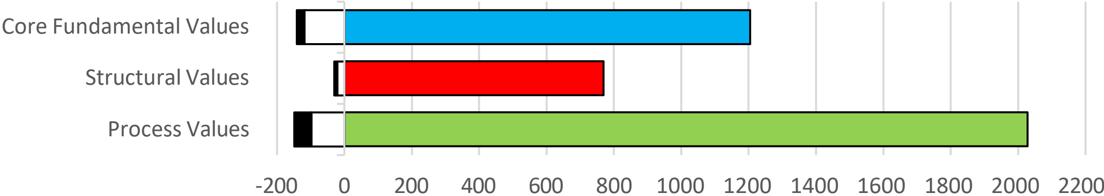
* The 'free movement of people' value was discussed earlier: the current use of this refers to the freedom of movement between members of the European Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights, and as was discussed on pp 25-7 , the responses to this were very significantly affected by the time since each particular EU state accessed this right. For this reason, it is treated separately from the other 'fundamental freedoms' (of speech, religion, protest, dress, etc.) which are of a different order.

Young people's discussion of the Core Fundamental Values

These relate to the process values as a whole. More detailed analysis, with examples of comments made in the discussions, will be given in the four sections that follow on each particular value.

The process values generally were discussed much more frequently than all the other core values combined. They constitute almost 53% of all the values mentioned (Structural Values 18%, Core Values 29%). We have data on the strength of feeling, positive to negative, about 85.4% of these mentions, shown in Figure PV:1.

Figure PV:1 Strength of feeling about the Process Meta–values, numbers

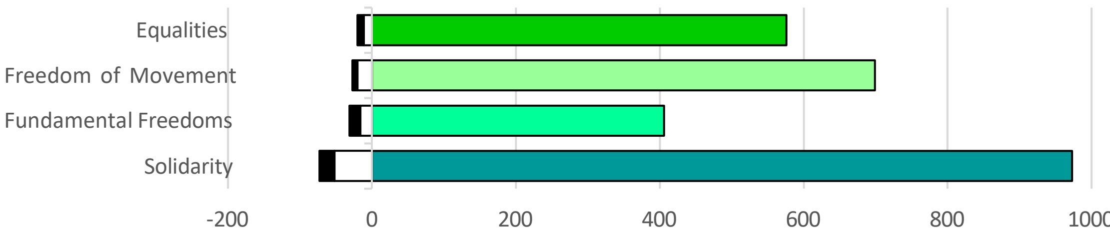


As a group, these Process values were seen about as positively as Structural values (positive 93.% for Process Values, 96.2% for Structural Values).

	Negative	*Neutral*	*Positive*
Core Values	8.4%	8.2%	83.2%
Structural Values	1.1%	2.6%	96.2%
Process Values	**2.3%**	**4.5%**	**93.2%**

These overall figures conceal some striking differences: mentions of Solidarity comprise some 42.7% of the total, and of the Fundament Freedoms just 13.6% (figure PV:2, which shows only those values where strength of feeling was identified).

Figure PV: 2 Strength of feeling about each value, numbers



	as a % of all Process values	*Negative*	*Neutral*	*Positive*
Equalities	19.9%	3.3%	4.4%	92.3%
Freedom of Movement	23.8%	2.3%	5.9%	96.2%
Fundamental Freedoms	13.6%	1.0%	2.9%	96.2%
Solidarity	42.7%	2.3%	5.9%	91.8%

Where were these Process Values mentioned most (by region within Europe) (% in each region)

Figure PV: 3 shows a regional analysis of where these process values were displayed. This appears to show most regions broadly showing an equal level of concern (with South East Europe [Romania and Bulgaria] showing a particular spike. This distribution, however, masks wide differences between the valuing of each of the component values: as will be seen, all place a high value on solidarity (in the 33-49% range), while Freedom of Movement ranges from 11% to 56%) , Equalities from 11% to 30% and Fundamental Freedoms from 7% to 31%. This distribution balances all the regions with each other, with exception of South Eastern Europe, which has an exceptional 56% for Freedom of Movement (no other region achieving more than 37%) and 48% for Solidarities (the joint highest score in that area).

This great range of emphases on particular values makes it not particularly useful to examine the aggregated characteristics of the *examples* chosen to illustrate process values: these can be more usefully viewed in the context of each specific value. Their overall geographic location, time period, and degree of othering: are shown in Figures PV: 4 to PV: 6 show the overall distribution of these characteristics, but the distributions of these for specific values are more likely to be of value.

Figure PV3: 3 Core Process Values, by Region

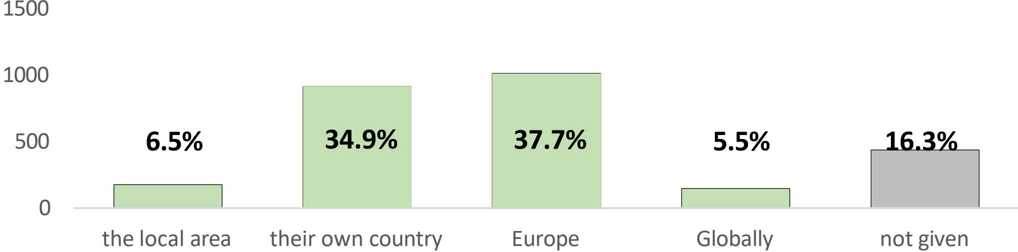
Nordic
Visegrad
Baltic
Western Europe
Southern Europe
South Eastern Europe
Western Balkans
Turkey
Europe

0 20 40 60 80

percentage in region mentioning each value

The *locations* used to describe Process Values

Figure PV: 4 Locations of examples used to illustrate Process Values

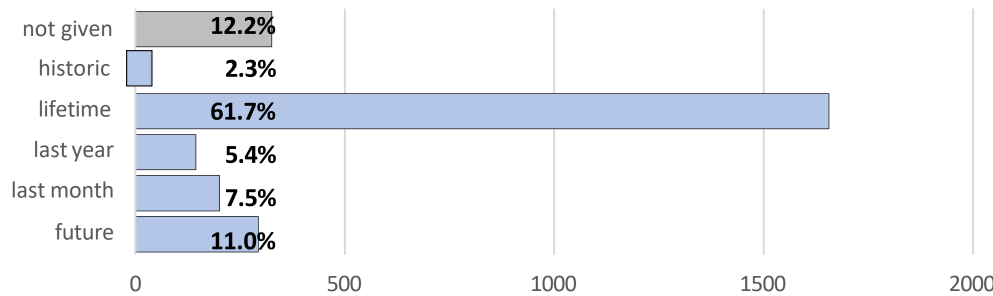


This distribution can be compared to that of the other two meta-values, in the table below. The structural values of Democracy and the Rule of Law are rarely referenced to the local area, while process values are more likley to be. The country of the discussion ('our country' in the table) is twice as likley to be ued to find examples of core fundamental values than the process values of equalities, solidarities and freedoms. But Europe is a more significant location for the process values than the 'own country' or the structral values. Both the structural values and the process values are less located in a particular locality (21% and 16%) than the fundamental values, which are very rarely not described in terms of a locality.

	Structural values %	Core Fundamental values %	Process values %
local area	0.5	4.4	6.5
own country	46.4	60.7	34.0
Europe	29.0	27.5	37.7
global	3.2	6.2	5.5
not given	20.9	1.2	16.3

The *time periods* used to describe Process Values

Figure PV: 5 The time period that examples refered to



Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

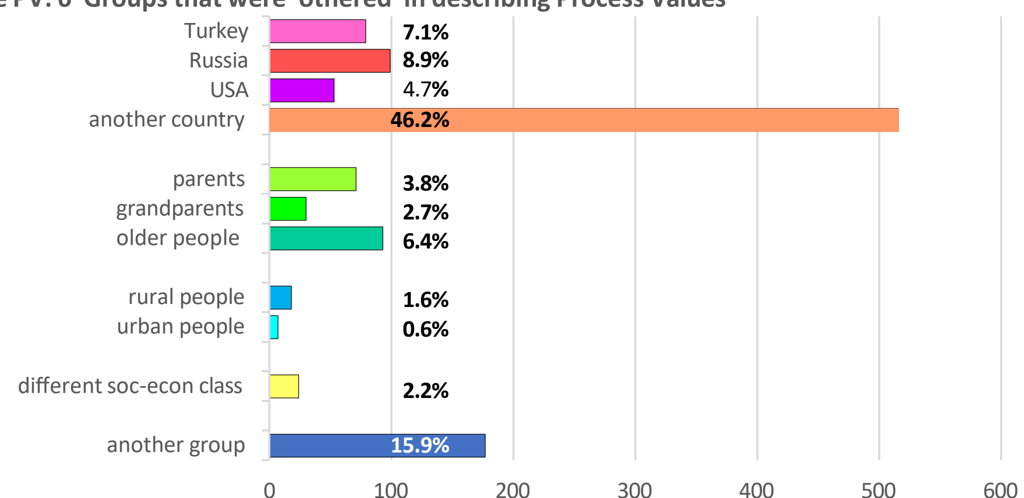
These time descriptors can be analysed in the same way. Again, core fundamental values are more likley to be described in terms of time, as with the location values. But these values are much less likely to be described as future aspirations (just 4%) compared to structural values and process values (respectively 10% and 11%). Examining the examples that are described within the whole lifetime of each young persom (the sum of last year and month and 'lifetime'), then core fundamental values are illustrated in 91.1% of examples as being in this period: the structural values are only so placed in 64.7% of examples, with process values at 74.6% in between these two.

	Structural values %	Core Fundamental values %	Process values %
historic	3.6	3.4	2.3
lifetime	58.9	72.7	61.7
last year	3.4	11.9	5.4
last month	2.4	6.5	7.5
in the future	9.8	3.4	11.0
not given	22.0	3.8	12.2

The *'othering' groups* used to describe Process Values

When 'othering' process values groups, only 41.6% of cases were othered.

Figure PV: 6 Groups that were 'othered' in describing Process Values



This use of 'othering' was used less often that time periods or locations when giving examples of all three sets of meta-values. The table below thus shows (i) the proportion of cases for each meta-value example that were characterised by 'othering', and (ii) the the distribution of 'othered' groups for each meta-value (showing the distribution only of the cases that were othered, i.e. disregarding those that were not othered).

	Structural values %	Core Fundamental values %	Process values %
not given	38.6	46.8	58.4%
Countries	*52.5*	*42.0*	*69.6*
Turkey	3.4	9.1	7.1
Russia	39.9	10.4	8.9
USA	3.9	3.0	7.4
other countries	5.3	19.5	46.2
Age groups	*33.0*	*20.9*	*12.9*
parents	4.9	3.1	3.8
g'parents	16.6	2.3	2.7
older people	11.5	15.5	6.4
Settlement type	*0.2*	*3.2*	*2.2*
rural	0.0	1.7	1.6
urban	0.2	1.5	0.6
Socio-economic groups	7.1	3.7	2.2
Another group, unlisted	7.1	30.2	15.9

Young people are less likely to 'other' groups when giving examples of process values than they are of core fundamental values, and even less likely to do so with structural values – but in all three groups, over a third of cases are not 'othered'.

When 'othering' does happen, it is frequently concerning the perceived behaviour of other countries (whether of governments or of some people we cannot tell). The process values of equalities, solidarities and freedoms are most often 'others' on a country basis (almost 70% of cases), while core fundamental values are othered less often (42%), and structural values in between the two (52%). Russia is particularly othered around structural values (40%), particularly on democracy.

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Russia and Turkey were held to account on core fundamental human values (around 9 to 10%). The USA was 'othered' most frequently over process values (particularly around issues of solidarity).

Older people are 'othered' most frequently around structural values (33%), and much less so around process values (13%); core fundamental values are between these two (21%). This othering is particularly focused on family members with structural values (22%), much more than the other two meta-values (5.4%/6.5%).

There is very little attention given in this to rural or urban groups; rather more to socio-economic groups, with structural values being particularly associated (7.0%).

It is striking that 'other' groups, not on our categorisation schedule, were much higher with core fundamental values (30%) than with structural values (7%), or process values (16%). Unfortunately, these 'other' groups were not recorded in the analysis.

Implications for pedagogy

These are considered for each separate Process value, in the following sections.

C: PV1 Analysis of the Process Value of Freedom of Movement

The nature of Freedom of Movement in the European context

The Freedom of Movement between countries is a particular value of the European Union and its predecessor, the European Economic Community. Originally envisaged a way of enabling the free movement of labour between the original member states, it also very soon included the freedom of families to move to the wage-earner's destination state. It was coupled with the free movement of goods, services and capital between member states. For the first six years of the EEC, Algeria was considered part of metropolitan France, and included in this arrangement.

By the mid-1980s, a number of EU members agreed at Schengen to allow visa-free travel between Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. This arrangement was initially outside the European Union agreement, because of the reluctance of the UK to become involved, the Republic of Ireland's with to retain its long standing Common Travel Area agreement with the UK, while Denmark, Greece and Italy were ambivalent. In 1990 the Schengen Agreement was replaced by the Schengen Convention for visa-free travel between members, with a starting date of 1995: Italy, Portugal and Spain joined at this date. Although at its inception it was entirely separate from the EU, it was agreed at the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) that it should be incorporated into European law. The Agreement incorporated Greece in 2000, and in 2001 a Nordic block of Demark, Finland and two European Free Trade Area members, Iceland and Norway. The new EU members of the early 21st Century (and Lichtenstein) joined between 2003 and 2023 (also the microstates of Monaco, San Marino and Vatican City).

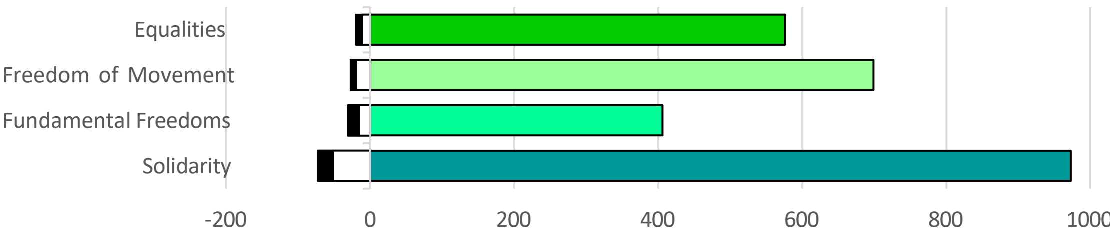
The European Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union includes (Article 45) the right to freedom of movement and residence for every EU citizen. This has been gradually introduced, sometimes with member states having the power to delay giving the right to citizens of certain states (currently, Bulgaria, Cyprus and Romania). The relationship of this to the proportion of young people in the various countries raising the Freedom of Movement is discussed below.

Our analysis that follows has therefore separated this particular freedom from the other seven freedoms, which are analysed in the section that follows (C PV2) on Fundamental Freedoms.

Young People's discussions on the Value of Freedom to Travel

Freedom of movement was raised on 726 occasions in the discussions. This made one of the most frequently mentioned of all the values (14.3% of all mentions, almost the same as Democracy (14.6%), with Solidarity at 20.6%) (Figure PV1: 1). It was also a value with a low proportion of negative perceptions (1.0%), and a moderate level of neutral/ambivalent responses (2.8%).

Figure PV1: 1 Strength of feeling about each value, numbers



Where was Freedom of Movement mentioned most (by region within Europe) (% in each region)

Figure PV1: 2 shows the regional distribution, for the purposes of comparison with the equivalent figures for other values.

Figure PV1: 2 Freedom of Movement: mentions by Region

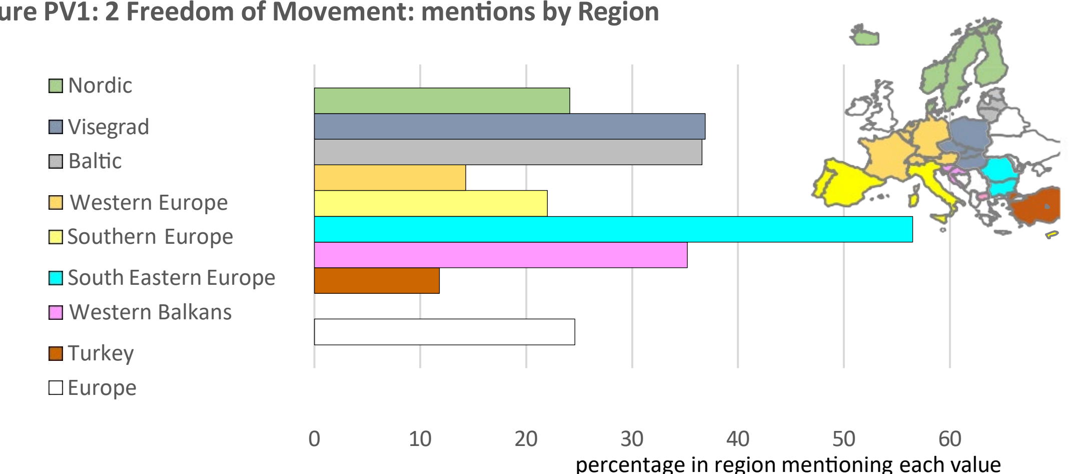
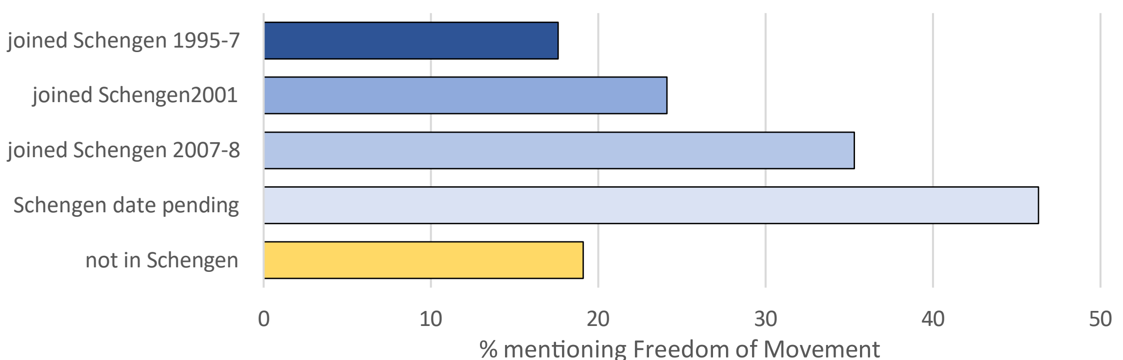
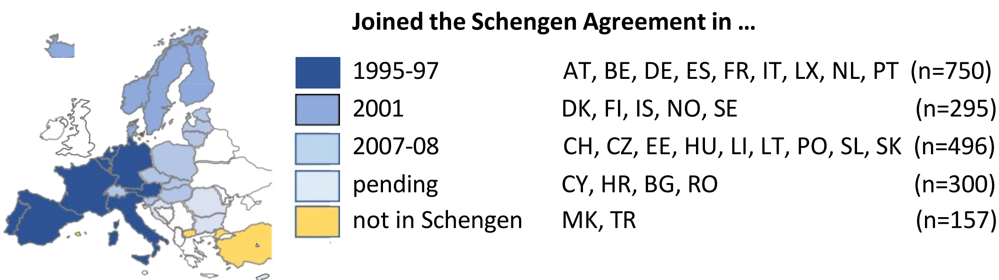


Figure PV1: 3 (which repeats Figure B4: 2) is a more detailed analysis, showing the response rate for countries grouped by the date the country joined the Schengen Agreement on free movement.

PV1: 3 Freedom of movement mentioned, by date of country formally joining the Schengen Agreement





Our initial analysis of the transcripts of the 324 discussion groups was to identify where one of eleven specific freedoms was mentioned or referenced: freedom of movement (separately for work, study, leisure and family reunion), and freedom of expression, speech, protest, thought, dress,

religion and information. Of the total number of values noted, 23% referred to one or other of these freedoms (including a very small number of 'other' freedoms). However, on inspection of the distribution, it was noted (as explained in section B above) that Freedom of Movement was particularly correlated to the length of time the young people in each country had been members of the Schengen Agreement, or had *de facto* access to free travel arrangements. The longer the country had been a member, the less often the value was mentioned (pp 18-22 above).

Young people in those countries least likely to mention Freedom of Movement (17.6%) – the first horizontal row in Figure PV1:3 – had all joined the Schengen Agreement about 19 or 20 years before they participated in the discussion group – up to ten years before any of them had been born.

The second group are the Nordic countries that joined Schengen in 2001. For most of them, their country had joined Schengen between 3 years before they had been born and when they were 5 (the 20% who were Icelandic, in discussions held four years earlier, would have been between 1 and 9 years old). 24.1% of this group mentioned Freedom of Movement.

The group in row 3, most of the 2005 EU accession countries, would have been between 6 and 16 years old when their country joined Schengen. Twice the proportion of the first group – 35.3% – mentioned Freedom of Movement.

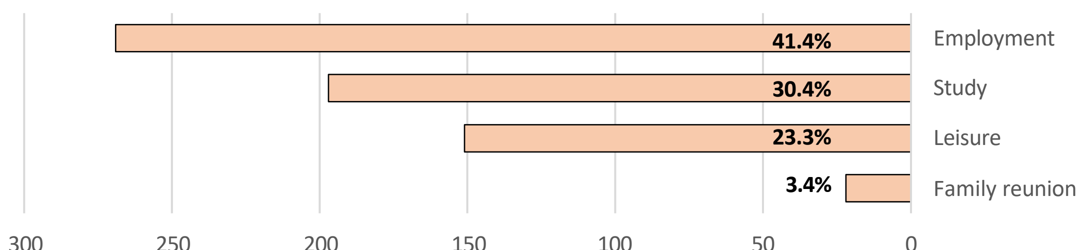
The fourth group, countries that were in process of negotiating joining Schengen at the time of the discussions there (in 2011 and 2012) were even more likely to mention Freedom of Movement – 46.3% . Some mentioned this as a right that they were looking forward to using for themselves, as something that their parents were less likely to make use of.

The implication seems clear: for this value, young people (and possibly also older people too) were more concerned with Freedom of Movement the more recently the right had been gained: those with expectations of acquiring it were most concerned.

Which Aspects of Freedom of Movement were referred to?

Just over 70% of the references to Freedom of Movement could be identified with a particular type of movement, as shown in Figure PV1: 4. Most commonly referred to were movement for work or for further education: work might sometimes have been with reference to a parent or relative, or to their own possible intentions.

Figure PV1: 4 Freedom of Movement for the purposes of –



The general tendency was for older young people – in their late teens – to be more specific about work and study possibilities, while those a few years younger were less specific, though aware that it might be a possibility. For example, Telma (F/13) in Faro had quite broad motives: 'I like to know

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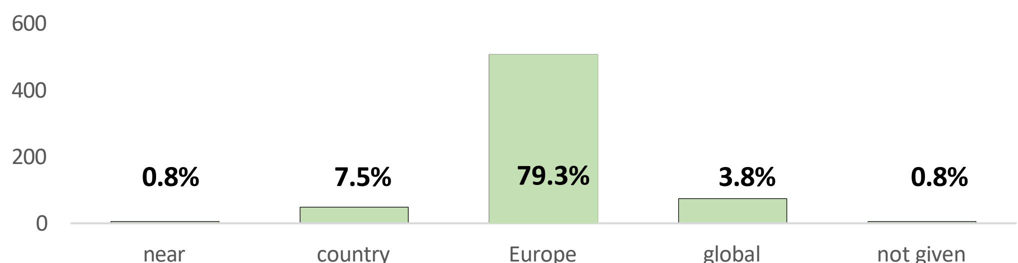
people, and see new cultures, new things for my education', and Kathryn (F/16), In Iaşi (Romania) was quite unspecific: 'I'd like to live in another country, like Germany, like Greece …'.

Not all comments about Freedom of Movement were wholly positive: in the town of Hradec Králové, in Chechia, Varvara (F/11) was concerned that the lack of border controls that had been introduced less than three years earlier might be problematic: 'not having to show a passport is not only an advantage – it's a disadvantage, because the criminals can misuse this – for example, there's now this girl kidnapped, and we don't know where she is – she might be in another country and nobody knows.' Her reference was to an instance in Prague a few days before the discussion. Kristjan (M/15), in the small Estonian village of Luunja, saw movement as an inevitable future: 'people have to emigrate: there's no work here', but Marek (M/16) responded 'it's sort of dangerous, for the existence of Estonia', describing a deserted village in Latvia where everyone had reputedly moved to Ireland. This was a frequent debating point in the Baltic states. Žanete (F/13) in Jūrmala (Latvia) spoke passionately: 'we have to save Latvian traditions, we have to speak Latvian, and we have to make the population grow – get more babies born'; while her colleague Monta (F/15) responded that she was more concerned with her own future than that of the country: 'I think more about what *I* am going to do, what *I* need, and what *I* want – not about what the country needs' [her emphasis]. In Vilnius, Miglé (F/15) stressed the educational imperatives for moving: 'if you finish [your education] in universities abroad, you'll get a better job, and a well-paid job'.

Where were these examples located?

References were generally about overseas travel: unsurprisingly, Europe in particular was dominant, but there were also a number of destinations beyond Europe, both for work and (more often) for further study (Figure PV1: 5).

Figure PV1: 5 Locations of examples used to illustrate Freedom of Movement



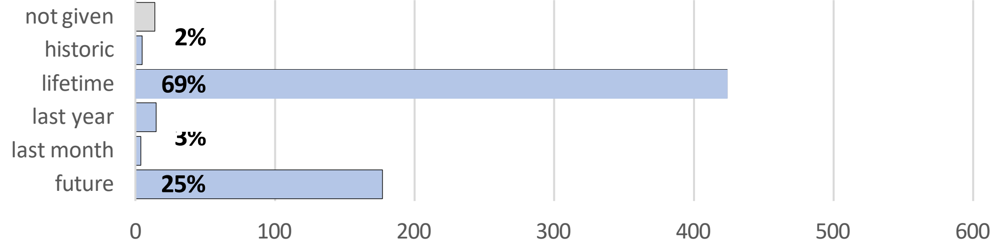
Some references were very specific, and time limited as part of a future plan. Thus Mai (F/15) in the small Estonian village of Lunja, said she might 'go abroad to study or to work, but definitely only for a certain period of time … Finland, or the United States.' Others saw their new freedom to travel as a mark of identity, of being a 'real' European. Aušra (F/15) in Kaunus (Lithuania) was clear about this: 'I am not only a Lithuanian, but I am also a European. It's great! It's easier to go abroad.' Such feelings were also evident in counties that had had this freedom much longer. Corine (F/14) in the south Italian town of Matera, said 'we are Europeans – first of all, because you can travel across all of Europe with your ID card, without a passport.'

What time period did these examples relate to?

Discussions about the freedom to travel were very much fixed in the present and near future (Figure PV1: 6).

Dagný (F/15), in the tiny Icelandic town of Selfoss, speculated: 'I'd like to do Psychology, somewhere – I was thinking of – I don't know why – go to Italy and study there. Not America', as did Ildikó (F/16) in Budapest: 'I really want to learn abroad, and maybe I want to live in another country. France, perhaps, or Italy – to study and to live.'

Figure PV1: 6 The time period that examples refered to

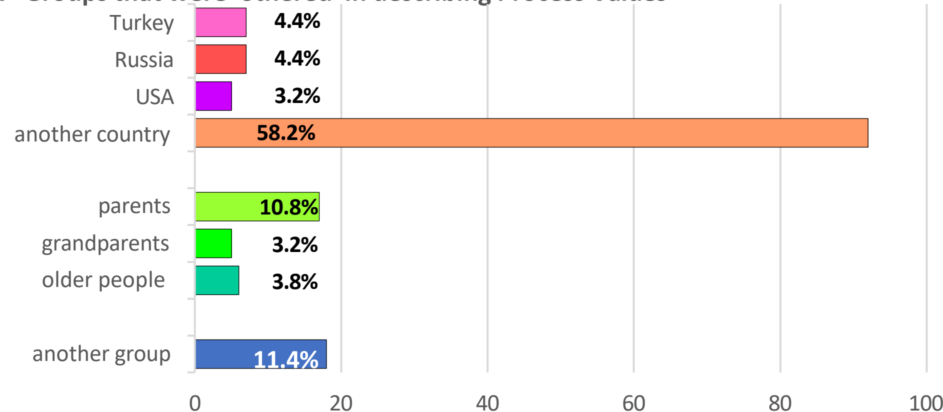


Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

Some examples 'othered' groups whom it was felt did not uphold Freedom of Movement

While there were many references to other countries, there was comparatively very little 'othering' with reference to this particular value, generally more negative comments about countries that would rather be avoided. Only 25% of references to this value were considered 'othering' (Figure PV1: 7).

Figure PV1: 7 Groups that were 'othered' in describing Process Values



Pedagogical Implications

From the evidence

These examples appear to suggest that this particular value is more often discussed when it is seen a relatively new feature, in countries that are experiencing the novelty of the opportunity.

C: PV2 Analysis of the Process Value of Fundamental Freedoms

The nature of the values of the Fundamental Freedoms in the European context[58]

These are the more conventional Freedoms, separated here from Free Movement in the preceding section. They are listed, in some detail, in both the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (ECHR) and the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (EU). The various freedoms set out the rights that all individuals in the states that are members of the Council of Europe and the European Union.

In the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights, Section One sets out the Rights and Freedoms of the individual, that Article 1 requires all signatory States to apply 'to everyone within their jurisdiction' (not just to those with citizenship). 17 Articles (2 to 18) then set out, in less than 2000 words, a set of rights and freedoms, some of which we have been considered above as Structural Rights (Articles 6 and 7, on the application of the Rule of Law) and Fundamental Human Values (Articles 2, 3, 4, on the right to life, and freedom from torture, slavery and forced labour).

The remaining articles set out the freedoms that individuals must have the right to:

ARTICLE 5 Right to liberty and security

1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be deprived of his liberty [except in specific circumstances, where the provisions of the rule of Law must apply).

ARTICLE 9 Freedom of thought, conscience and religion

ARTICLE 10 Freedom of expression

1. … This includes freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.

2. The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of [national security/ public safety/ prevention of disorder or crime/ protection of health/ protection of the reputation or rights of others/ maintaining confidences / maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary]

ARTICLE 11 Freedom of assembly and association

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests. [with similar qualifications to those in Article 10, clause 2.]

ARTICLE 12 Right to marry

Men and women of marriageable age have the right to marry and to found a family, according to the national laws governing the exercise of this right.

ARTICLE 13 Right to an effective remedy

Everyone whose rights and freedoms … are violated shall have an effective remedy before a national authority [even if the violation has been committed by an official]

ARTICLE 14 Prohibition of discrimination

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[58] This section draws on material in the European Court's publication ECHR (2022) *The European Convention on Human Rights: A living instrument*. European Court of Human Rights (September 2022) https://echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_Instrument_ENG.pdf

The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.

(Articles 15 to 18 define certain exceptions to the application of the convention. A small number of rights have been added to the initial text in additional protocols, concerning in particular the abolition of the death penalty, the protection of property, the right to free elections or freedom of movement.)

It is particularly important to note that at Article 10, clause 2 the Convention refers to the freedoms carrying 'duties and responsibilities' that necessarily limit the absolute application of these freedoms in all cases. These rights must be exercised with a degree of responsibility: freedom of speech does not mean, for example, that an individual has the liberty to speak or write in a way that is defamatory, spreads misinformation about public health, creates public disorder through hate speech, etc..

Further, the exercise of an individual's right may be curtailed by the extent which it may infringe upon another individual's rights. For example, the freedom to practice one's religious beliefs does not include religious practices that might, for example, include female genital mutilation, human sacrifices, or marriage below the age of consent. But this is not simply a utilitarian application of 'the greatest good for the greatest number': the protection of minority rights in Article 14 means that these cannot simply be swept away by a majoritarian form of democracy or plebiscite.

The qualifications set out in these two paragraphs are significant introductions made in 1950, in part the consequences of the experience of Europeans in the preceding 30 years: they create a fundamental point of difference from the much simpler and unqualified nature of the freedoms set out in the USA's Bill of Rights in 1779-91.

Section Two establishes and sets out the terms and processes of the European Court of Human Justice, which is charged with adjudication on claims that these rights have been denied by one of the states that is a party to the Convention. The critical features of the way this court operates – giving the Convention real strength and modernity – is that that it interprets the text dynamically, in the light of present-day conditions. By its case-law the Court has extended the rights set out in the Convention, so that the provisions it applies now apply to situations that were not foreseeable or imaginable when it was adopted in 1950, such as issues related to new technologies, bioethics or the environment. The Convention is also applied to societal or sensitive questions relating, for example, to terrorism, migration and gender recognition.

The Court had by 2022 examined some 910,000 applications (making judgements, decisions, or ruling an application inadmissible). Various changes have built supervisory mechanisms and new judicial process to deal with more straightforward cases. Pilot judgment procedures enable the consideration of a large influx of applications on very similar issues to be determined through test cases. The impact of the Court's work is that its judgements are binding: if a state has committed a violation, it must provide redress for the damage to the individual – and make sure that no similar violation occurs – so nobody else is a victim of the same violation. This often leads legislative change, so that legislation or practice is brought into line with the Convention. States thus allow everyone to benefit from the further development of human rights protection – a single judgment may impact on the whole population of a State.

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The Council has given some examples of such changes:

• Cyprus abolished the criminal offence of homosexual relations between consenting adults;

• membership of a union is no longer an obligation in Denmark,

• France recognises an equality of succession rights between legitimate children and children born outside marriage,

• the United Kingdom prohibited corporal punishment in State schools, and

• Switzerland enacted a law to regulate phone tapping.

This dynamic or evolutionary interpretation of human freedoms and rights law is critical. The specific object and purpose of a human rights treaty is that it protects the individual human person. This justifies and *compels* the interpretation and application of the Convention in a consistent manner, following three principles:

- **The effectiveness rule** – the Court's application should make its protection effective;
- **The evolutive rule** – as human rights are not static, the effective protection of these rights involves taking into account developments in law and society: in the Court's words, the Convention is a 'living instrument, which must be interpreted in the light of present day conditions'; and
- **The autonomous interpretation rule** – the rights in the Convention are not necessarily those that might be defined in national law – so for example, a property right in the Convention might be much broader in meaning than it would in a national court; or conversely, a matter determined by a national court to be criminal would not automatically be therefore seen as a criminal offence by the Court of Human Rights. The ECHR interprets the meaning of rights independently (and consistently, across all states within the Convention).

This is distinctly, and very importantly, different from 'originalist' interpretations of rights and freedoms, where a judicial authority seeks to discover the meaning of the original authors of the legislation. In the United States, for example, some members of the Supreme Court may seek to apply the Bill of Rights (the first ten amendments to the US Constitution) in an originalist way, examining what the Founding Fathers intended when they drafted each article, rather than in a 'living constitutionalism' way (the 'evolutionist' or 'dynamic' interpretation of the ECHR)[59].

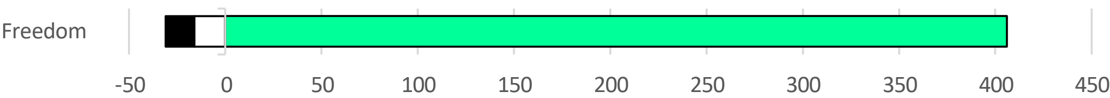
Young people's discussions of the Fundamental Freedoms

Fundamental Freedoms were mentioned some 447 times, by 300 individuals. This (referring back to Figures B 4ii) was a relatively high number of individuals. Sometimes they were listed, almost one by one, by a group: In Bernalda, in southern Italy, they were rattled off: Maryvonne (F/13) began with liberty and freedom, and Abdieso (M/13) added 'a family of rights, the rights of man', followed by 'the right to have a home,' Élisa (F/13) 'to education, liberty, freedom of thought,' Ariulfo (M/13) 'liberty of the press,' and Venanzio (F13) 'freedom of speech.'

Also 3.6% of the mentions were ambivalent/neutral, and 3.4% were negative (figure PV2: 1).

[59] See, for example, Solum, L. (2019) Originalism Versus Living Constitutionalism: The Conceptual Structure of the Great Debate. *Northwestern University Law Review*, 113 (6) 1243–1296.https://ssrn.com/abstract=3324264
Gerard V. Bradley, G (1992) The Bill of Rights and Originalism. *University of Illinois Law Review*, 417 (2) 417–443. https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/law_faculty_scholarship/324

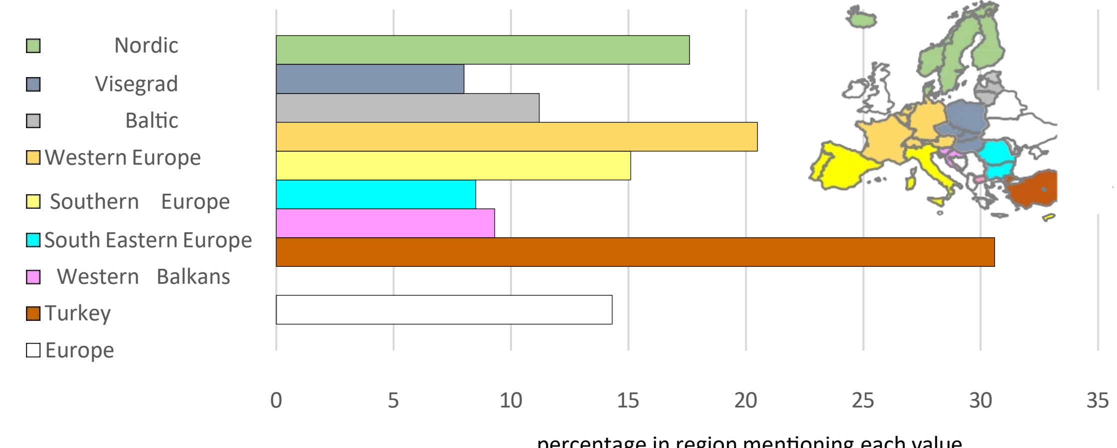
Figure PV2: 1 : Strength of feeling about value of fundamental Freedom



Where were Fundamental Freedoms mentioned most (by region within Europe) (% in each region)

Figure PV2: 2 shows the regional distribution of mentions of these Fundamental Values. The particular prominence of Turkey is probably the consequence of the particular sample of young people recruited: 20% came from a large city, and were all members of the Alevi or Kurdish minorities (or both), who were all highly critical of their lack of freedoms: this formed a significant proportion of their discussions, in marked contrast to those living in smaller Turkish settlements.

Figure PV2: 2 Fundamental Freedoms: mentions by Region



Which Fundamental Freedoms were referred to?

Freedom of Expression was most frequently cited (45%): in Figure PV2: 3 this is combined with Freedom of Speech. The coding was based on the implication of what was actually said, not the precise expression used, so remarks such as 'being able to say what you want' might have been classified under either heading. Four of the other Freedoms – of thought, dress, religion and of the media were very similar in the number of occasions that they were emphasised. Freedom of assembly or protest, and of information were cited less often.

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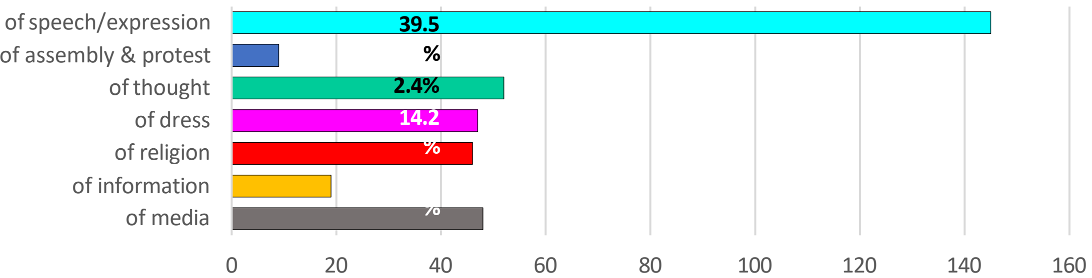
Figure PV2: 3 Mentions of different Freedoms



There were also some references to Freedom in general, for example, Tenek (F/13) in Hoogezand (a small village in northern Netherlands) said 'I think freedom is a very important thing – I wouldn't trade money for freedom.'

Freedom of Speech and Expression were often raised, particularly in Denmark and by Netherlanders. In København where a group discussed the nine-year-old *Jyllands-Posten* controversy (over the publication of cartoons of Muhammad in 2005). Orla (M/13) began: 'Sometimes I think people misuse our freedom of speech – we had some crisis with the Mohammed drawings ... people should think more about what they are doing – many people think that ... 'I can do whatever I want, it's not going to hurt anybody' – I think that's a wrong way of thinking.' There was a recognition that, as Ulla (F/17) put it, 'people in Denmark value freedom of speech very highly … as long as it's right to do – but people [here] aren't super-religious, so … people can joke a little about each others' religion. Well, I don't know – the cartoons were maybe a little out of hand.' Laura (F/15) though 'The cartoons weren't typical Danish humour – they weren't really funny – typical Danish humour is sarcasm and irony – and sometimes people from other countries don't really get it …. [but] where open-mindedness comes in – when they made the cartoons, I don't think that was respecting the other people's culture – I think that was over the line.' Vigga (F/18) thought 'it was too far, far out, and I don't think you meet very many Danes who thought that was OK – because that was disrespectful. And with racist jokes!.' They went on to talk about their disapproval of how their parents made racist jokes.

In September 2015 a group in Faro covered the same issue, but this time in relation to *the Charlie Hebdo* case that had happened nine month earlier in Paris. This began when Ruud (M/17, Netherlander parentage and born) criticised what he saw as the lack of freedom of speech in the Russian Federation: 'the politics is strict – there 'is' freedom of speech, but there isn't at all, really … say the wrong word and you are in trouble – and I think in Europe, and even more so in Portugal, there will be people listening, and they will criticise you, but you won't be punished for what you say. And I think that's a good thing, because if we live constantly under that control, we'd never grow as fast'. Immaculada (F/17) agreed, to a point 'freedom of speech is good, and anyone should do what they like … if some people want to say those things about refugees [this had been discussed earlier], at least we know they're stupid, because of the publicity – but it's not like Putin, the government there. I think you can say what you want, as long as it's constructive criticism – you shouldn't be mean, just give opinions – but Charlie Hebdo, in my opinion, it's not such a good thing – you are offending someone's religion – it's not just a cartoon, it's a religion, with history and beliefs, it is not something for you to make fun of.'

Freedom of dress was an issue, particularly around what was seen as the disapproval of older people – often parents and grandparents – about their personal appearance. Nieves (F/18), in Cordoba (Spain) said 'older people in general have more closed minds – for example, the old people look at

me with my tattoos and go whah! – why, why? [laughter] I don't do anything – and when I go to a restaurant, or to work – the people say – with tattoos, no.' In Stockholm, Mårten (♂15) discussed this in terms of his perceived sexuality: 'one's psychological gender may or may not be the same as one's physical gender – in my case, I'm very comfortable with being perceived as a boy – but yet I wear these [showing his elaborately patterned varnished fingernails] – so I chose to express my gender in a way that is not typically male.' In Lëtzebuerg, Rose (♀17) described the difference between Luxembourg and Paris – 'I go very often [to Paris], I call it my home, and it's also where I colour my hair – in Paris nobody looked at me – in Luxembourg, the first day I went into a shopping mall someone came to me and said "Wow, the way your hair, it looks so strange", and the next person, they looked at me like I was just crazy.'

Freedom to protest and demonstrate was more often described than simply listed as a right. Cordula (F/17) in Wien has been described earlier in the section on democracy: 'I think you can make much more change than through voting if you go on the street and demonstrate.' (She was right: Cordula announced she would join the demonstration against the international far right *Akademikerball* in Wien four days later, and attendance fell to a mere 400, far less than in earlier years.) In Budapest, one group had all been involved in a demonstration for press freedom the week before the discussion: Margaréta (♀16) said 'demonstrations are OK if they are safe – it's great that someone shows their opinion, and steps forwards.' In Veliko Tarnovo (Bulgaria) Nikola (♂16) called for direct action: 'when any government in the world … makes changes not liked by the people, [people] should stand up and protest about that change…. We should stand up and fight for our rights.'

Where were these examples located?

These Freedoms were discussed largely in relation to their own country, but also were seen as European, and sometimes even global rights (Figure PV2: 4).

Figure PV2: 4 Locations of examples of Fundamental Freedoms

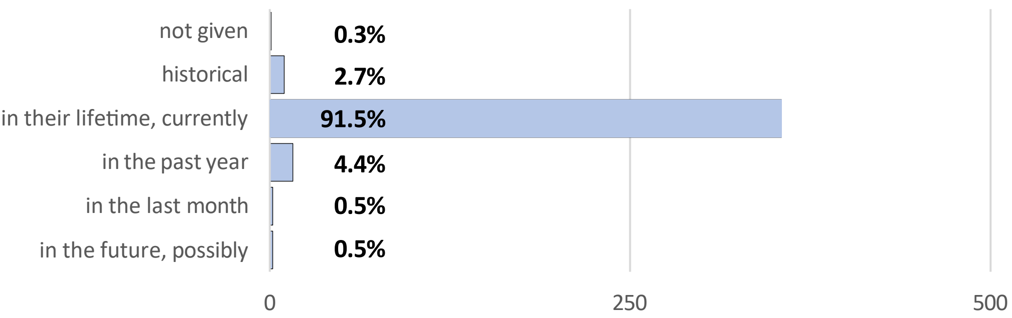
the local area	their own country	Europe	Globally	not given
4.1%	61.7%	27.6%	6.2%	0.3%

For example, in Lille Nuwwar (F/16, French born of Tunisian parentage) saw Freedom of Expression as something she associated with the country: 'I feel particularly proud that we can debate on *everything* – sometimes we even debate too much, but at least we can debate on any subject – we take a step back, to look at ourselves, even from a foreigner's point of view – that is what I like.' On the other hand, in Padova, Alexia (F/13), looking to describe what she saw as the commonalities of being a European, identified 'the religion, the cities, the history – they are usually similar in Europe.'

What time period did these examples relate to

Figure PV2: 5 suggests that the great majority of references were to the current situation, but on a number of occasions this was comparing the present to what they had heard about earlier times.

Figure PV2: 5 Time the Fundamental Freedom examples referred to



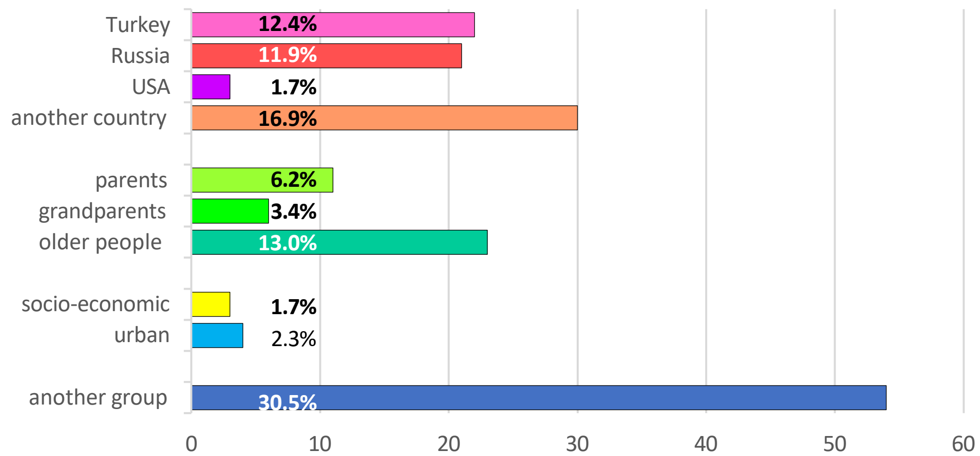
Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

For example, with respect to the Freedom of Religion, Fadriqu (M/14) in Cordoba observed 'people say the young people are not religious – but we are religious – but not so much. Because in the old times, the children had to go to the church every day – and now you can do what you want – you are free-but-not-so-free.' There were other historical references in Spain: in Seville, Florio (M/15) talked of the changes in Freedom of Expression; 'Franco was a dictator – are we didn't have liberty to express what we thought – now we have it.' And there were other freedoms that had changed, in other places, such as in Blaevograd in Bulgaria: Elisaveta (F/16) said that her grandparents 'did not have the freedom which we have now – they couldn't listen to The Beatles, for example, and they couldn't go to church. Now we can go there, and that's the more important thing.'

Some examples 'othered' groups whom it was felt did not uphold Fundamental Freedom Values

Only 48% of the examples of Fundamental Freedoms involved othering. Figure PV2:6 shows the distribution of these.

Figure PV2: 6 Those 'Othered' in giving examples of Fundamental Freedoms



Older people and family members were nearly a quarter of these cases. In Faro (Portugal), Immaculata (F/17) said 'older people in this country are much more old fashioned – they have very narrow minds – our generation is way more spontaneous – because of globalisation and the internet, we know all the realities.'

Pedagogical Implications

From the evidence

Freedoms are discussed particularly vigorously by young people when they concern new area of freedoms, or extensions of freedoms. As will be seen when we consider Solidarity (PV4, below), many young people also acknowledge the tensions between individual freedom and social solidarity as inevitable. This thus appears to be an area that lends itself to discussion: what are the limits to free speech; to what extent might these be self-imposed, or become a matter of regulation; whether limits need to respond to increasing diversity. At what point to individual freedoms impinge on the rights of others?

The dominance of the relatively local (their own country, and predominantly local) partly arises from the personal references to the rights of themselves and their contemporaries: on the other hand, there are also references to others (countries, older people, etc.) that suggest that such discussions could have more cosmopolitan dimensions.

Other strategies

It should be possible for the educator to introduce many examples of the issues of rights and their possible limitations: some framed around the potential impact on others, and others on situations where the public good (solidarities) might require limitations – freedom of speech does not extend to misdescribing foodstuffs or medicines, for example.

C: PV3 Analysis of the Value of Equalities

The nature of the value of Equalities in the European context

Equalities are another area of Values that is particularly open to contemporary change. In 1950, the Council of Europe's original Convention had six articles outlining Freedoms (8 to 13), but only a single Article, number 14, on Equalities:

> Prohibition of discrimination
> The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.

The Convention was amended in Protocol 7 (1984), adding Article5 (additions/changes are italicised):

> **Equality between spouses**
> *Spouses shall enjoy equality of rights and responsibilities* of a private law character between them, and in their relations with their children, *as to marriage, during marriage and in the event of its dissolution*. This Article shall not prevent States from taking such measures as are necessary in the interests of the children.

It was amended again in 2000, in Protocol 12:

> **ARTICLE 1: General prohibition of discrimination**
> 1. The enjoyment of *any right set forth by law* shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.
> 2. *No one shall be discriminated against by any public authority on any ground* such as those mentioned in paragraph 1.

By way of contrast, the European Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights separates Freedoms (in 'Title II') from a whole Title, of seven Articles, devoted to Equalities

> *Article 20* Equality before the law
> Everyone is equal before the law.
> *Article 21* Non-discrimination
> 1. Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, *ethnic or social origin, genetic features*, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, *disability*, *age* or *sexual orientation* shall be prohibited.
> 2. Within the scope of application of the Treaties and without prejudice to any of their specific provisions, any *discrimination on grounds of nationality* shall be prohibited.
> *Article 22* Cultural, religious and linguistic diversity
> The Union shall respect *cultural, religious and linguistic diversity*.
> *Article 23* Equality between women and men
> Equality between women and men must be ensured *in all areas*, including employment, work and pay.
> The principle of equality shall not prevent the maintenance or adoption of measures providing for specific advantages in favour of the under-represented sex.
> *Article 24* The rights of the child
> 1. Children shall have the right to such protection and care as is necessary for their well-being. They may express their views freely. Such views shall be taken into consideration on matters which concern them in accordance with their age and maturity.
> 2. In all actions relating to children, whether taken by public authorities or private institutions, the child's best interests must be a primary consideration.

3. Every child shall have the right to maintain on a regular basis a personal relationship and direct contact with both his or her parents, unless that is contrary to his or her interests.

Article 25 The rights of the elderly

The Union recognises and respects *the rights of the elderly to lead a life of dignity and independence and to participate in social and cultural life*.

Article 26 Integration of persons with disabilities

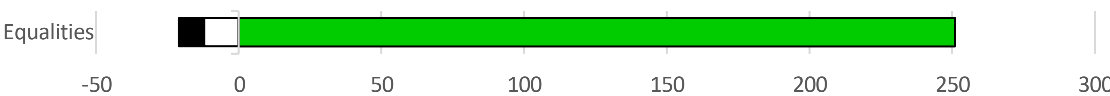
The Union recognises and respects the right of *persons with disabilities to benefit from measures designed to ensure their independence, social and occupational integration and participation in the life of the community*.

Equalities has expanded over the decades, and it may be reasonably expected that categories and provisions will continue to develop.

Young people's discussions of the value of Equalities

Equalities were mentioned 533 times, by 425 individuals. For a substantial number of these (49%) we did not record the strength of feeling: this was largely because 40% did not mention a particular example of an equality (or inequality). Figure PV3: 1 shows the distribution of the 272 instances where we have this data.

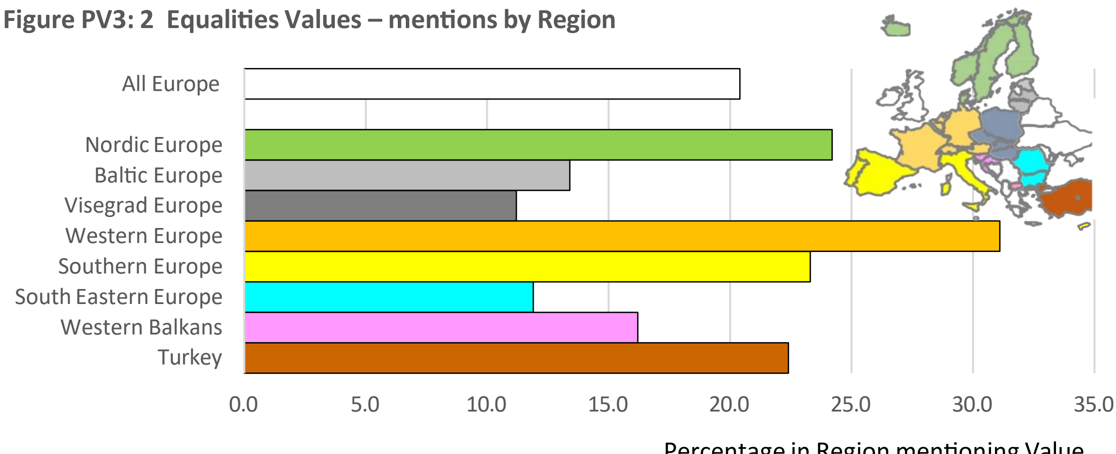
Figure PV3: 1 Strength of feeling value of Equalities, numbers



Where was Equality mentioned most (by region within Europe) (% in each region)

Equalities were most frequently raised in Western, Nordic and Southern Europe Figure PV3: 2). They were also mentioned at an above average frequency in Turkey, but see the note in the previous section about the particular characteristics of this sample.

Figure PV3: 2 Equalities Values – mentions by Region



What examples of Equalities were raised in discussions?

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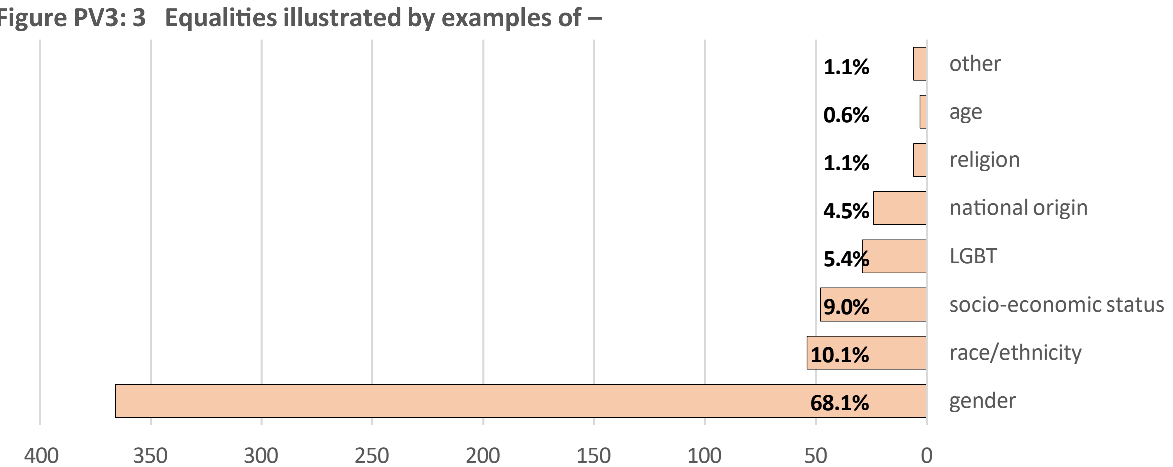
Figure PV3: 3 shows the relative number of times particular various equalities were raised. (The coding did not record specific disability equalities, but there were eight instances of disability issues being raised under Respect for Diversity: this is similar in size to the Age Equality references shown here). There is a particularly pronounced emphasis on socio-economic equalities, and slightly less on race/ethnicity. Age Equality (and implicitly, Disability Equality) were not prominent. Only 6 individuals did not specify a particular equality.

Figure PV3: 3 Equalities illustrated by examples of –



Economic inequalities were noted, for example, by Dagný (F/13) in the north Icelandic town of Akueyri; 'there is a difference between rich people and poor people – I think rich people are brought up [to be] not as grateful as the others [poorer people] about things.' There was also sometimes ambivalence about who poorer people were: in a village in the south of France, Héloïse (F/15) described how her mother was part of an 'association – that give food to [the] homeless, to poor people – and she saw men with big cars and expensive clothes, who pretended to be poor.' More common was the view of Aimée (F/16) in Paris, who talked about her mother's work with a medical NGO, 'everyday she sees immigrants who arrive with nothing, and babies who sleep in the streets – and my father agrees with us too. But my grandparents don't have really advanced [progressive?] opinions.'

Inequalities towards ethnic minorities was widely acknowledged by many young people: many examples have been given in the earlier core values (CV) section. It was common for many young people to see such inequities as being shown by either some older people, or, amongst more metropolitan young people, some of those in rural communities. Thus in Amsterdam, Mie (F/16) spoke of the 'people in the villages only get to see [ethnic minorities on] televisions – they don't really know people who are immigrants – they think "we are paying tax for them", but they don't know them, or what they are doing.' In Lillehammer (Norway), Kine (F/18) spoke of her 'grandmother's best friend … [who] didn't want to be admitted into a nursing home. And her reason – frankly, her only reason – was that she might get a, quote, *nigra* maid to look after her, and she didn't want that, that was the worst thing that could happen. It made me more aware of prejudice.'

Gender inequalities, and actions to counter this, were raised. In Bergen, Kjetil (M/19) was 'particularly proud of women's rights – I think we have gone a long way to improve women's rights' in Lillehammer (Norway) Aslaug (M/17) said she was 'really proud of being in a country where equality between the sexes is such an important subject – I think we're one of the countries where it's most equal.' Less positive that change was happening was Pascual (M/15) in Madrid: 'Spanish society doesn't treat women very well, and that comes from the past. I don't think the new

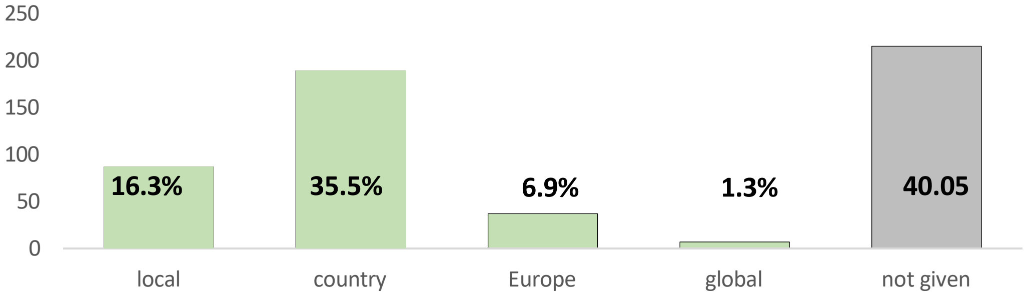
generations are improving in that aspect – they treat women as though they are men's property. It comes from the past, and it hasn't changed much.'

LBGT equalities could also be a matter of great passion. In Faro, Portugal, Ana (F/16)said 'it makes me very mad that gay couples can't adopt babies yet – and now we are about to change that – and gay people could also only donate blood this year – that also make me very angry – we need to change, we need to grow up.' But not all were so supportive: in Nantes (France) Ediz (M/15, French born, of Turkish parents) said 'what I don't like about France is that gay people – two men, or two women – can marry now – I don't like that.' This was also a subject of othering, as when Goedele (F/16) in Amsterdam said of Russian society: 'they don't really have the same thinking as we do – like gay people are not accepted there.'

Where were these examples located?

Examples of Equalities tended to predominantly be drawn from the local country, area or community: there were relatively fewer European examples (Table PV3: 4). Only 60% of examples were linked to a particular location.

Figure PV3: 4 : illustrative examples of Equalities from particular locations



For example, Godofredo (M/15) in Lisbon used his socialisation at school to discuss ethnic/racial equalities: 'at school we get together with people from other races, we learn they are people too, the same – white, black. This didn't happen with our grandparents.' Similarly, Nelly (F/15) in the Danish town of Slagelse said 'we have immigrants in our class – we've grown up with people that are not ethnically Danish ... I think we don't see them as not equal because we've grown up with them as our equals.' LBGT equalities could be illustrated by family and personal experience: Selma (F/17) in Turku (Finland) said 'my big sister prefers girls instead of boys – she's now with a boy, but she used to be with a girl, and my grandparents knew this, and even though they were happy for her, as soon as she broke up and found this guy, then they were much happier that she was with a respectable guy, than with a girl. I think that's a generation gap.'

But equalities could be situated much wider, on occasions. Maïté (M/18) in Bernalda, a small town in southern Italy, could assert 'I'm a European citizen because I have the same political rights – that's important – because people are equal.'

What time period did these examples relate to

Only 56% of examples were linked to a particular time.

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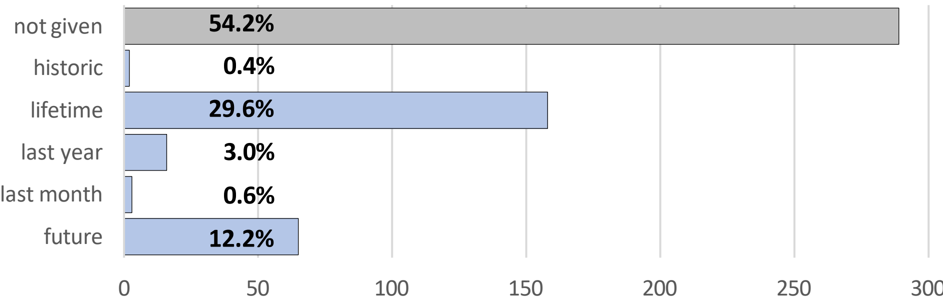
Despite this local/country perspective, over a quarter of these references had a future orientation (Figure PV3: 5).

For example, Frederico (M/15) in Faro saw gay equality as needing to develop further: 'I agree that gay couples should be able to adopt kids and to donate blood – but I think that Portugal is not as evolved as some other countries in Europe.'

Figure PV3: 5 : The time these examples of Equalities refered to



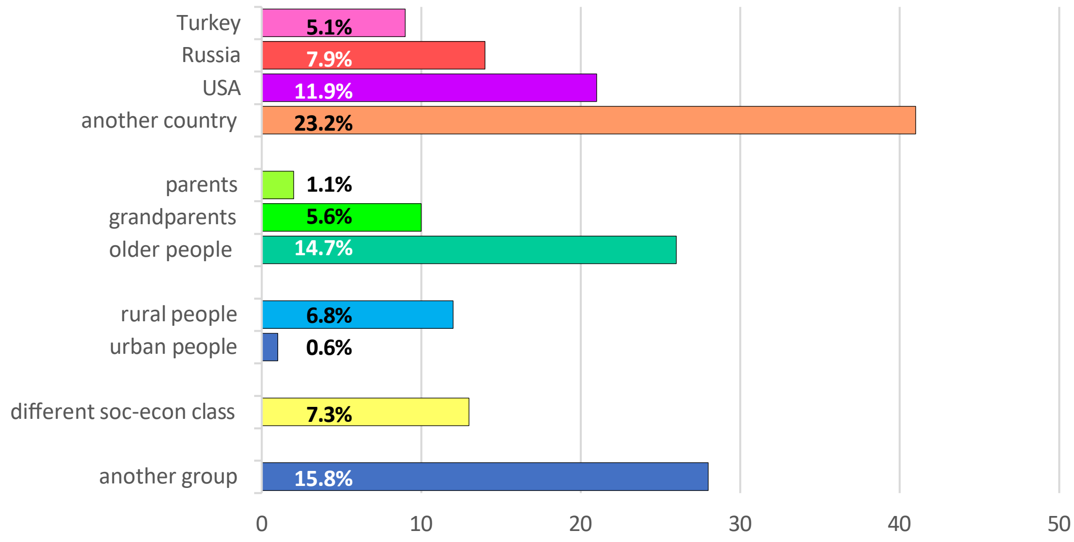
Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

But the predominant timing was current: Marinette (F/16) in Paris was referring very much to what she saw as current hypocrisies in France when she said 'it's all very much talk of equality. But when you live in this country and you see it's very false – for immigrants, the government says it's an open country and France welcomes immigrants – but in the night you can see policemen in the streets who look for immigrants,' who she said were picked on for beatings.

Some examples 'othered' groups whom it was felt did not uphold Equality Values

Most of the discussion around Equality values involved identifying members of groups who it was felt did not respect particular Equality values. Of the 533 instances recorded, 177 (33%) involved 'othering'. Figure PV3: 6 shows only the cases where there was othering. This was very often (about 48% of cases) around a particular country where it was felt that equalities were not upheld: the USA was a not uncommon offender (Figure PV3: 6).

Figure PV3: 6 Those who were 'Othered' in discussing examples of Equality



A further tenth of examples referred to examples of older people, sometimes family members, not respecting various equalities.

Othered countries were drawn across a wide range. In København, Anker (M/15) gave the example of 'in Saudi Arabia … they don't have rights for women, so you can't drive a car, you can't vote for politicians – and that's a huge deal in Denmark, because we love to have everyone have the same rights – or at least we try to give everyone equal rights.' In Zutphen (Netherlands), Alida (F/16) spoke of 'the homophobic discrimination in Russia … I'm bisexual, and it wouldn't be a good thing for me if Putin [had influence in] the European Union!' Russia was also seen to have inequalities around the distribution of wealth, said Marlies (F/18) in Forst (a small town in eastern Germany): 'the contrast in Russia between the poor and the rich is too big.' Some European equalities were welcomed for very personal reasons: in Lyon, Ashyia (F/14, of Algerian origin) said that to be born in France gave her 'a chance, because girls can go to school, and can learn something, have a profession – in Syria the girls don't have the opportunity – they have to be married very young.'

Some older people were also described as not respecting equalities. In Bergen (Norway) Øystein (M/16) describe seeing at the weekend 'this old woman at the bus station – there was this little kid, who was Afro-American, and he had this balloon – and he popped it. It made a huge noise, and the old woman reacted, said horrible things about the little kid, she told him to go back to Africa.' In Cordoba (Spain), Agustina (F/17) felt that ' older people] they don't understand or respect homosexual people, because they were not so many open homosexual people in their times – they were hiding: it's not like today when homosexual people are on the street, holding hands and kissing – they see it as strange.'

And some young people described the experience of being othered themselves. Gabrielius (M/16, Lithuanian born and descent) living in the Norwegian city of Bergen, aid 'I wouldn't say I'd encountered racism – but my friends make sort of jokes – am I an immigrant? or something – "you shouldn't do that, because you're an immigrant" – I feel and kind of funny [laughs] because I feel I'm more Norwegian than them.' In Slovenia, Neža (F/13, Roma) explained 'if you are Roma, you are treated differently to other people – in the shops, in the streets. Civilians always look as though they are avoiding Roma.'

Pedagogical Implications

From the evidence

Young People are, at least implicitly, aware of the dynamic/evolutionary nature of the Freedom values: no one suggested that there needed to be any reference to any original definitions. This characteristic becomes a useful starting point for discussions on values – that changes in contemporary thinking mean that Freedoms need to be interpreted in the current circumstances.

Other strategies

The tendency we have described above was for freedoms and rights to be values that were more frequently discussed in the abstract than through particular examples. If this is found to be the case with a group of young people, it might be useful to try and move discussions – and other investigations and exploration to specific examples of rights, that might illustrate tensions and potential limitations and extensions that could be explored through discussion – for example, rights and freedoms in other parts of the world. The second amendment to the US constitution, 'A well-

regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.' Is this a right that young people in Europe feel that they should have? How do they regard its current standing in the US? (bearing in mind that it has only become of more political significance since the 1960s).

C: PV4 Analysis of the Value of Solidarity

The nature of the value of Solidarity in the European context

Solidarity is a particular value in the European context. It figures strongly in the Charter of Fundamental Values of the European Union, but not at all in the Council of Europe's original version of European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights. The first Protocol adding to the Convention in 1952 did, however, add Article 2, the right to education.

Solidarity – termed *Fraternité* – was part of the French Revolutionary motto of 1796, and had been formally part of the French Constitution since 1958. Now it forms Title IV in the European Union Charter.

Solidarity can be seen as a perhaps necessary balance to freedom and rights. It could be argued that a disproportionate emphasis on the exercise of freedom could be at the expense of others. It is therefore essential to recognise the solidarity between members of a society as a fundamental principle, that ensures that both the advantages of prosperity are shared, and the costs of this sharing are distributed justly and proportionately among its members, which is not necessarily equally.

Title IV lists 12 Articles, summarised here:

27: Workers' right to information and consultation within the undertaking

28: Right of collective bargaining and action

29: Right of access to placement services

30: Protection in the event of unjustified dismissal

31: Fair and just working conditions

32: Prohibition of child labour and protection of young people at work

33: Family and professional life

34: Social security and social assistance

35: Health care

36: Access to services of general economic interest

37: Environmental protection

38: Consumer protection

These thus combine a range of employment rights with social provision, services and support (with the Council of Europe's 1952 amendment on education rights) , and general protection of citizens and consumers.

As with Equalities, Solidarity measures can compete with other values. For example, the right to respect an individual's private family life was seen to conflict with the need to inoculate children against COVID-19. The European Court of Human Rights ruled that it was valid for a state (in this

case, the Czech State) to require vaccination as 'is fully consistent with the rationale of protecting the health of the population.' [60] Róbert Spanó, a former President of the Court, explained this: 'While individuals in society all have rights which have to be respected by the State, they do not live in isolation in their community. A community is made up of other individuals and our communities develop on the basis of specific social and political practices. Some human rights must therefore develop contextually by taking account of our collective responsibilities for the well-being of each other' [61]

Our Rights and Equalities are thus not simply concerning the individual's rights against others (and the state), but are also exercised in a context-specific way to take account of the rights of others, and the proportionate obligations of the holder of those rights: 'some rights must be exercised in accordance with some understanding of civic or collective duty' ([61]Spanó, 2021, p 6).

Young people's discussions of the value of Solidarity

Solidarity was the most frequently mentioned value by a large degree: 1,145 times in all, by 828 individuals (41.4% of the total). This was 40% more often than Democracy, 44% more often than Freedom of movement, and 76% more often than Respect for Other Cultures and Equalities – the four next most-often mentioned values. But – like Equalities – there were many cases where examples were given in a way that strength of feeling could not be determined in the analysis (20% of all cases) .

When an example of Solidarity was raised, it was very often done so positively (92%), or in a neutral/ambivalent way (6%) (Figure PV4:1).

Figure PV4: 1 Strength of feeling about value of solidarrity, numbers

Solidarity

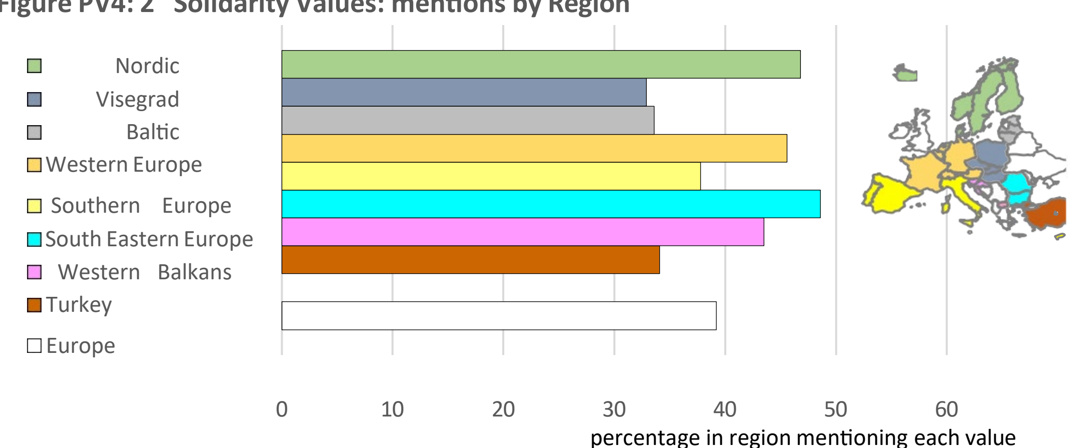
-200 0 200 400 600 800 1000

Where was Solidarity mentioned most (by region within Europe) (% in each region)

Solidarity was also one of the most consistently raised values across all regions of Europe, by between 33% and 49% of all those in discussions in each region (Figure PV4: 2). This makes a particularly important value in terms of opening a discussion: it would be reasonable to assume that there will be a large proportion of young people in most groups who will be able to volunteer and discuss forms of social solidarity.

[60] *Vavřička and Others v. the Czech Republic* [GC], nos. 47621/13 and 5 others, 8 April 2021

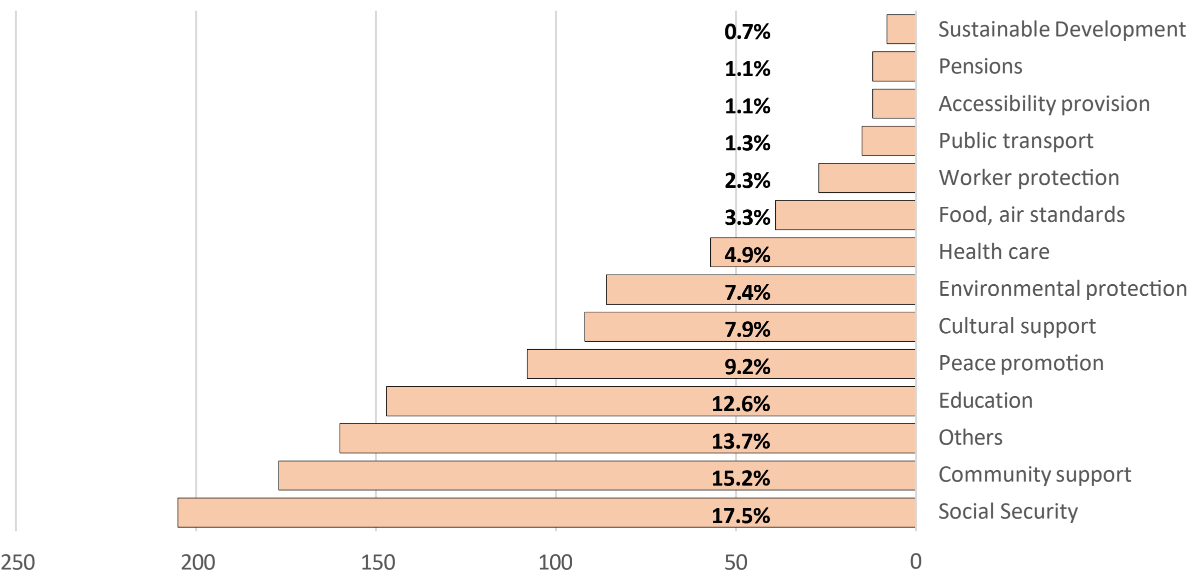
[61] Speech by Spanó, R (2021) "What role for human duties, obligations and responsibilities in our European human rights discourse?" *University of Copenhagen Law Faculty*, 2 December. https://echr.coe.int/Documents/Speech_20211202_Spano_Law_Faculty_Copenhagen_ENG.pdf



What particular examples of solidarity were raised by young people?

Figure PV4: 3 shows which kinds of solidarity were mentioned. In examining this, two points should be borne in mind. Firstly, all these examples were made without any prompting, other than the prompts of other young people in the group. Secondly, the discussions were all held between January 2010 and January 2016, 91% of them before the Paris Climate Accords (Greta Thunberg did not start being an activist till two years later, and was aged between 7 and 13 over this period). The low rating for Sustainable Development would almost certainly be substantially greater currently.

Over 70% of the examples raised were rated between 5% and 16% – the seven issues of health care, environmental protection, cultural support, the promotion of peace, social security, education and community support. Worker protection was not frequently mentioned, despite the fact that half the Articles in the European Union Charter's Title IV being concerned with employment rights.



Much of the 'Other' category (13.7%) was the mention of non-specified rights to solidarity in general: for example, Kamila (F/12) in Prešov, Slovakia, said 'if I ask my parents if we have relatives in Europe, they say all people in Europe and in the world are brothers and sisters, and we are the same, the same race.' Europe was a clear link for many young people: Ruxandra (F/12) in Bucureşti

suggested that 'to be a European you should be united with all the people in Europe to help each other', and Reines (M/15) in Jurmala (Latvia) said 'we are all together, in one place, all Europeans, and we can feel that we're kind of united.' More might be needed, said Lola (F/15) in a south French village: 'the equality is not for all, we need more – we need solidarity between all people.' And sometimes there was general solidarity around a particular incident, as when Rachelle (F/13) in Padua, Italy, referred to the European leaders meeting in Paris after the *Charlie Hebdo* incident four weeks earlier: 'and the Italians, the Austrian, the Germans, UK – we have all helped France in this case. This is a sign that we are all together in Europe.'

There were specific reference to the European Community: Montserrat (16/F) in Segovia said she was 'proud of the European Union because countries together are more powerful, and can defeat problems together,' and Carla (F/15), in Slagelse (Denmark), referred to 'Europe as a community, where solidarity exists between the countries.'

Education was singled out by Ingelinn (F/18) in Bergen, Norway: ' I'm proud of the school system – the way everyone is allowed to go to school to a certain age – we don't have to pay for anything special – the first thirteen years are free.'

Health care was raised on a comparative basis: in North Macedonia, Cvetko (M/14) in Skopje was anticipating improvements in this area: 'there are some countries with free health care, which is very nice.' Bertta (18/F) in Turku, made favourable comparisons with the USA: 'if you compare Finnish life to American – I see on the internet people posting pictures of their healthcare bills. It makes me sick to see those numbers......but I was hospitalized for three weeks because I had cancer when I was eleven – to think of the bill that my parents would have to pay for that! It makes me really thankful for the Finnish system .... it's still good that we all take care of each other.' Børre (M/18) in Lillehammer though 'we have one of the best systems in the world when it comes to health care – it's an opportunity for everyone if you need it.'

Food and water standards were raised in Wien: Buğsenur (F/14) said that in the city 'there's good water, and traffic [public transport] is good here,' and Cordula (F19) liked the state control over food standards: 'I hear how American animals are treated is very bad, it's better here. That's why I don't want this TTIP thing, with food from America' (the Transatlantic Trade Partnership was being negotiated at the time). In the small city of Jyväskylä in Finland, Fanni (F/17) was appreciative that 'there's not much pollution, you can breathe outside, there's forests and nature around, you can swim in the lakes.' This was seen as Europe wide: Elli (F/17), in the eastern German town of Forst said 'I believe we have a rather high living standard in general in Europe, so – we don't have to care about clean drinking water, or having enough food.'

Social security was mentioned on over 160 occasions. Ordoño (M/17) in Bellaterra (near Barcelona) spoke in general terms of Europe being 'countries that wanted to become part of a system based on social rights, so they are part of this group of people who wanted to come together in some ways and help each other, and – so it can be very different people, who may have nothing in common, but they have this feeling that they want to live together and help each other,' while in the same group Milagros (F/16) was more explicit: 'we should look more for each other, and help each other – for example, there is now a lot of poverty in Spain and Catalonia, and a lot of kids don't have anything to eat.' In Amsterdam, Aat (M/16) felt that in the Netherlands 'you always have some sort of income from the state – when something goes wrong, you at least get some basic help.'

Others referenced sustainability as an issue of solidarity. In the German city of Bielefeld, Zäzilia (F/11) thought 'we use too much energy in Germany – I'm not proud of that', and Marga (F/10)

added 'that's also my opinion – I think that we have too many power plants in Germany – especially for nuclear power.'

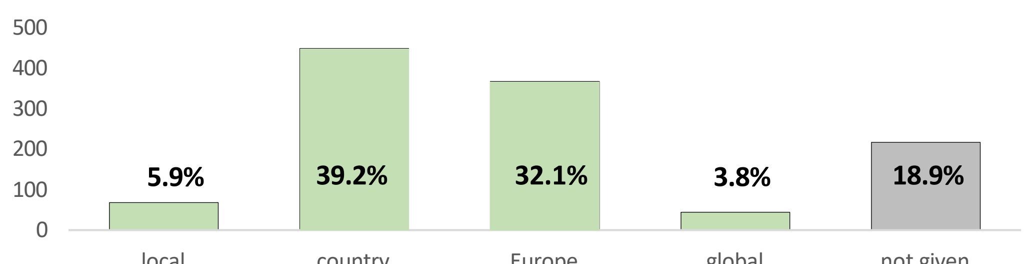
Finally, the value of peace was raised, for example by Valéry (M/16) in Paris: 'we can feel European, to be in that group, to live with other countries in peace.' And in the Polish city of Kraków, Olesia (F/12) was eloquent about European solidarity:

> Everywhere you go you are surrounded by your friends, people from the group, natives. I can go anywhere, to any country and they would know you are from Poland, that you are from Europe. They don't know you, but they *know* you – you are a like a distant relative. In my opinion, being European means that everywhere you have neighbours. Peace should be everywhere. In Europe, everyone has much higher awareness, they know about each other, they know where each country is. We are a part of Europe – and that *means* something.
>
> [emphasis given as in her speech]

Where were these examples located?

Figure PV4:4 shows that examples of Solidarity were primarily drawn from the country in which the discussion or from Europe, in broadly similar numbers. Solidarity examples were linked to a specific location in 81% of the examples given.

Figure PV4: 4 Where were these examples of Solidarity located?

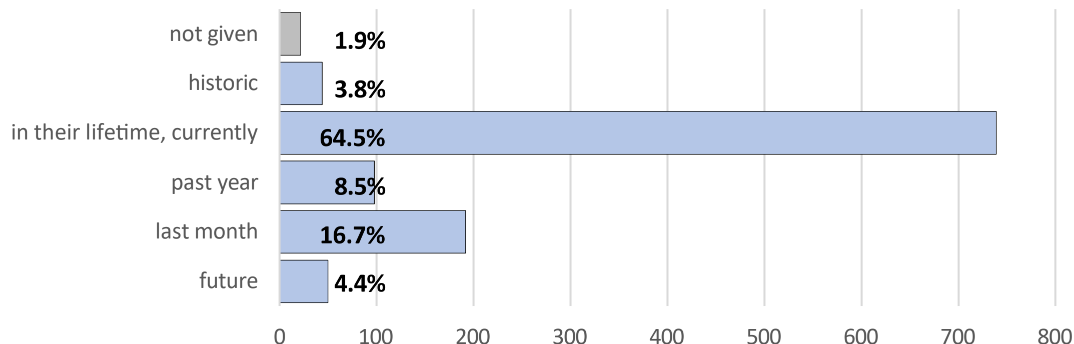


Particular countries were often specified: Toni (M/16) in Helsinki said he felt 'very fortunate that I live in Finland because of the welfare state, and the fact that I've gone to school, and I've received health care – and all that, without charge', and Miglē (M/18) in Kaunus, Lithuania was 'proud we have a free health care system, free education, a very good academy – very good governance.' Others located the feeling of solidarity, and the safety this brought, in Europe, like Mattis (M/14) in Malmö: 'I feel that Europe is connected, somehow, and we can all speak to each other, every we can say are friends,' or Natalia (F/14) in Madrid; 'when I'm in Europe I feel safe and confident in myself … I feel totally European. – I am a citizen of Spain, and a citizen of Europe, and a citizen of the world.'

What time period did these examples relate to?

Solidarity was referred to very much as a current value, with many references the very recent past (Figure PV4: 5). 98% of Solidarity examples were linked to a period of time.

Figure PV4: 5 Time the example of Solidarity refered to



Note: 'lifetime' will include some in the previous year and month

In Montpellier, France, Zaif (M/12) contrasted Freedoms and Solidarity: 'there's freedom – you can do whatever you want – and also there's much help and support to do what you want – this is an advantage that we have and that you cannot find in other countries – like the giving of food to homeless people through associations such as the Restaurants du Cœur.' Vinvenc (M/13) in Ostrava, Czechia, located solidarity as in Europe 'now we can see ourselves as part of the European Union, and as someone who takes care of Europe. It's not *only* the Czech Republic, it's also Europe.'

But Solidarity was sometimes also seen as having antecedents back in the past: Blaise (M/15) in Lille referred to ' all the social progress that we have made over the past century is one of the reasons why we can be proud of France.' Others saw the extension of solidarity in the future, to candidate states and neighbours: Miska (F/12) spoke of international solidarity: 'if some state doesn't have money, Europe will help the country – and maybe if we helped Turkey, it would be better'.

Some examples 'othered' groups whom it was felt did not uphold Solidarity Values

Of the 1,145 references to Solidarity, 604 (53%) 'othered' another group. Figure PV4: 6 shows which groups were othered, as a percentage of all othering mentions.

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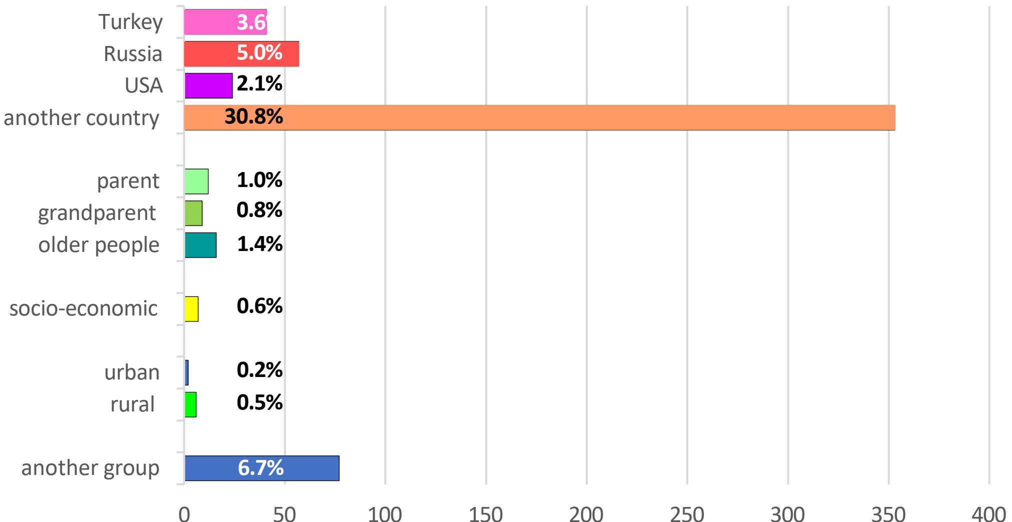
Figure PV4: 6 'Others' given in examples of Solidarity



The relatively large number of 'another country' included young people talking about the lack of Solidarity shown by some members of their own country. For example, Anatolie (M/13) in Bucareşti said that in Romania 'nobody cares, and nobody does anything so that others could care. There are *some* people that care, but five here, and ten there – a lot if you count them up and see the result, more that 50% – but the problem is that you don't see them together.' Zofia (F/12) in Kraków felt 'we don't trust each other in Poland, because there are a lot of thieves and there's vandalism, people who destroy windows, or radios from cars, or … we don't trust each other.'

Such lack of solidarity was also sometimes attributed to other European countries: for example, in the 2015 refugee crisis, Leonhard (16/M in Bielefeld, Germany, argued the 'European idea is to help other people – and if [other countries] don't help, they don't understand the idea of Europe.' Similarly, Aadje (f/14) in Hengelo, Netherlands, felt that 'Greece does not really belong, because they came for help when they had a lot of problems, and we helped them – but I don't really think we got a lot back of all that money we gave them.'

The United States was a particular focus of criticism: Lou (F/17) in Lëtzebuerg) said 'in Luxembourg, it's normal that we have social security … to us [that the US does not] , it seems idiotic.' In Berlin, Baldur (M/16) said as 'a social state, in the whole of Europe, the State actually cares for the people. In America, the State kind of cares, but if you don't have a job, you can end up homeless really easily.'

Pedagogical Implications

From the evidence

Solidarity, in its various manifestations, is clearly a value that substantial minorities – at least a third to a half of young people – find it interesting to discuss. It becomes a useful area of contrast, between the balance to be struck between individual freedoms and opportunities and mutual support for each other. It was sometimes an area where Europe, and individual European countries, were contrasted with the perceived lack of solidarity and individualism of the United States of America.

D Regional and other factors in the understanding of European Values

Regional factors in European Values

Introduction

The previous section focused on each of the various European Values: we now move to look at other ways in which our data can be analysed to throw light on the various aspects of young peoples' understanding.

The first and most substantial section looks at the responses from different regions of Europe. This has been briefly referred to in the previous section: we now make a more detailed presentation at this level. We have not generally analysed data at the country level, because our data is not sufficiently large to draw conclusions from the number of discussions, and numbers of individuals, to draw robust conclusions.

We then turn to a number of other ways in which our data can be approached.

In particular, we look at (1) the effect of *parental occupations* on the understanding of the Core Values, comparing two particular parental groups; (2) at the ways and extent to which *young people from a non-European heritage or descent* appreciate European values: and (3) at a *gender* analysis of those raising equal rights for women and men (pp 183-6).

The Regional Analysis: an demographic introduction

Grouping of countries for this interim analysis

The countries that were included in the study are shaded. Unshaded countries were not included. Countries are grouped as follows for analytic purposes:

Figure D1: Map of Regional groupings

Nordic countries

Baltic countries

Visegrád countries

Western Europe

Southern Europe

South-Eastern Europe

Western Balkans

Turkey

Nordic Countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden

Baltic Countries: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Visegrád countries: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia

Western Europe: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland [The UK was to have been included in the 2014-6 period, but the proposal to hold a referendum on EU membership, the subsequent result, and the exit negotiations made it extremely difficult to hold discussions on the relationship between UK and European identities. The Republic of Ireland has to be included in parallel with discussions in the UK, because of sensitivities on both sided on the Norther Irish border.]

Southern Europe: Cyprus, Italy, Portugal, Spain [Greece was, in the study period (2010-16), very focussed on the European debt situation. It was judged that discussions held in the period would be over-dominated by this single subject. Malta was not included for reasons of time and size.]

South-Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Romania

Western Balkans: Croatia, North Macedonia, Slovenia [Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia were not at the commencement of the study candidate states for EU membership]

Turkey: [socio-politically distinctive from the other groupings and considered on its own]

[The 'Eastern Partnership' countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine were to have been included in 2019-21, but only 6 discussions have been held before the pandemic made this impractical.]

This categorisation results in regions of different size, and smaller regions have proportionally larger sample sizes. Some of the sub-analyses smaller regions must be treated with caution because of this.

	number in sample	population (millions)	persons per million		
Nordic	295	26.4	11.2		
Baltic	134	6.2	21.6	*	! caution with sub-analyses
Visegrád	249	64.3	3.9		
Western Europe	464	195.6	2.4		
Southern Europe	378	118.8	3.2		
South-eastern Europe	177	27.0	6.5	**	! care with sub-analyses
Western Balkans	216	8.36	25.8		
Turkey	85	79.8	1.1	*	! caution with sub-analyses

Figure D2: number in sample

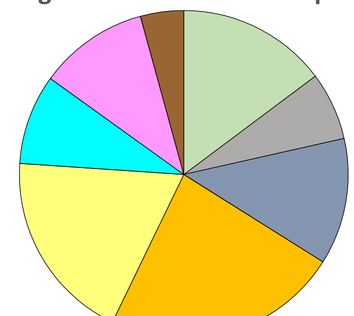


Figure D3: population of regions

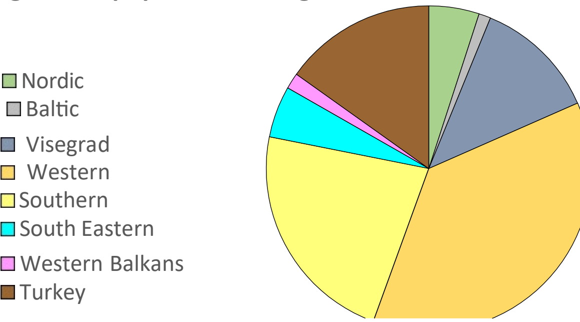
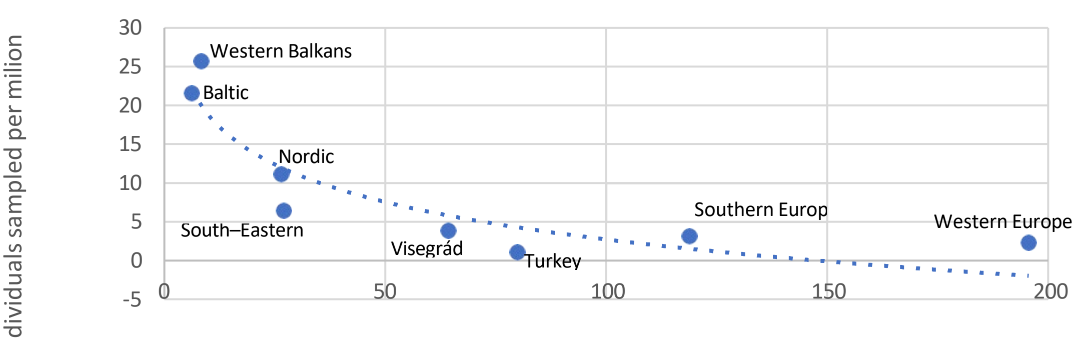


Figure D4: Respentation of sample vs population of region

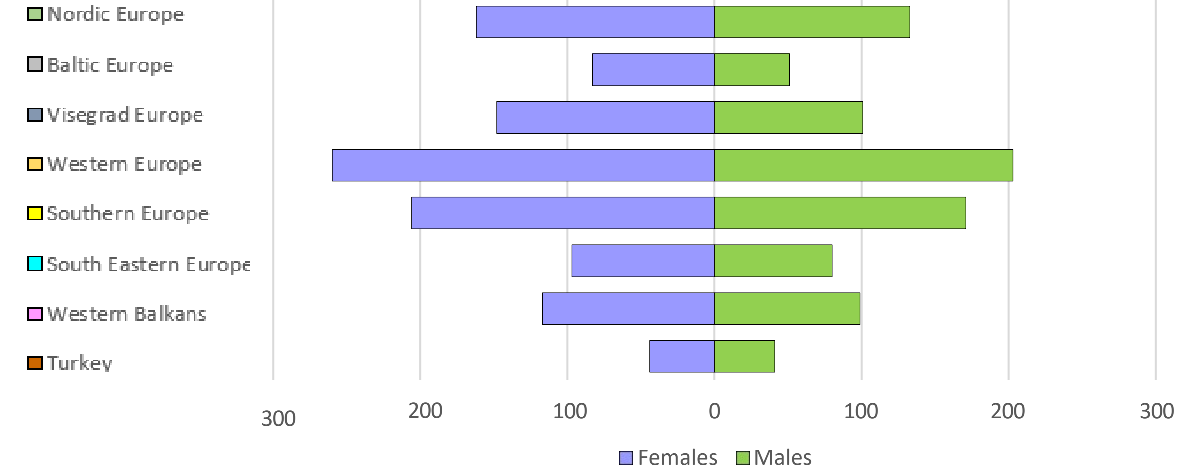


There are a number of demographic characteristics of the various Regions that show some significant variations. These all impact on the interpretation of comparative regional responses, and need to be considered in looking at the specific regional data that follows.

Gender

The local organisers of the groups were asked to recruit approximately equal numbers of males and females. It is notable that in every region (and in every country except Norway, Portugal and Bulgaria) more females were recruited. 55% of the total were female. This is reflected in the level of participation in the discussions (proportion of contributions and time, and in the proportion of quotations used in this report).

Figure D5: Gender balance

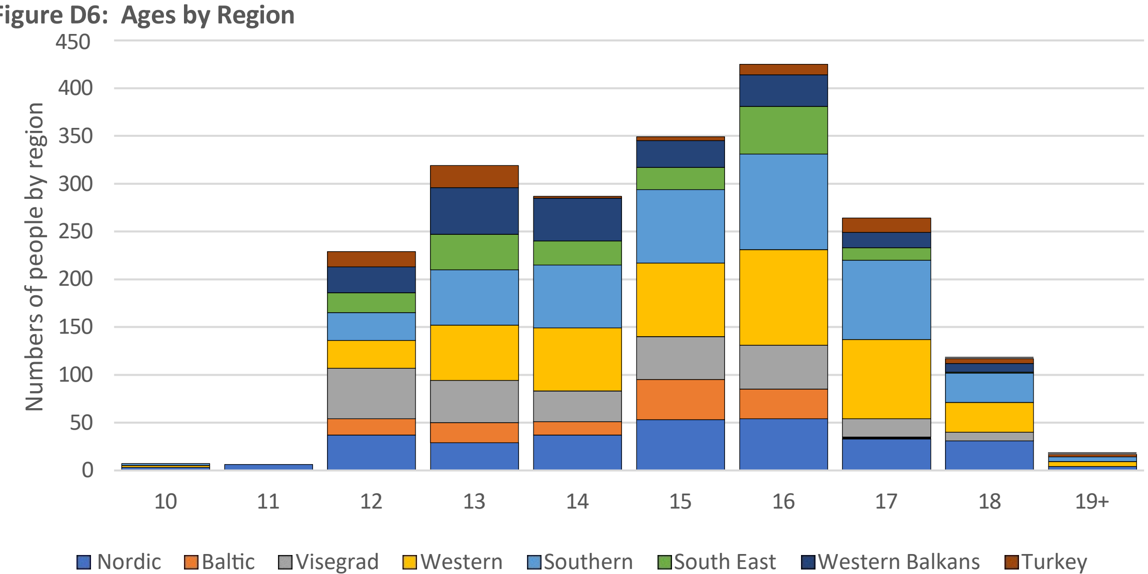


Ages of group members

The schools were asked to select students over the 11 to 18 age range, on the basis of a range of ability levels, and to represent any significant minorities. If two groups were to come from one

school (the norm), then it was suggested one be in the 11 to 15 age range, and the other in the 15+ age range. Some schools and colleges did not cover the whole age range.

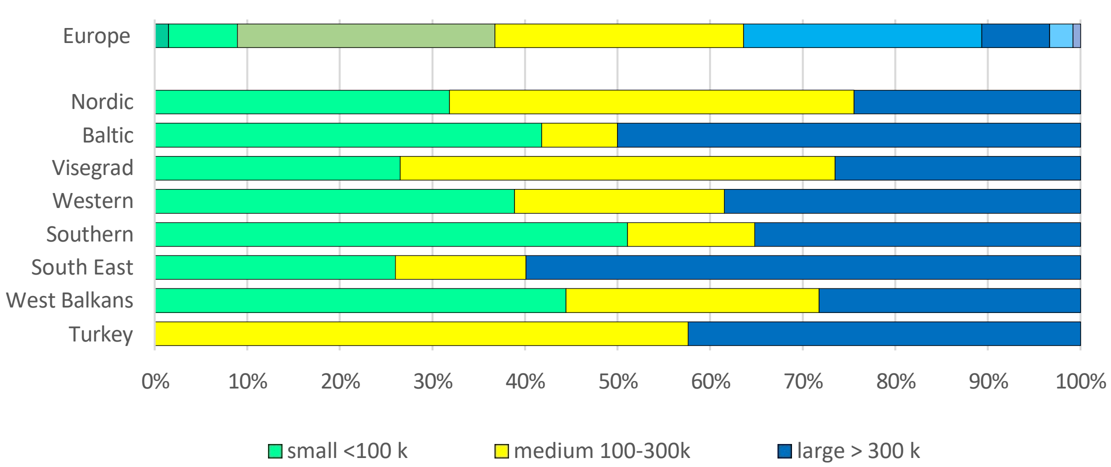
Figure D6: Ages by Region



The population size of the various locations

This was hard to control: the sampling of locations was opportunistic, but attempted to cover both the variety of the internal regions of the country and a range of sizes of locations. The distribution in Figure D7 shows the various locations categorised on Doxiadis's 1968 settlement hierarchy as percentages of the categories in each area. The data line for Europe as a whole is broken down into all eight categories: this would be confusing if applied to all regions, so these are grouped into the three smallest categories, a middle category of small cities; and the four largest categories. It is not possible to determine the representative nature of this as data for different countries is collected in a variety of ways.

Figure D7: Proportional size of setlements in different regions



The **all-European data** (in the first horizontal bar) is further sub-divided into eight categories:

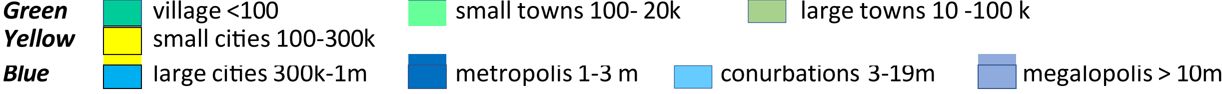
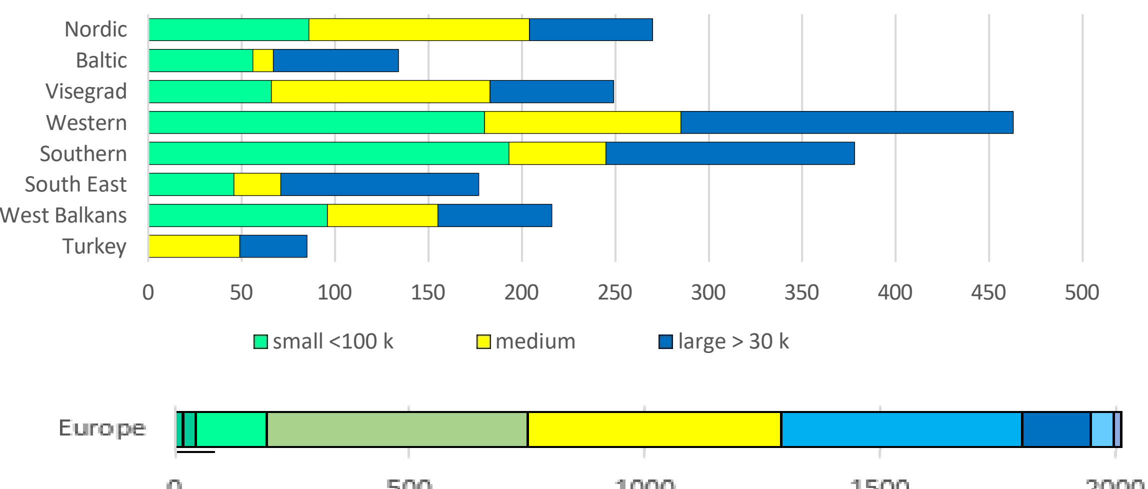


Figure D8 shows the same data with the actual numbers. (Europe as a whole is shown with a different horizontal scale.)

Figure D8: Actual size of setlements in different regions



Parental Origins

Parental origins are hard to classify, but are of significance in analysing both attachment to particular territories and in the understanding of 'European values'. There is a common right-wing trope that migrants from outside Europe bring 'alien values' that are incompatible with those of Europe. This is examined in detail at the end of this section (pp 183-4). Figure D9 shows the various ranges of different kinds of differences as percentages (with actual numbers within each bar). The categories used here are a simplification: the first category (purple) is where *both* parents are from the same country as that in which the respective discussion took place. The second category is where *either one or both* parents comes from another EU or EFTA country. Category three is where *one or both* come from another EU country that is not a member of the EU or EFTA (Turkey and Russia counting as European, but some other former USSR countries as Asian). The final category is of those where *one or both* parents come from an African, Asian or South American country. Clearly, some of these last three categories overlap, and the classification also leaves out the relatively small number with parents from North America and Australasia.

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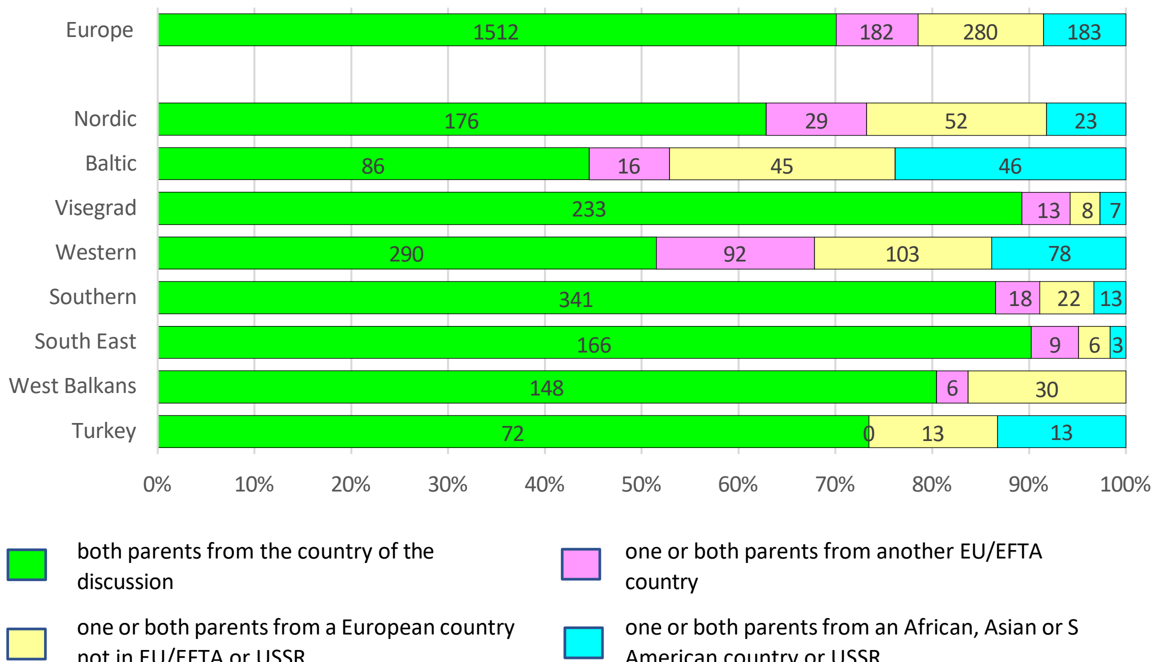


Note: Parents from the USSR were allocated to the non-European category, as it unable to differentiate the various Soviet Socialist Republics. This particularly affects the Baltic States in the Figure.
Note: numbers in each bar will be greater than the total numbers in the region, because some individuals will fall into more than one category.
Notes on larger minorities: Baltic states: numbers of Russian and other former USSR Republics [62]
Turkey: Kurdish minorities
Western Balkans: former Yugoslav states[62]
Western Europe and Nordic: largely migrant populations

The analysis that follows first compares these regions by their profile of the values (individual values, followed by meta-values. It then compares the strength each value between the regions, with the European average for that value shown as a form of benchmark.

This is followed by a more detailed analysis of each region. Each of these begins with background demographic data on the countries in the region and the region as a whole, and detail on the nature of the sample population in the region, including the locations sampled, the dates of sampling, and number of groups. There then follows analyses of each value to be compared with the European average: some the difference are slight, and some are unreliable because of the small size of the sub-sets: these are noted. Other variations, however, are significant. Some variations will because of the dates at which the survey was conducted in particular countries, others will reflect deeper social and cultural conditions and histories of the region.

How did European regions score on each of the Values?

[62] Brubaker, Rogers (1996) *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the new Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press discusses the impact of the breakup of the Soviet Union on the various nationalities recognised within the USSR (with respect to, inter alia, the Baltic States) and Yugoslavia, where nationalities were, in his term ‘reframed’ as the redrawing of borders left different ethnic groups finding themselves non-nationals in areas where they had previously been nationals.

The following analysis compares the different responses about each value, and the meta values. It is not particularly helpful to make a country analysis, because the data was collected from a relatively small number of individuals in most countries (less than 10 groups in twelve of the countries).

There are two other factors to be born in mind in making comparisons, even at the regional level.

- Firstly, we have demonstrated that the timing of a discussion can have a crucial influence on the content of a discussion: very recent geopolitical and local events can have a powerful influence on the content of what is talked about.
- Secondly, none of the talk was directed at (European) Values: all the references that we have noted were raised as the young people talked about their sense of identification with their own country, with Europe, with their locality or more widely. The nature of the deliberative discussion was to explore what they felt influenced this, and the significance of this report is that so many of them chose to refer to particular values in doing so. There was not a systematic exploration of each value, which would have
    - o interrupted the spontaneity of the discussion,
    - o probably have disinhibited some young people's participation if they perceived it as systematic interrogation or a test, and
    - o necessarily used prompts to either values in general, or specific values, disrupting the deliberative and open-ended questioning with an interrogation that would have significantly biased the findings,

There are some similarities that are striking. That in every region at least two thirds of young people, in a one-hour discussion, choose to raise the processes by which values are implemented - the equalities, freedoms and solidarities that underpin how values operate - is significant and remarkable. But there are also significant differences - sometimes between which values are raised or not, sometimes between regions. This is not a competition, or a PISA-style exercise to determine comparative rankings, but is a matter of concern that there are some values that seem relatively indistinct, such as the Rule of Law, and that some regions vary so much in the levels of discussion of particular values.

How did each meta Value vary between the different Regions?

This section begins with an exploration of the variations in the three metavalues. Figure D10 a - b shows the three meta-values scores, all at the same vertical scale.

It is immediately apparent that;

- Structural Values are far less discussed than either the Core Fundament Values or the Process Values;
- Core Fundamental Values are quite variable between Regions; and
- Process Values are consistently dicussed the most, across all European Regions; with very little variation.

Figure D10a: European Regions by Structural Meta–Values

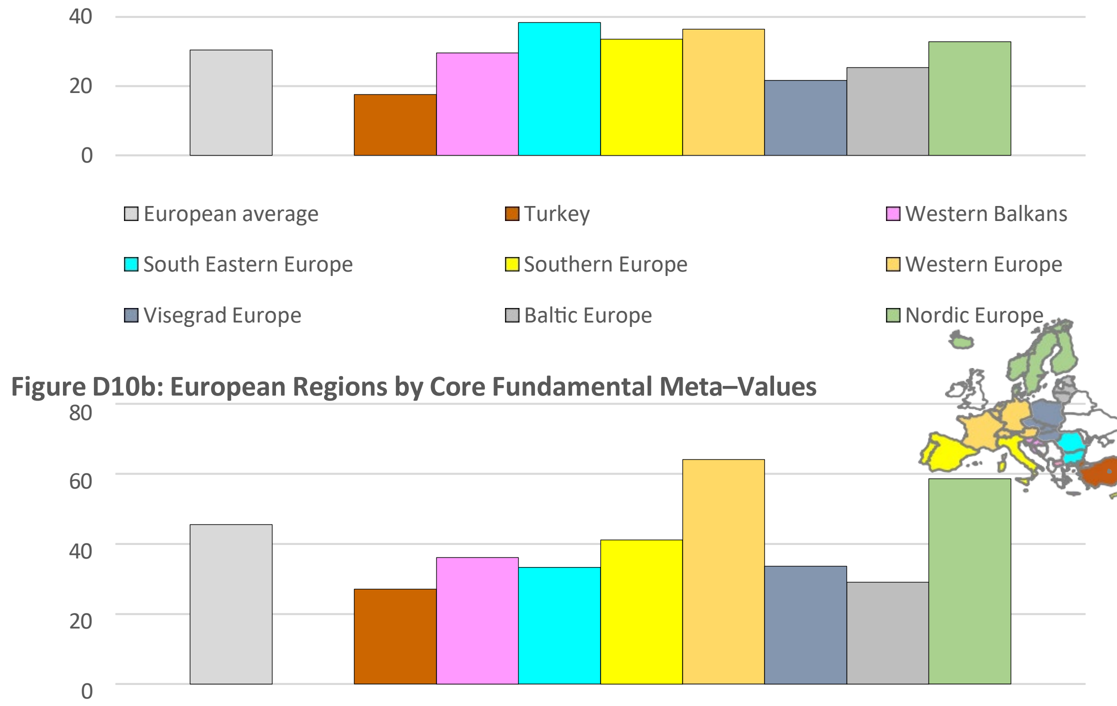


Figure D10b: European Regions by Core Fundamental Meta–Values

Figure D10c: European Regions by Process Meta–Values

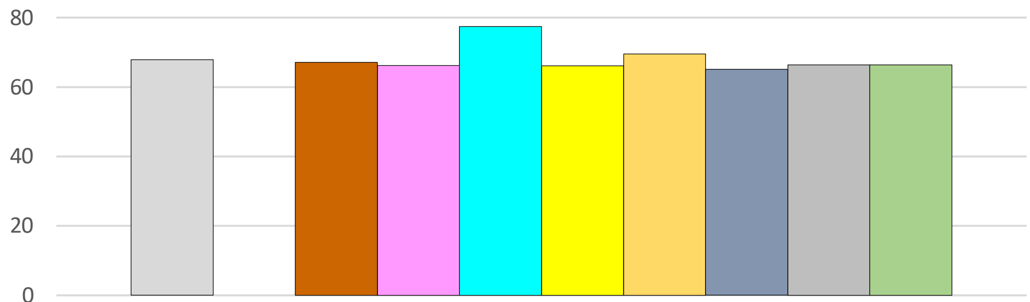
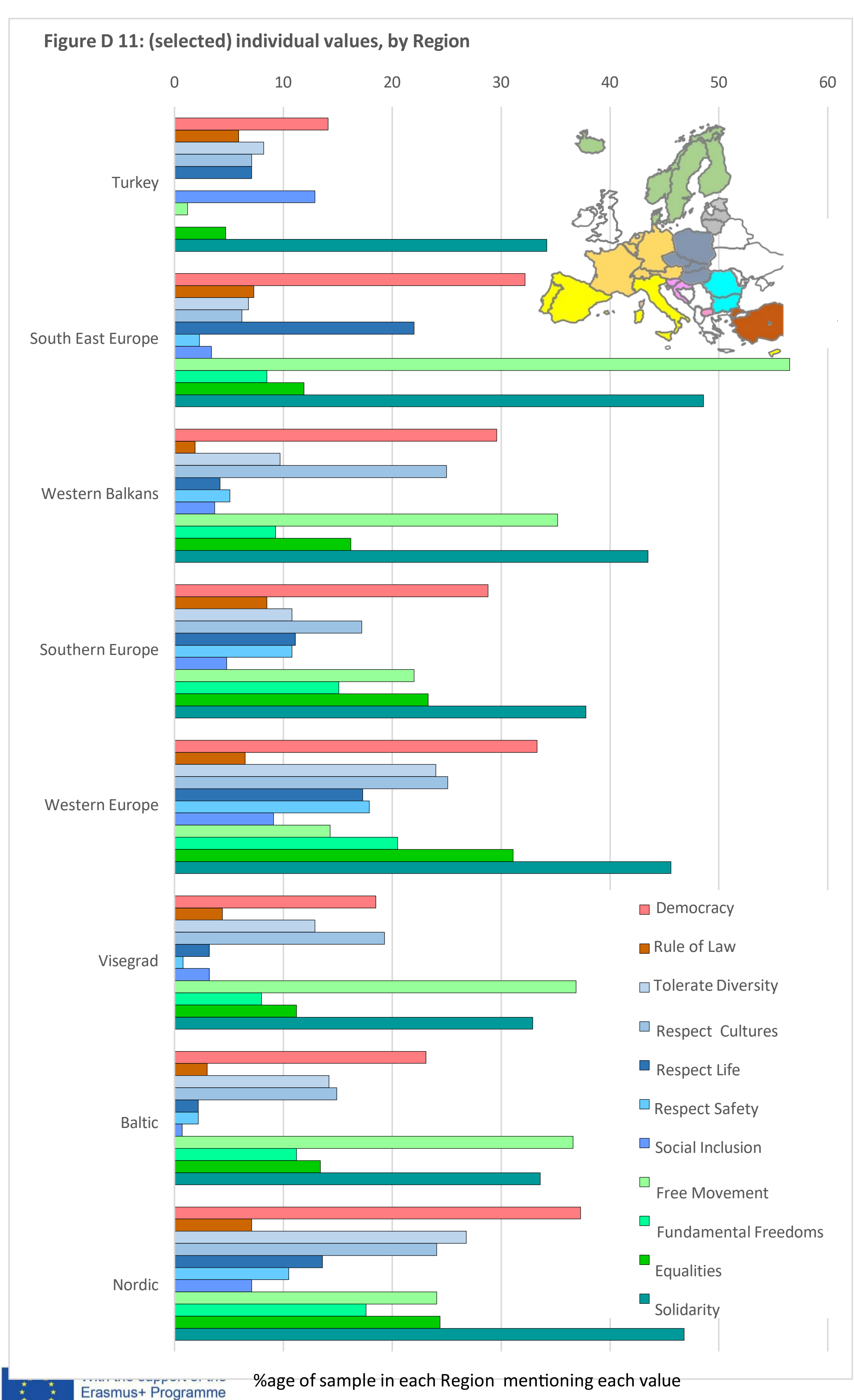


Figure D 11 shows the Regional profile for each set of the 13 values. While it is immediately clear that there are a great variety of distributions, they are complex, and not easy to characterise a Region with a concise description.



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Comparisons of Regional strengths and weaknesss

Each of the following three tables examines the frequency that each individual value is mentioned within each region, organised as three sets, one for each meta-value.

Five broad categories of frequency are recorded in each band, from high to low, and each region is placed in the appropriate indiviudual value column, based on (a) the percentage of the young people in the region mentioning the value (shown as a number) and (b) the range of frequencies of theta value.

Each table compares the relative positions of each Region for one of the set of meta-values. The numbers are the percentage point score by each Region for that Value. The solid red/black line across each Value column indicates the European average frequency for the respective value. Regions with Value frequencies that appear particularly low are shown in red, as an indication that they may need to be an area requiring particular attention by educational institutions in each region, but this suggestion is tentative: current events and local events may well have changed the situation.

The Structural Values

	Democracy	Rule of Law
High	37 Nordic 33 West Europe	
Mediu m – High	32 S-East Europe 30 West Balkans	8 South Europe
Medium	29 South Europe 23 Baltic	7 S-East Europe 7 Nordic 6 West Europe
Low-Medium	14 Turkey 18 Visegrad	5 Turkey 4 Visegrád
Low		2 Baltic 2 West Balkans

Every region appears to have a need to focus on the Rule of Law, which was infrequently mentioned, and often decribed in very limited ways.

Turkey, the Baltic and the Visegrad states also scored siugnificantly below the European average for Democracy

The Core Fundamental Values

	Tolerance of Diversity	Respect for other Cultures	Respect for Life	Safety of Others	Inclusion in Society	Prohibit Capital punishment
High	27 Nordic 24 West Europe	24 West Europe	22 S-East Europe			
Medium - High		24 Nordic 25 West Balkans	17 West Europe 14 Nordic 11 South Europe	22 S-East Europe 18 West Europe		
Medium	17 Turkey 14 Baltic 13 Visegrad	19 Visegrád 17 South Europe 15 Baltic		11 South Europe 11 Nordic	9 West Europe 7 Nordic	3 West Eu 2 Turkey
Low-Medium	10 West Balkans 11 South Europe				5 South Europe 3 Visegrad	2 Nordic 2 South Europe 2 S-East Europe 2 Visegrad
Low	7 S-East Europe	9 Turkey 5 Sth Est Europe	4 West Balkan 3 Visegrad 2 Baltic	5 West Balkans 2 Baltic 1 Turkey	2 S-East Europe 1 Turkey <1 Baltic	1<1 Baltic
none			0 Turkey	<1 Visegrad		0 West Balkans

Inclusion in Society and the prohibition of capital punishment both have low levels in all regions

The range of difference for most values is particularly striking for the Core Values of Human Rights. These variations would appear to be a be matter for concern.

The Core Process Values

	Freedom of Movement	Fundamental Freedoms	Equality	Solidarity
High	57 S-East Europe	30 Turkey	31 West Europe	49 S-East Europe 47 Nordic 46 West Europe
Medium - High	40 Visegrad 37 Baltic	21 West Europe 18 Nordic	24 Nordic 23 South Europe 22 Turkey	44 West Balkans 38 South Europe
Medium	35 West Balkans	15 South Europe		34 Baltic 34 Turkey
Low-Medium	24 Nordic 22 South Europe	11 Baltic	16 West Balkan 13 Baltic	33 Visegrad
Low	14 Western	9 West Balkans 8 S-East Europe 8 Visegrád	12 S-East Europe 11 Visegrad	
none	0 Turkey			

There were high levels of expressions about solidarity in every Region (33% to 49%).

Fundamental Freedoms were particularly variable (Turkey rates highly because of the number of

Alevi and Kurdish young people who were particularly vocal on their perceptions of lack of freedom.

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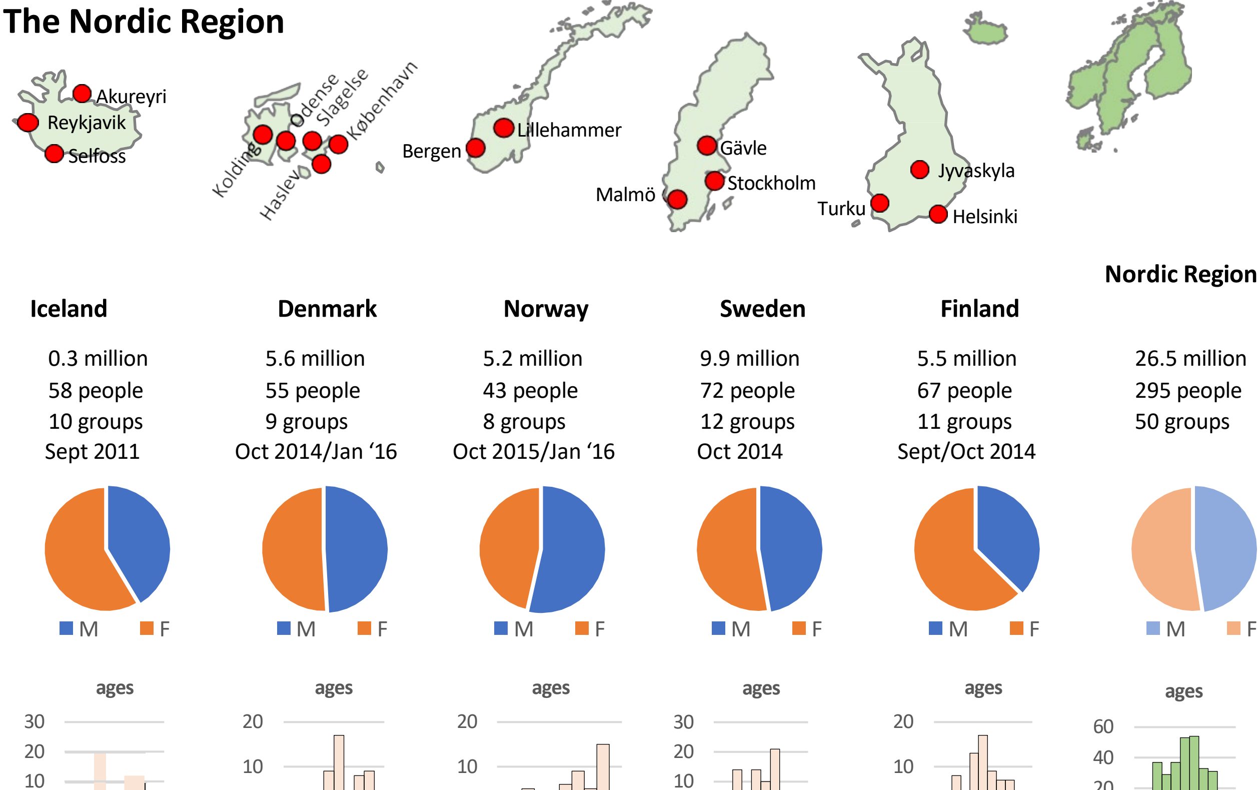
Equalities were very variably mentioned: relatively highly in Western Europe, Nordic, Southern and Turkish Regions, substantially less so in the others .

Individual Regional analysis

Each region is now analysed in turn. The individual countries are shown, on the first page, with the settlements included in the survey. Some of the responses to values are analysed in respect of gender, size of settlement and parental origin: it is important in looking at these to have regard for the overall distribution of the Region, and of Europe in the populations surveyed. Data is provided on this at a particlar point for the whole Region, before the detailed of these anayses begins on the second page.

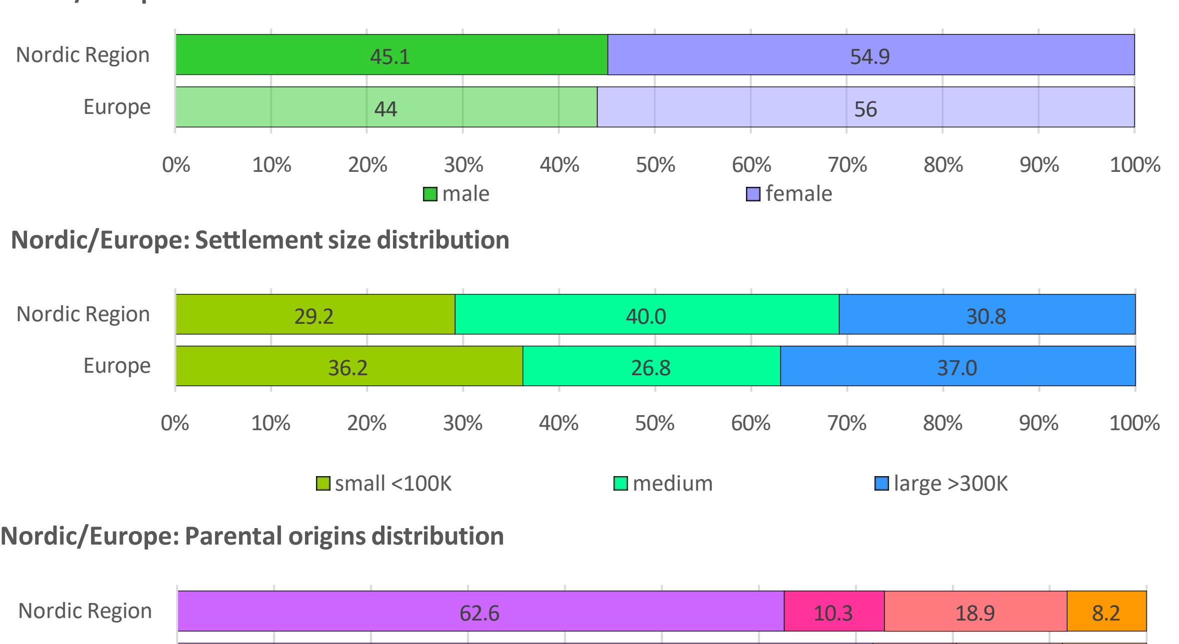
In all the Figures, the data for the Region is presented in a bolder set of colours, and the comparative data for all Europe in muted versions of the same colour.



Basic Demography of Nordic Region, compared to all-Europe

Figures in cells are percentages of the population. All pan-European data in the lighter shade.

Nordic/Europe: Gender distribution



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(1) both parents from country of discussion;

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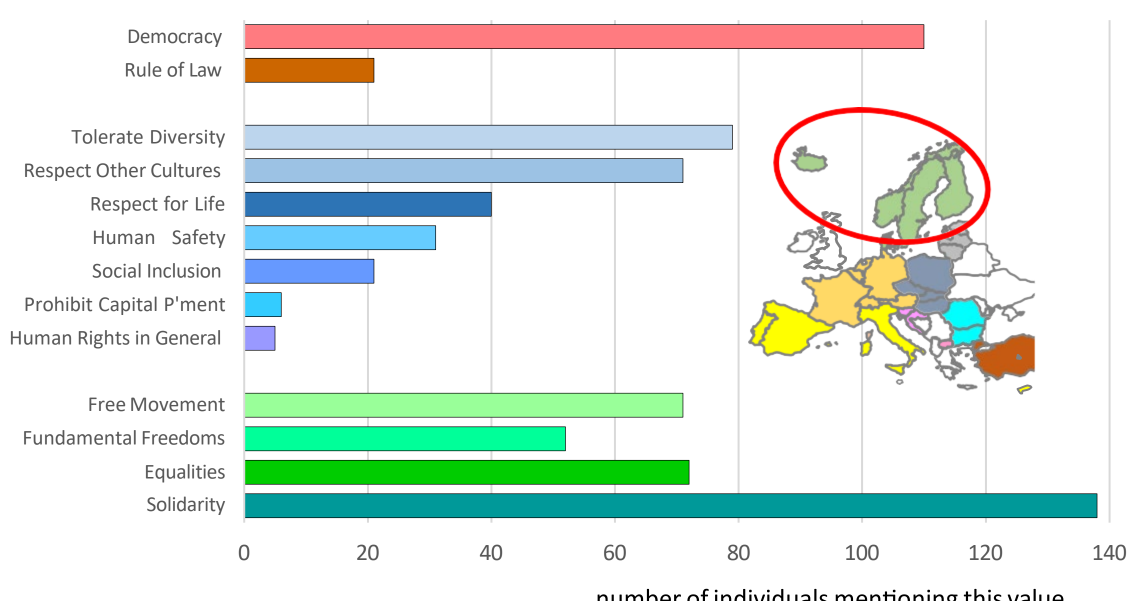
one or both parents – (2) from another EU/EFTA country; (3) from another European country (not EU/EFTA); (4) from Africa, Asia, South America, Middle East.

The Individual Values



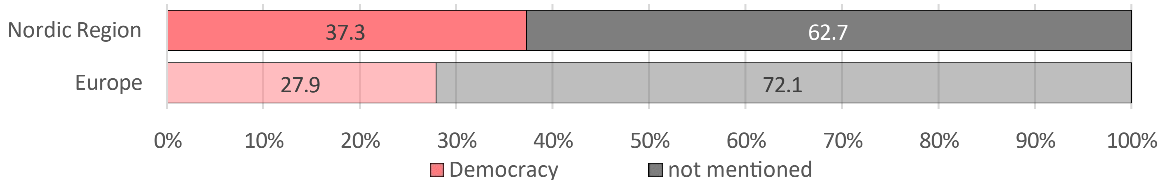
The following individual values are shown as a comparison of

- the proportion of the Nordic sample who mention each value with
- the proportion doing this *in the rest of* Europe (a comparison with all the young people in the sample who were *not* in the Nordic Region).

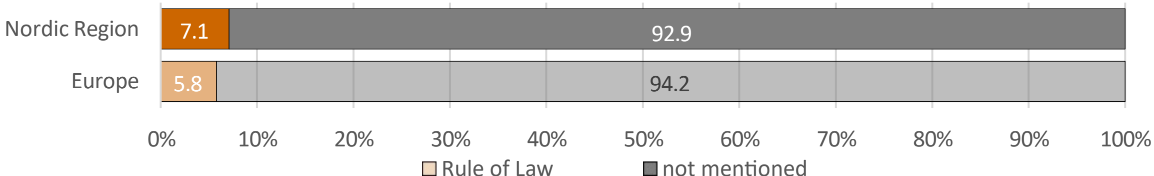
'Rest of Europe' are shown in the less bright colours; numbers are percentages of the total population.

Structural Values

Democracy mentions in the Nordic Region: 110 young people out of 295 in sample

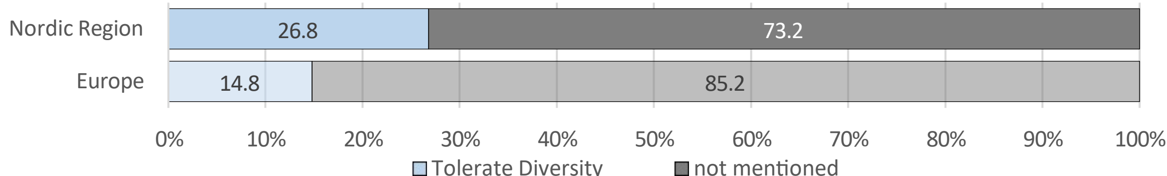


Rule of Law mentions in the Nordic Region: 21 young people out of 295 in sample

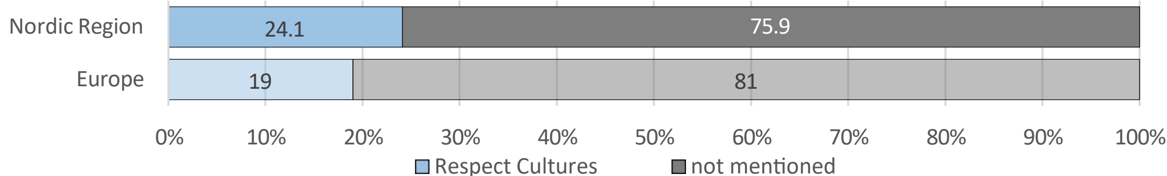


Core Values

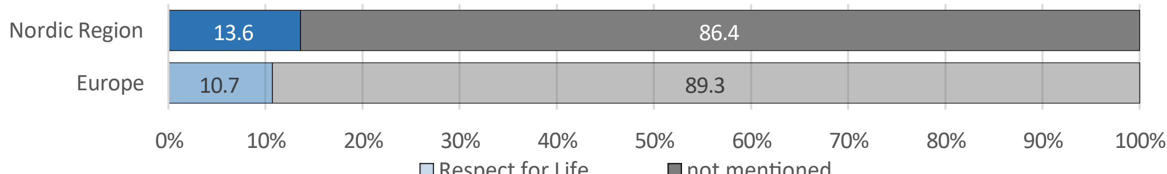
Tolerance of Diversity mentions in the Nordic Region: 79 young people out of 295 in sample



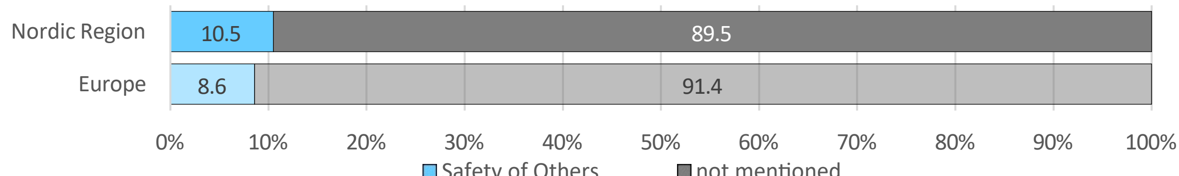
Respect for other Cultures mentions in the Nordic Region: 71 young people out of 295 in sample



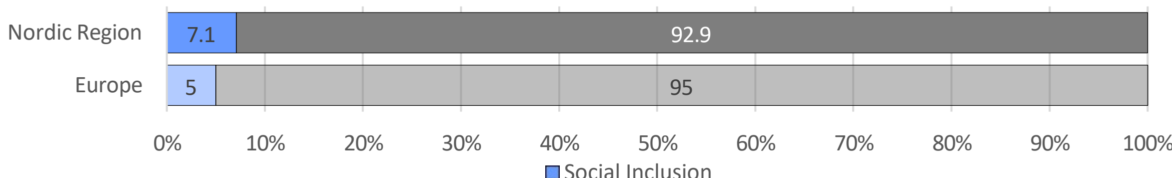
Respect for Human Life mentions in the Nordic Region: 40 young people out of 295 in sample



Safety of Other mentions in the Nordic Region: 31 young people out of 295 in sample

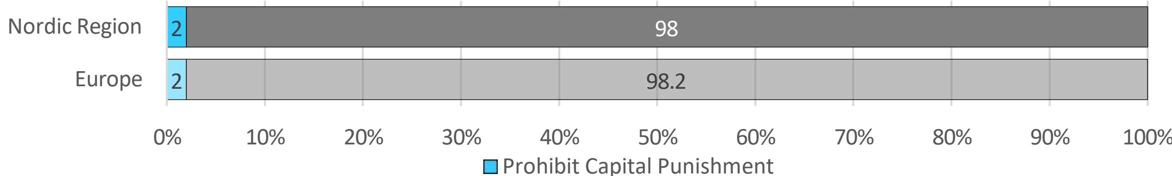


Social Inclusion mentions in the Nordic Region: 21 young people out of 295 in sample



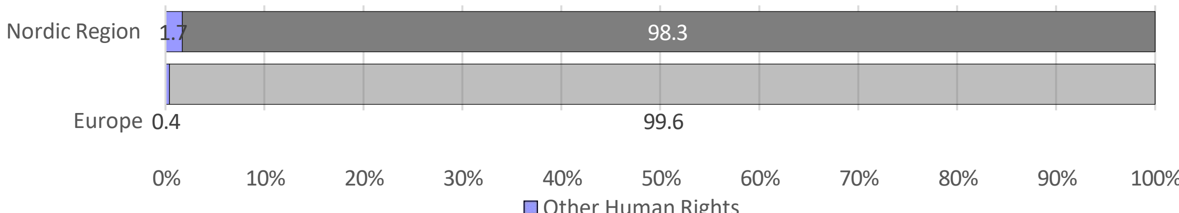
Prohibition of Capital Punishment mentions in the Nordic Region: 6 young people out of 295 in sample

Nordic/Europe: % Individuals – Capital Punishment



Other Human Rights mentions in the Nordic Region: 5 young people out of 295 in sample

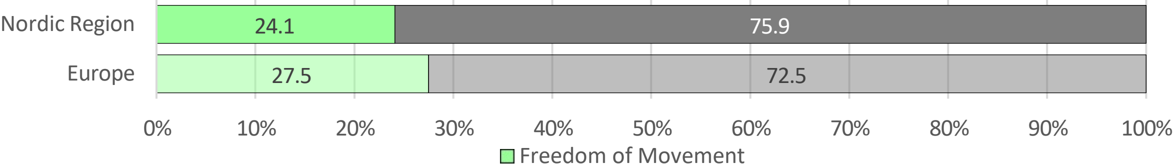
Nordic/Europe: % Individuals – Other Human Rights



Proceedural Values

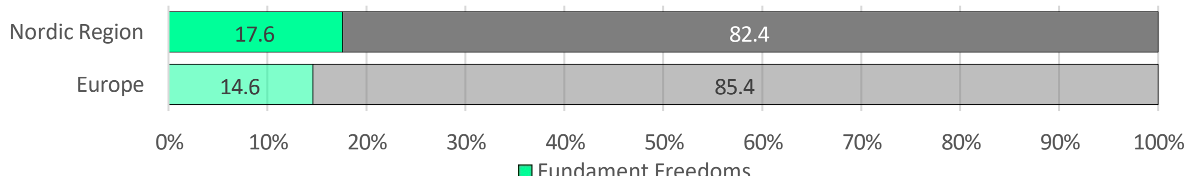
Freedom of Movement mentions in the Nordic Region: 71 young people out of 295 in sample

Nordic/Europe: % Individuals – Free Movement



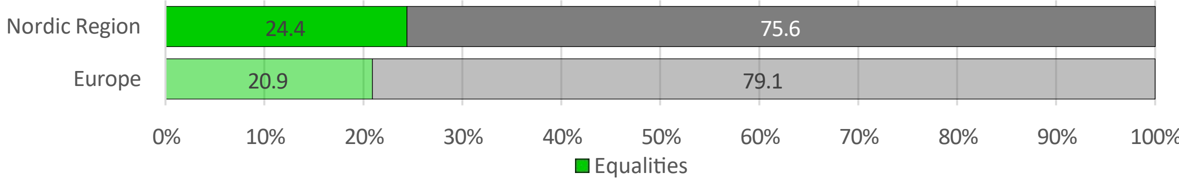
Fundamental Freedoms mentions in the Nordic Region: 52 young people out of 295 in sample

Nordic/Europe: % Individuals – Fundamental Freedoms



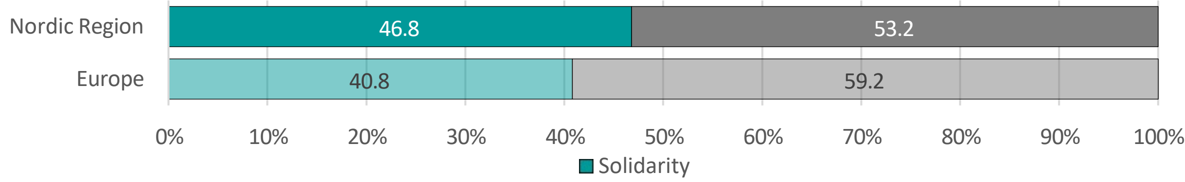
Equalities mentions in the Nordic Region: 72 young people out of 295 in sample

Nordic/Europe: % Individuals – Equalities



Solidarity mentions in the Nordic Region: 138 young people out of 295 in sample

Nordic/Europe: % Individuals Solidarity



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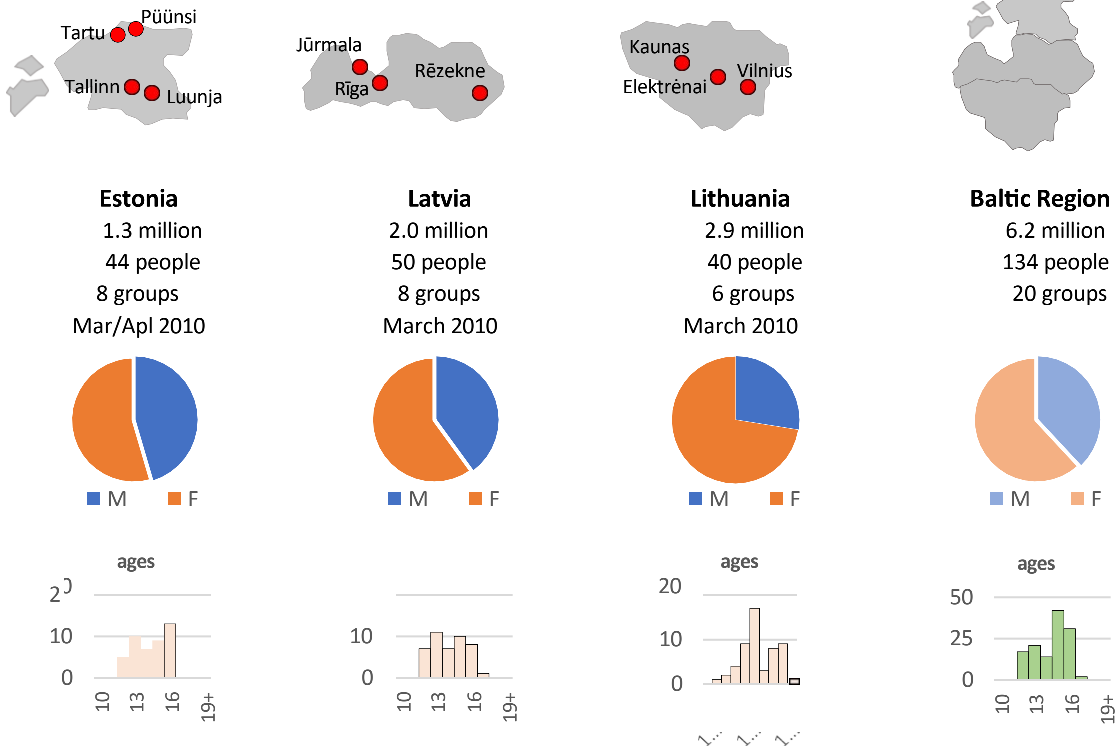
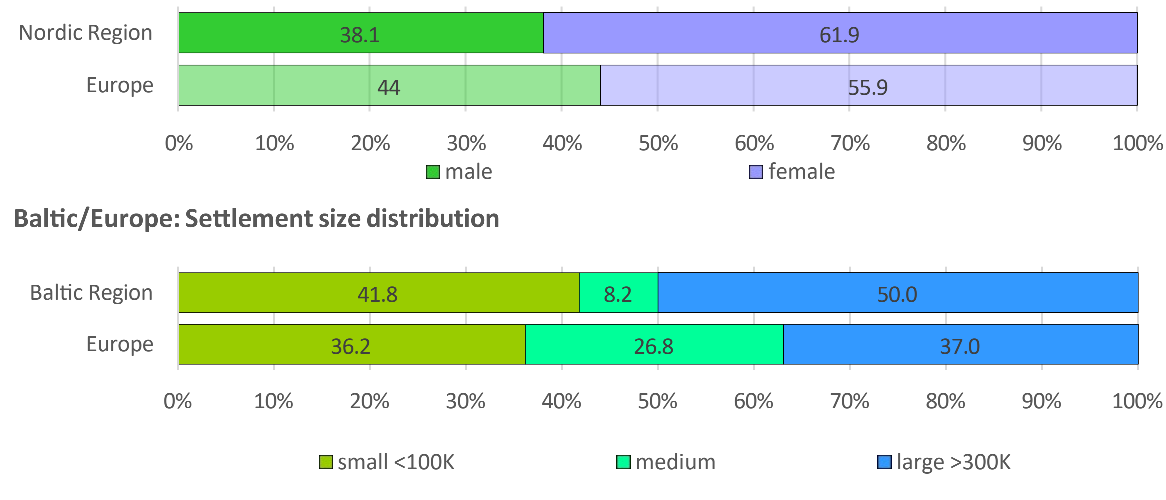
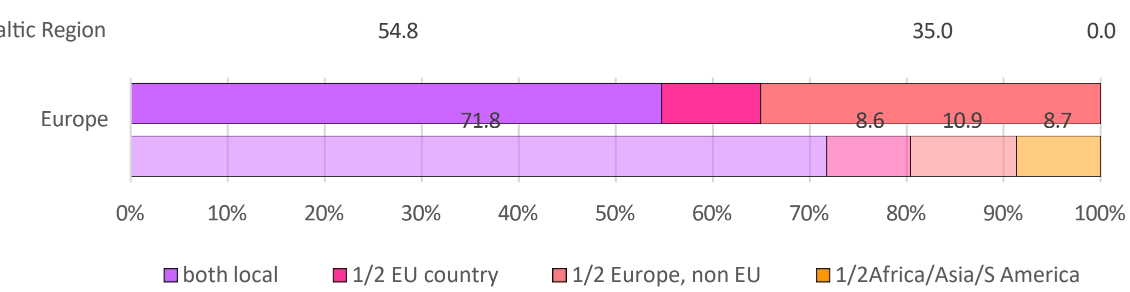
The Baltic Region



Basic Demography of Baltic Region, compared to all-Europe

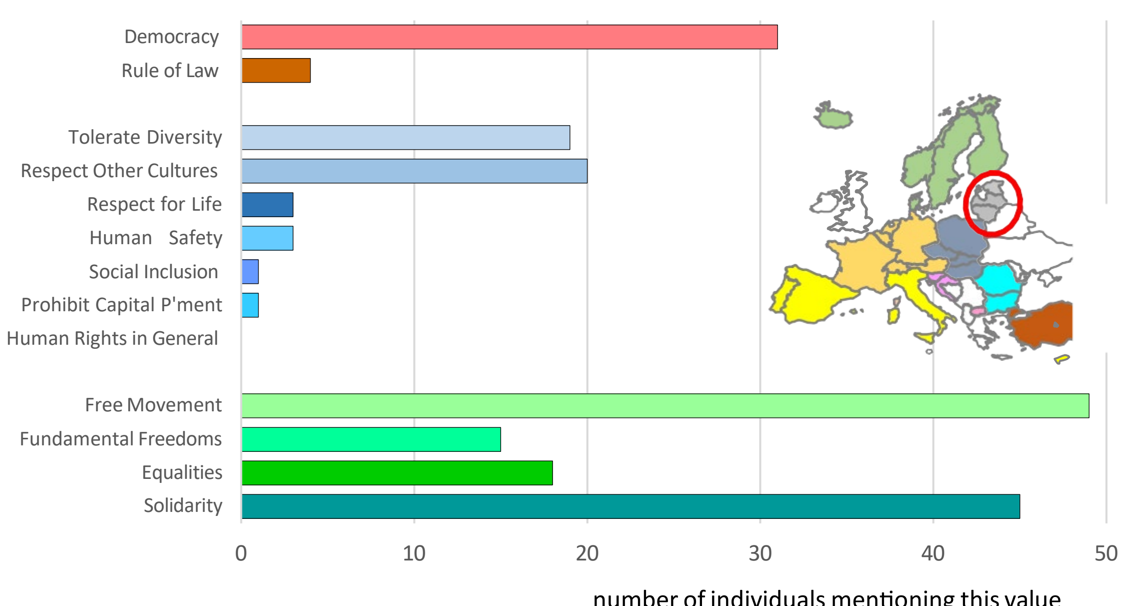
Figures in cells are percentages of the population. All pan-European data in the lighter shade.





(2) both parents from country of discussion;
one or both parents – (2) from another EU/EFTA country; (3) from another European country (not EU/EFTA); (4) from Africa, Asia, South America, Middle East.

The Individual Values



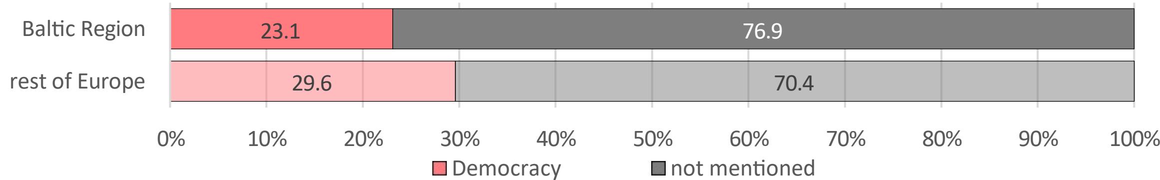
The following individual values are shown as a comparison of

- the proportion of the Baltic sample who mention each value with
- the proportion doing this *in the rest of* Europe (a comparison with all the young people in the sample who were *not* in the Baltic Region).

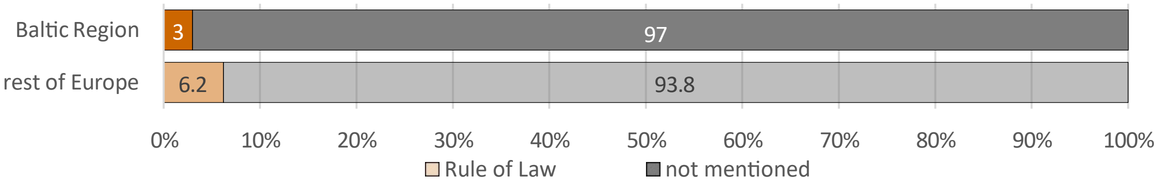
'Rest of Europe' are shown in the less bright colours; numbers are percentages of the total population.

Structural Values

Democracy mentions in the Baltic Region: 31 young people out of 134 in sample



Rule of Law mentions in the Baltic Region: 4 young people out of 134 in sample



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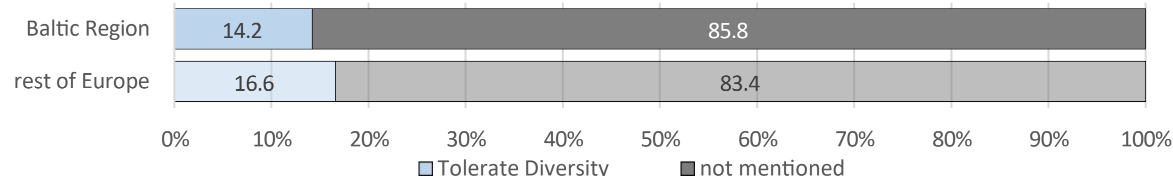
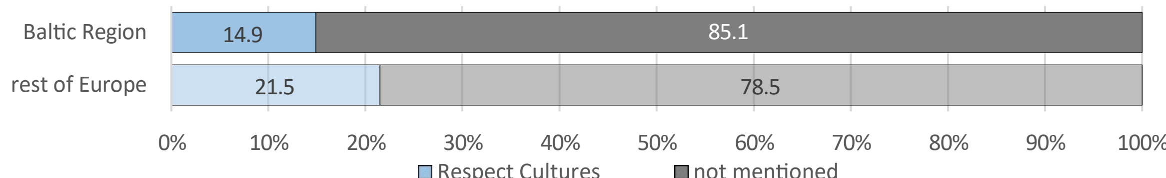
Core Values

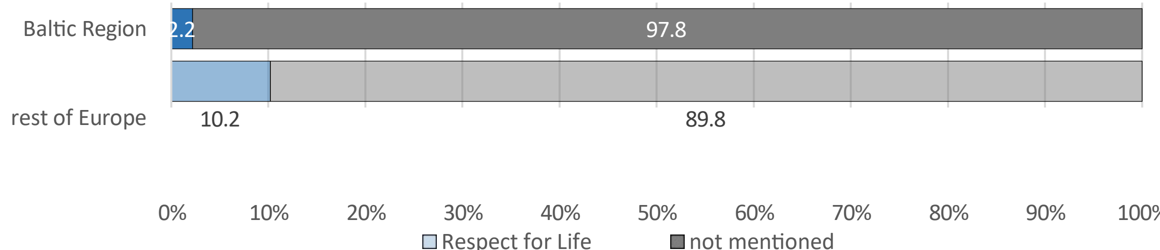
Tolerance of Diversity mentions in the Baltic Region: 19 young people out of 134 in sample



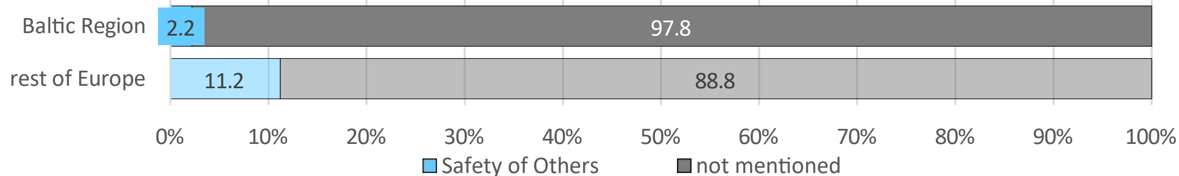
Respect for other Cultures mentions in the Baltic Region: 20 young people out of 134 in sample



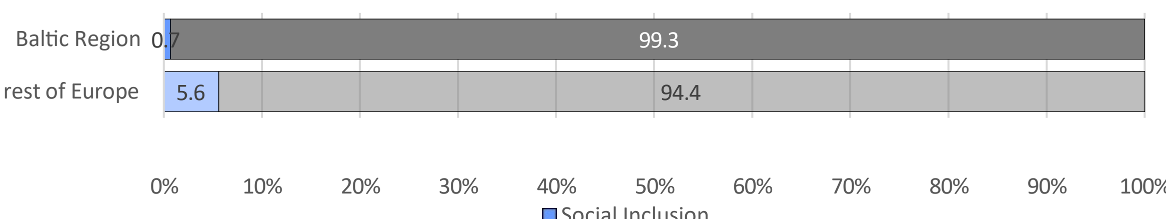
Respect for Human Life mentions in the Baltic Region: 3 young people out of 134 in sample



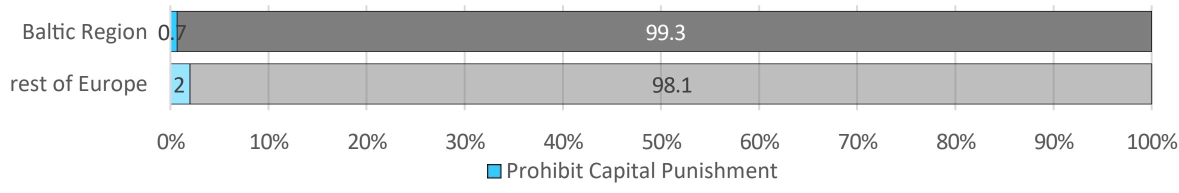
Safety of Other mentions in the Baltic Region: 3 young people out of 134 in sample



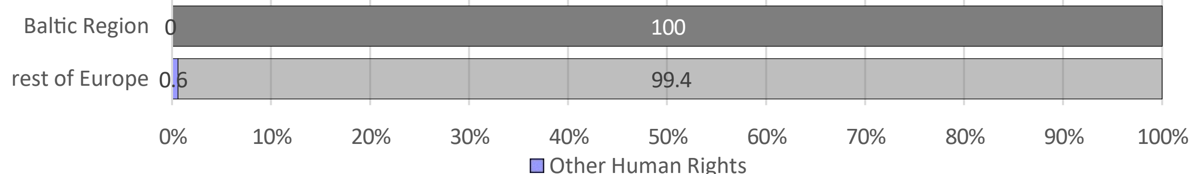
Social Inclusion mentions in the Baltic Region: 1 young person out of 134 in sample



Prohibition of Capital Punishment mentions in the Baltic Region: 1 young person out of 134 in sample

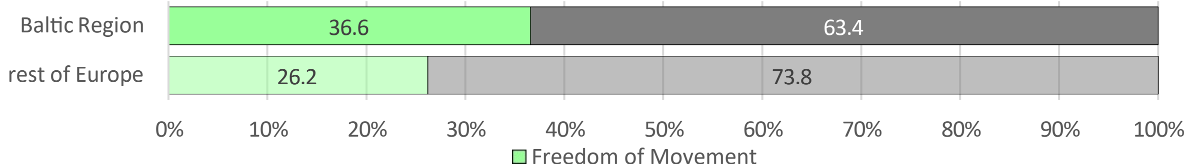


Other Human Rights mentions in the Baltic Region: no young people out of 134 in sample

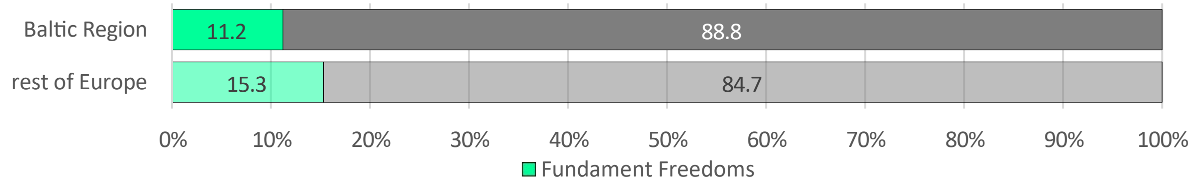


Proceedural Values

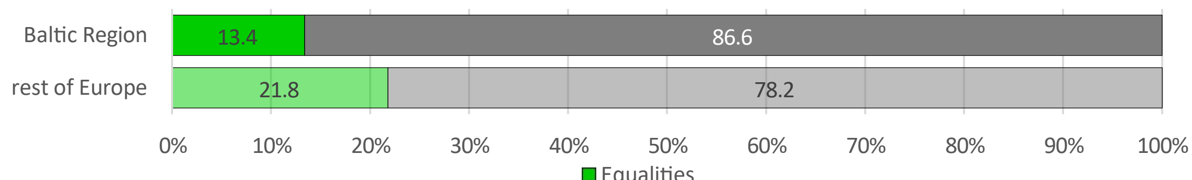
Freedom of Movement mentions in the Baltic Region: 49 young people out of 134 in sample



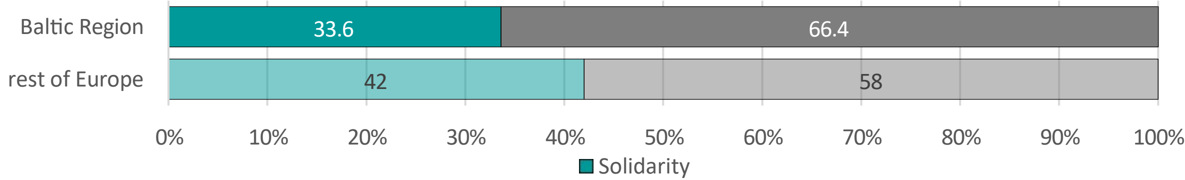
Fundamental Freedoms mentions in the Baltic Region: 15 young people out of 134 in sample



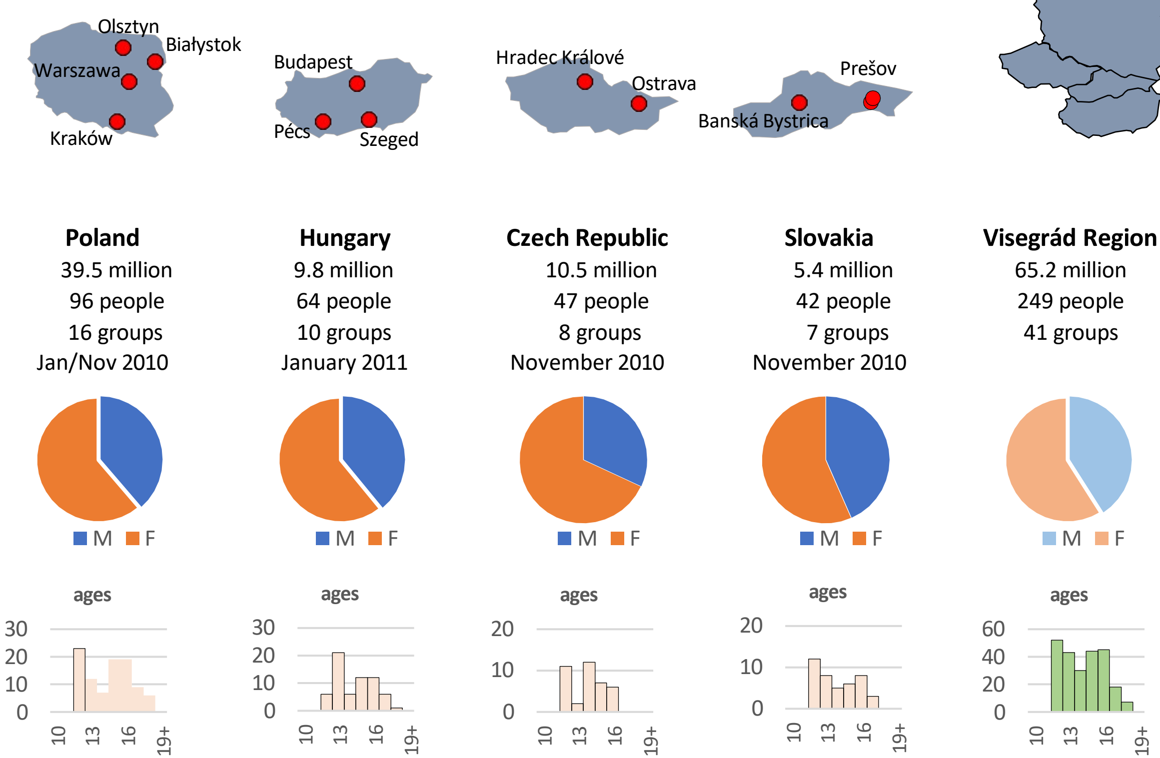
Equalities mentions in the Baltic Region: 18 young people out of 134 in sample



Solidarity mentions in the Baltic Region: 45 young people out of 134 in sample



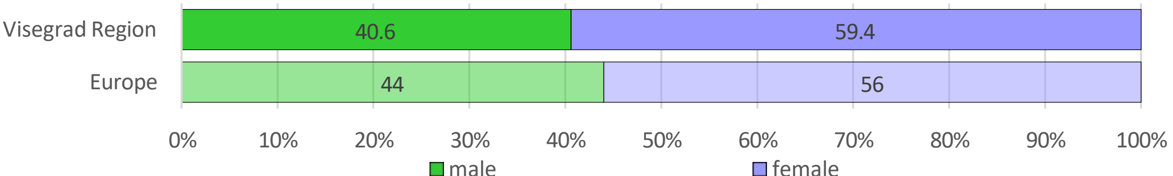
The Visegrád Region



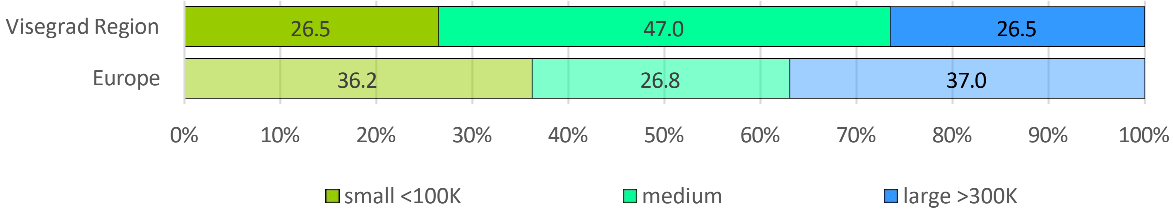
Basic Demography of Visegrád Region, compared to all-Europe

Figures in cells are percentages of the population. All pan-European data in the lighter shade.

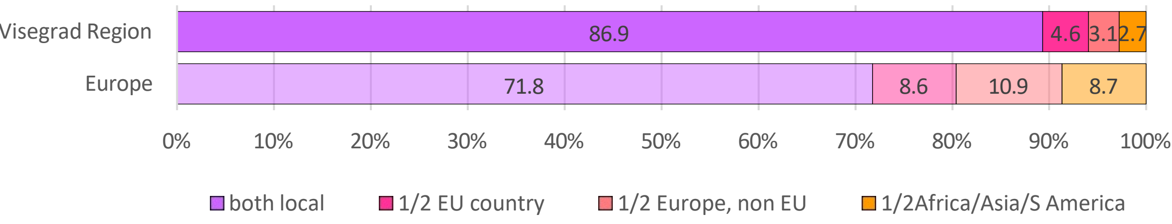
Visegrad/Europe: Gender distribution



Visegrad/Europe: Settlement size distribution



Visegrad/Europe: Parental origins distribution



(3) both parents from country of discussion;

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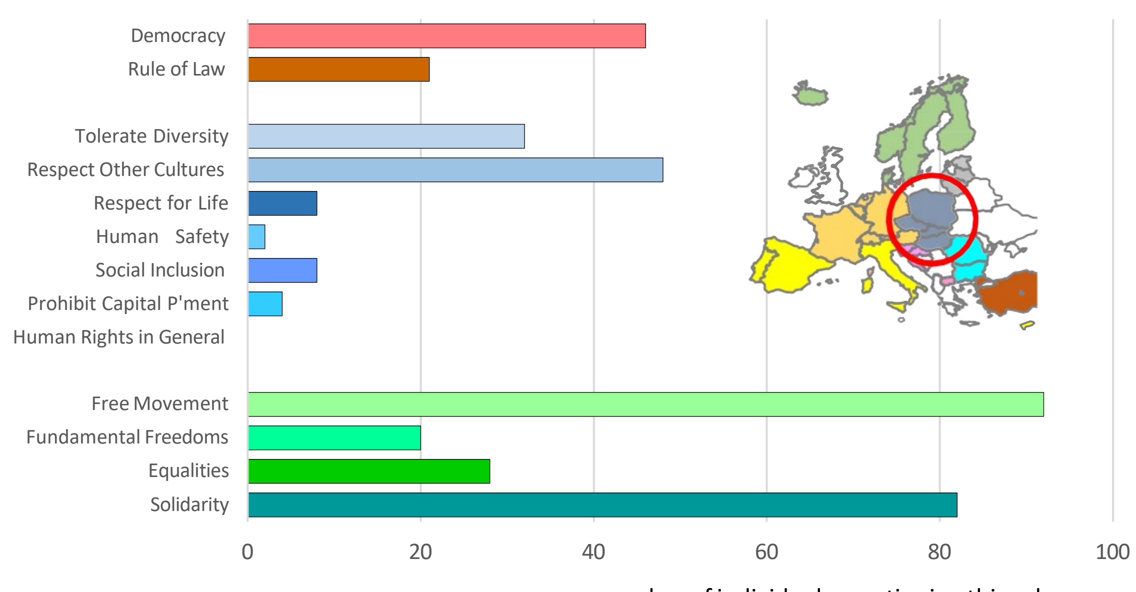
one or both parents – (2) from another EU/EFTA country; (3) from another European country (not EU/EFTA); (4) from Africa, Asia, South America, Middle East.

The Individual Values



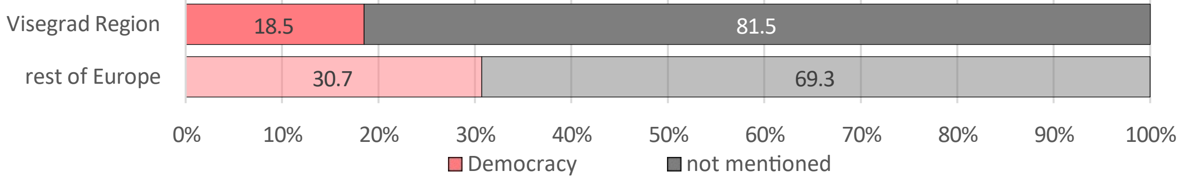
The following individual values are shown as a comparison of

- the proportion of the Visegrád sample who mention each value with
- the proportion doing this *in the rest of* Europe (a comparison with all the young people in the sample who were *not* in the Visegrád Region).

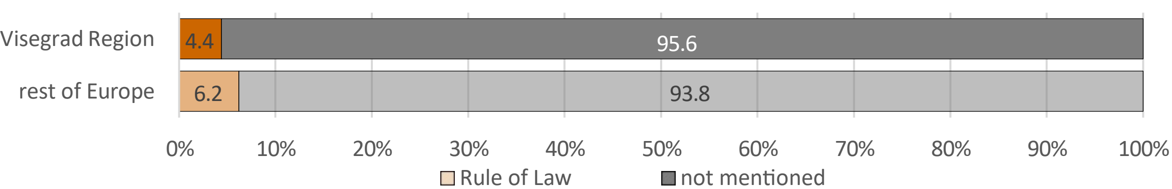
'Rest of Europe' are shown in the less bright colours; numbers are percentages of the total population.

Structural Values

Democracy mentions in the Visegrád Region: 46 young people out of 295 in sample

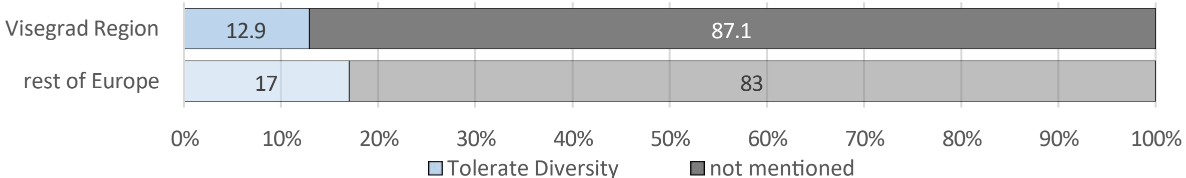


Rule of Law mentions in the Visegrád Region: 11 young people out of 295 in sample

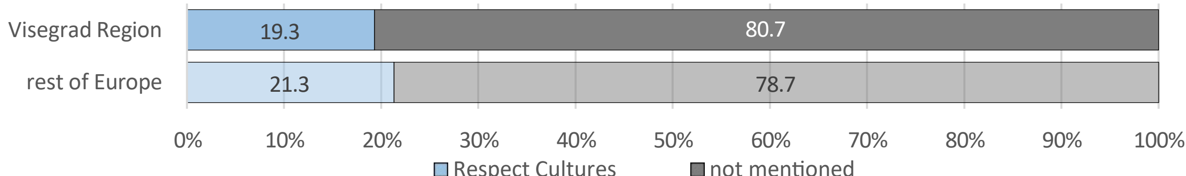


Core Values

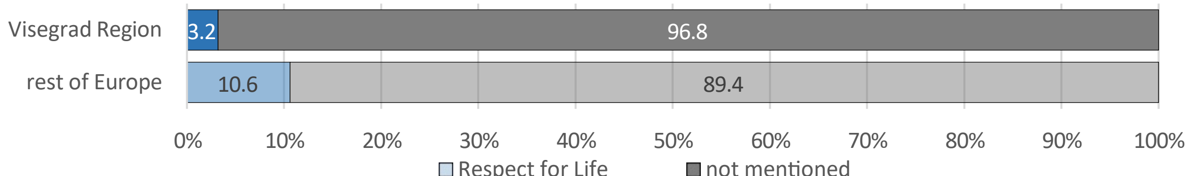
Tolerance of Diversity mentions in the Visegrád Region: 32 young people out of 295 in sample



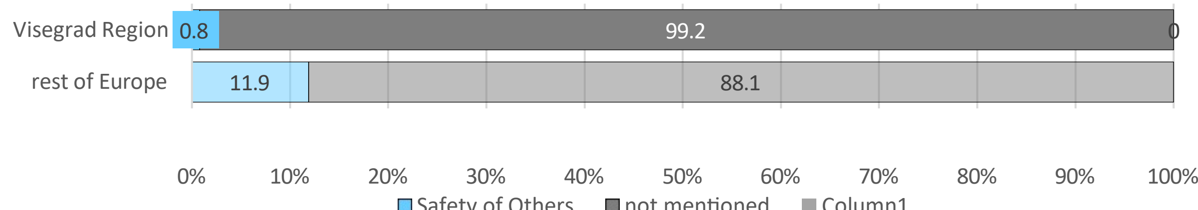
Respect for other Cultures mentions in the Visegrád Region: 48 young people out of 295 in sample



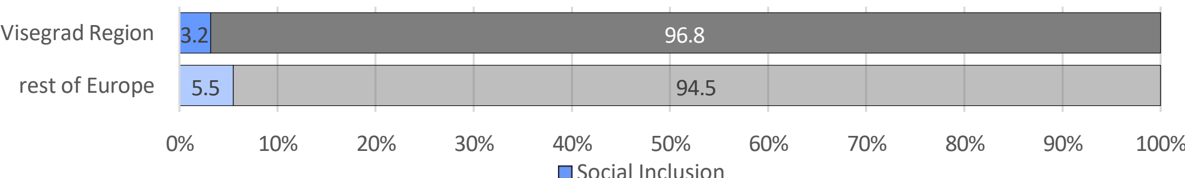
Respect for Human Life mentions in the Visegrád Region: 8 young people out of 295 in sample



Safety of Other mentions in the Visegrád Region: 2 young people out of 295 in sample

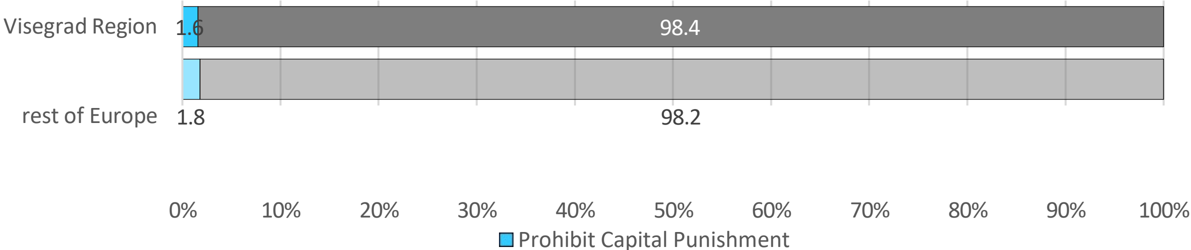


Social Inclusion mentions in the Visegrád Region: 8 young people out of 295 in sample



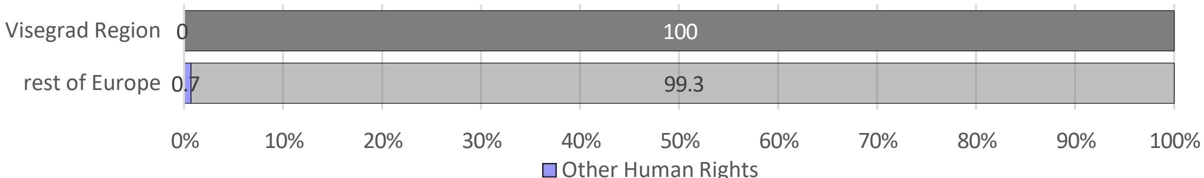
Prohibition of Capital Punishment mentions in the Visegrád Region: 4 young people out of 295 in sample

Visegrad/Europe: % Individuals – Capital Punishment



Other Human Rights mentions in the Visegrád Region: 0 young people out of 295 in sample

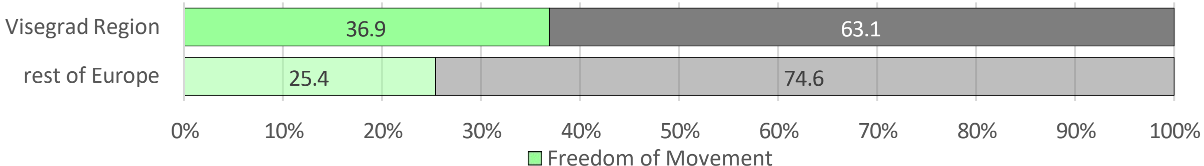
Visegrad/Europe: % Individuals – other Human Rights



Proceedural Values

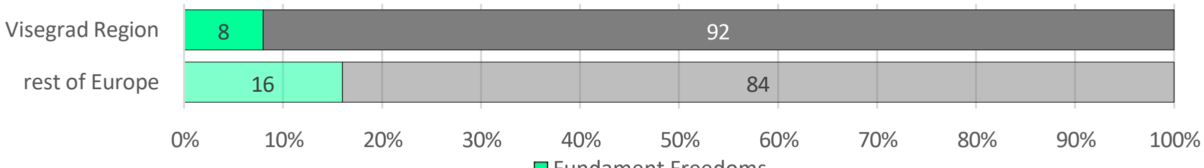
Freedom of Movement mentions in the Visegrád Region: 92 young people out of 295 in sample

Visegrad/Europe: % Individuals – Free Movement



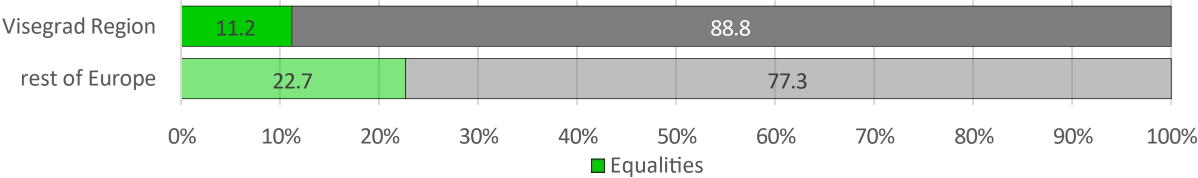
Fundamental Freedoms mentions in the Visegrád Region: 20 young people out of 295 in sample

Visegrad/Europe: % Individuals – Fundamental Freedoms



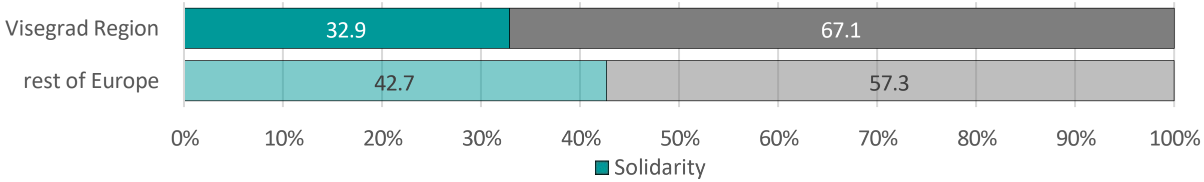
Equalities mentions in the Visegrád Region: 28 young people out of 295 in sample

Visegrad/Europe: % Individuals – Equalities



Solidarity mentions in the Visegrád Region: 82 young people out of 295 in sample

Visegrad/Europe: % Individuals Solidarity



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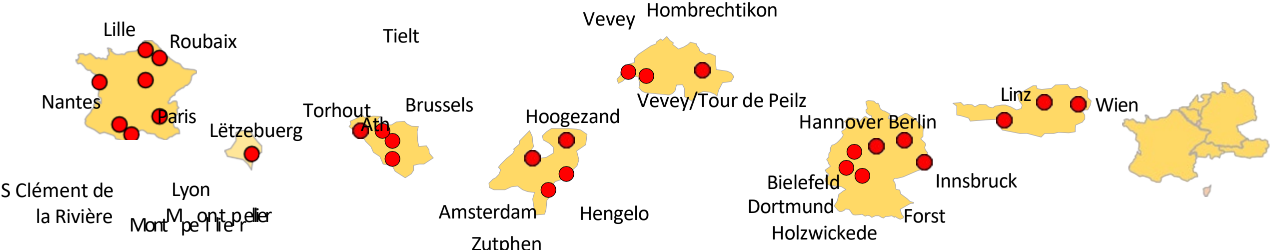
The Western European Region



France	Luxem-bourg	Belgium	Netherlands	Switzerland	Germany	Austria	West Europe Region
67 million	0.6 million	11 million	17 million	8 million	83 million	7 million	194 million
93 people	27 people	64 people	52 people	37 people	125 people	66 people	412 people
16 groups	4 groups	9 groups	8 groups	6 groups	19 groups	12 groups	74 groups
May/Sept'15	Jan 2016	April '15	April-Dec '15	Jan 2015	Jan 2015	Jan 2015	

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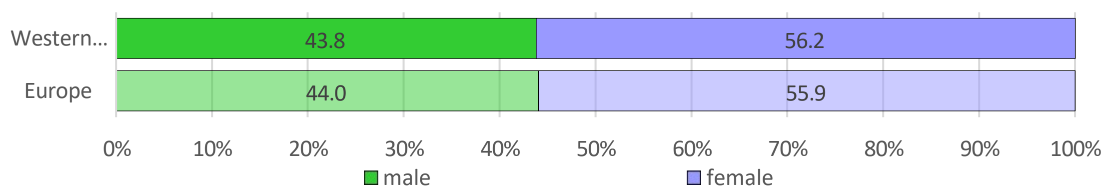
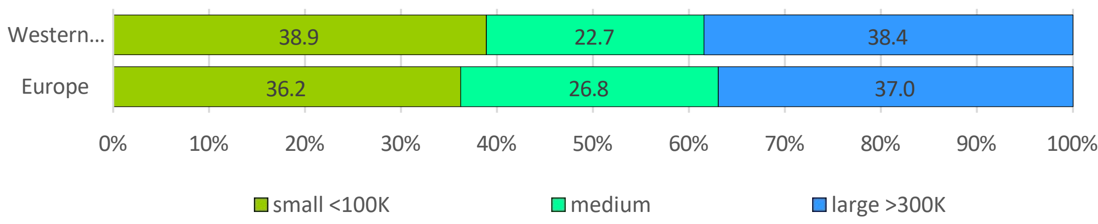
Basic Demography of Western European Region, compared to all-Europe

Figures in cells are percentages of the population. All pan-European data in the lighter shade.

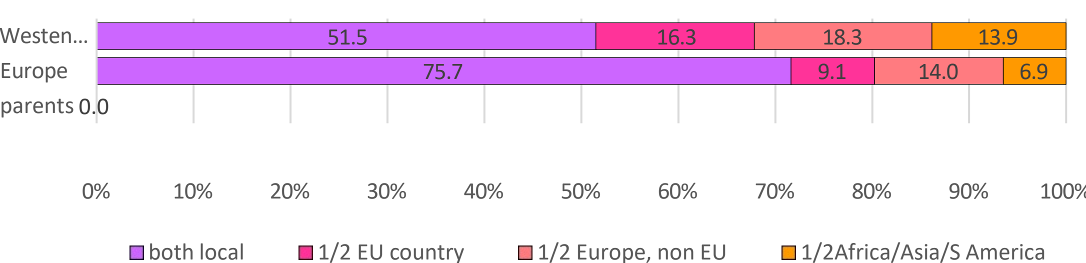
Western Europe/Europe: Gender distribution



Western Europe/Europe: Settlement size distribution



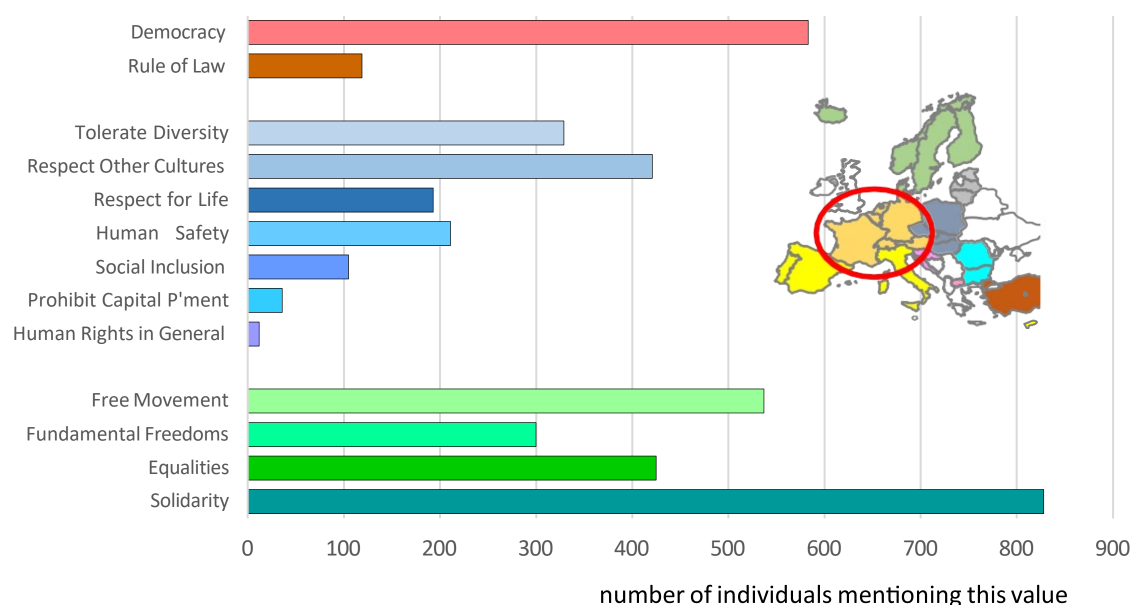
Wesretrn Europe/Europe: Parental origins distribution



(4) both parents from country of discussion;

one or both parents – (2) from another EU/EFTA country; (3) from another European country (not EU/EFTA); (4) from Africa, Asia, South America, Middle East.

The Individual Values



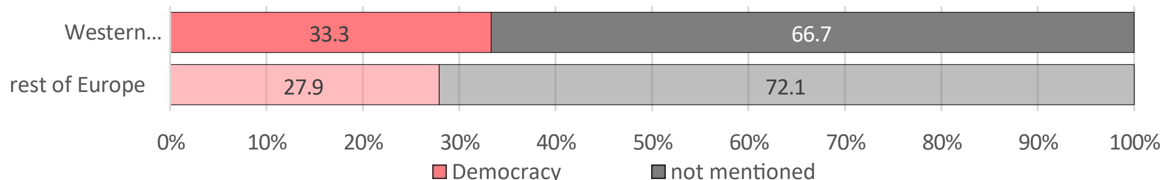
The following individual values are shown as a comparison of

- the proportion of the Western European sample who mention each value with
- the proportion doing this *in the rest of* Europe (a comparison with all the young people in the sample who were *not* in the Western European Region).

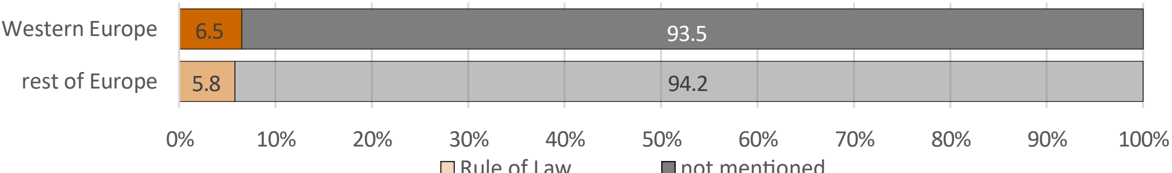
'Rest of Europe' are shown in the less bright colours; numbers are percentages of the total population.

Structural Values

Democracy mentions in the Western European Region: 154 young people out of 463 in sample



Rule of Law mentions in the Western European Region: 30 young people out of 463 in sample



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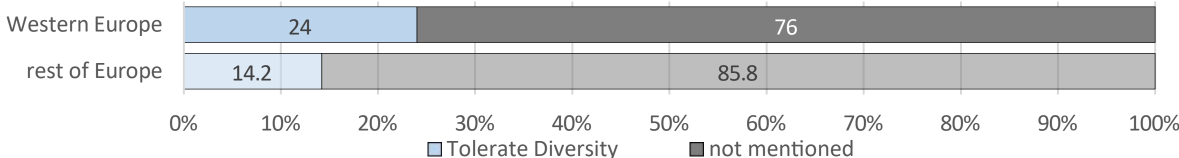
Core Values

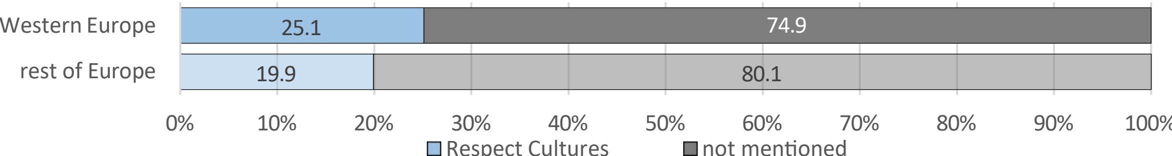
Tolerance of Diversity mentions in the Western European Region: 111 young people out of 463 in sample

Western Europe/Europe: % mention Tolerance of Diversity



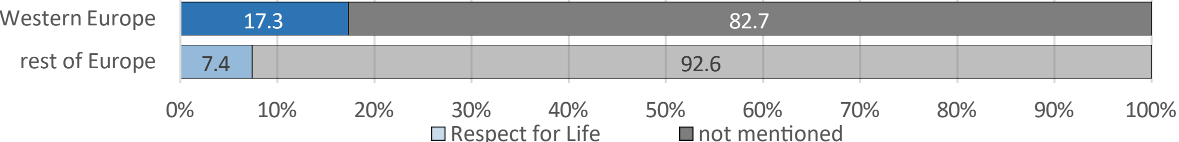
Respect for other Cultures mentions in the Western European Region: 116 young people out of 463 in sample

Western Europe/Europe: % Individuals on Cultural Respect



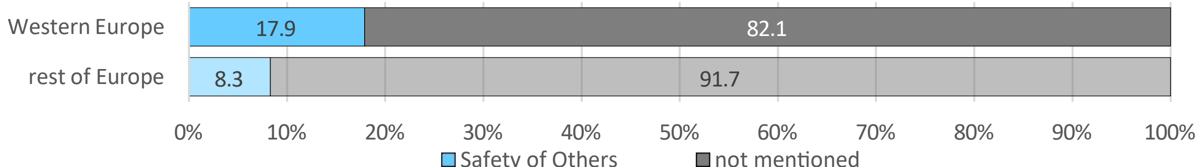
Respect for Human Life mentions in the Western European Region: 80 young people out of 463 in sample

Western Europe/Europe: % Individuals Respect for Life



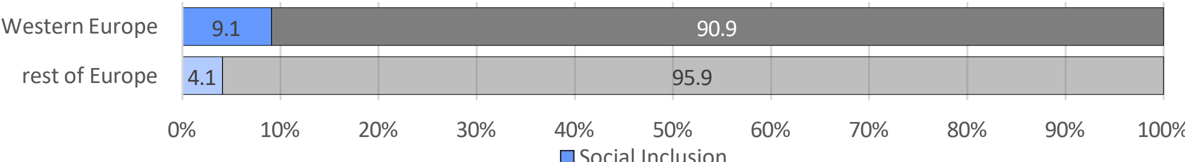
Safety of Other mentions in the Western European Region: 83 young people out of 463 in sample

Western Europe/Europe: % Individuals mention safety of others



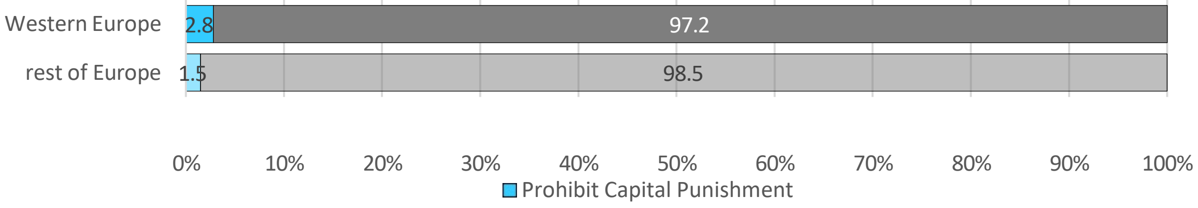
Social Inclusion mentions in the Western European Region: 42 young people out of 463 in sample

Western Europe/Europe: % Individuals – Social Inclusion

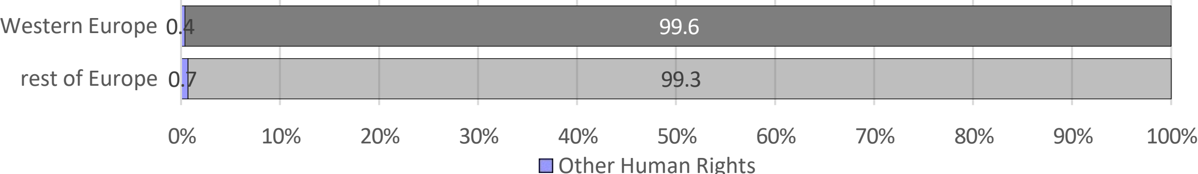


Prohibition of Capital Punishment mentions in the Western European Region: 13 young people out of 463 in sample

Westrn Europe/Europe: % Individuals – Capital Punishment

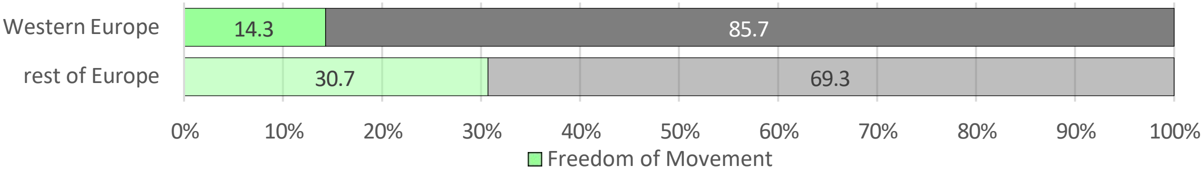


Other Human Rights mentions in the Western European Region: 2 young people out of 463 in sample

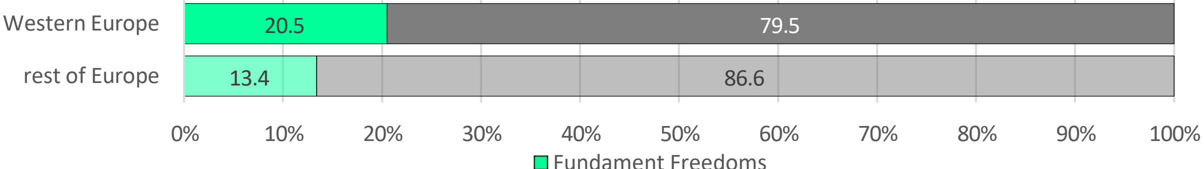


Proceedural Values

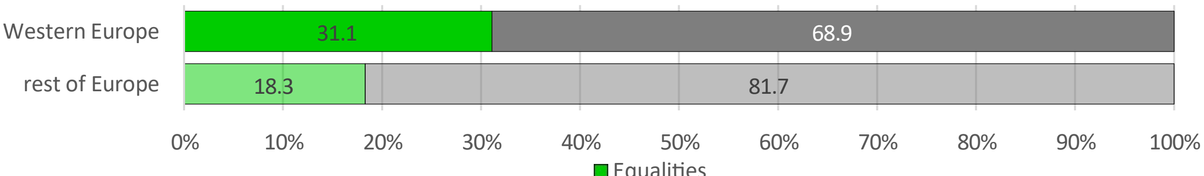
Freedom of Movement mentions in the Western European Region: 66 young people out of 463 in sample



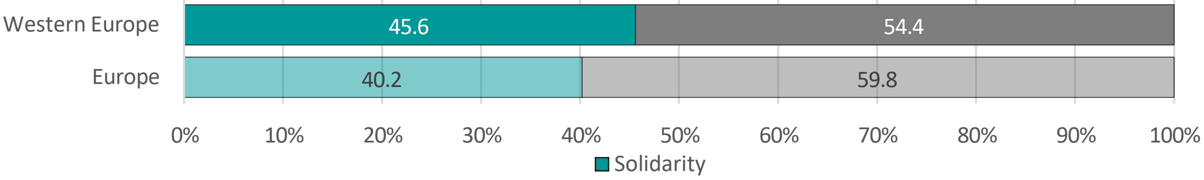
Fundamental Freedoms mentions in the Western European Region: 95 young people out of 463 in sample



Equalities mentions in the Western European Region: 144 young people out of 463 in sample

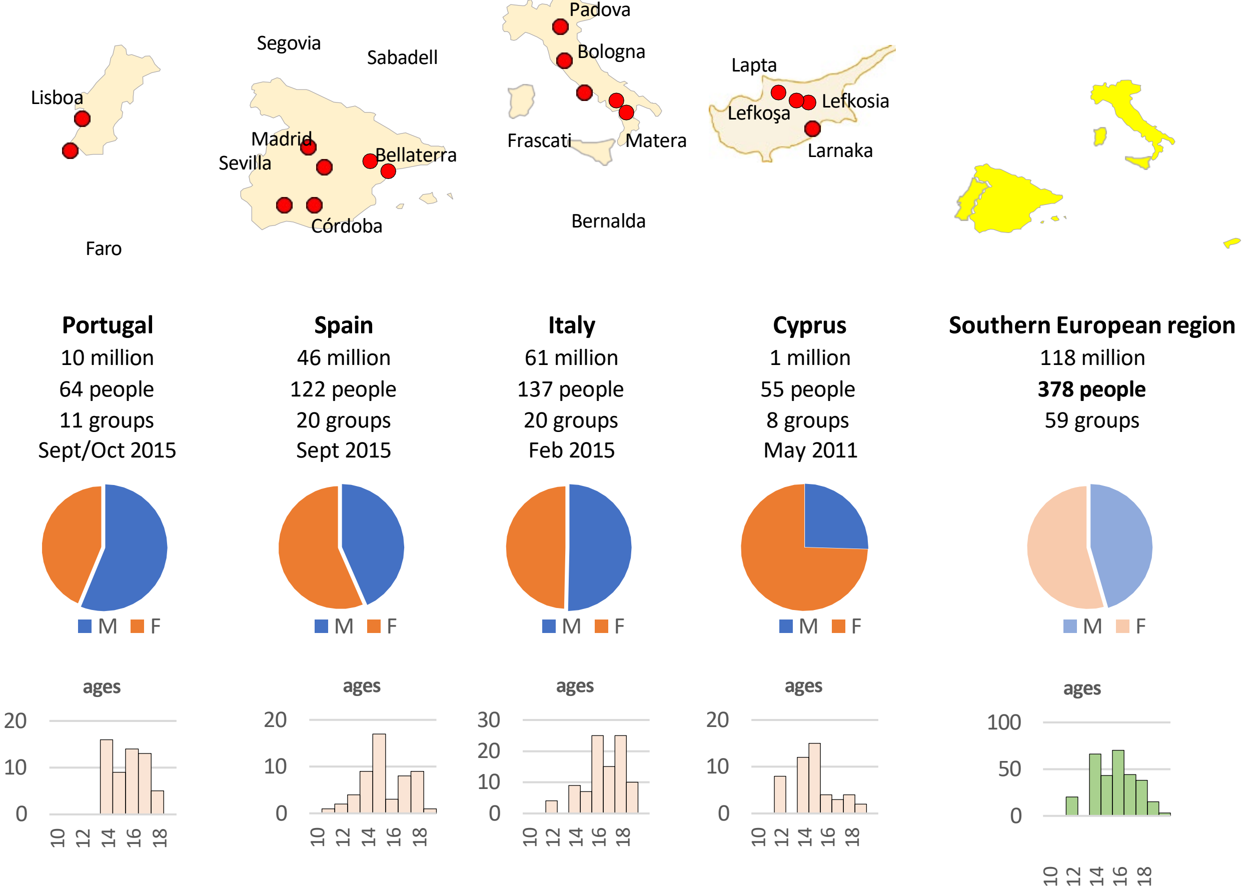


Solidarity mentions in the Western European Region: 211 young people out of 463 in sample



With the support of the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union

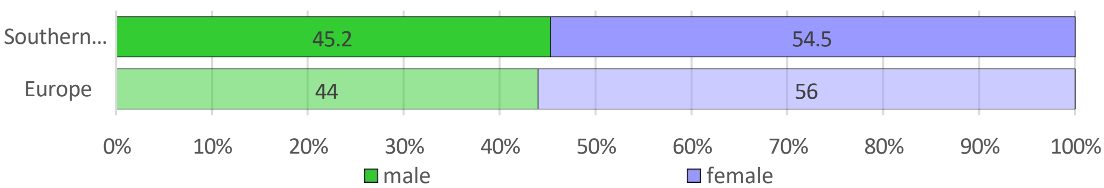
The Southern European Region



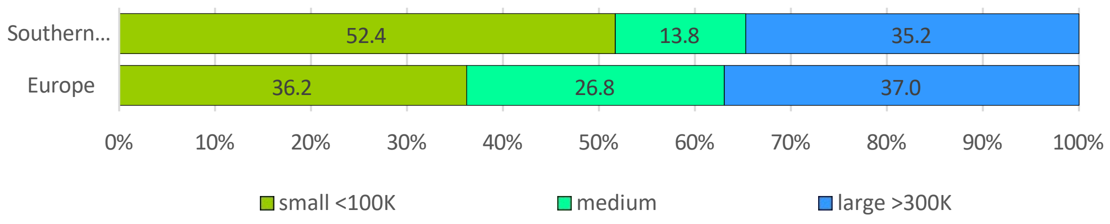
Basic Demography of Southern Europe Region, compared to all-Europe

Figures in cells are percentages of the population. All pan-European data in the lighter shade.

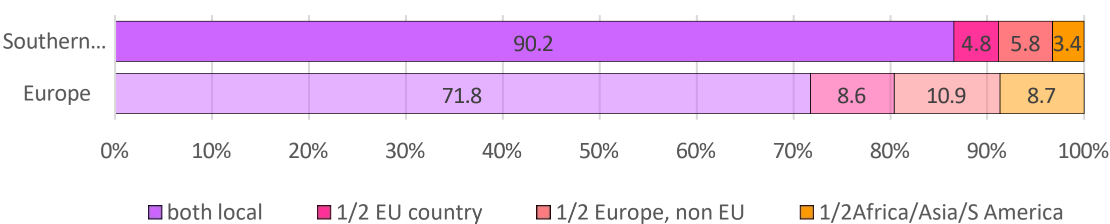
Southern Europe/Europe: Gender distribution



Southern Europe/Europe: Settlement size distribution



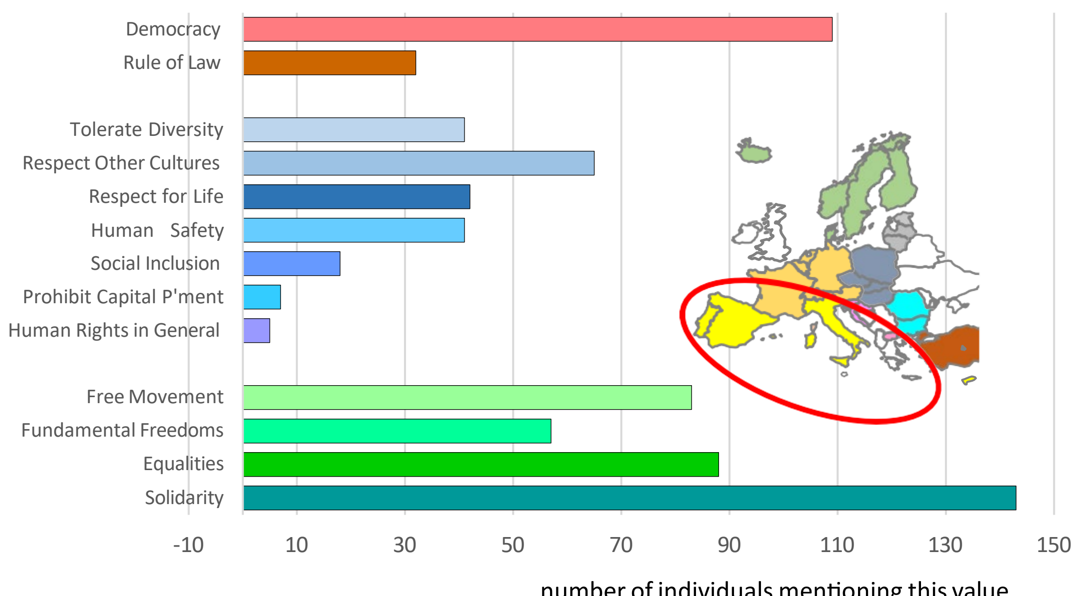
Southern Europw/Europe: Parental origins distribution



(5) both parents from country of discussion;

one or both parents - (2) from another EU/EFTA country; (3) from another European country (not EU/EFTA); (4) from Africa, Asia, South America, Middle East.

The Individual Values



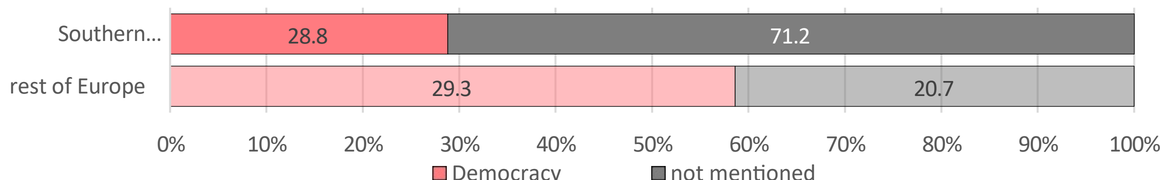
The following individual values are shown as a comparison of

- the proportion of the Southern Europe sample who mention each value with
- the proportion doing this *in the rest of* Europe (a comparison with all the young people in the sample who were *not* in the Southern Europe Region).

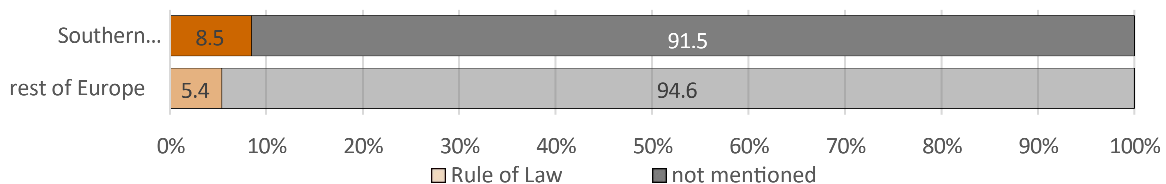
'Rest of Europe' are shown in the less bright colours; numbers are percentages of the total population.

Structural Values

Democracy mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 109 young people out of 378 in sample



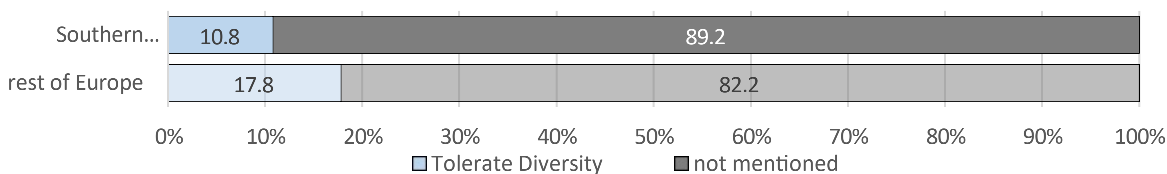
Rule of Law mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 32 young people out of 378 in sample



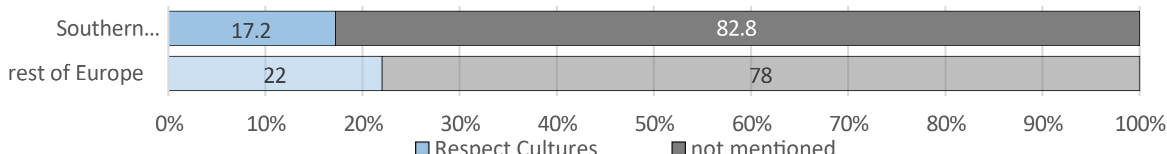
With the support of the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union

Core Values

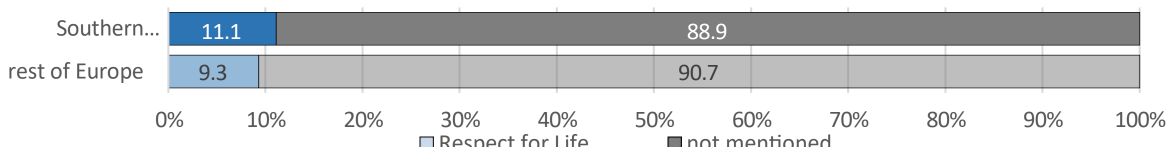
Tolerance of Diversity mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 41 young people out of 378 in sample



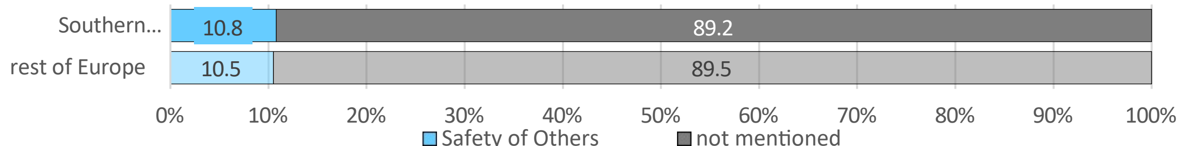
Respect for other Cultures mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 65 young people out of 378 in sample



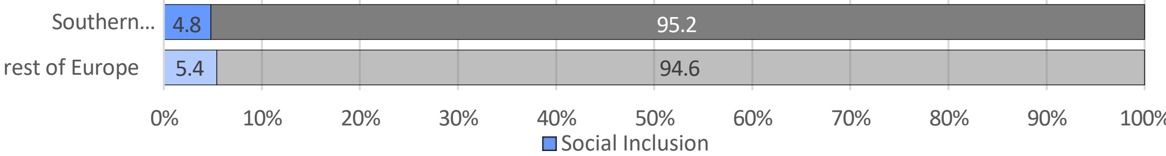
Respect for Human Life mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 42 young people out of 378 in sample



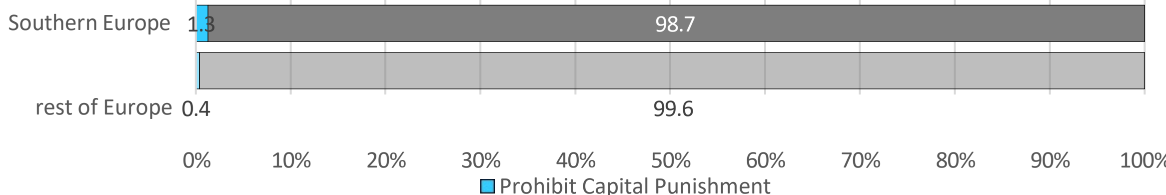
Safety of Other mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 41 young people out of 378 in sample



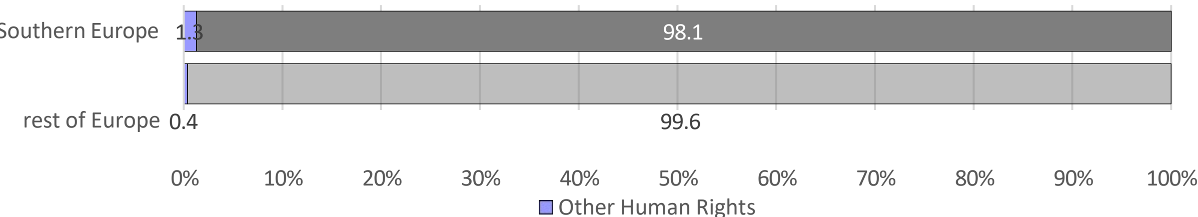
Social Inclusion mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 18 young people out of 378 in sample



Prohibition of Capital Punishment mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 7 young people out of 378 in sample

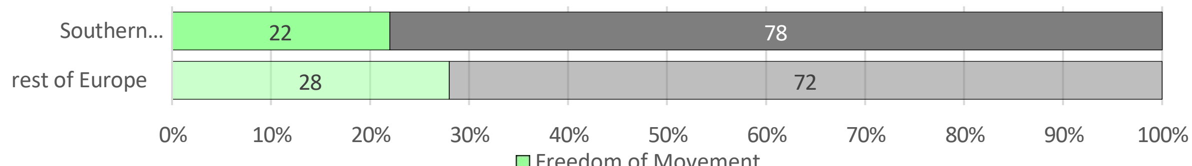


Other Human Rights mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 5 young people out of 378 in sample

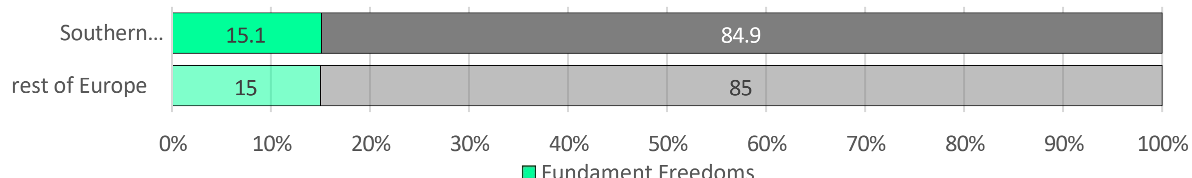


Proceedural Values

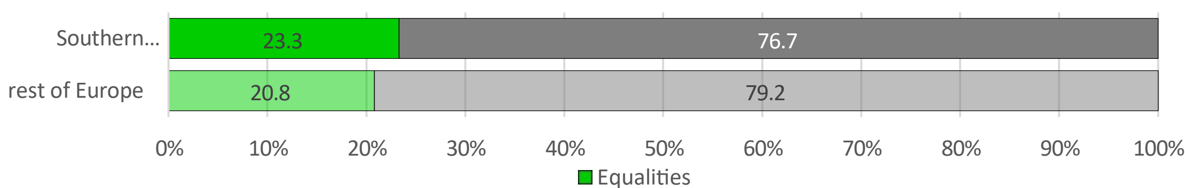
Freedom of Movement mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 83 young people out of 378 in sample



Fundamental Freedoms mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 57 young people out of 378 in sample

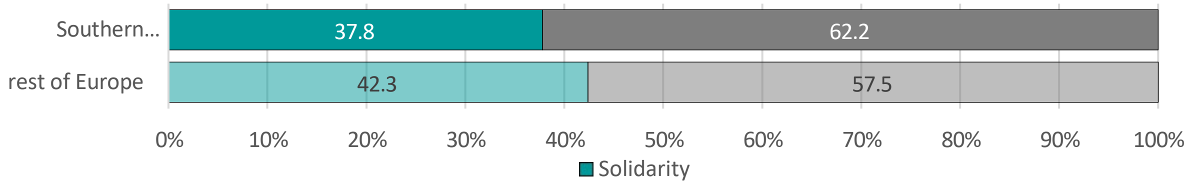


Equalities mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 88 young people out of 378 in sample

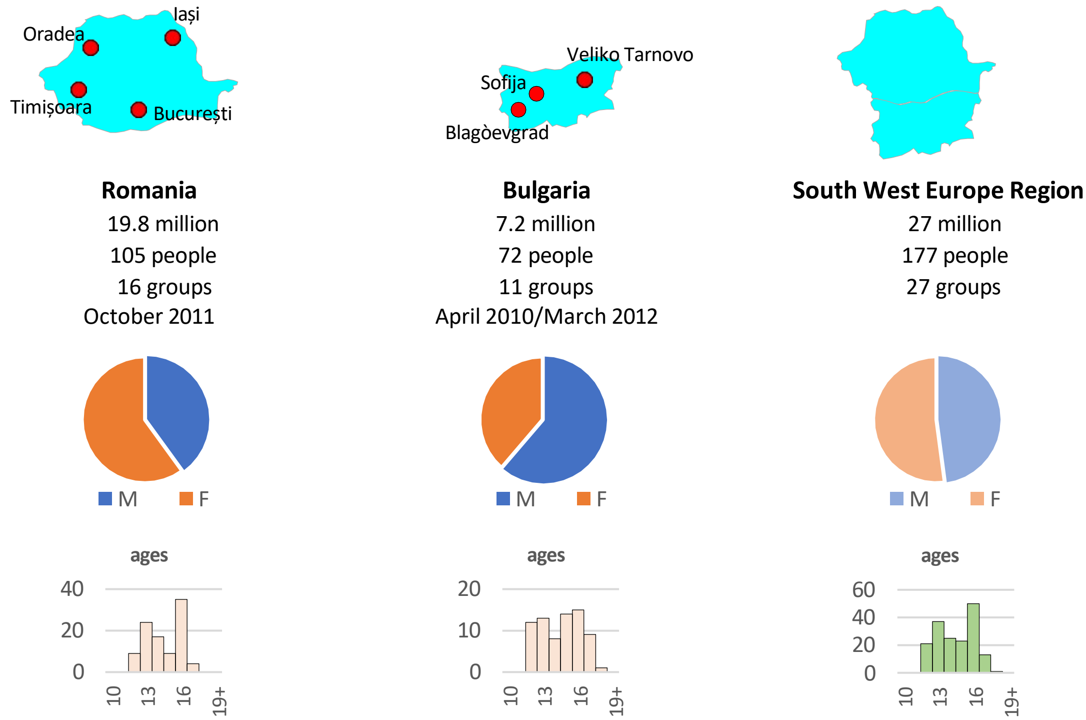


Solidarity mentions in the Southern Europe Region: 143 young people out of 378 in sample

With the support of the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union


Southern Europe/Europe: % Individuals Solidarity
Southern...
rest of Europe
37.8
62.2
42.3
57.5
0%
10%
20%
30%
40%
50%
60%
70%
80%
90%
100%
Solidarity

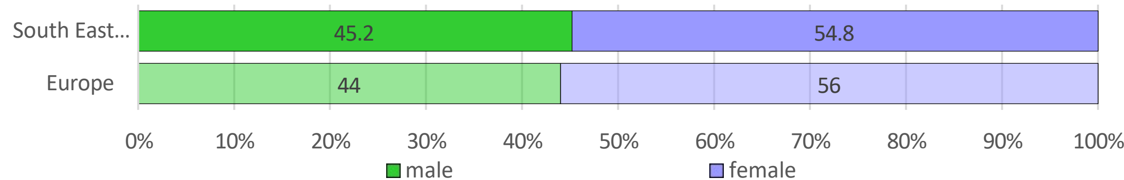
The South Eastern European Region



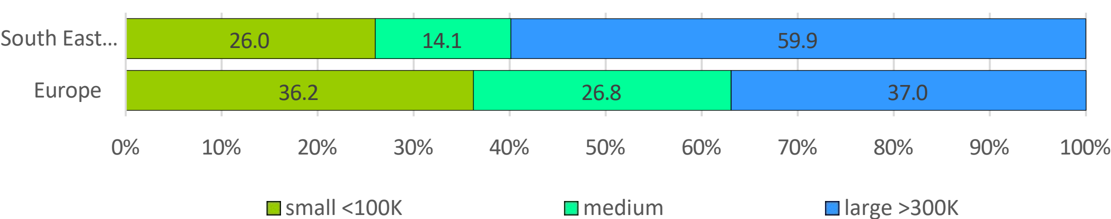
Basic Demography of South East Europe Region, compared to all-Europe

Figures in cells are percentages of the population. All pan-European data in the lighter shade.

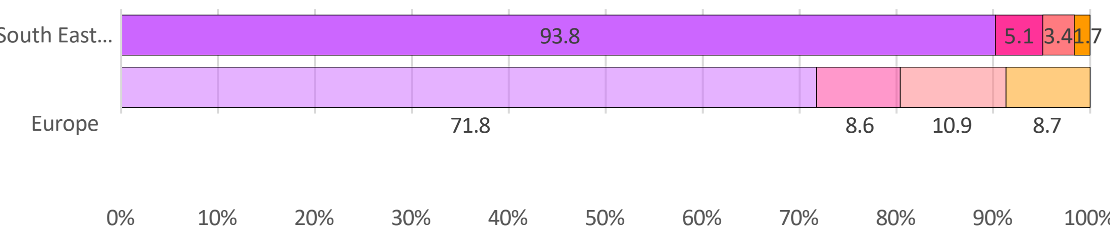
SouthEast Europe/Europe: Gender



South East Europe/Europe: Settlement size distribution



South East Europe/Europe: Parental origins distribution

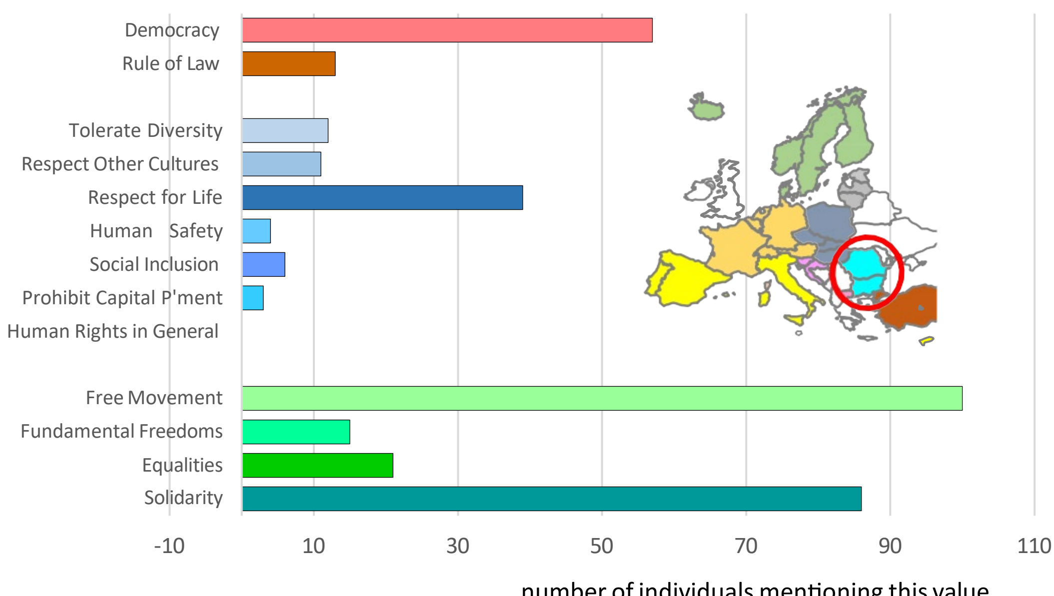


both local 1/2 EU country 1/2 Europe, non EU 1/2Africa/Asia/S America

(6) both parents from country of discussion;

one or both parents – (2) from another EU/EFTA country; (3) from another European country (not EU/EFTA); (4) from Africa, Asia, South America, Middle East.

The Individual Values



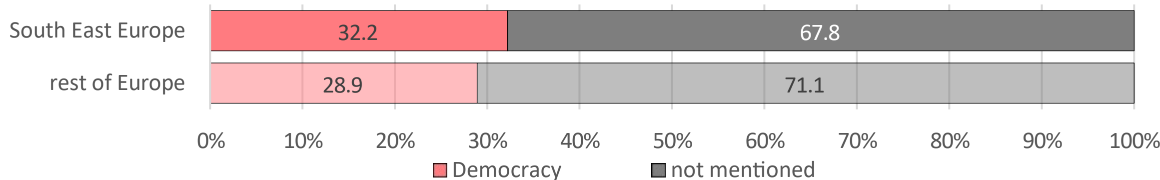
The following individual values are shown as a comparison of

- the proportion of the South East Europe sample who mention each value with
- the proportion doing this *in the rest of* Europe (a comparison with all the young people in the sample who were *not* in South East Europe Region).

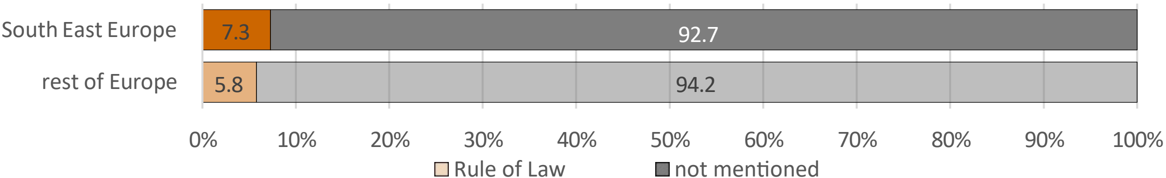
'Rest of Europe' are shown in the less bright colours; numbers are percentages of the total population.

Structural Values

Democracy mentions in the South East Europe Region: 57 young people out of 177 in sample

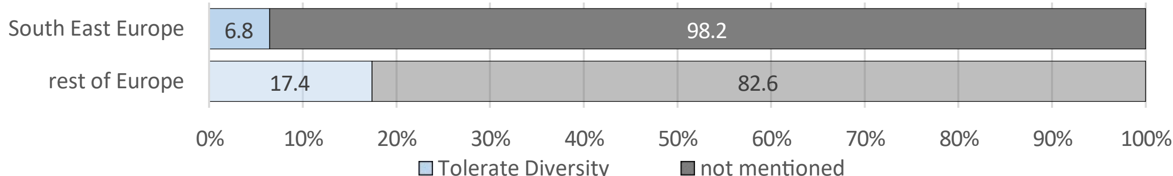


Rule of Law mentions in the South East Europe Region: 13 young people out of 177 in sample

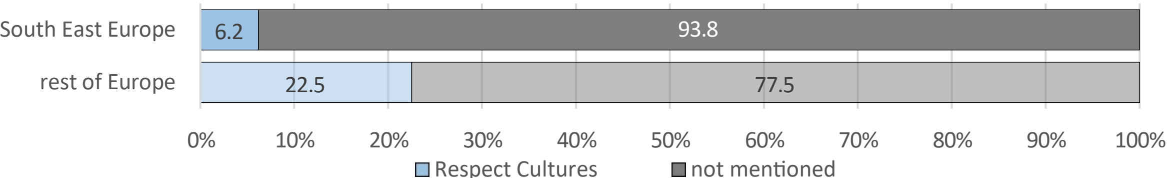


Core Values

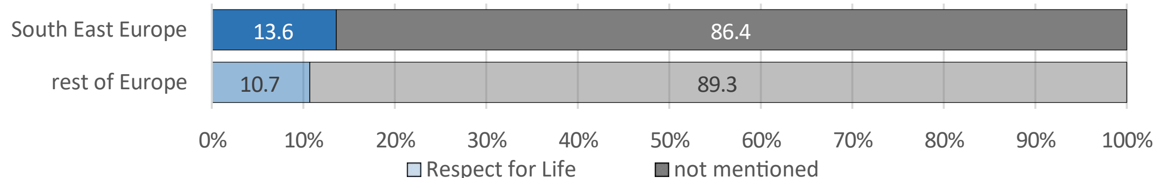
Tolerance of Diversity in the South East Europe Region: 12 young people out of 177 in sample



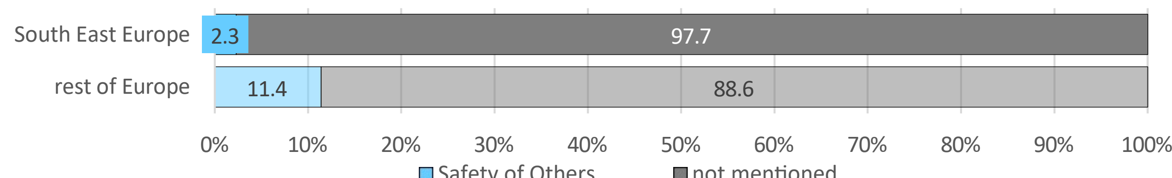
Respect for other Cultures in the South East Europe Region: 11 young people out of 295 in sample



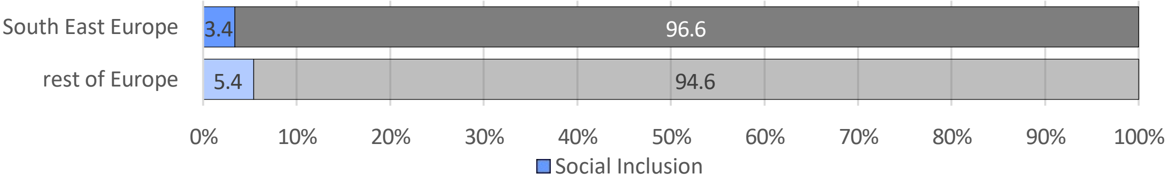
Respect for Human Life in the South East Europe: 39 young people out of 177 in sample



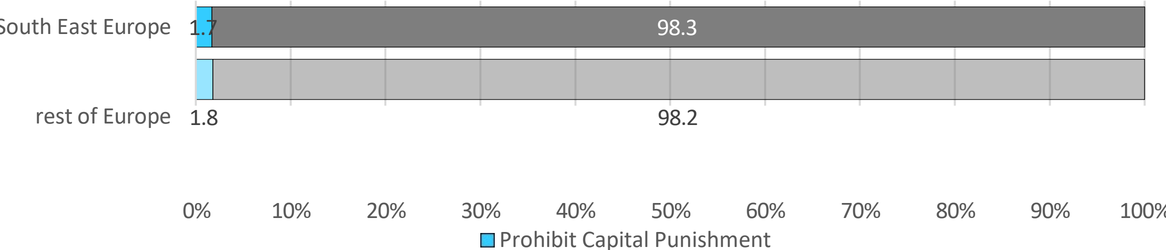
Safety of Other mentions in the South East Europe: 4 young people out of 177 in sample



Social Inclusion mentions in the South East Europe: 6 young people out of 177 in sample

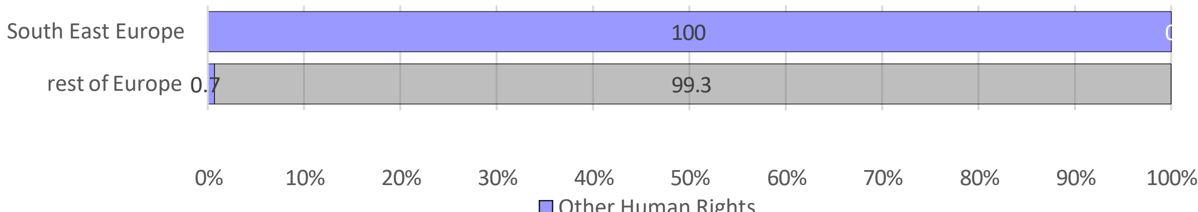


Prohibition of Capital Punishment in the South East Europe Region: 3 young people out of 177



Other Human Rights in the South East Europe Region: 0 young people out of 177 in sample

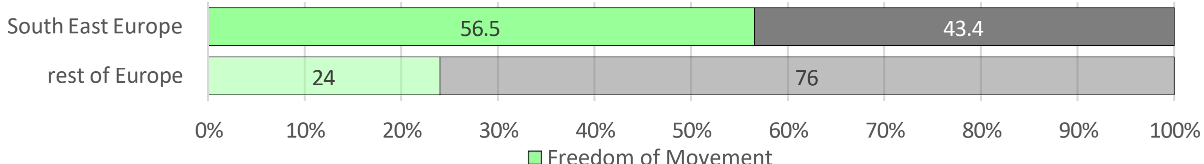
South East/Europe: % Individuals – other Human Rights



Proceedural Values

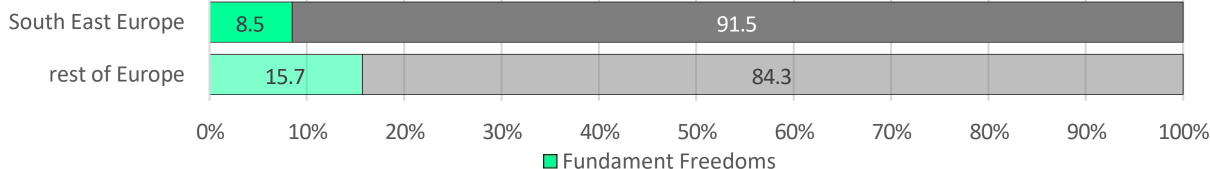
Freedom of Movement in the South East Europe Region: 100 young people out of 177 in sample

South East/Europe: % Individuals – Free Movement



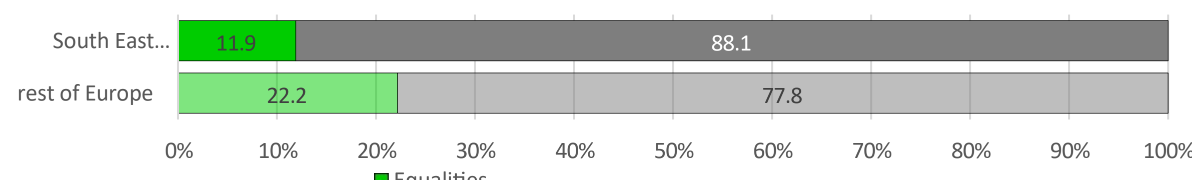
Fundamental Freedoms in the South East Europe Region: 15 young people out of 177 in sample

South East/Europe: % Individuals – Fundamedntal Freedoms



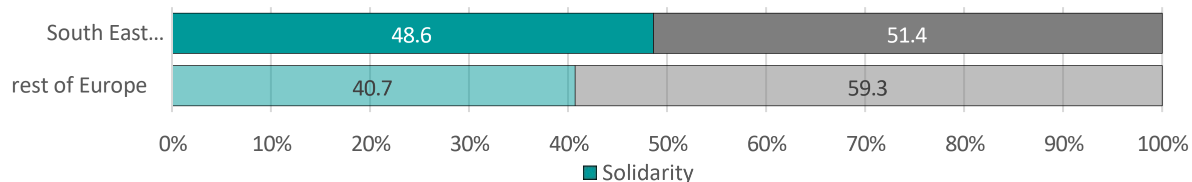
Equalities in the South East Europe Region: 21 young people out of 177 in sample

Nordic/Europe: % Individuals – Equalities

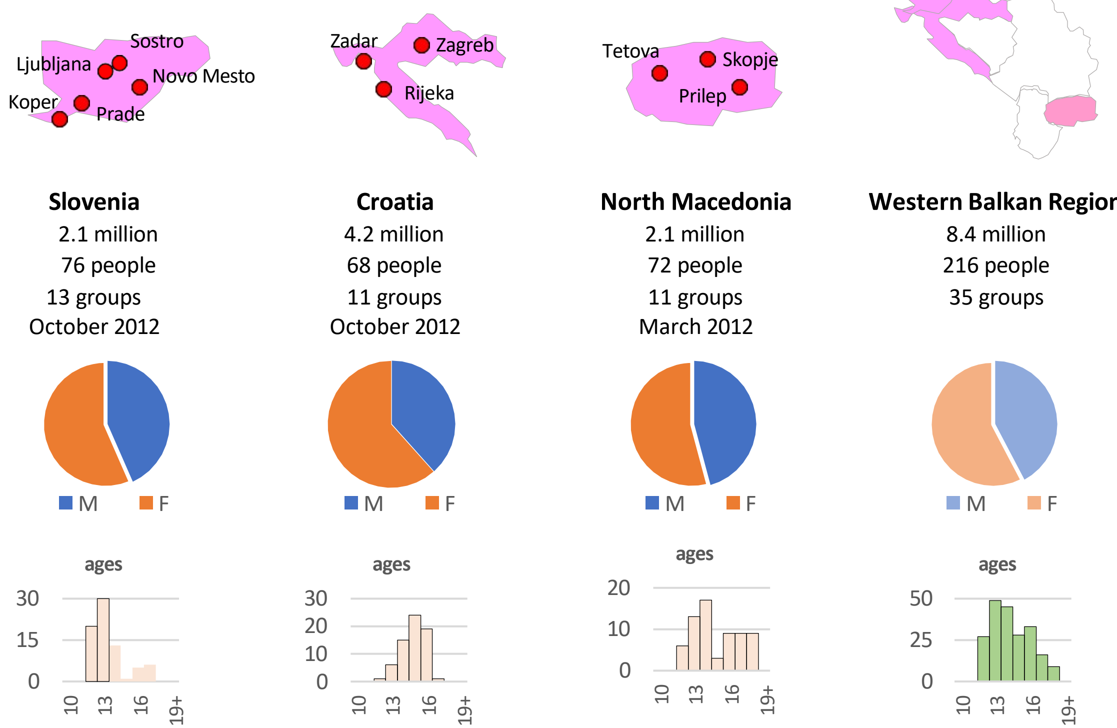


Solidarity mentions in the South East Europe Region: 86 young people out of 177 in sample

South /Europe: % Individuals Solidarity

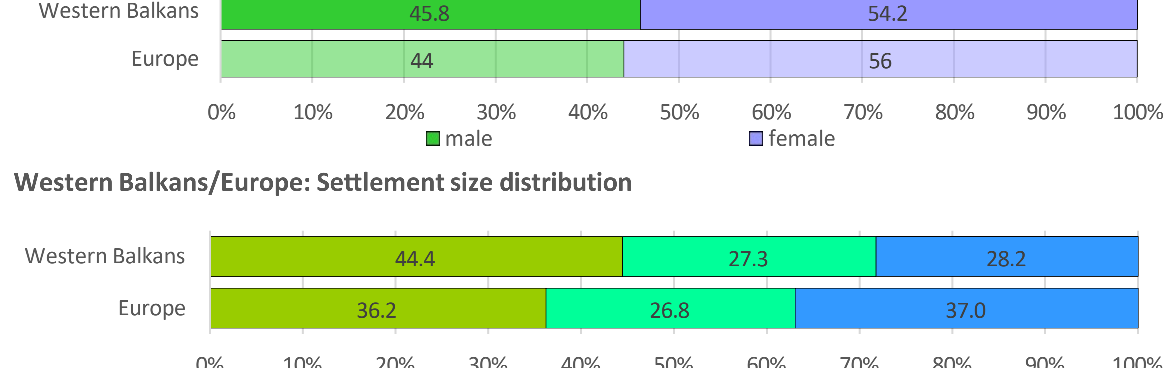


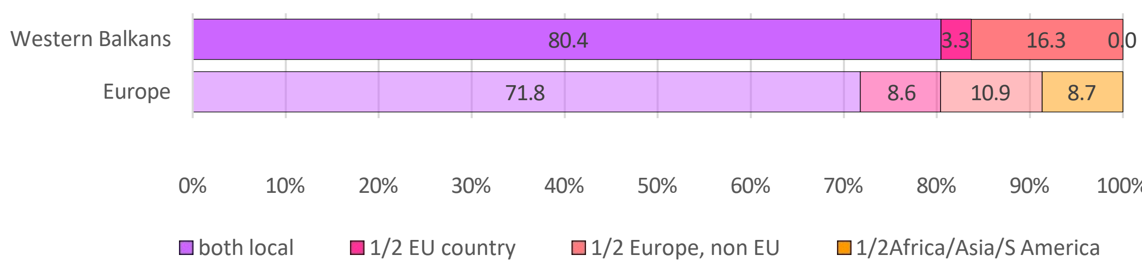
The Western Balkans Region



Basic Demography of Western Balkans Region, compared to all-Europe

Figures in cells are percentages of the population. All pan-European data in the lighter shade.





(7) both parents from country of discussion;

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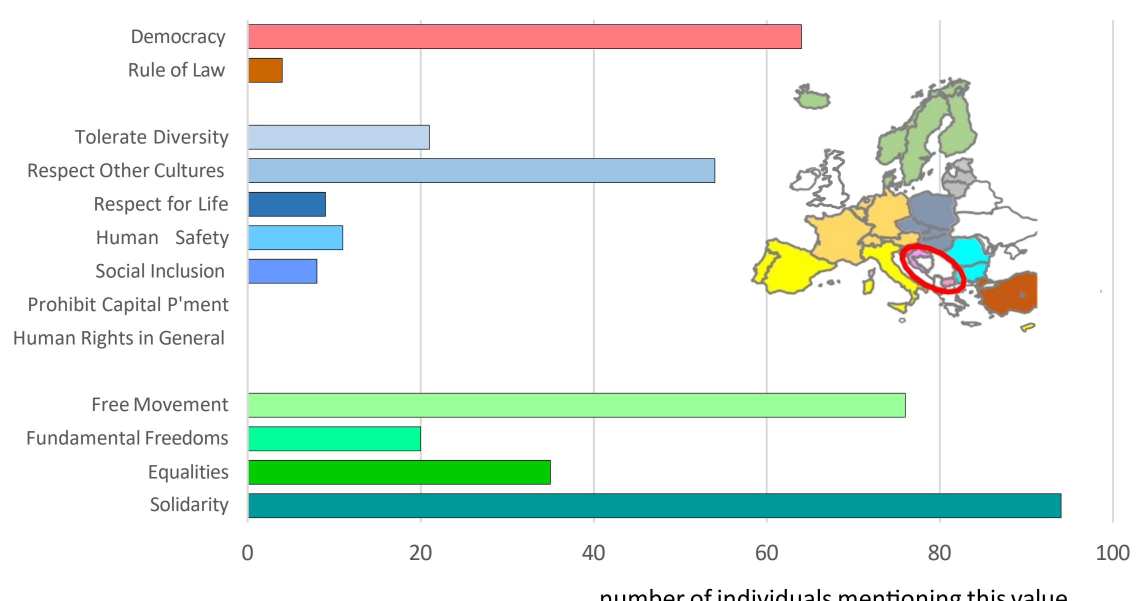
one or both parents – (2) from another EU/EFTA country; (3) from another European country (not EU/EFTA); (4) from Africa, Asia, South America, Middle East.

The Individual Values



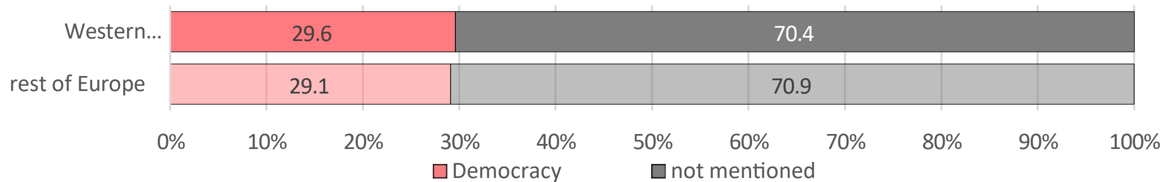
The following individual values are shown as a comparison of

- the proportion of the Western Balkans sample who mention each value with
- the proportion doing this *in the rest of* Europe (a comparison with all the young people in the sample who were *not* in the Western Balkans Region).

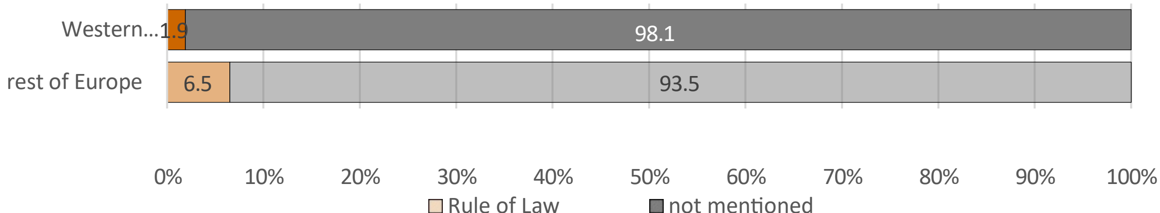
'Rest of Europe' are shown in the less bright colours; numbers are percentages of the total population.

Structural Values

Democracy mentions in the Western Balkans Region: 64 young people out of 216 in sample



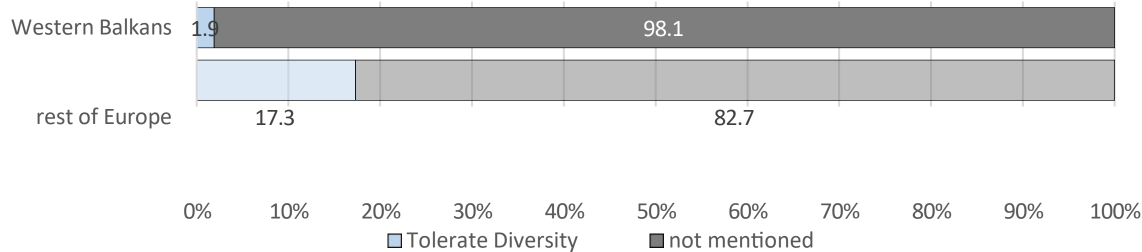
Rule of Law mentions in the Western Balkans Region: 4 young people out of 216 in sample



Core Values

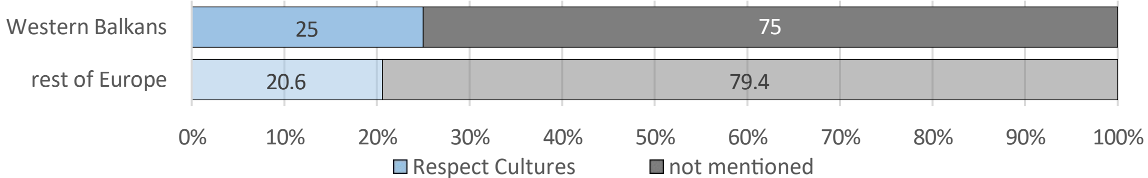
Tolerance of Diversity in the Western Balkans Region: 21 young people out of 216 in sample

Western Balkans/Europe: % mention Tolerance of Diversity



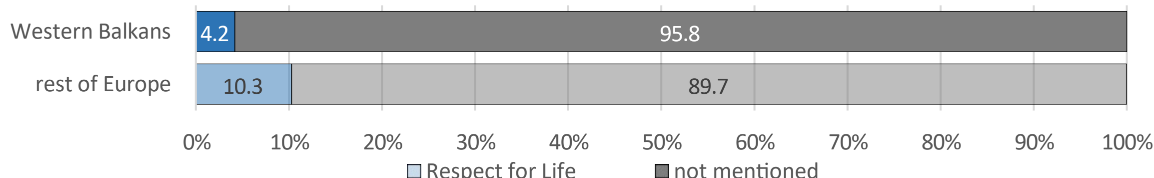
Respect for other Cultures in the Western Balkans Region: 54 young people out of 216 in sample

Western Balkans/Europe: % Individuals on Cultural Respect



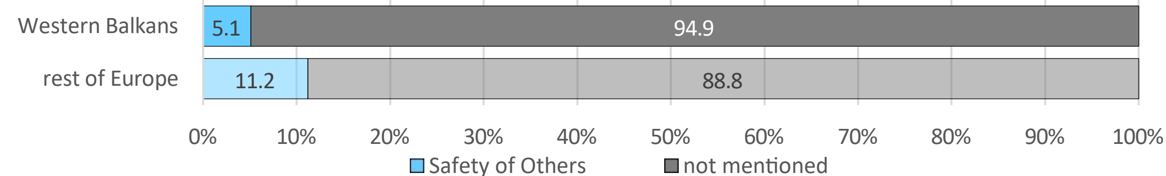
Respect for Human Life in the Western Balkans Region: 9 young people out of 216 in sample

Western Balkans/Europe: % Individuals Respect for Life



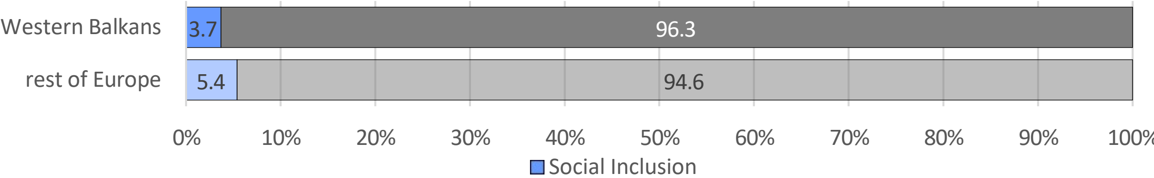
Safety of Other mentions in the Western Balkans Region: 11 young people out of 216 in sample

Western Balkans/Europe: % Individuals mention safety of others



Social Inclusion mentions in the Western Balkans Region: 8 young people out of 216 in sample

Western Balkans/Europe: % Individuals – Social Inclusion



Prohibition of Capital Punishment mentions in the Western Balkans Region: 0 young people out of 216 in sample

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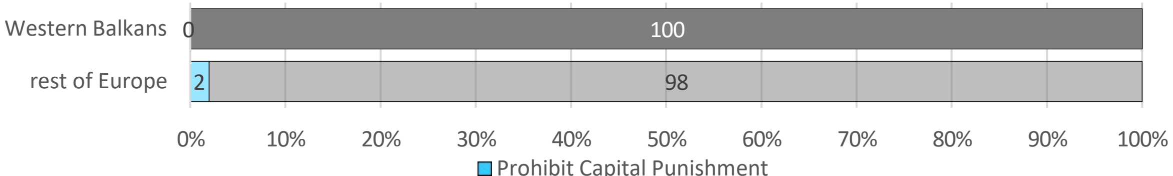
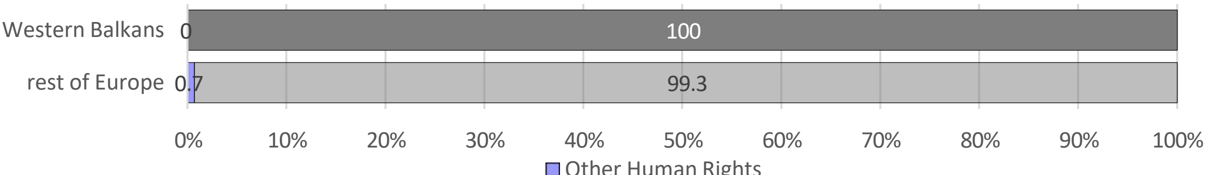
of the European Union

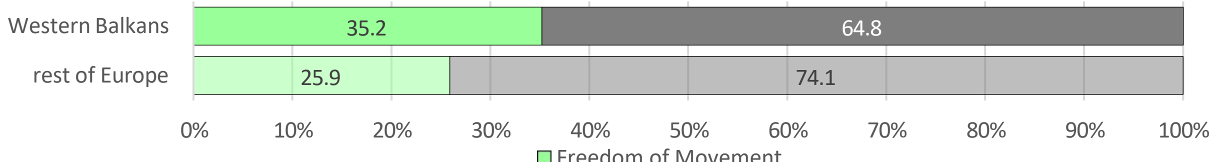


Other Human Rights in the Western Balkans Region: 0 young people out of 216 in sample

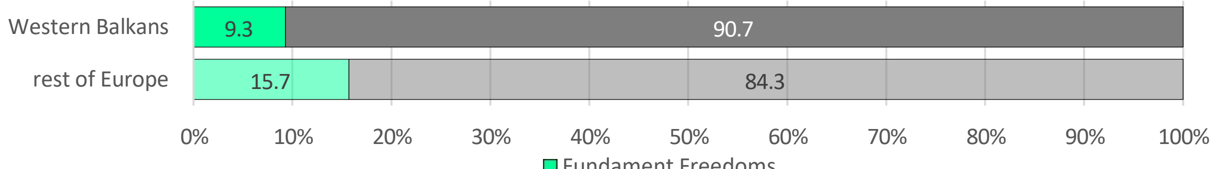


Proceedural Values

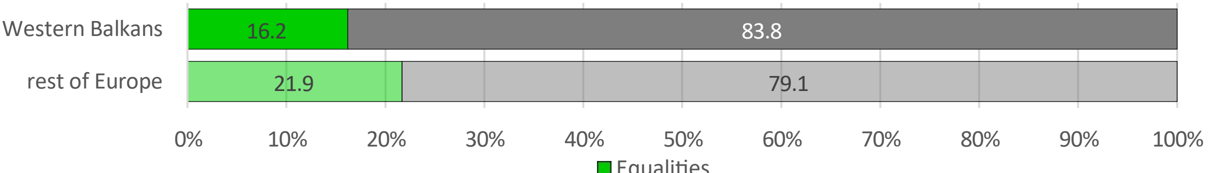
Freedom of Movement in the Western Balkans Region: 76 young people out of 216 in sample



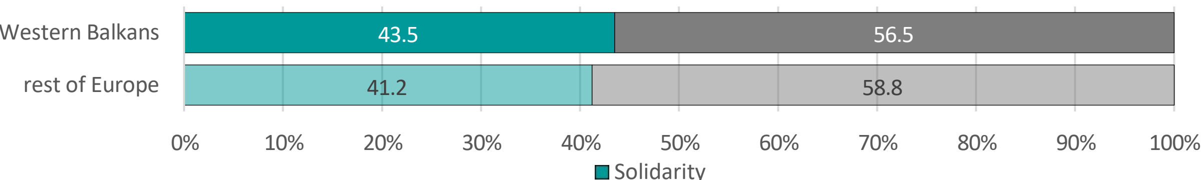
Fundamental Freedoms in the Western Balkans Region: 20 young people out of 216 in sample



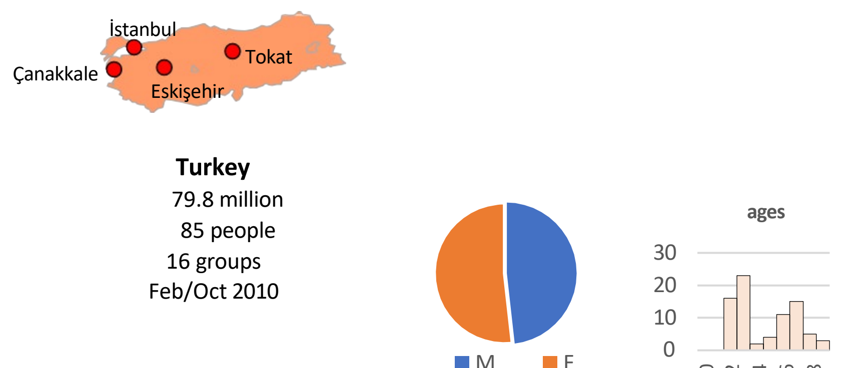
Equalities mentions in the Western Balkans Region: 35 young people out of 216 in sample



Solidarity mentions in the Western Balkans Region: 94 young people out of 216 in sample



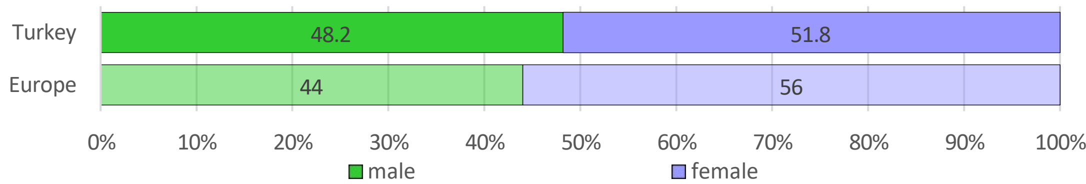
Turkey



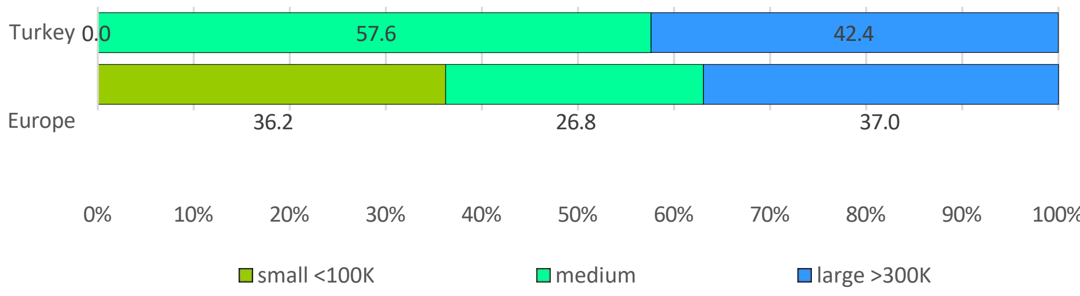
Basic Demography of Turkey, compared to all-Europe

Figures in cells are percentages of the population. All pan-European data in the lighter shade.

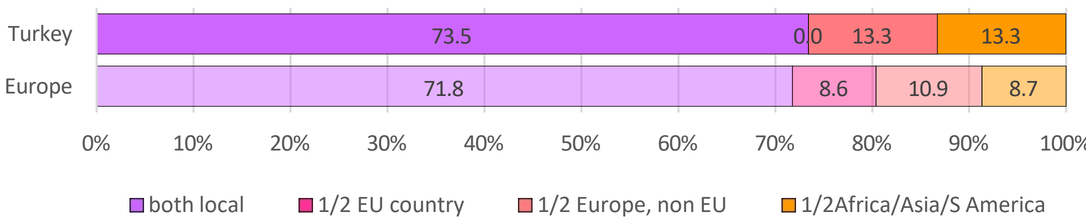
Turkey/Europe: Gender distribution



Turkey/Europe: Settlement size distribution



Turkey/Europe: Parental origins distribution



(1) both parents from country of discussion;

one or both parents (2) from another EU/EFTA country;

(3) from another European country (not EU/EFTA);

(4) from Africa, Asia, South America, Middle East.

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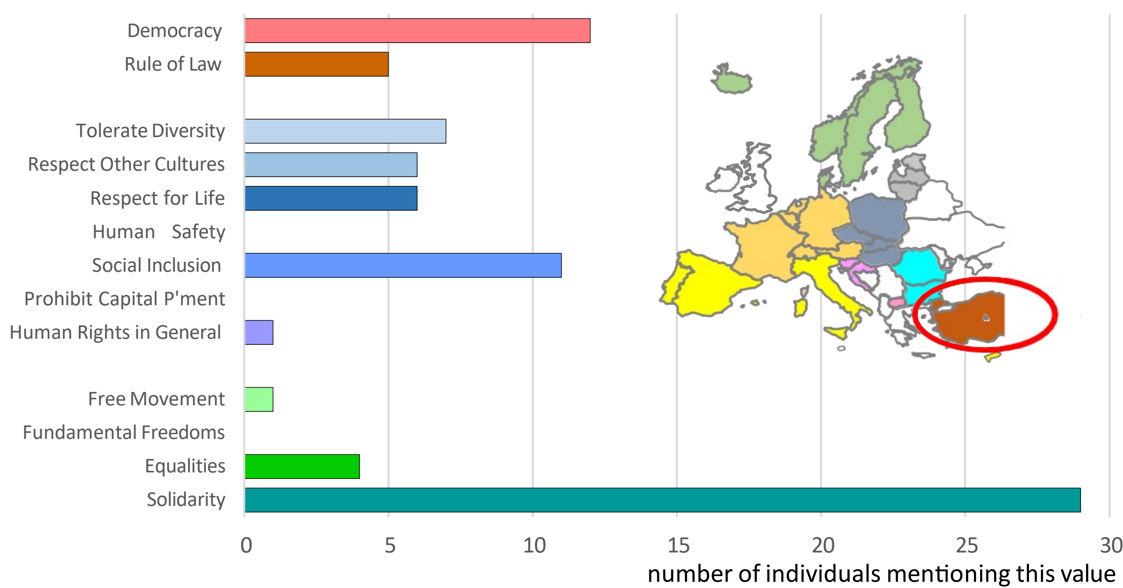
The Individual Values



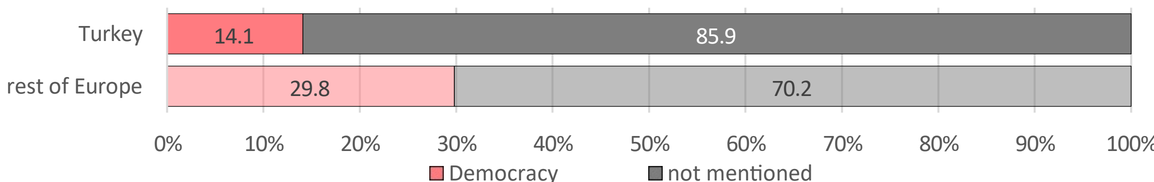
The following individual values are shown as a comparison of

- the proportion of the Turkish sample who mention each value with
- the proportion doing this *in the rest of* Europe (a comparison with all the young people in the sample who were *not* in the Turkish Region).

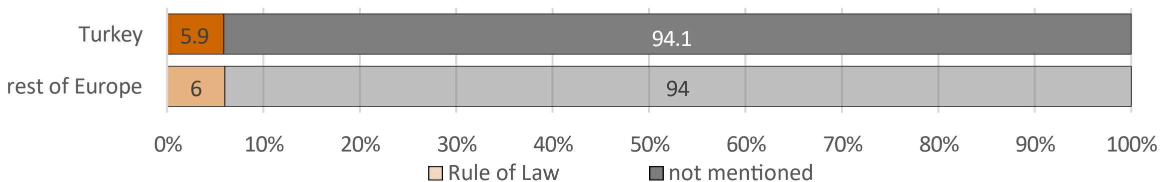
'Rest of Europe' are shown in the less bright colours; numbers are percentages of the total population.

Structural Values

Democracy mentions in Turkey: 12 young people out of 85 in sample

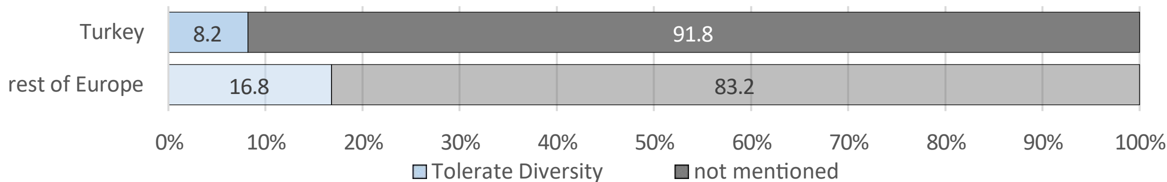


Rule of Law mentions in Turkey: 5 young people out of 85 in sample

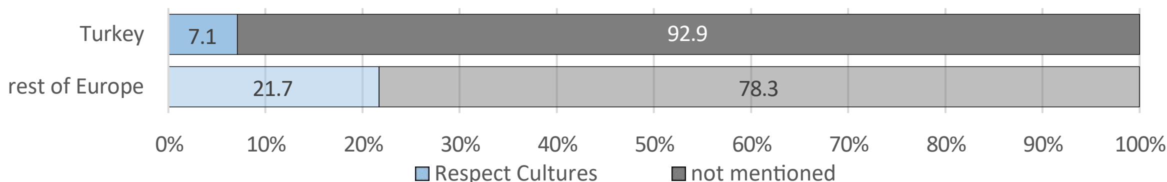


Core Values

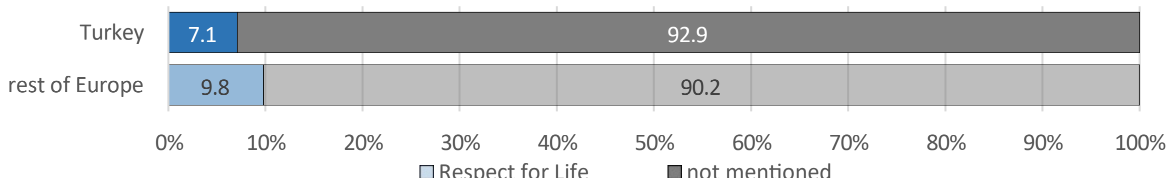
Tolerance of Diversity mentions in Turkey: 7 young people out of 85 in sample



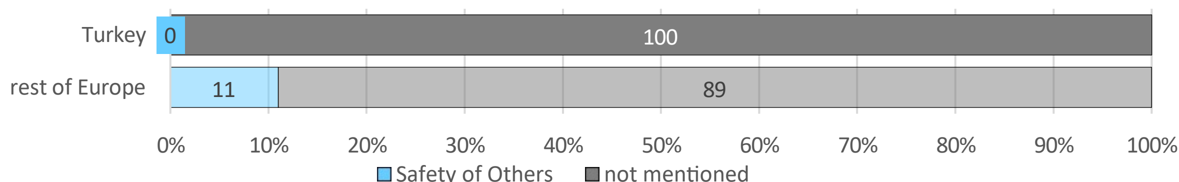
Respect for other Cultures mentions Turkey: 6 young people out of 85 in sample



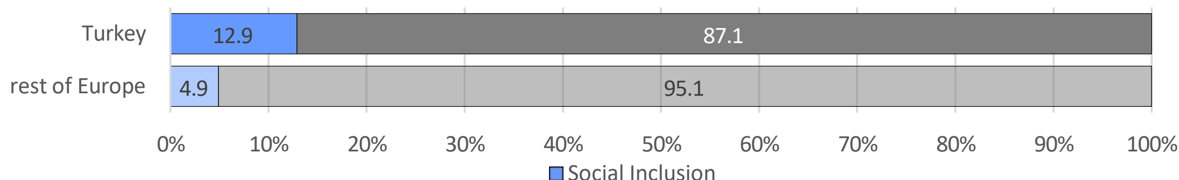
Respect for Human Life mentions in Turkey: 6 young people out of 85 in sample



Safety of Other mentions in Turkey: 0 young people out of 85 in sample



Social Inclusion mentions in Turkey: 11 young people out of 85 in sample



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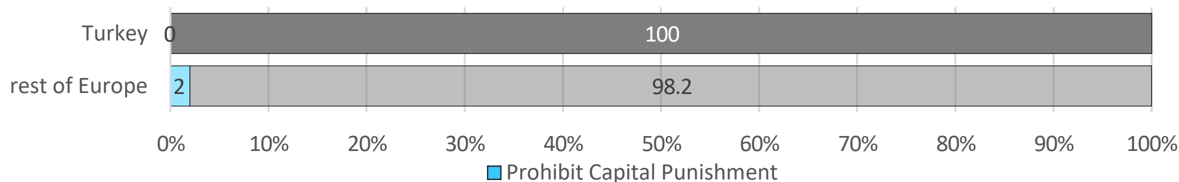
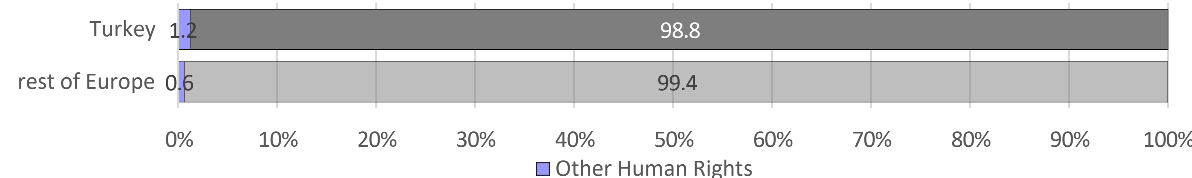
Prohibition of Capital Punishment mentions in Turkey: 0 young people out of 85 in sample

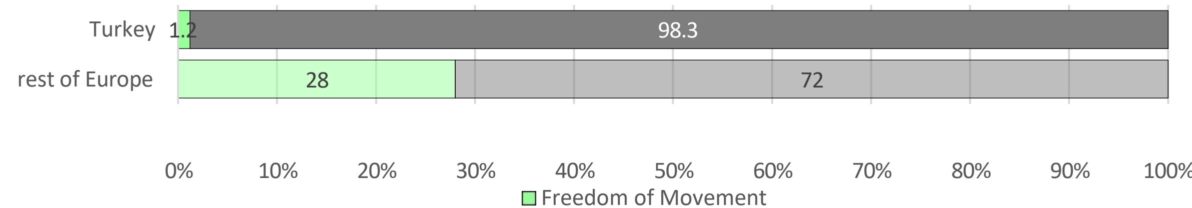


Other Human Rights mentions in Turkey: 1 young person out of 85 in sample

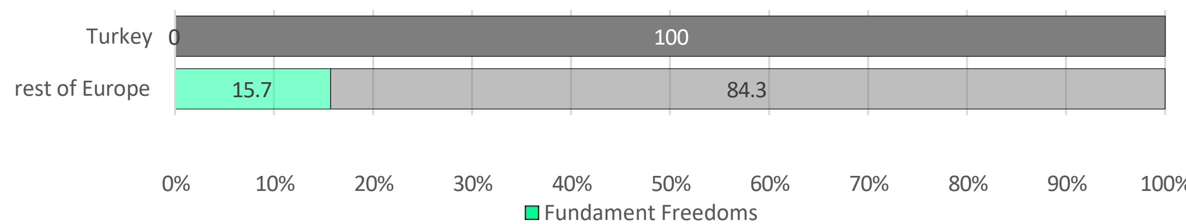


Proceedural Values

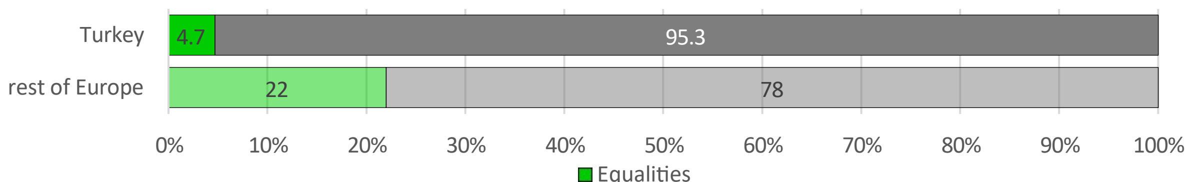
Freedom of Movement mentions in Turkey: 1 young person out of 85 in sample



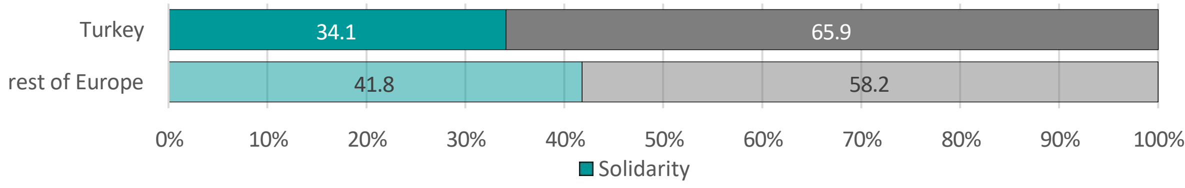
Fundamental Freedoms mentions in Turkey: 0 young people out of 85 in sample



Equalities mentions in Turkey: 4 young people out of 85 in sample



Solidarity mentions in Turkey: 29 young people out of 85 in sample



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Other Factors

The data can be analysed in many ways. We here present three analyses of the data: the first examining the values profile of young people of migrant backgrounds, the second examining the relationship between parental occopation and young people's values, the third gender equity.

1. Are young people with non-European family backgrounds more or less likely to raise issues of Values in discussions?

Analysis suggests that those young people with a non-European migrant origin (one or both parents born outside Europe) are more likely to mention the Core Human Rights principles than young people whose parents were both born in the country of the discussion. The following Figure 3D shows, for each value, the responses of three groups with differing levels of family diversity:

- Those with both parents originating in the country of the discussion (n=1272)
- Those with one or both parents from an EU or EFTA country (*one* of which might be from the country of discussion) (n=169)
- Those with one or both parents from an African, Asian, Middle Eastern or South American country (n=163)

The group who have both parents originating from the country in which the discussion took place - that is those of 'least diverse' origin – shown in grey – generally mention most of the Core Fundamental Values less often than those from the other two groups. They are 23.4% less likely to mention these values of the mixed EU/EFTA parental origin group (yellow), and 26.9% less likely than those of the 'most diverse' African/Asian/South American/Middle Eastern parental origin group (green). This is true of every individual value (except the two very small sets).

The differences in the levels of responses on the meta Structural values and meta Process values is less sharp (though it is only in Freedom of Movement that the least diverse group score highest.

These findings are starkly in contrast to the discourse of some social and political commentators that those of migrant, particularly non-European, migrant origin have difficulties (being either unable or unwilling) to accept European values (e.g. Thilo Sarrazin[63], Eric Besson[64], Douglas Murray[65], David Goodhart[66]) . These findings suggest that those young people whose parents have origins in the less-economically developed countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and South America are *more* likely to accept the fundamental human rights principles in the European Charter than those young people of whose parental origins are both from the country in which they live. Those parents (one or both) who have migrated to their current country are also significantly more likely to recognise these

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[63] Sarrazin, T. (2018) *Feindliche Übernahme: Wie der Islam den Fortschritt behindert und die Gesellschaft bedroht* (Hostile Takeover: How Islam Impedes Progress and Threatens Society) Finanzbuch Verlag

[64] French Minister for Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Co–Development (2009–10) His April 2010 Immigration Bill called for immigrants who want French nationality to adhere "to the essential principles and values of the republic" and requires people to sign a "charter of the rights and duties of the French citizen".

[65] Murray founded Centre for Social Cohesion, part of Henry Jackson Society (associate director 2011–18). Associate of Steve Bannon and Victor Orban. *(2013), Islamophilia: A Very Metropolitan Malady,* emBooks; *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam,* ,(2017), Bloomsbury

[66] Head of Policy Exchange's Demography, Immigration, and Integration Unit, argues against diversity, and that migration undermines nations and threatens social democratic values. (2004) "Too diverse?". *Prospect*..(2017) T*he Road to Somewhere: The new tribes shaping British politics*. Bloomsbury

Figure D 12 Responses to individual values by individuals, grouped by parental origins

Meta Value: Core Fundamental
Tolerance of Diversity
Respect other Cultures
Respect for Life
Safety of Others
Inclusion in Society
Prohibitions on punishments/percecution
Human Rights in General

Meta Value: Structual Values
Democracy
Rule of Law

Meta Value: Process Values
Freedom of Movement
Fundamental Freedoms
Equalities
Solidarity

0 20 40 60 80
% of respondants from each category of parental origin

Both parents from country of discussion (n=1272)
Both parents from EU/EFTA countries (n=261)
Either/both parents of African, Asian, Middle East or South American origin (n=169)

'European values'. Of course, as has been acknowledged in the earlier discussion on the nature of 'European' values as no more than codified and legally sanctioned global values means that these values, some or all, may be equally or more valued than they are in Europe. But it does suggest that the experience of being up in a family of mixed origin supports young people in recognising these values in a more explicit way than a monocultural family upbringing. This effect is seen even when the diversity is not particularly great or explicit – the EU/EFTA group, of 169 individuals, comprises 99 where both parents come from outside the country, and 39 where the father does so, and 31 where the mother is from a different country.

2. Do parental occupations have any relationship to young people's understanding of European values?

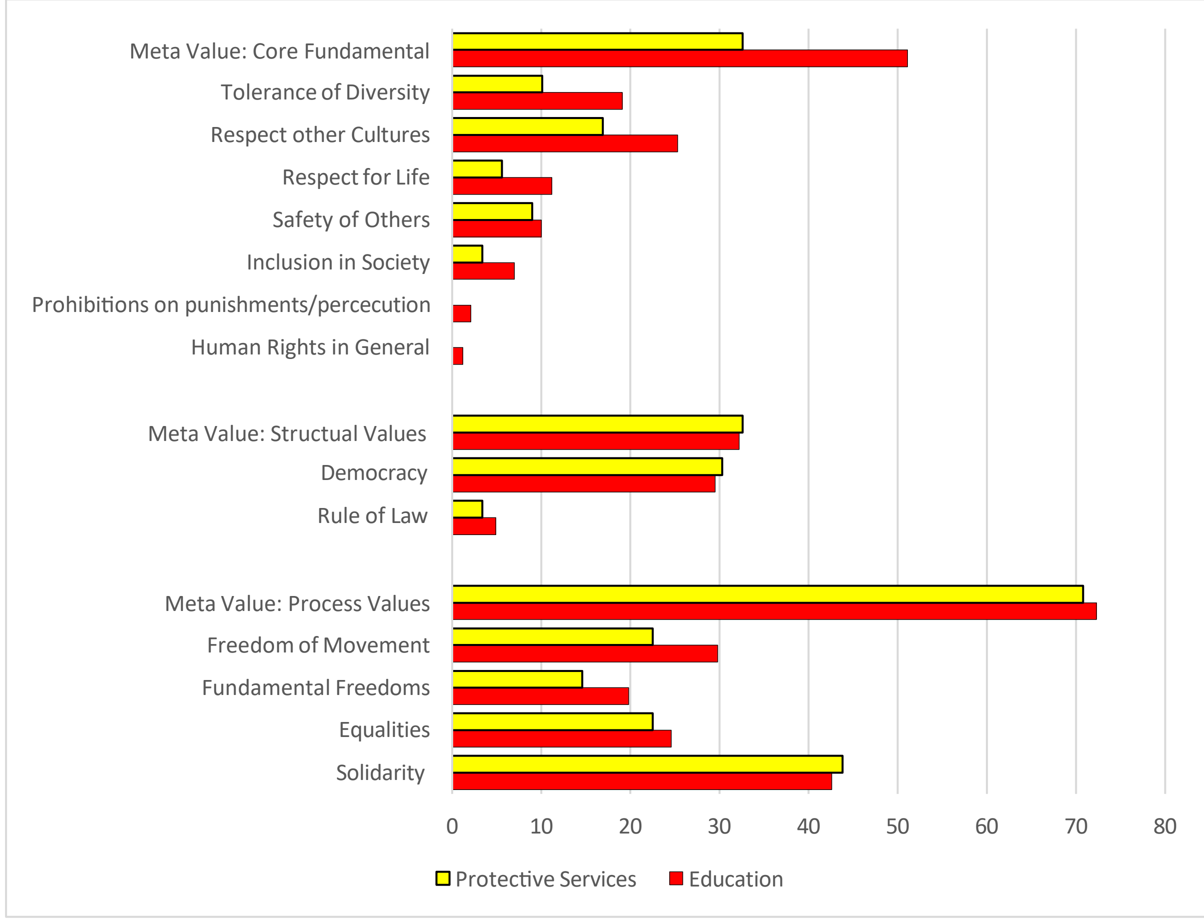
Parents were reported by young people as the principal persons with whom they would discuss political issues (when presented with 'parents', 'friends' and 'teachers in school') (Ross, 2020[67]). (teachers were, by a considerable margin, the least likely.)

The following analysis compares young people with parents in two different occupational categories. Note that these are quite large groups: such analysis is not possible for less common occupations or groups.

Parents who are educational professionals include those teaching in higher (46) and further (4) education, schoolteachers (317), and senior staff in schools (9) and advisors and inspectors (3) (total 379).

Parents who are in 'Protective Service Occupations' include Officers in the armed forces (14), senior police officers (2), Other ranks in the army, navy and air force (24), police officers (sergeant and below) (45), fire services (7), and prison officers and others (3) (Total = 95).

Figure D 13: Strength of values by parental occupation sector: Education and Protective Services



The findings for all the core fundamental values are show that the children of teachers consistently mention these values more regularly that the children of parents in the police and military services. In the other areas – structural and process values – there is much less difference. Teachers-as-

[67] Ross, Alistair (2020) *With whom do young Europeans discuss their political identities?* Citizenship, Social and Economics Education, 19 (3). pp. 175–191.

parents seem to engender an interest in and understanding of these core values in their own children, yet appear not to be seen by many young people as possible people with whom they could discuss such issues.

This might suggest that teachers are very able, experienced and successful in addressing these issues in the home environment, yet give the appearance in their professional setting of being unable or unwilling to discuss these matters with their students. This merits further investigation.

3 Gender Equality: an issue for largely females, largely males, or both?

It might be argued that most people, including young people, argue for rights and equalities that are in their own self-interest. Poorer people might argue more for financial and wealth equality, or those from ethnic backgrounds for ethnic/race equality.

To test this hypothesis, we examined the gender of those who mentioned gender inequity as an issue. References to gender equality came up in conversation under a variety of different values. There were a few references to gender equity with respect to several of the fundamental values, about tolerance of diversity, sexism and inclusion, but the great majority (95%) were concerned with equalities of rights. In all, there were 383 references to gender inequity made, by 320 different young people (16% of the total).

134 young men made references to gender inequity, and 186 young women did so. But the proportion of young women in the sample was higher than the males, at 56% of the total number of people in the survey. Adjusting for this, there is only a very small difference, of males at 15.2% and females at 16.1%, thus there was only a very small preponderance of young women raising the issue.

E Teaching Issues around understanding values

I An overview

This report has covered a wide range of issues about how young people develop their understanding of Values, and the 'European Values' in particular. Our conclusions are based on our analysis of how young people discuss values between themselves, in particular the way that they socially construct their ideas about national/country and European identity. These discussions reveal both strengths and gaps in their knowledge and abilities. Hey also show that the foci of their discussion can often be time-specific, related to events, from local to global, that are current at the time. The examples they used in the discussion we analysed would have been different at the time we categorised the data, different again when we compiled this report, and again when it is being read.

We have stressed six key issues that impact on how young people come to understand values. These are summarised here, and then examined at greater length in the sections that follow, covering the implications for educators – at school and at teacher education level – in their work..

1 Learning about values crucially takes place largely in the early years of life

> Young's 1949 dictum (page 4): "Whenever I am thinking of a character in public life … I always ask 'What was happening in the world when [they were] twenty" – is useful. From a very early age, young people are experiencing issues of fairness, rights and wrongs, equalities and inequalities. Charles Dickens wrote of young people in *Great Expectations* that *'*there is nothing so finely perceived, and so finely felt, as injustice'. Young people try to make sense of their experiences, and educators have the privilege of helping in this. By their early twenties, they have developed an understanding of values on which they can build.

2 Values can be developed and acquired: they cannot be formally 'taught'

> Values as we understand them today are not set in stone, to be memorised and recited. Our social, technological and scientific understanding are constantly changing and becoming more complex, and these changes need to reflect modification and changes in how we formulate and apply values. We have better understandings of gender, ethnicity and culture; we live with advances in genetics and understanding of environmental change; we have rapidly changing information technology: all of these dynamically impact on values. All of us – including young people – need to be able to understand and manage these changes, rather than learn by rote the values of yesterday.

3 Values are based on and developed around experiences of people exercising or denying values

> Values are in action continuously around all aspects of our lives: we constantly witness and are involved in debate and discussion about their meaning and implementation, balancing individual, group and global rights and obligations. Most of our attention – and young people's attention – is focussed on the absence, failure to apply, or denial of values. This is a natural and important focus for leaning to understand values.

4 Young people's experiences are based around a narrow timeframe of small number of years

> A young person of any age, from two to twenty-two, has a necessarily limited timeframe of experience. To a (say) fourteen year-old, what happened three or four years earlier is historic. It happened when they now see themselves as being a very much younger person. Their focus is understandably on the present, the current experiences they are having. This may be limiting for the educator – there will be important ethical and moral issues of values that are simply not current *this* month, *this* year – but over the range of their formal

education, nearly all values will become current areas of concern. The implication of this is that educators must be highly flexible and pragmatic in latching on to what young people's concerns are *now* – and also that values learning needs to be continuous over these young people's years in formal education: it will never be complete, or finally achieved.

5 **Discussions about values are critical, in sharing experiences and deliberation about values**

Learning to understand values necessitates discussion, listening to the experiences of others, putting forward ideas, changing ideas as other people's experiences are considered, formulating, reformulating, changing. The skills of discussion need to be developed and refined, in a way that can be quite different from the notion of 'needing to learn the facts first'. This is not a process of coming to a firm and unchangeable decision, the formal outcome of a vote at the end of a debate. It is about seeing issues about values as being framed within an on-going and never-ending deliberation. Learning to deliberate is a continuous process, not acquiring a formula. Educators need to be well versed in managing this approach.

6 Deliberative discussions about values are *necessarily* controversial

All the previous five points mean that leaning to understand values will necessarily – should necessarily – involve young people in talking freely about controversial issues that are current, that are part of the news agenda of the day. Educators need to be able and free to manage controversial issues, in a way that does not indoctrinate or impose. This is quite possible to do, but requires particular pedagogic skills, forethought and preparation.

This section of our report deals with the practical implications of how educators approach the understanding of values.

Several approaches

We suggest that deliberative discussion should form a central strand in any approach. This requires the educator to take on a distinctive and different approach to a more traditional approach: the educator becomes a facilitator, a moderator, rather than a source of knowledge and facts. One of the sections that follows gives detailed suggestions on how to do this: it requires educators to be explicit in explaining that they are, for the duration of the discussion, taking on a different role of listening to the young people's ideas, and of not asking questions that have a right or wrong answer. They also need to help the group listen to each other thoughtfully and respectfully, but to disagree and challenge when they need to.

We suggest that deliberative discussion can have two different functions:

1 It can initiate a process of discussing current values that matter to the group at the time – in which they learn about how to behave in a discussion, how to express views, how to listen to others and try to understand their viewpoints, but also how to challenge – and how to change their own views if appropriate. Such an initiating process will also inform the educator about the range of current interests of their learners, and about the extent and nature of their experiences about these interests.
The educators' evaluation of the nature and range of the discussion may well lead to more traditional approaches of researching, fact-finding, simulating, role-playing, all of which may broaden their experience. But this new understanding then needs to be consolidated….
2 … and this initiates a second round of deliberate discussion, which extends the discussion with these more recently acquired (and perhaps more focussed) experiences.

The initiating discussions can continue over the year, over the years – with educators being sensitive to what current issues might be, and timing the initial discussions to coincide with current events and debates.

Dealing with controversial issues is inevitable and necessary: a sub-section of this report (pp 199-202) sets out a range of principles for managing controversies in education, and the critical role of the educator in this. We suggest a number of approaches, and also that educational institutions need to have a clear policy on this – and a policy that is clearly communicated to all those with a stake in this – schools and colleges governing bodies, parents and young people themselves.

This study of young people's understanding of values is not limited to the range of issues we consider here. The final two sub-sections extend the discussion to global values – for example, the global goals for sustainable development set out by the United Nations, and the implications these have for young people's understanding, and to the critical role of the teacher, and the qualifications necessary to deliver citizenship education effectively.

- Nanny Hartsmar and Bodil Liljefors Persson extend the values from the European values given in our brief to include global values, particularly values and education for sustainability, and consider the classroom and school professional practices around deliberative discussions.

- Andreas Brunold considers the critical role of the teacher in promoting democratic citizenship in general, particularly focussing on Teacher Education in Europe, and the qualifications, knowledge and skills necessary for effective education for citizenship.

II Deliberative Discussions[68]

Introduction

The data analysed in this report was gathered through the particular technique of deliberative discussion, which is characterised by very open questions around subjects of the participants' choice, and an encouragement to express and explain differences in viewpoints, and to modify and develop positions as the context shifted. These were not debates, and should not be confused with deliberative democracy (Jerome and Algarra 2005[69]; Samuelsson 2016[70]; Baker 2017[71]). The stress was on deliberating, rather than coming to either a debating 'victory' or a concluding consensus. The selection of the focus of discussion empowers the participants to feel ownership of the event. This approach uncovers both the breadth of understanding and their ability to focus on values of social justice and equality. It shows the immediacy and news-led focus of the subjects of discussion, but also demonstrates in many cases that young people can analyse their own and their family's experiences, or will listen to and appreciate the experiences of members of their discussion group and friends. It is also clear that they do not arrive at a consensus on these issues, and indeed, not being expected to agree or reach a decision can be both liberating and promote the idea that values are not easy to agree on, and need to be seen as continuously in need of development and refinement, and that open discussion is a necessary part of this.

Discussion as a mode of education has a long tradition: Socratic dialogue involved asking questions in order to draw out a deeper understanding; Paulo Freire describes the method:

> Educators can't merely repeat information. For a real dialogue to take place, the teacher also needs to engage the students in epistemological uneasiness in a way that inspires them to revisit the knowledge that they already possess in order to get a better understanding of, expand upon, or rewrite it. And that is why it is not easy to be dialogical … it is much easier to be descriptive, purely descriptive, without epistemological curiosity … You can't have a dialogue thinking it is simply a process of turn-taking and mechanical back and forth!
>
> (Freire, quoted by Leistyna, 2004, pp 19-20)[72]

Jerome and Starkey[73] remind us that this is not simply a European or Western approach: there are parallels in most cultures, for example, the Nguni Bantu tradition of *Ubuntu* ('I am because we are') and the Islamic tradition of *halaǭuatm* (discussion circles) have similar premises.

Deliberative discussions have been advocated as both research and pedagogic techniques in recent years. Student voice, locality and agency have been stressed (Carretero et al, 2016, pp 299-300).[74]

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[68] Thanks to Adam Newman Turner, UK educationalist, for critical and supportive comments on an earlier draft of this section.

[69] Jerome, L. and Algarra, B. (2005) 'Debating debating: A reflection on the place of debate within secondary schools', *The Curriculum Journal,* 16 (4): 493–508

[70] Samuelsson, M. (2016). 'Education for deliberative democracy: A typology of classroom discussions', *Democracy and Education*, 24 (1), Article 5.

[71] Backer, D. (2017) 'The critique of deliberative discussion', *Democracy and Education*, 25 (1): 1–6.

[72] Leistyna, P. (2004) Presence of Mind in the Process of Learning and Knowing: a dialogue with Paulo Freire. *The Teacher Education Quarterly, 31* (1) 17 –29.

[73] Jerome, L. and H. Starkey (2023*) Children's Rights Education in Diverse Classrooms: Pedagogy, Principles and Practice*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

[74] Carretero, M., Haste, H. & Bermudez, A. (2016). Civic Education. In L. Corno & E.M. Anderman (Eds.) (2016) *Handbook of Educational Psychology*, 3rd Edition, Ch 22, pp. 295-308. London: Routledge..

In German social science Bohnsack (2000)[75], and Loos and von Schäffer (2001)[76] have developed the *gruppendiskussionsverfahren* [group discussion method] as 'an open interview, intended to let respondents develop a topic in their own language, in their symbolic system and their relevant framework … [we] learn more if … statement[s are] put into a narrative context by the respondent … in his/her own language' (Bohnsack 2000:21, translated by Scheunpflug et al. 2016). Gugglberger et al. (2015)[77] suggest this as 'a very open and flexible method of data generation … [i]n comparison to the more structured focus group method (2015:127). Scheunpflug (2016)[78] describes it as a method 'in which respondents can set the structures and contents of the conversation' thus exploring 'knowledge stocks that are not located on the surface of conscious and clear explicable attitudes and values, but which are beneath the surface' (2016:10). Bermúdez writes of 'the discursive negotiation of narratives and identities' (2012)[79], and how young people 'think critically about interpersonal, societal and historical conflict, and … argue with others about controversial issues' (2008)[80].

Deliberative discussion thus seems to be a pedagogic approach that might be more systematically employed in our educational systems – both as a goal in itself and to develop better understanding of values (see Hartsmar and Liljefors-Persson, p 202). This would require political will and leadership by educational authorities, from national to school level, and a willingness to facilitate the discussion of issues, often seen as controversial, to be organised in a distinctive non-moralising manner. It requires teachers and other educational professionals to be supported in encouraging free expression, on not intervening or 'teaching' what are seen as 'the facts', and on encouraging young people in listening to each other, and challenging each other with a degree of respect and understanding. These are not always easy skills to acquire, demanding great flexibility and constant decision-making.

But giving young people the ability and skills to express ideas that challenge others, to defend their views, to listen to others and modify their opinions supports them in learning how to participate and to understand the importance of the rights that they have to participate – in the cut and thrust of discussion that is a healthy part of a democratic society that respects others. Such an approach has emotional and social demands on the members of the group (and of the educator). It allows for differences in experience to be shared and understood, including the experience that some of their group members may well have had of discrimination and racism. It promotes the significance of lived experience (direct, and of families), and acknowledge the importance of this in a forum that is much

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[75] Bohnsack, Ralf. 2000. *Rekonstruktive Sozialforschung. Einführung in die Methodologie und Praxis qualitativer Forschung*. Opladen: Leske and Budrich.

[76] Loos, Peter and Burkhard von Schäffer. 2001. *Das Gruppendiskussionsverfahren. Theoretische Grundlagen und empirische Anwendung* [Group Discussion Procedures: Theoretical Basis and Empirical Application]. Opladen: Leske and Budrich.

[77] Gugglberger, Lisa, Michaela Adamowitsch, Friedrich Teutsch, Rosemarie Felder-Puig and Wolfgang Dür. 2015. "The Use of Group Discussions: A Case Study of Learning About Organisational Characteristics of Schools." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 18 (2): 127–143.

[78] Scheunpflug, Annette, Susanne Krogull and Julia Franz. 2016. "Understanding Learning in World Society: Qualitative Reconstructive Research in Global Learning and Learning for Sustainability." *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning* 7 (3): 6–23. [translated by Scheunpflug et al. 2016]

[79] Bermúdez, A. (2012) The Discursive Negotiation of Cultural Narratives and Social Identities in Learning History, in M Carretero and M Asensio (eds), *History Teaching and National Identities: International Review of History Education*, Vol 8, chap 14 pp 203-219. Charlotte CT: Information Age Publishers.

[80] Bermúdez, A. (2008) *Thinking Critically Together: The intellectual and discursive dynamics of controversial conversations*. PhD Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge MA.

wider than their own immediate community. Marginalised groups learn to participate in the wider community: members of the wider community learn to understand and empathise with the marginalised position: it can be argued that young people have a particular facility with understanding the notion of what is fair, and what is unfair [81].

So the research technique that produced these examples of young people's values and how they discussed them can also be a very useful way to work in classrooms and lecture theatres with young people in developing their ideas and understanding of the values that underpin our societies. Of course, discussion and deliberation are not new processes in teaching situations: our intention in this section is to illustrate some of the particular techniques and approaches that we think will best lead to a discussion of values. We are not suggesting that deliberative discussion is the only teaching approach, but we do think it should form part of a teacher's repertoire of approaches, and has particular value in developing the understanding of (European) Values. Developing skills in participating in deliberative discussions and conversations should be seen as goals in their own right, as Hartsmar and Liljefors Persson argue in the following sub-section (p 202).

The following sections will

i. Define what we mean by deliberative discussion; …
ii. … and what deliberative discussion is *not*;
iii. Explain where it has particular advantages over other teaching approaches;
iv. Look at the nature of asking questions in educational contexts;
v. Offer some scene-setting approaches; and
vi. Offer a set of specific suggestions that may contribute to a successful approach.

What is a deliberative discussion?

A deliberative discussion is an occasion where a group of young people talk with each other about their ideas and questions about social values or a controversial issue.

The group may be of any age, although typically they'll be part of (or all of) a regular class, and of a broadly similar age.

They could be a whole school class, or part of one; or a college seminar group, for example. It's particularly helpful if they know each other, and are familiar with working with or alongside them.

They could be part of a regular series of discussions: the advantage of this is that they will know the conventions of having such discussions, and contribute to them with greater confidence. But the examples that have been given in the earlier parts of this analysis were one-off occasions, with an adult moderator whom they' had not met before. Regular discussions should be more fruitful.

A particular feature of educational deliberative discussions is that they are conducted in the young people's own vocabulary, not using other people's terms and constructions. This gives them both confidence and a sense of agency [82]: it is they who are controlling the agenda (though *as a moderator*, the teacher will be supporting them and helping them navigate the issues they explore.

This may be a significant change in the way which one would normally teach. It's a form of "show, don't tell" – a process sometimes used in written texts to let the reader understand a narrative

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[81] McAuliffe, K., P. Blake, F. Wareneken (2017) Do Kids Have a Fundamental Sense of Fairness? *Scientific American 317* (2) August 23

[82] Papadopoulou, M. and Sidorenko, E. (2022) Whose 'voice' is it anyway? The paradoxes of the participatory narrative. *British Educational Research Journal*, 58 (2) 354–370

through actions and words, senses and feelings, instead of being told directly by the writer, so the reader draws their own conclusions, rather than being told by the writer (in this case, being 'told' by the teacher)[83]. In a deliberative discussion, your role is not to 'teach' the 'correct facts', but to use open-ended questioning that may challenge the participants' preconceptions, but does so through indirect and conversational disputation ('can you give an example of this?'; 'how do you know that'; 'why do you feel that way'). But it's not an interrogation!

It is also a *deliberation* – not a decision-making process. Unlike a debate, there's no vote at the end. Participants are encouraged to reflect on what others say – to respond by challenging, accepting, or expressing uncertainty or ambivalence. Each participant can modify their initial position, elaborating, refining, or changing their mind as fresh ideas emerge.

People will also participate unequally: no one is obliged to have an opinion, or to formulate one. It's not an occasion on which, when an issue is raised, everyone is obliged to express a position. 'Participation is a right, not an obligation.'[84] Over time, maybe over several discussions, the teacher will try to ensure some kind of balance, encouraging less confident students to participate (and perhaps asking the more dominant participants to give the others a chance). Not everyone *has* to have a view on every issue (you probably don't, on every current controversy).

The teacher also needs to consider that some individuals may have had experiences they'd rather not discuss: they need to be protected from feeling obliged to contribute (and it may be necessary to check with them before discussing certain topics: it's also possible that they would welcome the opportunity). It's not a sequential event, where one goes round the table, asking everyone for a viewpoint.

People can participate more spontaneously – more naturalistically – in a deliberative discussion. Ask them to signal to you when they want to speak – wagging a finger is better than waving a hand – and sometimes let them interrupt if they indicate (extra wagging!) that they think their contribution might inform the person currently speaking. Explain this is not standard behaviour – that discussions work better if one person speaks at a time – but that sometimes you will allow interventions, made courteously.

The teacher-moderator will model listening behaviour. The more traditional didactic teaching model is for students to expect the teacher to have the information, and students therefore tend to listen to the teacher rather than other students, as the teacher has 'the facts'. As Freire puts it,

> 'the teacher … turns into a rigid methodologist, a pure repeater. Like a machine, a tape-recorder. [they] keep talking and talking, convinced that he or she is teaching a lesson. … The more progressive educator believes that he or she is engaged in a dialogue by allowing students to participate in a mechanical pedagogy of questions and answers. This is not a dialogue, because it is devoid of any real epistemological curiosity or profound engagement with the material at hand'. [85]

These activities make particular demands on the teacher, and Brunold, in the sub-section beginning on page 215, considers the qualities teachers need to acquire in teacher training to accomplish this. In a deliberative discussion, encourage participants to listen to each other, rather than to you: comment and refer to things that have been said, by name-checking opinions ('earlier, Samantha

[83] The phrase 'show, don't tell' is often attributed to Anton Chekov, who is supposed to have said "Don't tell me the moon is shining; show me the glint of light on broken glass."

[84] Lee, J and H Starkey, (2023) *Children's Rights and Education in Diverse Classrooms*. Bloomsbury. p 222.

[85] Leistsyna, 2004, p 19

said that …'), nod approvingly when views are expressed well, encourage others to respond ('Does anyone disagree with Pierre?') – and then get them to explain *why*: open a debate.). It's possible, for a short while, to make a game of this – 'everyone must, when they speak, refer to the contribution at least one of the two (or three) previous speakers'. Such a rule soon becomes unnecessary, because it is clear to all participants that the discussion becomes much more interesting.

… and what it is *not*

Deliberation is a process, and is not a free for all: it is not absolute freedom of speech, but requires participants to recognise that absolute freedoms may well inequitably and disproportionately constrain the freedom of others: expressions of views need to be considered, measured, and respectful of others.

But nor is it a way of reaching an agreement or a consensus. There's no attempt to sum up on what everyone is said to agree on. It is an opening up of ideas, not the closing down that might be involved in reaching a compromise or unanimity. It's probably best to avoid attempts to gain the consent of all, better instead to recognise the diversity of views – and to emphasise that their opinions and interpretations may change as they hear those of others. As Freire points out, 'avoid a debilitating consensus where principles of social justice are sacrifices so we can "get along"'. [86] There is no need for a decision to be made: this is not a rule-making meeting.

Deliberative discussion is a starting point, not an end point. It should open up more focussed investigations, that have a separate place in the understanding of values, that will take place as a distinct activity that is responsive to the discussion.

What are the particular advantages of deliberative discussions over other approaches?

Deliberative discussions allow young people to focus on the issues that are important to them.

This is particularly useful when the focus is on areas such as values, identities and current events and arguments, where there is frequently a diversity of views and opinions. Young people need an opportunity to explore these in a setting that accepts a range of attitudes: discussions with peers provides opportunities for this. Such discussions may be impromptu opportunistic responses to something that is said or happens, but can also be regular features in the curriculum. There is evidence that young people enjoy participating in discussions on such topics, describing them as relevant and important opportunities to explore things that matter to them. For example,

in the study that underpins this report, Oldrich (M/12) in Hradec Kralóvé, Czech Republic, described his Czech *Občanská Výchova* [Civic Education] lessons with enthusiasm: 'in future it will be the most important subject, because the whole world will develop, and if we do not know the relations of the countries in the world, then we will be lost. I think we should not *learn* about these issues, rather we should *discuss* these issues' [Oldrich's emphasis]. Another group in Budapest had an active debating club: Álmos (M/15) was a member: 'we have quite interesting conflicts with each other – and that's a good thing, because every time we discuss, it strengthens my view of the world.' More common was the experience of a group in Berlin, who wanted to talk about the media response to some assaults, allegedly by migrants, in Köln on New Years Eve 2015 (three weeks earlier): eventually they had a discussion with their teacher, but Annegret (F/15) had to remind the group that they had to push for this: 'that's what we are missing. If we want to talk about something, we really have to push the teacher … we wouldn't have talked about it if we hadn't pushed. They have their school

[86] Leistyna, 2004, p 26.

curriculum which they stick to, they don't like going off track.' On another issue, Kamilia (F, 15) in Kraków said (with some passion) 'but if we are to learn here in school, then we *should* talk about this! I miss it, I miss the opportunity'; and in Segovia, asked if they talked with their teacher about such issues, one said 'No … I think we have to change that!'[87]

Deliberative discussions give young people agency: they feel that the discussion belongs to them. It allows them to use their own vocabulary and language (again, this is empowering) – so the teacher-moderator is careful to reflect the vocabulary used – but once a more technical term is used, to pick up on this in the questions they ask.

Deliberative discussions can begin by the moderator setting out that they do not expect them to agree on any issue. Questions of values may often not be clearcut: values can conflict, opinions need to change as new situations develop. Disagreements should be encouraged, but also be encouraged to be made in an unaggressive and non-confrontational way: say you *expect* them sometimes to disagree. Young people can find this liberating. Suggesting the possibility of disagreement is a more useful prompt than asking if everyone agrees with something that's been said. It implies that dissent is both possible and welcome, and opens up a better exchange of views.

The moderator's multiple roles are critically important:

- To control the discussion, ensuring that it is respectful to all, does not stigmatise, or use potentially offensive language;
- To model *how* to discuss – how to listen to everyone and reflect on what has been said, how to frame a response, how to disagree, and how to offer examples or experiences;
- While respecting shifts in the focus away from the significant values and issues that you, as teacher, would like them to focus on, to appropriately intervene to redirect the group's attention;
- To protect young people who may be vulnerable because of their particular characteristics[88] or experiences.
- To appropriately challenge or question views, in a way that extends and keeps discussion open, rather than closing it down. For example, in a deliberative discussion one person may say something that seems to contradict what they've said earlier: their position has perhaps become more refined as the discussion progresses, or they are using a concept in a different way in a different situation. Rather than pointing out the contradiction directly, the teacher might say 'I'm a bit confused – you're saying *y*…, but earlier you said *x*…?'. The way values may necessarily be ambiguous, or might need refining, and the possibility of one's views changing can both be used to extend discussion and debate in a positive (and supportive) manner.
- To provide appropriate post-discussion support and supplementary activities that extend understanding.
- To ask questions that are open and encourage a multiplicity of potential responses.

Hartsmar and Liljefors Persson, in the sub-section below beginning on page 203, consider the classroom dynamics of these kind of approaches in greater depth

[87] Ross, 2019, p 84, 178.
[88] Protected characteristics are those identity characteristics that are liable to lead to discriminatory behaviour: in the case of young people, this may include age, gender reassignment, disability, colour, ethnicity, national origin, religious belief, sex, or sexual orientation.

Asking questions: pros and cons

Asking young people questions – particularly in an educational setting – has a number of potential problems. There has been a tradition in many educational systems to use questions to test knowledge and learning: questions are put that expect a particular correct answer, in discussions, in tests, in examinations. This can lead to the expectation that all questions are designed to assess and check learning.

In a deliberative discussion, it is necessary to ask questions that do not have correct answers, to emphasise that there are multiplicity of possible answers. These are 'open' questions, in that the potential answers are unlimited and unrestricted.

'Closed' questions often being with words such as *What*, *When*, and *Where* – they seek a direct and precise answer. They are questions where the questioner already knows the answer, and is asking it in order to see if the learner also knows it.

'Open' questions are more likely to begin with words such as *Why* or *How* – they seek explanations. They can, nevertheless, still be closed questions. An open question will be one that makes it obvious to the listener that the questioner doesn't know – cannot possibly know – what the answer might be.

This might be by making it directly dependant on the young person's knowledge or experience – 'Why do you think that?', 'How do you know that?'. But do so with an expression that you are really interested in the response – not challenging, but inquiring!

It might be by framing a question and indicating a variety of possible answers – 'Do you think that *X*… is important, or not, or that it doesn't matter?' – which implies that any of these three potential answers are valid, as are shades of opinion in between them.

It might be by asking questions that are very clearly open and debatable – sometimes 'odd' questions in that they are rarely asked. Asking a group of (say) young Danes (perhaps in a plaintive manner) '*Why* are you Danish?' or 'What *makes* you Danish?' almost invariably leads to a debate about the multiplicity of potential answers (where you are born, your parents' origins, your culture, language …) – and leaves the participants confused, in a way that this can be seen as a good outcome: we may be formally categorised with a nationality, with citizenship, but feelings and loyalties are more complicate, more multiplex, than a passport might seem to dictate.

Open questions lead to deliberation, thoughtfulness, consideration of others, recognition of diversities of opinion – all of which are useful skills in leaning to understand values.

Setting the scene for a deliberative discussion

There are some practical issues to consider in setting up deliberative discussions. It is probably best that the group of young people all know each other, and have a sense of the concerns and processes of the others in the group. This will help them more easily adjust to working in this way. Once the process of deliberation has become embedded, the teacher might want to experiment, perhaps mixing different classes so that they engage and debate with 'new' people – even from different schools, if they are also engaged in the deliberative techniques.

The size of the group will necessarily vary. As a rule-of-thumb, it needs a minimum of around five people to be successful. An upper limit may be around 25 to 30 with older students – though it's been done successfully with a class of 9-10 year olds.. With such larger groups, one technique that works is to have an initial group of ten to twelve, who start the discussion, with the others listening

to what is being said, and then, after perhaps 20 to 25 minutes, inviting those who've been listening to comment on what's been said, to proffer alternative points of view, and even interrogate some of those in the opening group. In the next deliberative discussion, the roles of the two groups can be reversed. But it is possible to have a single large group that discusses the issues together from the start.

It seems very useful if all the group can sit in a circle together, rather than behind individual desks. This allows everyone to have direct eye-contact with each other, enabling better communication, both verbal and non-verbal. The teacher/moderator should be part of the circle, looking out for those wanting to make a point – the young people will see this eye contact being modelled, and in time some participants who are speaking will begin to sometimes give way to another who gestures that they want to add a point.

The teacher/moderator, at the beginning of the first discussion, needs to set out the rules of engagement: one person speaking at a time, no offensive language, mutual respect for differences of opinion, the need to voice disagreement, the need to listen to each other, the possibility of changing one's opinion, and the particular different role the teacher will play.

Such an introduction may need to be referred to at the beginning of subsequent discussions, but will over time become unnecessary. It takes some time for young people to adjust to these ways of working, but in most cases there is an ability to pick up the ways in which deliberative discussions operate, and to recognise their advantages and follow and enjoy them.

Bernard Crick, who authored the report from which citizenship was introduced into the English National Curriculum, wrote (much earlier) about the nature of politics in a liberal democracy:

> Politics is … an activity: it is not a thing which could exist if individuals did not continue to act upon it. And it is a complex activity; it is not simply the grasping for an ideal, for then the ideals of others may be threatened; but it is not pure self-interest either, because the more realistically one construes self-interest the more one is involved in relationships with others. … [so] the more conflicts of interest or of character or circumstance will arise. These conflicts, when personal, create the activity we call 'ethics'; .. and such conflicts, when public, create political activity.[89]

The understanding of values is an ethical activity, necessarily involving the relationships involved in discussing and building them with one's peers.

Some suggestions that may contribute to a successful deliberative discussion

The following list is of some suggestions for the teacher-moderator that have facilitated good discussions.

- Try to avoid having a list of questions or notes when you run the discussion. This suggests you have an agenda that you want to follow, and the group will start trying to guess what this might be. By all means *have* an (unwritten) agenda – but accept that it will probably not be followed in its entirety, or in any particular order. Let them feel that *they* own the process.
- Similarly, don't make notes during the discussion. Making a note signals something to the group members: 'Have I just said something interesting?'; 'Ah, so *that's* what she wants us to talk about!'; 'Did I get that wrong?'
- Try and keep eye contact.

[89] Crick, B. (1962, 5th ed 2013) In Defence of Politics. London, Bloomsbury. p 10

- Accept what's said, and don't dismiss anything: move on through asking further open questions.
- Keep referring back to what's someone's said, and name-check it if you can – this models good listening practice.
- Allow silences – they may need time to think about what to say. And not everyone has to speak. Use questions like 'Does anyone want to disagree or agree with that?' to push on to discuss where the points of disagreement lie, or to explore why they agree.
- If something's unclear, ask 'Can you give an example of that? [… has that happened to you?]', or 'Perhaps you could explain that a bit more?'
- Point out apparent contradictions, not as an accusation, but asking for some explanation.
- Participate, but make sure you don't dominate the conversation – keep your contributions and questions short!
- If asked for factual information, give a short account if you can, or say you don't know, and that you can all look for the details later.
- If asked for your opinion, give a short account *if you feel it appropriate* (see the section on controversial issues below p 198), but stress that it is only *your* opinion – other people will have different views, they may have different views: they don't have to agree with you.
- Participate, but don't dominate: explain any position you hold is yours, but they don't have to agree.

III Teaching Controversial Issues[90]

Understanding values is an ethical activity, which involves building up ideas through discussion with one's peers. This will involve conflicts of personal interests, understanding and balancing competing rights and interests: for example;

- how do we ensure democracy is operated in a way that is fair and takes accounts of both majority and minority views?
- how to we ensure that laws are applied fairly and consistently, and why this is important?
- how can our societies work in a global context, understanding diverse viewpoints and respecting other cultures?
- are there limits to such tolerance and respect? – what are these, and how are they defined?
- how do we minimise social exclusion, and ensure human rights?
- what happens when exercising our freedoms limits the freedoms and rights of others?
- How to we balance individual freedoms with the obligations of social solidarity?

Questions like these are fundamental to how young people understand the nature of (European) values. As Bernard Crick, quoted earlier, put it these issues are complex *activities*, not things – they involve the relationships individuals have with other people, in societies from the level of the classroom to the global. Conflicts of interest or circumstance are inevitable, and are never fixed, and 'such conflicts, when public, create political activity' (Crick, 1962[91 92])

Democracy is a political system. Discussions with young people about the nature of democracy necessarily touch on issues of political organisation and political issues. These will often – necessarily – be controversial.

Education professionals are often concerned that raising critical issues about values might make them open to criticism for bringing political bias or indoctrination into their work. They may fear that discussing current controversial topics may offend some young people, or lead to conflicting attitudes being expressed. But as we have shown, education institutions, for every age, have the responsibility to include learning about current values and issues, developing age-appropriate learning to ensure young people manage disagreements about values, learn from and understand each other's viewpoints, and can understand and evaluate the range of media information that they encounter.

The Council of Europe's Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education set out these obligations:

> An essential element of all education for democratic citizenship and human rights education is the promotion of social cohesion and intercultural dialogue and the valuing of diversity and equality, including gender equality; to this end, it is essential to develop knowledge, personal and social skills and understanding that reduce conflict, increase appreciation and understanding of the differences between faith and ethnic groups, build mutual respect for

[90] This section draws on the Creative Approaches to New Democracy through Innovative, Inclusive Citizenship Education (CANDIICE) project report *Guidance for Education Leaders and Innovators* (2023). https://candiice.com/leadership–resources/ We are grateful to Adam Newman Turner for his permission to use this.

[92] Crick, B. (1962, 5th ed 2013) In Defence of Politics. London, Bloomsbury. p 10

human dignity and shared values, encourage dialogue and promote non-violence in the resolution of problems and disputes.[93]

One widely accepted way in which controversial issues can be approached is the German Beutelsbach convention. This was developed in a 1976 conference held to resolve conflicting arguments over perceived bias and indoctrination in education.[94]

The convention begins by recognising two categories of controversy:

- **empirical**, where there are controversial matters in scholarship about differing academic and scientific views, where more evidence and research may lead to agreement (for example, climatic warning at that time); and
- **values**, where there are moral, ethical or political opinions.

The Convention offers three central principles which should be taken together and should underpin all education relating to political or controversial issues:

1. WELCOME AND ENCOURAGE DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS

   Educators should not seek to impart desirable opinions to young people, or overrule, suppress or dominate an opinion expressed by any learner. This may hinder them from forming an independent judgement. This is the dividing line that runs between political education and indoctrination. Indoctrination is incompatible with the role of a teacher in a democratic society, and the universally accepted objective of making pupils capable of independent judgement.

2. ENSURE THAT CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES ARE RAISED

   Matters which are controversial in scholarship and political affairs should be presented as controversial in the classroom. Educators should encourage learners to explore current controversial issues as an essential part of education for democracy. Learners should be made aware of the range of differing opinions. The personal standpoint of teachers and their political opinions are relatively uninteresting.

3. LEAD LEARNING TOWARDS ACTION AND POLITICAL COMPETENCE

   Discussion of any controversial issue should not remain theoretical, but should explore the real-life impact on the learners, their communities, the public good and their present and future lives. This should lead to an understanding of ways to have an impact on political realities, based on deeper understanding of these personal and shared interests.

   (The original principle referred only to: ‘Giving weight to the interests of learners’. A more recent interpretation includes the interests of other people and the public good, and is more consistent with contemporary European values.[95])

[93] Council of Europe (2010) *Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education Recommendation CM/Rec(2010)7 and explanatory memorandum*, Strasbourg; Council of Europe Publishing. Para 8f. Also at https://www.coe.int/en/web/edc/charter–on–education–for–democratic–citizenship–and–human–rights–education

[94] *Beutelsbach Consensus* (1977*)* German, English, French Spanish and Italian versions at https://www.lpb–bw.de/beutelsbacher–konsens/).

[95] Anders, S. C. and T. Grammes (2020), The Beutelsbach Consensus – the German approach to controversial issues in an international context, Acta Didactica Norden, 14(4) art 4.

Having discussed underpinning principles, further discussion of pedagogical approaches is required to provide adequate guidance for educators.

The rapid growth of social media in public discourse has reinforced and hardened polarised opinions and the way that they are expressed. These are now increasingly becoming more accessible to young people. This makes it critically important that educators offer alternative ways of thinking in marked contrast to the typical presentations of controversial issues in popular social media. The promotion of deliberative and reflective approaches to controversial issues and the promotion of tentativeness is now an essential element of education for a democratic culture.

There are a variety of different pedagogical roles an educator might adopt during a discussion of controversial issues. These are not mutually exclusive: which combination is adopted will depend on the particular situation, the issue being discussed, and the age of the young people involved. It will be important that the educational institution has an agreed policy on what is expected, and that educators are supported in following this. Each of the following possibilities (presented here in no particular order) has some advantages, and some disadvantages:

1. **Making your own views known**: In a deliberative discussion, this will not be the best initial approach: the educator will be seeking for the young people to express their own ideas without being prompted. The customary unequal power relationship in the classroom/lecture theatre privileges the educator, and there may be a response of agreeing with the teacher's views expecting that this should be the 'correct' approach. But if young people expressly ask what the educator's views on a topic are, it may be useful – even necessary – to express them, but emphasising that they are only your views, and other people – including members of the discussion group – may hold different views. It is not desirable to suggest you have no views, that you are a political eunuch, or that in normal conversation people should supress their views. It may be useful to explain that you do have views, but you would rather discuss them after they have all had a chance to say what they think.
2. **Act as a neutral chairperson – conceal your own views**: This is probably the least desirable approach. It either suggests that you have no views (which, particularly in discussion of values, is an unlikely – even an unethical –position to hold) or that you are not prepared to debate your views.
3. **Present a wide range of different views as clearly as possible**: On many questions of values, there are often an extremely large range of views, including some based on substantial misinformation and conspiracy-based theories. Presenting as wide as range as possible can be seen as giving a false sense of equalities to them all: this is the selection, pick the one you fancy. This approach also puts you in the position of being seen as the teacher-authority on the subject, privileging your views as the authority who 'knows it all'.
4. **Challenge and interrogate learners' views by arguing the opposite from them**: This approach brings with it the risk that you are rejecting the young people's views, or that even you are rejecting all contrary viewpoints. It is probably better, if one particular viewpoint is being expressed by all, to offer alternatives to this by saying 'There are some people who might say that ….. how would you reply to them?' – using the 'how?' term to open up debate, to get them to sharpen their arguments.
5. **Support particular learners in the group (the less articulate or weakest voices) by arguing on their behalf**: This could be interpreted as either patronising, or as favouring a particular group: both are problematic. It also might be intrusive: a young person might appear to have a 'weak'

voice, when they have had experiences that they find particularly sensitive, and they do not wish to talk about.

6. **Promote the "official" view or policy (within the institution or nationally) on an issue – argue in support of the current law or government position**: there is a real dilemma here. The danger of being the official authority (3 above) on such matters, and of putting you in a position of advocating views you might not hold (despite subscribing the European Convention on Human Rights, many European countries have particular ways of interpreting or applying them). There are also, in many countries, particular obligations for teachers. For example, in Germany a teacher who had criticised the extreme right-wing party Alternative for Germany (AfD) was accused of violating the Beutelsbach Consensus, but a hearing upheld the teacher, as when considering 'constitutional goals such as the protection of human rights, gender equality, freedom from discrimination in the face of different skin colours, ethnic groups and religions, and tolerance; a teacher is obliged to represent and support these goals and thus criticize views which directly contradict them' (Behrens et al., 2021).[96] In the United Kingdom, teachers have a duty under the 'Prevent Policy' to counter extremist statements and to support young people's resilience to extremist narratives, and to promote the 'fundamental [British] values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect for and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs. [97]

    Many countries have equalities legislation that prohibits the expression of racial, homophobic and other abusive views: this may distinguish spoken, broadcast and published forms. Educators should be aware of the requirements in their country and make the legal situation clear to learners – this may be at the start of any discussion in the form of ground rules. It may be necessary to explain that law cannot control thought but seeks to control behaviour – which includes what is said or published. Each institution will have policies and rules which should be noted in the discussion and agreement of ground rules.

    It is therefore appropriate, and consistent with official guidance, for educators to adopt positions which openly support common European values – these are inextricably linked to inclusive democracy (such as equal value of humans, freedom of belief, respect for diversity, justice, equal treatment under the law etc.) – but the term 'democracy' has many definitions and it must be made clear that the claims of some national systems to be called democracies should be tested by the application of these values as criteria or, for a fuller learning experience, through reference to authoritative sources that define the essential requirements for sustainable democracies such as the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (https://www.idea.int/) .

[96] Behrens R., Besand A. & Breuer S. (2021), Politische Bildung in reaktionären Zeiten: Plädoyer für eine standhafte Schule (Politik unterrichten), Wochenschau Verlag.

[97] UK Home Office (2011) *The* Prevent *Strategy.* Cm 8092.

IV Exploring Values: deliberative discussion on global values and education for sustainability

Nanny Hartsmar and Bodil Liljefors Persson

In the media and in various conversations and texts, there is often talk about sustainability, sustainable values, and sustainable society. How can we understand these concepts and what is meant by them? What is commonly referred to are the seventeen global goals for sustainable development, Agenda 2030, which point the way towards a future of justice for all people and in all societies.[98] This contributes to demands for knowledge about and an understanding of the diversity and impact of cultures, religions and lifestyles that have increased in society at large, something that in turn places new demands on education, and teaching. Questions about inclusion and equal treatment, as well as about exclusion and discrimination, are constantly relevant.

This section highlights examples of what can constitute central and important content in teaching about a sustainable society and humanistic values. The content aims to develop such competences in the pupils and students that they can operate in a society that rests on humanistic and democratically sustainable values. The idea is not to be normative and governing; it should be seen as a contribution to an open, ongoing conversation about what basic value issues and a sustainable society can be in the school's teaching in the socially oriented subjects such as geography, history, religious education, and social studies. In the following, global humanistic values and citizenship education will be put in a context and discussed as a starting point in the school's everyday work. Then follows a section where some more concrete suggestions are given on how the teaching about such values education can be conducted and exemplified with a focus on deliberative conversations and controversial issues.

Humanistic Values and Citizenship Education

If we consider the subjects of social sciences from a European perspective, the teaching content differs between different countries, but there is also much that is common. To be more concrete, we can say that the socially oriented subjects, as they have been formulated in the school's subject and course plans, have a content that offers good opportunities for teaching that focuses on these humanistic values. We find that the curricula of many countries emphasize the importance of the subject for multiculturalism and religious diversity, as well as how these perspectives connect to democratic values, social justice, solidarity, antiracism, and civic education.[99]

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[98] Regeringen (2021). *Sveriges genomförande av Agenda 2030.* Regeringens skrivelse 2021/22:247. Agenda 2030 och de globala målen för hållbar utveckling.

[99] Alberts, W. (2010). The academic study of religions and integrative religious education in Europe. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 32(3), 275–290. Franck, O. & Liljefors Persson, B. (in press). Democratic and inclusive religious education in the secular state – the case of Sweden. I: F–V. Anthony & H–G. Siebert (eds.), *Human rights and the state–religion separation.* Springer. Grimmitt, M. (eds.). (2000). *Pedagogies of religious education.* Great Wakening: McCrimmon. Heimbrock, H–G., Scheilke, C.T. & Schreiner, P. (eds.). (2001). *Towards religious competence: Diversity as a challenge for education in Europe.* Münster: Lit Verlag. Jackson, R. (2014). *Signposts – policy and practice for teaching about religions and non–religious world views in intercultural education.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Liljefors Persson, B. (2018).” The Position of (S–) Existential Questions in Religious Education in School and in Teacher Education in Sweden” I: Ristiniemi, Jari, Skeie, Gert, and Karin Sporre (eds.) *Challenging Life – Existential questions as a resource for Education*, pp 329–346. Publication Serie 37. Religious Diversity in Europe. Waxmann: Munster 2018. Liljefors Persson, B. (2020). (S–) existential questions among students – sexuality and relations education as part of controversial issues with importance for citizenship

In this context, the importance of the difference between the concepts of multiculturalism and interculturality should be highlighted. Whilst multiculturalism stands for a description of a *condition*, such as that there are many cultures, languages etc. in a country and therefore characterized by parallel coexistence. Criticism against multiculturalism can concern that all cultures – with a good intent but to a problematic outcome - are given equal value, regardless of whether they are patriarchal or characterized by an egalitarian view of humanity. Interculturality is more like a web of encounters between people from different cultures. Interculturality is the name given to the *process* that affects the content of cultural meetings and raises qualitative and value-based perspectives on communication in these meetings. The concept of interculturality was launched by UNESCO in 1974.99F[100] Education for international understanding, cooperation and peace, human rights and fundamental freedoms were recommended. In this text we advocate that most classrooms today can be described as multicultural and therefore need to develop intercultural meetings and skills. In autumn 2015, UN member states adopted Agenda 2030 as a path for the world's countries to follow in working towards a more sustainable and just future where poverty and hunger are eradicated and where inequalities are fought both within and between countries. Agenda 2030 also contains goals to build peaceful and inclusive societies, that everyone should be covered by human rights, that gender equality should be promoted and that the environment and natural resources should be protected to ensure the survival of the earth. In these global goals, we find that the three dimensions that together form part of the conceptions of the sustainable society – the economic, the social and the environmental (WCED, 1987)[101] – are indirectly included. These are also central for education in school, but it is the notions of social sustainability that are primarily made visible in the formulations found in the curriculum and the various course plans. According to Arne Naess, the school's teaching contains expectations that the school should be able to actively contribute to a "... development of ethical principles and value bases, which aim at ecological and social sustainable development".[102]

Citizenship education is a concept that can be explained in diverse ways. In the concept, perceptions of a citizen's role and function in society are embedded. Historically, it has often been highlighted that a citizen should develop what they consider to be good qualities, as well as having both rights and obligations in society. Nowadays, it is more often emphasized that a citizen must have good knowledge and general education in order to develop into a reflective and critically examining citizen who can actively participate in a democratic society.[103] This is well in line with the general values-based work in the school, and is – not least – important in the socially oriented subjects where central parts must focus on issues of human rights and the equal value of people.

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education. I: B. Krzywosz–Rynkiewicz & V. Zorbas (eds.), *Citizenship at a crossroads: Rights, identity, and education*. Prag: Charles University; Children's Identity & Citizenship European Association, s. 369–381. Muller, J. & Young, M. (2019). Knowledge, power and powerful knowledge revisited. *The Curriculum Journal*, 30(2), 196–214. Kittelman Flensner, K. (2018). Secularized and multi–religious classroom practice–discourses and interactions. *MPDI, Education Science*, 8, 116

[100] https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/what-you-need-know-about-unescos-1974-recommendation

[101] World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). (1987). Brundtlandrapporten: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future. Downloaded: 2023–04–18 http://www. un–documents.net/our–common–future.pdf

[102] Riesinger, P. (2010). *Fostran för hållbar utveckling*, (quote p.15). Novia publikation och produktion, serie R Rapporter, 2/2010. Vasa: Yrkeshögskolan Novia.

[103] Franck, O. & Liljefors Persson, B (2023 in press). Williams, Kevin, Hinge, Helle and Bodil Liljefors Persson, *Religion and Citizenship Education in Europe,* CiCe Guidelines on Citizenship Education in a global context, 5. Institute for Policy Studies in Education, London Metropolitan University, London, UK:2008.

Especially when focusing on values education, Citizenship Education can become an arena where students can meet and discuss controversial issues about, for example, sexuality, relationships, what a good life is, and man's responsibility for the environment.[104] There is good support for introducing more teaching on these types of issues, and it is also something students want to see more of. Student teachers also express that they wish for in–depth training on how to use values, ethics, controversial issues, and life issues in teaching, because they believe that they are both relevant and interesting for students.[105]

Teaching by using controversial issues is to practice democracy

The concept of "controversial issues" has long been used within the socially oriented subjects and is defined, among other things, as "issues that arouse strong emotions and create tension in society".[106] Since controversial issues are considered "difficult" or "sensitive" they are often by teachers regarded as particularly challenging to work with in the classroom. It is thus about questions that generate contradictory explanations and complex solutions. Controversial issues tend to divide people into separate groups, and the issues can be seen as problems that lack simple solutions or answers. They can both touch on conditions that lie far back in time, and deal with things that are current in our time. These are questions that are always sensitive and difficult to discuss and take a position on. At the same time, these questions are important to learn more about and significant to be able to understand what democracy is in practice.

The socially oriented subjects in school can offer a teaching content that gives students the opportunity to discuss, assess and critically examine their own and others' experiences and values regarding important issues. In teaching that focuses on such content, the teacher has a significant role, and needs both to possess solid knowledge and to have a good didactic awareness of how teaching about value–based issues can be conducted in as instructive and developing a way as possible.[107]

David Kerr and Ted Huddleston articulate the importance of working with controversial issues by emphasizing the importance of learning about democratic processes and human rights:

Learning to engage in dialogue with people whose values differ from one's own and to respect them is central to the democratic process and crucial to protecting and strengthening democracy and

[104] Liljefors Persson, B. (2018)." The Position of (S–) Existential Questions in Religious Education in School and in Teacher Education in Sweden" In: Ristiniemi, Jari, Skeie, Gert, and Karin Sporre (eds.) *Challenging Life – Existential questions as a resource for Education*, pp 329–346. Publication Serie 37. Religious Diversity in Europe. Waxmann: Munster 2018. Liljefors Persson, B. (2020). (S–) existential questions among students – sexuality and relations education as part of controversial issues with importance for citizenship education. I: B. Krzywosz–Rynkiewicz & V. Zorbas (eds.), *Citizenship at a crossroads: Rights, identity, and education*. Prag: Charles University; Children's Identity & Citizenship European Association, s. 369–381. Liljefors Persson, B. (2023) "Hållbart samhälle och humanistiska värden". In: Franck, O. & Thalén, P. (2023) *Mellan kunskap och fostran. En bok om syfte och mål med skolans undervisning om etik*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, s. 71–84.

[105] Hartsmar, N. & Liljefors Persson, B. (eds.). (2013). *Medborgerlig bildning – demokrati och inkludering för ett hållbart samhälle*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. Liljefors Persson 2018; 2023. Cowan, P. & Maitles, H. (2012). *Teaching Controversial Issues in the Classroom. Key Issues and Debates.* London: Continuum Publishing Corporation.

[106] Kerr, D. & Huddleston, T. (eds). (2015). *Living with controversy – teaching controversial issues through education for democratic citizenship and human rights* (EDC/HRE). Strasbourg: The Council of Europe.

[107] Franck, O. & Thalén, P. (2023) *Mellan kunskap och fostran. En bok om syfte och mål med skolans undervisning om etik*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

promoting a culture of human rights.[108] Another way to define controversial issues has been formulated by Council of Europe, "Questions that arouse strong emotions and create tension in society".[109]

By developing education that relates to the contemporary society and its real-life challenges with controversial issues and conflicting values, we advocate that we allow, encourage, and empower young people to acquire abilities to become active and critically thinking citizens. As well as society can be seen as a resource for education, education is a resource for society. Real-life challenges and controversial issues change over time and between contexts in the global society, and so do values, coming to the fore when controversial issues are on the educational agenda for discussion. Being aware of this give historical and contextual dimensions to why young people of today define completely different issues as controversial, than those chosen by parents or grandparents and most likely by future generations to come.

What is particularly interesting to note is that what is perceived as controversial depends on what is raised, at what time and together with which students. It is often emphasized that the value of teaching and discussing controversial issues lies in doing it. It is a way of making conflicts visible and it gives students the opportunity to practice discussing in a democratic way, which means that they also learn to tolerate each other's different opinions.[110] The goal of controversial issues and conducting good discussions in the classroom is to help students develop their opinions and their empathic ability, but also to gain an increased understanding of and think about new angles and perspectives on various issues. At the same time, they learn to critically examine different arguments and to discuss in a civilized way with their classmates, even when they disagree with the issue.[111] It is also important to emphasize that teachers need to develop their skills in carrying out discussions with students in an informed way, and must be well prepared with regard to the issues to be discussed so that they can lead the work in the classroom.

In this report, the voices of young people are heard when they express their values connected to phenomena and events in the country they live in or in their country of origin. They point out what they find to be real-life challenges and why they find some issues controversial. Several of them say that they find it fruitful to have a visit by someone who takes an interest in their views, since what they have discussed with the interviewer and their peers is never dealt with in school. A young person from Denmark says, "I put a lot of weight on communication, and building up points of view in my mind". In what follows, we intend to give examples from some other studies and projects where controversial issues are discussed, and deliberative conversations are used both as a means during the work process and as a goal for the work. Research shows that teachers often avoid bringing up certain questions that they think may be sensitive. A central aspect in the teaching profession is also the creation of relationships, and teachers testify that they sometimes choose not

[108] Kerr & Huddleston 2015, p. 7.

[109] Kerr & Huddleston, 2015, p. 7.

[110] Alvén, F. (2021). Vad i hela världen säger du? In: K.K. Flensner, G. Larsson & R. Säljö (eds.), *Känsliga frågor, nödvändiga samtal. Att lära om och av kontroverser.* Lund: Studentlitteratur, s. 179–196.

[111] Cowan, P. & Maitles, H. (2012). *Teaching Controversial Issues in the Classroom. Key Issues and Debates.* London: Continuum Publishing Corporation. Franck & Liljefors Persson 2023 forthcoming. Hartsmar & Liljefors Persson 2013.

to raise discussions about sensitive issues that they anticipate will lead to strong feelings in the students and/or risk challenging the relationship with certain students.[112]

With our own long-time backgrounds in education, ranging from classrooms in primary school to lecture-rooms in post-graduate education, we dare to admit that we at times recognize teaching at any level as a somewhat complicated business. Teachers must relate to documents like curricula and syllabi and to overall plans formulated for their schools and universities. Also, the physical framing, the number of teachers and students, equipment, reports about low school results in specific subjects leading to that you as a teacher risk being told that your results are not good enough and that too few students progress to higher education. Grading and competition between educational institutions trying to attract families to choose their school and students for universities – often portrayed in colourful leaflets and websites, time consuming staff meetings etc. have an impact on the work. In addition, today, most people have an opinion about how the teacher's job is done best. For a teacher to find a way through this cobweb of something experienced as pressures, the mere idea of working with controversial issues may feel like yet another burden suspected to trigger discussions and perspectives on values hard for both teachers and students to know how to handle. Shulman assumes, in an exhaustive and rather amusing formulation that teaching is "the most complex, most challenging, and most demanding, subtle, nuanced and frightening activity that our species ever invented".[113] Schulman even compares the classroom to a triage in the medical profession to that extent that all patients as well as the individual student need treatment and he asks how one prioritizes. Students' needs, interests, and wishes combined with sometimes rapidly changing policies, curricular and syllabi obligations can all be seen as pressures with an impact on how teachers manage to create beneficial teaching and learning settings.

Cohen compared Israeli teacher educations to study in what way controversial public issues (CPI) were discussed.[114] The results show that all participants in his study envisaged controversial discussions as something rather threatening and not as an opportunity. Cohen points out that whereas Parker and Hess perceived discussion as a central course objective, his own findings show an opposite point of view, with discussions of CPI mainly seen as a teaching method.[115] Using controversial public issues for discussions were not perceived as an educational goal, having a worth in itself.

> Combining these two options, as situated in the centre of this theoretical axis, presents discussions as an essential educational goal while emphasizing its pedagogical aspects. In such cases, students are exposed to multiple alternative views while emphasizing how an exchange can be created between them. Thus, content and method combine, creating a genuine opportunity to foster an exchange of views, thus contributing to the creation of a democratic atmosphere in class.[116]

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[112] Flensner, K, K. (2019). *Samma konflikter men olika inramning – Kontroversiella frågor relaterat till Mellanösternkonflikterna i religionskunskap och samhällskunskap.* Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education. Nordidactica 2019:3, 73–100.

[113] Schulman, Lee S. The wisdom of practice: Essays on teaching, learning, and learning to teach (2004). Jossey–Bass, p. 504.

[114] Cohen, A. Teaching to discuss controversial public issues in fragile times: Approaches of Israeli civics teacher educators. In: *Teaching and Teacher Education*. Vol. 89, March 2020. Elsevier.

[115] Parker, W.C. & Hess, D. (2001). Teaching with and for Discussion. Teaching and Teacher Education 17(3):273–289. Elsevier.

[116] Cohen, A. Teaching to discuss controversial public issues in fragile times: Approaches of Israeli civics teacher educators. In: *Teaching and Teacher Education*. Vol. 89, p. 8, March 2020. Elsevier.

Parker and Hess related to this theoretical distinction between aims and means, by proposing a dichotomy between teaching with/for discussion, stating that:

> Teaching with discussion is to use discussion as an instructional strategy to help students more richly understand the text at hand or to make a decision about the issue at hand. Teaching for discussion has discussion itself as the subject matter – its worth, purposes, types, and procedures – in which case discussion is not an instructional strategy but a curricular outcome".[117]

However, regardless of how complex, challenging, and frightening dealing with controversial issues and values may seem, it is part of every teacher's job and cannot be negotiated away. When controversial issues, real-life challenges and values are discussed in education teachers may find it benefit from a cross-disciplinary thinking, which means that teachers on all levels in the educational system can support each other in this kind of work.

The classroom as a heterogeneous collection of people

In no educational setting we can expect to find "a normal standard group" of students, no matter educational level or age. In all classrooms and lecture-rooms, interactions between teachers and students are taking place, and the teachers know that the students who participate in the learning process have different backgrounds, experiences, and preconditions when it comes to their skills and knowledge. Whilst some are self-sustained, others give an impression of being less confident in their abilities. Most teachers have probably experienced students giving expression to that they find their work neither easy, nor interesting, important, and fun. This has nothing to do with me, they seem to think. If the teacher considers this seriously, the young person's own perspective on their education must be considered. If they ask, "why do we have to work on this" and get a classic and "canonicalized" content answer in return, "you need to know this later in life", there will still be a big WHY unanswered. In addition, maybe some of them need extra help reading and writing whilst others struggle to even understand what is being said in class, since they do not speak the majority language very well. Teachers at times also must deal with behavioural problems creating disturbances in the in the classroom, handle the temptation of mobile phones, being used for social media, creates. Also, the private sphere outside school has an impact on how students are coping with schoolwork. So, as well as there are many reasons for why some students do not pay attention in class, there are several understandable grounds for why teachers at times feel inadequate and wonder if there really are ways to handle it all.

Didactical considerations

Examples, like the ones given above, place great demands on the teacher's ability to recognise the impact this has on didactical choices. 'Didactical' is here used for answering a few questions related to the teaching and learning situation. Whatever the educational work contains, teachers need to ask themselves, who is the learner? Why this topic? Why now? What methods can be used? Why these various and at times conflicting perspectives on values?

Knowing that a group of young people consists of a heterogeneous collection of people, the teacher on an overall level need to consider the different upbringing, experiences and needs of children and youth. This, we call taking a child perspective. Instead of thinking of the varieties as something problematic, one may think of it as more of an advantage when it comes to addressing controversial issues and values in a multi-voiced classroom or lecture-room, or in society. Even so, one must be

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[117]Parker, W.C. & Hess, D. (2001). Teaching with and for Discussion. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 17(3):273–289. Elsevier.

aware of that taking a child perspective may risk a tendency towards a negative position of power over the young person, if the school sees itself as the body that alone must take a position – top down – on what measures need to be put in place.

In a "traditional" educational school setting the teacher is used to take command and to decide what to teach and how to go about it. Instead, regarding work with real-life challenges, controversial issues, and values we would like to advocate a view on teachers as facilitators rather than conductors of orchestras. Working with controversial issues and discussing values should aim at developing one's ability to "put oneself in somebody else's shoes" by actively practice democracy in the classroom, rather than seeing it as a competition between voices aiming at winning a debate. As well as a deliberative conversation is not a debate, it is not about reaching a decision or a conclusion. Deliberative conversations focus on listening to each other. It means to engage in questions formulated by the students themselves, and to create and stimulate a beneficial environment in the classroom, a safe space. However, the term 'safe space' must not be interpreted as a place where you do not have to talk about controversial issues because they might upset you. A safe space is one where sensitive issues are allowed to be discussed, where the participants express their opinions, listen to the perspectives of others, critically review them and being critically reviewed yourself, without offending others. As a young Spanish person put it in this study, "A safe place is anywhere you can say your opinion or your point of view, without anyone being angry with you."

Hartsmar [118] and Hartsmar & Jönsson[119] show that didactical considerations unfortunately often are restricted to the question regarding what method to use. The content is rarely questioned, as it is presented in textbooks based on what is written in the syllabuses. When the content issue is reduced to established areas that must be covered, there is rationally a great risk that the individual teacher thinks that teaching that deals with controversial issues is something outside of what one must take an interest in and – something extra that one does not have the time or energy for. We strongly believe that the teacher, regardless of the level of education they work at, does not need to feel that value-based work and controversial issues mean extra work.

Regardless of the country, schools in general are governed by curricula and syllabuses with set goals for teaching. In e.g. the Swedish curriculum for the secondary school, Lgr22, it is stated that the school is tasked with conveying and anchoring basic values and promoting the students' learning in order to thereby prepare them to live and work in society. [120] In order to do so, teachers must not only impart knowledge of fundamental democratic values. Teaching must be characterized by and conducted in democratic ways so that students themselves later can actively participate in community life. Amongst other things, the Swedish National Curricula stress that different values, perceptions, and problems must be discussed so that students both in present time and in the future manage to exercise influence and develop their ability to take personal responsibility. Acting as a democratic citizen means that one can make, and express conscious ethical positions based on knowledge of human rights and basic democratic values as well as individual experiences. If they in connection to this are not allowed to express their own values there is a risk that values formulated

[118] Hartsmar, N. (2001). *Historiemedvetande – Elevers tidsförståelse i en skolkontext.* Doct. diss. Lund University, Department of Educational and Psychological Research. Malmö University, School of Education.

[119] Hartsmar, N. & Jönsson K. Lärandets vem, varför, vad och hur i förskolan och grundskolans tidiga år. In: *Perspektiv på barndom och barns lärande: en kunskapsöversikt om lärande i förskolan och grundskolans tidigare år*, [ed] Ingegerd Tallberg Broman, Skolverket, 2010, s. 173–212.

[120] Skolverket (2022). *Läroplan och kursplaner för förskolan, grundskolan och fritidshemmen*, Lgr22.

in e.g., National curricula or by the European Union and The United Nations, will only be learnt by heart, as once were the biblical Ten Commandments.

In 2022 the Swedish School Inspectorate reported results from a quality review on 30 schools' handling of controversial issues in Civics and Biology education.[121] The review took its starting point in Huddleston & Kerr [122] and Council of Europe [123] The School Inspectorate conducted interviews with students in grades 8-9, subject teachers in Civics and Biology, teachers, and student health with assignments within the schools' values-based work, and the principal. Operational visits to the schools were made, and relevant lesson plans were collected. The schools were asked to give examples of controversial issues in teaching and to give descriptions of the schools' value-based work. These components were used as a basis for analysis and assessment.

Based on the School Inspectorate's quality criteria, the results show that twenty-one of the thirty audited schools need development in the audited area. Student answers show that their conversation tasks often only concern facts that must be presented. They also said that they only have few opportunities to relate to what they themselves feel is important in conversations, such as trying out different perspectives and approaches to critical issues. The interviews also revealed that teachers found it unclear what was expected from them when working with issues that may be controversial. This, we advocate, is a matter of great concern since both in Sweden and internationally current issues have become increasingly controversial. Listening to others, having conversations with dissenters, and being able to position yourself with solid arguments, are abilities important for all citizens disregarding age. Schools are natural places for developing such knowledge and abilities, and thereby increase resistance to risk behaviors and extremism.

Also, in the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study, ICCS, every third student stated that the teachers do not highlight political and social issues from different perspectives.[124] Why? In addition to what we have earlier written, maybe teachers fear that the subject content will lead to enmity and conflicts between peers, or they may be concerned about what guardians and others may think, viewing them influencing their children in the wrong way. When different opinions and critical discussion is not encouraged in schools there is however instead a clear risk that the school promotes superficial loyalty and silenced by putting the lid on. In their research, Mattsson[125] and Sivenbring[126] show that young people who have been drawn into extremist or other harmful environments express, as an explanation, that they were not given the opportunity to talk about what they felt was important to them during their school years. If the student perspective is omitted in the selection of what is discussed in educational settings, there is a risk it contributes to the fact that the teaching does not challenge the norms and beliefs students encounter in their everyday

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[121] Skolans hantering av kontroversiella frågor i undervisningen. Inriktning samhällskunskap och biologi i årskurs 8 och 9. Skolinspektionen. (2022). Downloaded 2023–04–18. https://www.skolinspektionen.se/aktuellt/nyheter/kontroversiella–fragor–ar–en–viktig–del–i–undervisningen/

[122] Huddleston, T., & Kerr, D. (Eds.) (2017). *Managing controversy. Developing a strategy for handling controversy and teaching controversial issues in schools. A self–reflection tool for school leaders and senior managers.* Council of Europe. Council of Europe.

[123] *Teaching Controversial Issues*. Council of Europe (2015).

[124] Isac, Palmerio & van der Werf. (2019). *Indicators of (in)tolerance among European Youth: an assessment of measurement invariance* in ICCS 2016

[125] Mattsson, C. (2018). *Extremisten i klassrummet. Perspektiv på skolans förväntade ansvar att förhindra framtida terrorism.* Göteborgs universitet.

[126] Sivenbring, J. Signs of Concern about Islamic and Right–Wing Extremism on a Helpline against Radicalization. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 2019:18. Elsevier.

lives. With a changing society, contemporary issues become controversial. Especially for young people, things can change quickly and therefore it is necessary to be sensitive within the school staff. On the contrary, many students in the School Inspectorate review experience a distance from the questions raised in the teaching.

In the following we have chosen to give examples from two different projects, both of which were characterized by the fact that they contained real-life challenges and controversial issues based on values. In these projects, deliberative conversations were both to be seen as a goal – becoming better at conversing, listening, and creating understanding for different perspectives is something you develop at the same time as it is a method during the learning process.

Design to Improve Life Education

The first project was a three-year Danish and Swedish interregional and EU-funded project, titled Design to Improve Life Education, running from 2010 to 2013. It was supported by the European Union and Interreg Europe and initiated by the Danish based organisation Index Design to Improve Life. Three professional Danish and Swedish groups worked together, designers and design facilitators from Denmark and university teachers from UCC Denmark and Malmö University Sweden. The Design to Improve Life didactic focuses on humanism, social understanding and democracy The goal was that the teachers, from the compulsory school level to the upper secondary school, who took part of our courses by cooperating in teams with mixed competencies, would gain confidence in handling different values regarding real-life challenges and controversial issues and to see this as inherent in what they were accustomed to teach instead of viewing it as something extra on top of the ordinary school work. The students, who in their turn were educated by these teachers, would experience a personal and creative learning process whilst working in cross-disciplinary teams, taking ownership of their own experiences, questions, and perspectives and in that way motivating and equipping them in playing an active role in the surrounding society. In the Design to Improve Life didactic we see children and youth as competent builders of their own lives. For that they need to be allowed the power to act as active and responsible players in a bigger community. Having this power to act will naturally affect more traditional roles, positions and relations between teachers and students.

> As individuals, we can be a part of world's society whilst still having both local and global perspectives, but we are always a part of the common humanism where people stand together to solve common challenges. This means that we can have different opinions as to what the challenges are, and how we can solve them, but we all share a need to address them [127]

An overarching goal is that the students, who contribute with their own various experiences and perspectives, also will develop their understanding of other people's experiences and perspectives as being as important as their own, or as we said above, being able to "put oneself in somebody else's shoes".

A Swedish upper secondary class with students with an immigrant background chose to discuss a controversial issue they meant that ethnic Swedish youth did not have to encounter. To them it was a challenge that most of the elderly Swedish-born people they in different ways encountered seemed afraid of them. They didn't understand why. This was considered a sensitive issue, since they did not want to express the same kind of prejudice that they assumed lay behind the sometimes-upsetting treatment they themselves had experienced. In their conversations about how

[127] *Design to Improve Life Education, Teachers Guide*, p. 22.

to define the problem, discussing various experiences and perspectives they touched upon core fundamental values like Tolerance of Diversity, Respect for Other Cultures and Equality of Rights, values defined and exemplified earlier in this report.

The students took an active part as co–creators in developing ways to get in contact with and talk to several elderly Swedes. The teacher took a curious and neutral – meaning open-minded and unprejudiced – facilitating role as a guiding and supportive educator.

> To facilitate means to 'simplify', to help the students with a given challenge. At the same time, the facilitation also changes the position or role of the teacher – from being the academic expert to becoming the supporting and structuring process manager. In other words, the facilitation is not about you, but about how you can create the opportunity for the students to find a solution to the challenge on their own........
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> This context and the relationships help create a specific discourse within which various positions become visible, and thus possible to take on. How can I alternate between the knowing/guiding/academic position and the facilitating/ "neutral", asking position? Which considerations do I make in relation to the disturbance it can be for the students when I change position/role? [128]

The class was invited to the Malmö City Council to present their project.

Putting values on the educational agenda, like in the Index Design to Improve Life project, means that one can no longer think, talk and act as if one's own reality is the only true one. What are coming to the fore in deliberative conversations conducted in each group are realities – a multiverse consisting of several and sometimes conflicting truths. When the teacher acts as a facilitator these multiverses at times need to be negotiated and renegotiated. The various perspectives and values on display don't have to become one and the same but they need to be handled in a neutral way.

A deliberative conversation may – if the participants are not used to being part of it – be regarded as a negative disturbance, if you are convinced your own thinking holds the only true doctrine. A disturbance can also be inserted by an open question that signals interest and not examination from the teacher facilitating the conversation, such as: you said earlier that you thought old people don't understand young people. Now you say that you as being young should listen more to the old ones. That sounds interesting. Can you tell us more about this? By shifting from a more traditional focus on problem orientation to one of resource orientation – an appreciative inquiry – we acknowledge that people have different perspectives of the world. Taking an interest in perspectives other than your own can lead to positive changes of perception of the world. In that case a disturbance with beneficial signs has been in play.

As we have reported above, several studies show that conversations about controversial issues are seldom looked upon as an educational goal, rather as one pedagogical method amongst others. The participants in a deliberative conversation should also be encouraged by the facilitator to analyse their own conversations, i.e., performing a meta communication. Such a meta communication takes a forward-looking perspective and could bring up how they want to develop the conversations, with an eye on their own and the group's ability to take part in the conversations their own skills to argue their case.

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[128] *Design to Improve Life, Teachers Guide* p. 29.

Simulated authentic cases

The following project is reported as *A Professional approach: a pedagogical model for the assessment of authentic cases in teacher education, social work education and dentistry.*[129]

To support students in the development of their professional competences for qualification as healthcare and social workers, teachers and dentists, the project used authentic simulated cases for discussions and assessment by the students. In addition to specific subject studies within the respective educational area, several competencies important for all three professions were formulated:

- didactic competence;
- competence in cooperating with colleagues;
- competence in establishing a supportive relationship and a professional reception of people in vulnerable situations;
- competence in recognizing one's own failings and skills and in identifying one's own need of increased knowledge;
- competence in seeing the person in a holistic perspective;
- competence in making independent judgements in the interaction with school pupils, clients at social agencies and patients in dental surgeries;
- competence in developing and evaluating professional activities; and
- competence in making the best use of and in systematizing one's own experience, the experience of others and relevant research findings in further developing one's professional activities.

Six teachers, two from each of the three educations, started by discussing what was uniting these professions. Professionals working in these fields must in their daily practice be able to handle sensitive and controversial cases in a variety of cultural, ethnic and gender contexts and where values of different kinds are embedded. Handling sensitive situations can be hard for students in practice as they are also asked to use their theoretical knowledge in "real life situations".

Four interested students from each area volunteered to meet for discussions; two were in the beginning of their studies, and two were in their last stages. The students formulated what they themselves had experienced during practice as authentic and controversial events critical to their profession and which they regarded as difficult to handle, because different perspectives on values came to the fore. They also discussed similarities between the areas. The cases chosen by this student group were then presented to the students in their respective group. The bigger groups decided which cases to use and if some needed to be added or removed from the list. The remaining thirty cases, ten from each education, were simulated and filmed.

In teacher education 'The transferred pupil' was a case concerning a young boy having a fresh start in a new school. The students viewed the authentic and simulated case and discussed what they had observed, how to define the critical elements and how to solve the problem. Several controversial issues were identified. Should the teacher really have told his class about this? Are there any regulations supporting his action or vice versa? Why wasn't the new boy offered to present himself, maybe in a completely different way? What would the parents say? Could the teacher's way of

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[129] Christersson, C; Hallstedt P-A; Hartsmar N. et al. (2009). *A Professional approach: a pedagogical model for the assessment of authentic cases in teacher education, social work education and dentistry.* http://www.cicea.eu/docs/PROCEEDINGS/2007/2007_27_Christersson-et-al_Education-Dentistry-and-Social-Work.pdf

dealing with the situation risk creating a bad impression of the boy instead of helping him being integrated in his new class? Values coming to the fore when this case was discussed were mainly concerning Human dignity in general, but also what is stated in the Publicity and Confidentiality Act, a part of the Education Act. What has been decided about a child by a school health service team shall be treated as confidential and not to be exposed to others – regardless of how good the teacher's intentions may be.

One of the cases chosen by the social work students was labelled 'Mahmoud and female social worker'. One of the students had experienced a situation where a migrant male during a visit to the social service office refuses to speak to the female social worker and insists on seeing a male social worker. This case was controversial in several ways. Some students chose a gender perspective focussing the woman and thought it to be insulting to her and that she shouldn't give in to such demands. Others meant this case was about ethnicity and religion and therefore the man's wish shouldn't be accepted. The third perspective also involved a gender aspect and more implicitly a religious one, but from the man's point of view. Couldn't she be more flexible if this was so important to him? What harm could it possibly do? That perspective was in turn challenged by a person who found it impossible to imagine that an ethnic Swede could ever come to the social service office claiming not having to meet a social worker who e.g., was a Muslim. Values in play here were Equalities of Rights and Human Dignity in general.

In dentistry education the case "A dangerous secret", portraying a girl aged 16 caused a lot of discussion and confusion. The examining dentist realised during his examination of her teeth, that the girl had an eating disorder. The dental status showed that she had a habit of throwing up her food after meals, thus causing severe dental erosion damage. The girl made the dentist promise he wouldn't tell the mother – who was to accompany the girl during the next appointment. The mother wanted to read the daughter's dental journal. What should the dentist do? A small group of the students took the mother's perspective, since they are being parents themselves would have wanted to read the journal. Most of the students suggested discussions with both the mother and the daughter. A third group – made references to the age of the girl and the law – and said the dentist wasn't allowed to let the mother see the journal. This group suggested for the girl to get an appointment with a psychologist. The integrity of the patient is what must be given priority, as stated in the Privacy Act. Interestingly enough, a majority of some twenty experienced professionals during a talk given by one of the project leaders about the project came to the same conclusion as those students wanting to give the mother access to the journal. In doing so, they would set aside values stated in the Privacy Act and the wish of the patient. The explanation was, they were parents themselves and would have wanted to know. They knew they had no right to act in such a way but had a hard time being "only" professionals.

An overall outcome of this project is that the students found it highly rewarding. They appreciated having a possibility to discuss authentic, sensitive, and controversial issues chosen by themselves and difficult to solve and to assess on your own. This is something clearly shown in the interviews reported in section E, (194-195). Listening to other students' perspectives made some re-evaluate their own perspectives. The students' collaboration and collaboration with the teachers has entailed positive effects; the authentic simulated cases made it possible to view the cases several times and, in this way, get the opportunity to see new angles you might miss when observing on site. Despite huge differences between the three professions, similarities regarding ethical dilemmas were exposed and drawing the line between the private and professional spheres turned out to be difficult for students from all areas. Further, the project demonstrates that each practitioner's value-system is an important component in the professional approach.

To summarize – With help of the case studies presented above, we advocate that real-life challenges and deliberative conversations are a good combination for students, at all educational levels, to develop their skills to:

- Formulate problems
- Define who owns the problem
- Talk with instead of about the person(s) formulating an issue
- Respect various perspectives - one does not have to agree
- Understand why a problem to one person nothing is to the other
- See several possible solutions – if a solution is necessary
- Be willing to see compromises
- Performing meta conversations on how to develop conversations; listen to and give feed forward between conversation groups
- Find solid background facts when needed
- Evaluate sources of information

For teachers to see new opportunities in teaching by:

- Not being the one always posing the questions
- Finding it to be ok not always having the correct answer
- Getting to know the students in new ways
- Cooperating in teams with colleagues to see how issues discussed by the students can be used in further subject teaching - the curricula will surprise you!
- Involving parents in new ways
- Invite parents to meetings held by pupils in school. Parents discuss issues brought forward by themselves
- Students listening and giving feed forward in meta communication

Concluding remarks

In this section, the ambition has been to put discussions about sustainable society and humanistic values in relation to the values-based work, as it appears in the school's curriculum (Lgr22), as well as in the course plans for the socially oriented subjects. It has also been brought forward that teaching that is research-based, grounded in good subject knowledge, and linked to the concept of education equips students for active citizenship and gives them the civics education needed to be able to participate in a democratic society. The upbringing that is sought here is about teaching global humanistic values to a greater degree, and for the students to develop a sense of justice, generosity, tolerance, and responsibility.

Controversial issues are highlighted. Teaching related to such questions brings good opportunities for deliberative conversations on value and norm pluralism, something that is linked to value-based work. The teaching content also needs to relate to the cultural and religious diversity that young people today move in. Several students have a migration background and encounter different norm and value systems in their everyday life, which also contributes to challenges in teaching.

We have shown that deliberate conversations between students taking ownership of their own experiences and issues to discuss should be treated as an important goal and not only as one of various pedagogical methods. Being didactically conscious means that the teacher must consider all didactical questions such as, who is the student? Why this content? What content? Why now and how?

In the various social science subjects, students can have the opportunity to reflect on issues of basic values, ethics, and morality, as well as a chance to discuss in detail what they mean by democracy, solidarity, equality, and inclusion. Teachers can, in a didactically conscious way, based on education on values and controversial issues, connect the teaching about a sustainable society and humanistic values with the general values-based work. If the teaching gives space for these kinds of questions and puts them in relation to human rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the content connects well with the school's value-based work, as well as with humanistic values and what we can call civic education/citizenship education. In addition, these are questions that can develop students' competence in global future issues, such as those we can find in Agenda 2030, and thus strengthen their ability to act in a society on the way to greater sustainability.

IV Teacher Education in Europe and Teacher qualifications in education for democratic citizenship

Andreas Brunold

Since the adoption of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000, education and teacher-training policies have gained impetus. Each EU-Member State is responsible for its own education and training systems. The long-term strategic objectives of EU education and teacher-training policies should be:[130]

- Making lifelong learning and mobility of students and teachers a reality;
- Improving the quality and efficiency of education and training in teacher training institutions;
- Promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship in teacher training institutions;
- Enhancing creativity and innovation at all levels of education and training in teacher training institutions.

As with many other issues in education for democratic citizenship, the structure, contents, intensity and objectives of teacher training in Europe show considerable diversity. However, for the purpose of this aim, some general observations on teacher training institutions are necessary:

- Political Science is frequently considered the 'leading discipline' in the studies of civic education teachers. Its core issues and content ('policy, polity and politics' and its subdisciplines of national and international politics, political theory, political sociology etc.) are included in or form the backbone of teacher training curricula for civic education.
- Many civic education teachers acquired qualifications in other Social Science subjects (such as Pedagogy or Sociology) or in the Humanities (for example, History or Philosophy). Because of the relatively marginal importance of civic education and education for democratic citizenship issues in the educational systems in Europe, a specialised training for civic education teachers is not an educational priority in many countries. Moreover, the lower the school level for which a teacher qualifies, the less important his or her original choice of academic discipline seems to be.
- The percentage of teachers that teach civic education and are specifically qualified for teaching the subject is – in comparison to other school subjects – relatively low. This applies to most, if not all, European countries. In Germany, for example, the percentage of qualified civic education teachers is no more than 55 - 60 percent (e.g. around 40 percent of civic education lessons are provided by teachers not actually trained for the subject).
- The status of civic education is low in comparison to other school subjects – not only in educational policies and in (national) curricula, but also in the teachers' own perspective. Some teachers might even be tempted to think that civic education is an 'easy' subject, involving little preparatory work and that it is 'low on facts, but rich in empty chat'.

Modern societies are clearly heading for a new understanding which could be summarised in the terms information society or knowledge society. For the first time in human history, information and

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[130] European Commission (2010): Communication from the Commission, Europe 2020, *A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*, Brussels, 3.3.2010, COM (2010) 2020.

knowledge will be accessible virtually anywhere and anytime. It is this fact that will profoundly change the shape, structure and contents of education.

It is generally accepted that an information or knowledge society will be characterised by e-materialisation, communication, high specialisation, abundance of information and networking. These characteristics underline the need to develop new forms and new contents in order to maintain and strengthen the professionalism of teachers. Increasingly, teacher training curricula must be directed at qualifying civic education teaching staff in a way to enable them to:

- anticipate learning requirements with regard to democratic attitudes rather than to react to given circumstances, problems or situations;
- differentiate between and develop macro- and micro-techniques for teaching civic education rather than using traditional one-way teaching techniques;
- shape the learning environments of their classrooms and schools so as to make democracy an everyday experience for students;
- offer support and advice for individual problems and conditions in society.

Higher education and education for democratic citizenship

In spite of these connections, the relationship between the higher education sector and education for democratic citizenship is also burdened by a certain ambivalence. The competence and professionalism of civic education teachers, however, depends on their ability to understand the wider context of increasingly complex political and social problems, their ability to reduce this complexity for the purpose of transferring knowledge to their students, and their ability to reflect on their own needs in further education in order to improve their own competence in the field of education for democratic citizenship.

Teacher training is much due to the active support and involvement of the different international intergovernmental organisations and its action and projects, such as the Council of Europe (Year of education for democratic citizenship 2005), UNESCO (Decade of Education for sustainable development 2004 - 2014), OECD (core-competencies and standards) and EU (development of curricula) and the same is happening in what concerns teacher education and training for democratic citizenship. Learning, the process which individuals go through as they attempt to change or enrich their knowledge, values, skills, strategies and behaviour, is a key-dimension in teacher training education and for democratic citizenship.

Global citizenship education

Global Citizenship Education (GCE) 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.

It applies a multifaceted approach, employing concepts, methodologies and theories already implemented in different fields and subjects, including among others human rights education, peace education, civic education and education for sustainable development.

The role of education is moving beyond the development of knowledge and cognitive skills to the building of values, soft skills and attitudes among learners. Education is expected to facilitate international cooperation and promote social transformation. The concept highlights essential functions of education related to the formation of citizenship in relation with globalization. It is a concern with the relevance of knowledge, skills and values for the participation of citizens in, and their contribution to, dimensions of societal development which are linked at local and global levels. It is directly related to the civic, social and political socialization function of education, and ultimately to the contribution of education in preparing children and young people to deal with the challenges of today's increasingly interconnected and interdependent world.[131]

This includes knowledge and understanding of specific global issues and trends, and knowledge of and respect for key universal values (e.g., peace and human rights, justice, democracy, non-discrimination, tolerance), furthermore cognitive skills for critical, creative and innovative thinking, problem-solving and decision-making and moreover non-cognitive skills such as empathy, interpersonal/communicative skills and aptitude for networking and interacting with people of different backgrounds and origins. Last but not least behavioural capacities to launch and engage in proactive actions are needed (Figure 1).[132]

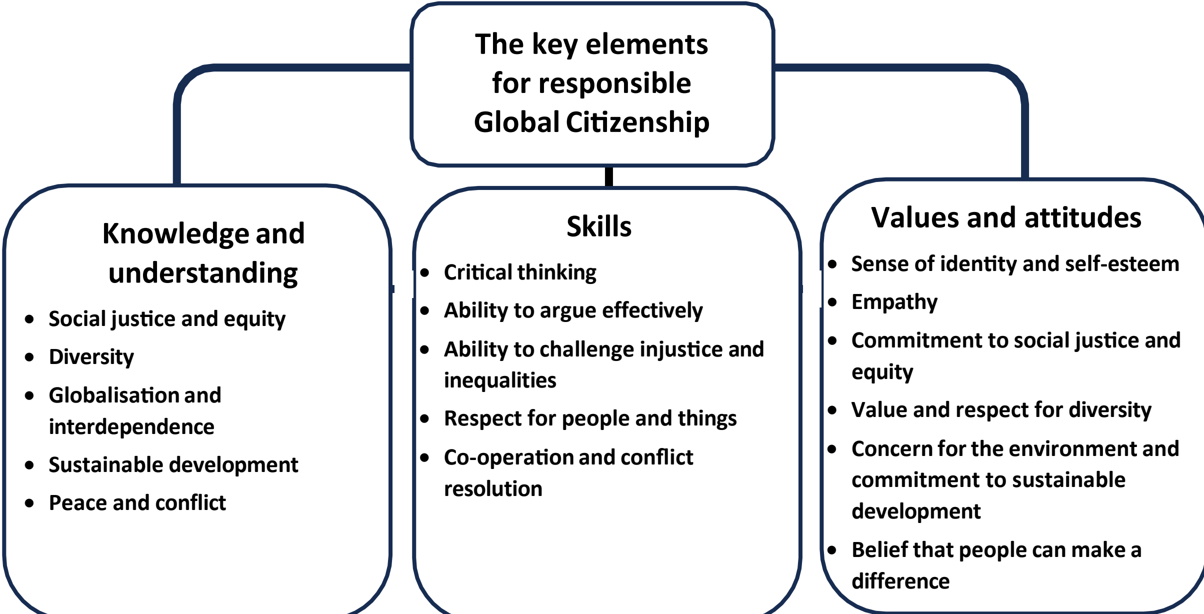

Figure 1: Elements for responsible global citizenship, after Grobbauer, H. (2014) Global Citizenship Education - Politische Bildung für die Weltgesellschaft, in: *Zeitschrift für internationale Bildungsforschung und Entwicklungspädagogik*, 37 (3) 2014, p. 30.

Democratic governance in the process of Teacher Education

School rules could normally be compiled in a law book, updated repeatedly over time, which forms the school's code of law. Because of this democratic education begins not only with children who are to be taught, but also with citizens who are to be their teachers. The strongest political rationale for

[131] S. Tawil (2013), Education for Global Citizenship: A framework for discussion. UNESCO Education Research and Foresight (ERF) *Working Papers Series*, 7, Paris, UNESCO, p. 9.

[132] UNESCO (2014): *Global Citizenship Education. Preparing learners for the challenges of the twenty-first century,* Paris, p. 4, online: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000227729

democratic education is that it teaches the virtues of democratic deliberation for the sake of future citizenship.

The type of political socialization that takes place in democratic education institutions is strongly related to deliberative democracy theory.[133] It is said that in its cultural production deliberative democracy requires 'an open-ended and continuous learning process in which the roles of both 'teacher' and 'curriculum' are missing. In other words, what is to be learned is a matter that we must settle in the process of learning itself.' So democratic education and democratic values cannot be taught in the traditional sense. If children are to ever learn how to be citizens of a democracy, they must participate in a democracy. The fact that a group of individuals – students and staff – must learn and work together in the same space requires a system of governance.

The overall goal of civic education is to promote civic engagement and support democratic and participatory governance. The idea behind civic education is to promote the demand for good governance (e.g., an informed and engaged public), as a necessary complement to efforts to improve the practice of good governance.

Civic education is concerned with three different elements: civic knowledge, civic skills and civic disposition. Civic knowledge refers to citizens' understanding of the workings of the political system and of their own political and civic rights and responsibilities (e.g., the rights to freedom of expression and to vote and run for public office, and the responsibilities to respect the rule of law and the rights and interests of others). Civic skills refer to citizens' ability to analyze, evaluate, take and defend positions on public issues, and to use their knowledge to participate in civic and political processes (e.g., to monitor government performance, or mobilize other citizens around particular issues). Civic dispositions are defined as the citizen traits necessary for a democracy (e.g., tolerance, public spiritedness, civility, critical mindedness and willingness to listen, negotiate, and compromise).

Civic Participation

The rationale states that Civic education in a democracy is education in self-government. Self-government means active participation in self-governance, not passive acquiescence in the actions of others. The ideals of democracy are most completely fulfilled when every member of the political community actively shares in government. The aim of civic education is therefore not just any kind of participation by any kind of citizen; it is the participation of informed and responsible citizens. Such values, perspectives, knowledge, and skill in civic matters make responsible and effective civic participation possible.

Education for citizenship is especially timely. The failure of citizens to take part in elections is just one indication easily measurable and therefore unmistakable one of widespread disengagement of citizens from the responsibilities and rewards of involvement inherent in the constitutional systems. But it is a dangerous illusion to suppose that democracy is like a self-perpetuating mechanism.[134] Civic education's unique responsibility is not simply to increase the rates of civic participation, but to teach competent and responsible participation. The question of the relation between moral values and action must likewise be approached. The preservation of rights and the furtherance of the common good depends upon a citizenry that participates in the common life of the political

[133] Cohen, J. (1989) "Deliberative Democracy and Democratic Legitimacy" (Hamlin, A. and Pettit, P. eds.), *The Good Polity*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 17–34.

[134] Baude, William, The Real Enemies of Democracy (December 30, 2021). *California Law Review 2407* (2021), Vol. 109, Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=3868601.

community, respecting its constitutional norms and adhering to its fundamental values. These thoughts are leading automatically to the topic of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)

Education for Sustainable Development

Since the nineties, the principle of sustainable development has increasingly been adopted by policy makers and civil society in Europe and the world. Increased awareness of the problems of environmental challenges, globalisation and poverty has meant that the concepts of environmental education, global learning, and education in development policy have been consistently oriented towards more sustainability. This leads to an increased awareness that globalisation processes must be shaped in accordance with the objectives of sustainable development, both nationally and internationally.[135]

Several United Nations Conferences and summits since the beginning of 1990s, which can be seen as parts of a Global Governance architecture, gave some essential contributions towards that goal, for example the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio in 1992 with the Agenda 21 as action plan for the 21st century, the General Assembly in 2000 with the United Nations Millennium Declaration, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg in 2002 and last but not least the proclamation of the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development from 2005 to 2014. Here the concept of sustainable development became the key of international educational politics.[136] Especially chapter 36 of the Agenda 21 report was primarily focused on the possibility of reorienting education towards sustainable development as a precondition of the necessary changing of public consciousness.[137] The curricula for civic education for sustainable development and global learning are, therefore of course, very closely linked to global development and globalisation processes, and because of that, they are to be seen within the mandate of the United Nations educational policy.

The Concept of Sustainable Development

Sustainable development, as one of the great challenges of our time, is an inclusive concept that applies to all countries in Europe. The original motive for sustainable development becoming an action plan for politics, economy and society had been on the one hand the ecological crisis phenomena and on the other hand the social and economic inequality which had been realized and criticized more and more in the 1960s and 1970s.[138] The interdependence between environmental protection and economic development had been accepted, what became the basis for the UN World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) with its final Brundtland report in 1987

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[135] Leicht, A. (2005). *Learning Sustainability – the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development in Germany. An International Education Initiative,* In UNESCO today, 2/2005, Paris, 26–31.

[136] Federal Ministry of economic cooperation and development, Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK) (Eds.) (2007). A Cross–Curricular Framework for Global Development Education in the Context of Education for Sustainable Development, KMK Bonn

[137] Brunold, A. (2009a). Politische Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung und das Konzept des Globalen Lernens [Civic education for sustainable development and the concept of global learning]. In H. Oberreuter (Ed.), *Standortbestimmung Politische Bildung* [Positioning civic education] (pp. 307–333). Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau–Verlag., p. 314

[138] De Haan, G. (2004). Politische Bildung für Nachhaltigkeit [Civic education for sustainability]. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* [From Politics to Contemporary History], B 7–8, Bonn, 39–46., p. 39

which has defined sustainable „development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs“. [139]

The basic philosophy of the concept of sustainable development can be characterized as a doubled integration: On the one hand, as an integration of contents and, on the other hand, as an integration of social participants and actors.[140] The integration of contents was – because of its conflicts within their goals – also called a magic square frame of aims (see Figure 2) of the dimensions of the principles of sustainable development. [141]

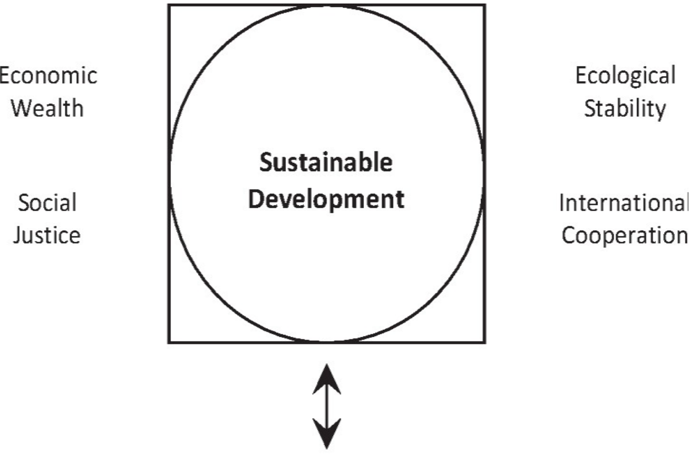

Figure 2. Magic Square Frame of Aims (Source: Brunold, 2004, p. 4)

The integration of social forces is caused by the outspreading of educational processes, especially also within higher education institutions. One element of this lies in the system of education, where a big part of our ability to reflect our needs is constructed and fixed (Figure 3).

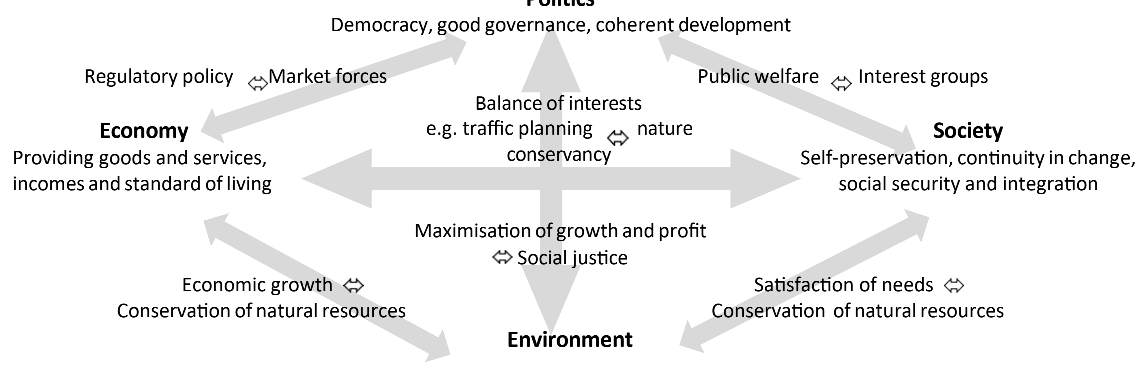

Figure 3: Conflict of goals between development components (after Ohlmeier 2013, p. 15; BMZ & KMK, 2008, p. 30)

[139] Hauff, V. (1987). *Unsere gemeinsame Zukunft. Der Brundtland–Bericht der Weltkommission für Umwelt und Entwicklung*, [Our common future. The Brundtland–Report of the World–Commission on Environment and Development], Greven: Eggenkamp Verlag. pp. 8–46

[140] Andersen, U., Homberger, I., & Penedo, N. (1999). *Lokale Agenda 21 und Entwicklungspolitik* [Local agenda 21 and development policy]. In Politische Bildung. Entwicklung der Entwicklungspolitik, Jhrg. 32, Band 3, Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau–Verlag, 30–38., p. 38

[141] Brunold, A. (2004). *Globales Lernen und Lokale Agenda 21*. Aspekte kommunaler Bildungsprozesse in der „Einen Welt“ [Global learning and local Agenda 21. Aspects of local processes of education in „One world“]. Wiesbaden: VS–Verlag., p. 47

In the Crises of Climate change, Education for Sustainable Development must find a prominent role within the subject of social studies.[142] The meaning of education for a deeper understanding of Sustainable Development and its role for desirable changes towards sustainability becomes evident.[143]

Adaptive teaching competency means the teacher's ability to adjust instruction to the individual learning processes of pupils in such a way as to create favourable conditions for each student's learning for understanding.[144] As two methods, namely, the dilemma and scenario technique are on focus. Using them in an adaptive way both can contribute to a deeper understanding of Education for Sustainable Development. The scenario technique puts another emphasis: the question of future implication of present developments. Technology assessment is the key word when using this method in the given context. The development of scenarios in class should enable the learner to deal with a future-oriented question in a systematical and constructive way.[145] Moreover, this method takes the constructivistic view of learning into account.[146] The overall goal of this technique is to form a potential future scenario based on present facts and development factors. Normally, three different types of scenarios can be formed: the best-case scenario, the worst-case scenario and the trend scenario (Figure 4).

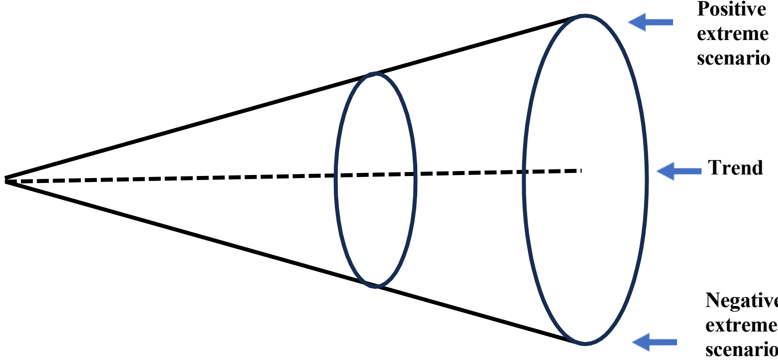

Figure 4: Scenario tunnel with three basic scenarios. (Source: Albers & Broux (1999), modified)

Within the scenario technique the different impacts of present decisions and needs can be used to prognosing a possible or probable future. Here again pupils are not just receivers of knowledge and passive observers of certain developments put are put into position to become active participants of future developments. Especially regarding the topic of Sustainable developments both methods are

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[142] Brunold, A. (2009b). *Politische Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung und die UN–Dekade der Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung* [Civic education for sustainable development and the UN–decade of civic education for sustainable development]. In Schriftenreihe der Gesellschaft für Politikdidaktik und politische Jugend– und Erwachsenenbildung–GPJE (Ed.). *Aktuelle theoretische und empirische Projekte in der Politikdidaktik,* Band 8/2009 (pp. 68–83). Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau–Verlag.

[143] Brunold, A. (2015*). Civic Education for Sustainable Development and its Consequences for German Civic Education Didactics and Curricula of Higher Education,* in: *Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability,* vol. 6, pp. 30– 49, 2015.

[144] Beck, Erwin et al. (2008). *Adaptive Lehrkompetenz*, in: *Pädagogische Psychologie und Entwicklungspsychologie*.

[145] Albers, O. & Broux, A. (1999). *Zukunftswerkstatt und Szenariotechnik. Ein Methodenbuch für Schule und Hochschule*. Weinheim.

[146] Meixner, J./Müller, K. (2004). *Angewandter Konstruktivismus. Ein Handbuch für die Bildungsarbeit in Schule und Beruf*. Aachen 2004

therefore suitable to foster a deeper understanding of Sustainability and above all to encourage critical and reflective thinking, which is crucial because, the use of the scenario technique in class consists of the following steps: [147]

- Determination of present problem for which a solution should be found.
- Assessment and organisation of all known and important data regarding specific spheres of influence (present knowledge)
- İnvestigation of (groups of) factors regarding the way of influence on the given problem
- Projection of the different influences into the future and discussion of the probable future meaning for the problem at hand. (future knowledge)
- Modeling of scenarios and their evaluation among best possible and worst possible solution (practical knowledge)
- Decision for the best possible scenario and revision until implementation (action model)

Effective ESD at formal education institutions is dependent on a change in practise. [148] Therefore new methods as the two methods presented before can serve to foster Education for Sustainable development in school and make the learner not only knowing about the given issue but transform the pupils into active participants and future critical consumers. In this way, ESD must seek to foster individuals who are capable of independent thought and action. To this end, educational policy must consider citizens in their entirety, as both rational and emotional actors. [149]

To reach this important aim, different competencies, including the dimensions of knowledge, values and skills, must be on focus and integral part of all considerations. [150] Necessary is model of political-democratic competencies for civic ESD, which is based on De Haans' eight competencies in ESD.[151] These are:

- the competency to recognise and evaluate forms and conflicts of aims of political, economic, ecological and social orientation and their interests, as well as being able to act upon it,
- the competency to develop skills of participation and intervention for own interests and interests related to the common welfare, as well as being able to act upon it,
- the competency to engage in the civil society and civic involvement in democracy,
- the competency to percept global challenges from multiple perspectives,
- the competency to perceive human and civil rights and being able to represent them actively,

[147] Peterßen, W. H. (2009). *Szenario–Technik*, in: Peterßen, W. H.: *Kleines Methoden–Lexikon*. Oldenbourg, p. 280–282.

[148] Vanhear, J., Pace, P.J. (2008). *Integrating knowledge, feelings and action: using vee heuristics and concept mapping in education for sustainable development,* in*: Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability,* vol. 10, 2008, pp. 42–55.p. 53

[149] Ohlmeier, B. (2013). Civic education for sustainable development, In A. Skrinda (Ed.). *Discourse and Communication for Sustainable Education*, 4, 5–22, p.18

[150] Brunold 2015 (above), Ohlmeier, B., & Brunold, A. (2015). *Politische Bildung für nachhaltige Entwicklung – eine Evaluationsstudie* [Civic education for sustainable development – an evaluation study]. Wiesbaden: Springer VS Research

[151] De Haan 2004 (above)

- the ability to understand and form the link between local experiences and their global context in the global society,
- the competency to anticipate future risks and reflect the individual and global alternatives of acting and taking the responsibility of it, and
- the competency to reflect the individual and cultural models which are provided by the media as well as to reflect consumption patterns and lifestyles as a political mature citizen. [152]

The critical, reflective and empowered citizen that is the overall goal in civic education see in the given context the "tragedy of the commons" when dealing and reflecting on the topic of sustainability.[153] Within the framework of ESD due to the choice of the two given methods the pupil recognizes the fundamental problem of the Commons by experiencing on the one hand the socio - ecological dilemma and on the other hand experience maybe some future implications of the "common environment" when particular developments and decisions will be continued. The key recognition of the Commons is that "whenever one person cannot be excluded from the benefit that others provide, each person is motivated not to contribute to the joint effort, but to free-ride on the efforts of others. If all participants choose to free-ride, the collective benefit will not be produced. The temptation to free-ride, however, may dominate the decision process, and thus all will end up where no one wanted to be". [154]

Regarding the question and taking into consideration the role of all consumers, the following figure illustrates a dilemma which is in line with the model of "the tragedy of the commons", to mention another model, "the prisoner`s dilemma". Ostrom developed some design principles how to avoid the "tragedy of the commons" or the "prisoner`s dilemma":

- User Boundaries: clear and locally understood boundaries between legitimate users and nonusers are present.
- Resource Boundaries: clear boundaries that separate a specific common- pool resource from a larger social-ecological system are present.
- congruence with local conditions: appropriation and provision rules are congruent with local social and environmental conditions.
- appropriation and Provision: appropriation rules are congruent with provision rules; the distribution of costs is proportional to the distribution of benefits.
- collective-choice arrangements: Most individuals affected by a resource regime are authorized to participate in making and modifying its rules.
- Monitoring Users: individuals who are accountable to or are the users monitor the appropriation and provision levels of the users.
- monitoring the resource: individuals who are accountable to or are the users monitor the condition of the resource.
- graduated sanctions: sanctions for rule violations start very low but become stronger if a user repeatedly violates a rule.
- conflict-resolution mechanisms: rapid, low-cost, local arenas exist for resolving conflicts among

[152] Ohlmeier, 2013 (above), Brunold, 2015 (above)

[153] Hardin, G. (1968): *The Tragedy of the Commons*, in: *Science 162, 1968, p. 1243*–1248

[154] Ostrom, E. (1999). *Governing the commons. The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge University Press.p. 6

users or with officials.

- minimal recognition of rights: the rights of local users to make their own rules are recognized by the government.
- nested enterprises: When a common-pool resource is closely connected to a larger social-ecological system, governance activities are organized in multiple nested layers. [155]

As Ostrom shows there are ways to deal with Commons in an effective way without negative consequences for society and all its members. However, the awareness and acceptance of these ways must become known for the majority of decision makers. ESD can here be a tool to reach this aim in the future. Critical and reflective thinking is acknowledged as one of the key skills within education for sustainable development (ESD). Sustainable development requires a shift in the mental models which frame our thinking and inform our decisions and actions. Thus, the attainment of sustainable development requires transformative change at social and cultural level, a change that involves experiencing a deep, structural shift in the basic premises of thought, feelings and actions. [156]

Therefore both methods as presented above are important tools to foster a deeper understanding of Sustainability and respond to the demand of using holistic, critical and reflective ways within the classroom. [157] Through this approach the demand for sufficiency in the sense of strong sustainability instead of efficiency can be followed up. For many years, ESD has been working on the further differentiation and implementation of the educational objectives of the Agenda 21. In the context of the “UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development”, which concluded in 2014, there was a significant expansion of educational activities, to a great extent also linked to the qualitative improvement and an increased integration in educational sectors. The subsequent world action program on ESD, by the United Nations, is consisting of 17 Global Goals for Sustainable Development.

With regard to values education in ESD, it is necessary to refer to a principle in citizenship education that is the result of the “Beutelsbach consensus” in German political didactics. [158] First we have to look on the ‘prohibition against overwhelming the students’. Even for ‘good purposes’, it is not allowed ‘for the sake of imparting desirable opinions and to hinder them from “forming an independent judgment”. Values founding ESD have, according to this norm, to be discussed critically, confronting students with ethical arguments and stimulating moral development. Controversy is furthermore a principle, that is applied in order to avoid any indoctrination. This consensus can be easily adopted into the field of education for sustainable development.

1. Prohibition against Overwhelming the Pupil:

It is not permissible to catch pupils unprepared or unawares – by whatever means – for the sake of imparting desirable opinions and to hinder them from `forming an independent judgement'. It is precisely at this point that the dividing line runs between political education and indoctrination.

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[155] Ostrom 2009

[156] Dovros N./Makrakis V. (2012). *Transforming the classroom into a reflective community: a blended learning instructional approach*, in: *Journal of Teacher Education for Sustainability*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 73–88, 2012., p.75

[157] Dovros/Makrakis 2012

[158] Brunold, A. (2017*).* Wie tragfähig ist der Beutelsbacher Konsens heute? Ein Statement (How viable is the Beutelsbach consensus today? A statement) In: Frech, Siegfried/Richter, Dagmar (Hrsg.), Der Beutelsbacher Konsens. Bedeutung, Wirkung, Kontroversen, Didaktische Reihe Beutelsbacher Gespräche, Wochenschau Verlag, Schwalbach/Ts. 2017, S. 87–103

Indoctrination is incompatible with the role of a teacher in a democratic society and the universally accepted objective of making pupils capable of independent judgement (Mündigkeit).

2. Treating Controversial Subjects as Controversial:

Matters which are controversial in intellectual and political affairs must also be taught as controversial in educational instruction. This demand is very closely linked with the first point above, for if differing viewpoints are lost sight of, options suppressed, and alternatives remain undiscussed, then the path to indoctrination is being trodden. We have to ask whether teachers have in fact a corrective role to play, that is, whether they should or should not specially set out such points of view and alternatives which are foreign to the social and political origins of pupils (and other participants in programs of political education). In affirming this second basic principle, it becomes clear why the personal standpoint of teachers, the intellectual and theoretical views they represent and their political opinions are relatively uninteresting. To repeat an example that has already been given: their understanding of democracy presents no problems, for opinions contrary to theirs are also being taken into account.

3. Giving Weight to the Personal Interests of Pupils:

Pupils must be put in a position to analyse a political situation and to assess how their own personal interests are affected as well as to seek means and ways to influence the political situation they have identified according to their personal interests. Such an objective brings a strong emphasis on the acquisition of the necessary operational skills, which is in turn a logical consequence of the first two principles set out above. In this connection the reproach is sometimes made that this is a `return to formalism', so that teachers do not have to correct the content of their own beliefs. This is not the case since what is involved here is not a search for a maximum consensus, but the search for a minimal consensus. [159]

For many years, ESD has been working on the further differentiation and implementation of the educational objectives of the Agenda 21. In the context of the "UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development", which concluded in 2014, there was a significant expansion of educational activities, to a great extent also linked to the qualitative improvement and an increased integration in educational sectors. The subsequent world action program on ESD, by the United Nations, is consisting of 17 Global Goals for Sustainable Development.[160]

One of the substantial and important tasks for global learning, therefore, is the transportation of knowledge, abilities and the preparedness for a constructive acting out of conflicts, and as a consequence to prepare appropriate programs. [161] For an appropriate adaptation of the subject of

[159] Brunold, A. (2022*). Der Beutelsbacher Konsens, das Prinzip der Mündigkeit und reales politisches Handeln* (The Beutelsbacher consensus, the principle of maturity and real political action) In: Forum Politikunterricht. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Vereinigung für Politische Bildung – Landesverband Bayern (Hrsg.), Heft 1/2022, München 2022, S. 32–34.

[160] United Nations (Ed.) (2014). *General Assembly, Document A/68/970, Report of the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development Goals,* Sixty–eighth session, August 12, 2014. United Nations New York.

[161] Gugel, G. & Jäger, U. (1997). Globales Lernen. Eine Perspektive zur friedenspädagogischen Bildungsarbeit, In W.–R. Vogt & E. Jung, (Hrsg.): Kultur des Friedens. Wege zur Einen Welt, [Global learning. Perspective for a peace–educational formation. In W.R. Vogt & E. Jung, (Eds.), Culture of Peace. Ways to One World], Darmstadt: Omnia–Verlag.

global learning there are necessarily very substantial efforts to be made in the area of political education, which has a key position in the pathway of effecting sustainability.[162]

To develop public understanding and awareness of sustainability and to make progress towards more sustainable societies requires a population that is aware of the goals of sustainability and has the knowledge and the skills to contribute towards those goals. A knowledgeable citizenry supports a more sustainable society in several ways.

First, citizens through their daily activities support government policy related to resource management and civic conduct. Second, citizens can support measures related to sustainable development and politicians who introduce and support enlightened legislation. Third, citizens can become knowledgeable consumers who purchase goods with low lifestyle impacts and who use their purchasing power to support corporate social and environmental responsibility and sustainable business practices. An informed citizenry can help communities and governments enact sustainability measures and move towards more sustainable societies.

Developing a knowledgeable citizenry requires a concerted effort with consistent and realistic messages delivered to people of all ages. The use of large scale media campaigns can reach substantial segments of society. Also, social marketing could be explored to deliver some of the simpler measures that lead to behavioural change. More comprehensive educational tools that focus on the skills inherent in critical thinking and rational decision making are necessary to build a citizenry capable of thinking through some of the more complex sustainability issues that face communities and nations.[163]

It is clear that towards participating for more sustainable societies an active citizenry also needs knowledge and skills regarding democratic citizenship. For this task an education for democratic citizenship would be capable as a specific and basic educational tool. An approach to education for democratic citizenship should aim for the promotion of a culture of democracy and human rights concerning goals like participation, social cohesion or solidarity as well as practices to promote the development of communities committed to genuine relationships. Civic education for sustainable development combines both education for sustainable development and education for democratic citizenship.

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[162] Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ) (Ed.) (1992). Umwelt und Entwicklung [Environment and development]. Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Konferenz der Vereinten Nationen für Umwelt und Entwicklung im Juni 1992 in Rio des Janeiro. Entwicklungspolitik, Materialien Nr. 84, BMZ Bonn.; WBGU, 1996

[163] UNESCO (Ed.) (2005). *United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development 2005–2014, Draft International Implementation Scheme.* UNESCO: Paris. , Annex II, p. 5

Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations

This section lists our principal findings [cross-referenced to pages in the main report], with conclusions (referenced to the various responsible bodies: T – Teachers; Sch – Schools; Loc – Local Education authorities; Col – Teacher education institutions; Nat – national Education ministries; EU – European Union and Council of Europe). Numbers in square [ ] brackets refer to page numbers in the Main Report.

Findings	***Conclusions & recommendations***	
Why is understanding values important for young people?		
1 All young people in Europe need to understand the values that are fundamental to the societies they live in. These values are enshrined in binding conventions, and dynamically regulated by the European Court of Human Rights. These values underpin our rights, but respond to social, scientific and technological changes: our values respond in how they are formulated, balanced, and regulated, and are a matter of continuous debate [19-20]. There is generational change in the development of values, which requires inter-generational respect and understanding of each others' concerns.	**A** All professionals who work with young people, or are responsible for them, need to recognise the importance of helping young people to understand the values that underpin our societies, and their responsibilities for supporting such understanding.	All
2 Young people are interested in these values [22-4, 28-36, 187-8], and particularly about the denial of rights and values, and instances of unfairness. [31, 84, 198] They often say they lack opportunities to discuss these matters in their schools [194-5].	**B** Young people should be given opportunities to discuss and explore social issues that concern them, and particularly those that they perceive to be unfair or unjust.	T Sch
3 European values are sometimes controversial, and discussing them needs to be approached in a considered way, and to be organised so as not to indoctrinate [188, 198-202].	**C** Educational institutions and authorities need to support teachers and other professionals to understand *why* controversial issues should be addressed with young people and *how* this could be done.	Sch Col LA Nat EU
	D Schools and Colleges, local and national educational authorities, and the European Union and Council of Europe need to formulate explicit and transparent policies on supporting young people in understanding values.	Sch Col Nat EU

How do young people learn to understand values?

4 These values cannot be taught in a conventional way: they are not 'facts' to be transmitted or learned by rote [187-8, 195]. Young people learn to understand the nature of European values through thoughtful discussions that start from their own concerns and questions. Deliberative discussion works well with a moderator, who enables a group of young people to share experiences and raise issues with each other, by asking non-leading and open questions. [92-9, 188].

E Deliberative discussion should be used widely with young people to enable them to use their experiences and observations. It should be used to identify and explore values that are currently of concern to young people, recognising that these interests will often be reactions to particular personal of local experiences, or matters of debate in the media. The agenda will be continually changing [pages 190 - 1981 give detailed support for this]

T

5 They will naturally use their own terms and vocabulary in discussing values: doing so gives them the necessary freedom to explore values and a sense of agency and control [38, 190-7]. More formal terms may be introduced by young people in the course of discussion, or if necessary outside the deliberative discussion [22-4, 76-7, 106-7]. We give several examples of extended deliberative discussions that show interchanges between young people, with minimal guidance from the moderator [188, 192-4, 215], and many shorter examples of what is said about values, unprompted, in deliberative discussions held in 29 different European states [43-139].

F Teachers and other professionals will need specific training in how to take on the role of moderation in deliberative discussion, and recognise how this role is different. Such training may include experiencing participation in such discussions, and subsequent reflections on this. This should be given in initial professional education, and in in-service education.

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G Deliberative discussions may lead to providing other educational activities to inform future discussion, such as specific investigations or role-playing. They can be used both as a framework for identifying issues around particular values, and as way or re-addressing these issues and consolidating the understanding or values after other learning opportunities have been given.

T

6 Such discussions may reveal intolerances and misconceptions about other people that need to be addressed outside the framework of the discussion [66-75]. There may also be instances of stereotyping other countries, or generations, or minorities: the moderator will need to help young people make appropriate qualifications and to avoid *ad hominem* generalisations [35-6, 68, 70]

H Where it is clear that stereotyped and misconceptions exist, it is the responsibility of institutions and individual professionals to address this, and provide opportunities for such young people to explore issues in greater depth. The Beutelsbach Convention notes [199-202] may be useful.

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When do young people learn about values?

7 Our analysis is based on young people's discussions between the ages of ten to twenty, usually with peers of the same age [4-5 20-4]. The youngest groups often made cogent points, expressed with feeling 34, 56, 80, 96, 194]. It is very possible that such discussions could be useful with younger age groups, and with older students, particularly those in higher education leading to professional qualifications to work with young people.

8 *Any* age seems appropriate: but the years of schooling are critical, because this is a period during which young people internalise societal issues and principles as a process, rather than as acquiring facts. It should be seen as a formative period, not as one in which they are malleable or impressionable.

I Educational professionals working with different age groups, from primary/elementary, through secondary to professional education need to make age-specific adaptations to the issues raised in the report, and employ appropriate modification best suited to the needs of the age group they work with. T

Findings & recommendations on specific values

What values do young people seem to understand best? What are the gaps?
These notes combine findings with suggestions for best practice. They will be of particular use for the teacher, but also for various educational authorities, from the school to the European Institutions, in understanding the range of young people's interests in, and experience of, European values.

9 The data we have analysed was time-specific, reflecting the issues of concern at the articular dates at which it was collected. It will therefore not always reflect the full range of values described in the Convention or the Charter. There were nevertheless some that were more commonly raised, and some less frequently raised, that may reflect persistent emphases and omissions. Some of these varied across different regions of Europe. These are listed in full in the main report.

9A The Structural values:

Democracy was the second most frequently referred to value, often specifically by name. However, it was often very limited (as being the antithesis to dictatorship, or representing all the people), and not usually referring to electoral systems, political parties, or distinguishing legislatures and executives. Their own country was twice as likely to be mentioned than European institutions [45-5].

The Rule of Law was rarely referred to, and was little understood [39, 42, 52-9]. Sometimes political leaders were criticised as appearing to be above the law, but it was very rare to recognise the independence of the judiciary, or how law was created.

9B Fundamental Values of Human Rights

These were about twice as likely to be mentioned in Nordic and Western states than elsewhere [62-3].

Respect for Other Cultures and ***Tolerance of Diversity*** were most frequently mentioned, but about 20% and 16% respectively of these were negative or ambivalent [60-86]. ***Respect for Life*** and for the ***Safety of Others*** were less frequently mentioned, but more positively [86-97].

The need for ***Social Inclusion*** was much less frequently mentioned [103-5]. The outlawing of **Capital punishment** and **torture and cruel punishments** was very rarely mentioned: this seemed to be taken for granted.

9C Procedural values

Solidarity was the most commonly mentioned of all values, often cross-referenced by the way that it sometimes (usually properly) limited individual Freedoms. Examples of forms of social and cultural support, education and health provisions, environmental protection and the promotion of peace were often cited [133-9].

Freedom of Movement was a value particularly cited in those countries that had more recently joined the Schengen Area.[25-7, 114-8].

Equalities were often mentioned, most often around issues of gender [127-32].

Fundamental Freedoms were also mentioned: most often with references to Freedom of Speech [119-26]. About 7% of Freedom mentions were negative/ambivalent, often with reference to conflicts with Solidarity and Respect for Others.

9D Other areas of concern are the occasions on which a minority of young people displayed cultural/racialised superiority, anti-Roma tendencies and Islamophobia [66-75].

Findings Conclusions & Recommendations

Where should young people learn to understand values?

10 Schools are generally seen as a safe area to express and discuss views and issues. They can provide a programme that extends over several years of a young person's formative years, and if they provide a regular programme across all years that includes understanding values and deliberative discussion, can ensure that as issues arise and become particularly important to young people, there's a quick and straightforward way to address these [190-202].

J Teachers and schools need to plan this collaboratively. There may be particular staff, in appropriate disciplines, who will take on lead roles, but all colleagues should be aware of the importance of young people's understanding of values.

T
Sch

11 Deliberative discussion will have a place within this, but its distinctive role should be emphasised as a particular time when young people are able to share their views and opinions with each other. The teacher's particular role as a moderator creates an explicitly different relationship for young people and the teacher for the duration of the discussion.

Who's responsible for young people's learning about values?

12 Teachers and schools have a particularly direct role in this process, but need the support of educational authorities, at all levels, to deliver such a programme.

LA
Nat
EU

Regional specific recommendations

See the main report [pages 150-182].

Recommendations

For Teachers and Schools

1. Teachers, with the support of their school, should review their approaches to young people's understanding of values. How effective and consistent are these strategies?
2. They should consider approaches such as deliberative discussions and conversations as a way of engaging with the experiences of values and the views of their students on values. Teachers should use their expertise and experience to make this age-appropriate, according to the stage of education they are engaged with.
3. What in-service education and training might they need in acting as a moderator in such discussions, and in asking open-ended questions that empower students to articulate the issues that are of concern to them?
4. Teachers and Schools need to develop clear policies on how they handle controversial issues concerning values. (How, not whether!) These should be communicated clearly to parents, who will need reassurance that their children are not being indoctrinated in any way.
5. Teachers and schools should consider how they can use immediate concerns and topical issues to deliberate with students on value-related issues.
6. Teachers should use values-based approaches to discuss issues of prejudice, stereotyping and racism, and other discriminatory behaviour.
7. Teachers and schools need to consider what action they might take to address values that they feel are not represented in their students' discussions – such as, for example, the Rule of Law.
8. Schools and teachers should approach local and national educational bodies for support in addressing education to understand values.

For Universities and Colleges providing professions education for teachers and others who will work with young people

1. The curriculum for training teachers and others who work with young people should specifically include the support that future professionals need in supporting young people's underrating of values. They should ensure that all professionals who successfully complete their courses are able to engage with young people as moderators and facilitators in this area, and that they are competent to address all the points listed above for teachers.
2. Their training could include being actively involved in deliberative discussions, both as participants and moderators, followed by discussion on how their roles in these situation is in some respects different from other teaching roles, and may in other respects have some similarities.

For local education authorities and National Governments

1. Consideration should be given to encourage all schools to develop policies for schools and other institutions working with young people to have the competencies, skills and confidence to address the understanding of values.
2. This will require the provision of appropriate in-service education for serving teachers, and support for those entering professional roles. It might also require the support of specific materials and teaching aids to help these professionals, in a range of age-appropriate settings.

3. Consideration should be given as to how good practice might be shared widely across regions and countries.

For the European Union and the Council of Europe

1. The European Union, through its Parliament and the Commission, should address how it can support educators and authorities in member states in address the values that are fundamental to the Union, in ways that do not infringe on member states’ responsibilities and rights in the field of education.
2. This might involve the provision and support of Europe-wide conferences and training programmes, and the dissemination of good practice in different member states – through, naturally, the processes of deliberative discussion.
3. The Council of Europe should consider how it might further extend its education and communications policies with respect to European values and young people.

Appendix 1

Parental origins, birth places of young people and languages spoken by young people.

Table 1: Parental origins (other than those of country in which each discussion was held)

European Union		Other European		Africa		Asia		Americas/rest of world	
Austria	9	Albania[1]	50	Algeria	16	Afghanistan	6	Canada	1
Belgium	1	Armenia	1	Egypt	3	China	5	USA	15
Bulgaria	5	Azerbaijan	2	Morocco	22	India	5	*(N America)*	*(16)*
Croatia	10	Belarus	1	Tunisia	8	Indonesia	5	Brazil	5
Cyprus[2]	23	Bosnia-Hzgva	28	*(N Africa)*	*(49)*	Japan	1	Chile	3
Czechia	2	Georgia	2	Congo DR	7	Kazakhstan	2	Nicaragua	1
Denmark	1	Macedon/Alb	2	Ethiopia	4	Korea	10	Surinam	2
Estonia	4	Moldova	4	Gambia	1	Nepal	7	Venezuela	3
France	14	Montenegro	2	Ghana	1	Philippines	1	*(S America)*	*(14)*
Germany	19	Norway	1	Nigeria	3	Sri Lanka	3	Guadeloupe	3
Greece	5	Russia	91	Senegal	2	Taiwan	2	Martinique	1
Hungary	5	Serbia	27	Somalia	8	Uzbekistan	1	*(Caribbean)*	*(4)*
Ireland	5	Switzerland	6	Sth Sudan	2	Vietnam	5		
Italy	13	Turkey[3]	79	*(C Africa)*	*(28)*	*(E Asia)*	*(53)*	Australia	6
Lithuania	1	Ukraine	8	Angola	4				
Netherlands	8	*(recognised)*	*(304)*	Namibia	1	Palestine	3		
Poland	13	Kosovo	7	Sth Africa	3	Iran	5		
Portugal	6	Lapp[9]	1	*(S Africa)*	*(8)*	Iraq	6		
Romania	12	Roma[4]	18	Madagascar	2	Israel	1		
Slovakia	2	Kurd Alevi[5]	17	Comoros	2	Syria	2		
Slovenia	2	Kurd Turk[5]	2	*(islands)*	*(4)*	*(Middle E)*	*(17)*		
Spain	18	Kurdish[5]	11						
Sweden	2	*(unofficial)*[6]	*(56)*	"African"[7]	9	"Arab"[7]	1		
UK[8]	22					Tatar[7]	2		
Number of parents	***202***		***360***		***89***		***71***		***40***
Number of individuals	***148***		***169***				***48***		

Notes: this table records *either or* both parents: therefore, there are two totals given at the foot of the table. Regional levels are shown in grey typeface, in brackets, at the end of each group of states.

[1] largely Albanian living in western North Macedonia, who said their parents (and they) were Albanian/

[2] 40 of these were living in Northern Cyprus, and described their parents as born in Turkey

[3] all 23 were living in Northern Cyprus, and described their parents as born in Cyprus

[4] Roma, self-described as their nationality, all in a single group in Croatia

[5] a number of individuals in Turkey described their parents in these various formulations of Kurdish

[6] this category is of those parents of European origin whose nationality was given as of a non-recognised state

[7] these were designations of parents of non-European origin whose nationality was given as shown

[8] UK was an EU member at these dates

[9] 'Lapp' was the term used by the individual. Sami is usually considered the more appropriate name.

Table 2: Birth places (by country) of those young people not born in the country in which each discussion was held

European Union		Other European		Africa		Asia		Americas/rest of world	
Austria	3	Albania	1	Libya	1	Afghanistan	2	USA	4
Bulgaria	1	Azerbaijan	1	*(N Africa)*	*(1)*	China	3	*(N America)*	*(4)*
Croatia	1	Bosnia-Hzgv	7	Congo DR	2	India	1	Argentina	1
Denmark	3	Georgia	1	Ethiopia	1	Korea	2	Brazil	3
France	4	Moldova	3	Kenya	1	Nepal	3	Chile	1
Germany	7	Norway	1	*(C Africa)*	*(4)*	Philippines	1	Venezuela	1
Hungary	2	Russia	3	Angola	2	Sri Lanka	1	*(S America)*	*(6)*
Ireland	1	Serbia	3	Namibia	1	*(E Asia)*	*(13)*	Cayman Is	1
Latvia	1	Switzerland	1	South Africa	1			Fr Guinea	1
Lithuania	1	Ukraine	2	*(S Africa)*	*(4)*	*(Middle E)*	*(0)*	*(Caribbean)*	*(2)*
Netherlands	4			Madagascar	1				
Poland	3			*(islands)*	*(1)*			Australia	2
Portugal	1							Fr Overseas	1
Romania	5							N Zealand	1
Slovenia	2							(Australasia)	(4)
Spain	2								
UK	7								
Number of individuals	***48***		***23***		***10***		***13***		***15***

Cultural diversity is also an important aspect of identity, following UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity in 2001. A common indicator of diversity is the number of languages spoken in a region: David Crystal's work in 1990[164] suggested that languages were falling into disuse at a rate of about 25 per year. The young people in the study were asked to list the languages they spoke at home, and those that they also used (excluding languages taught in school). 3,410 languages were recorded, but as this nearly always includes the language of the country, this amounts to only 1.7 languages per individual, including the local language. This seems improbably low, but the information is nevertheless recorded in the table below: both the total languages recorded, and the number of additional languages (excluding the local language). Many of the additional languages suggest heritage or particularly local identities - both European languages (such as Venetian, Latgalian (in eastern Latvia), Catalan (where Spanish was generally recorded as 'Castilian Spanish'), Occitan, and non-European such as Brazilian Portuguese (and including very local languages such as Berber, Lingala, Konongo and Zazaki). These give an indication of how some minority languages are maintained among expatriate families. But the languages are given as described by the young people, and there may be some imprecision in the precise details.

These tables, on parental heritage, birth location, and languages spoken give some background on the element of diversity amongst the sample population. James Fearon's[165] (2003) study of global cultural diversity categorised the data from a very wide range of countries using ethnic, linguistic and religion to create a comprehensive index of diversity. This are discussed further in the section on the core value of Tolerance of Diversity (CV1), p 66.

[164] Crystal, David (2000). *Language Death*. Cambridge University Press.

[165] James Fearon (2003). "Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country". *Journal of Economic Growth*. **8** (2): 195–222

Table 3: Languages spoken: total, and languages additional to local language

Column 1 is the complete list of languages reported as spoken. Column 2 is the number reported as spoken. Column 3 is the number of everyday speakers of each language in their educational establishment. Column 4 subtracts (3) from (2), to show the number of languages spoken that is additional to the 'everyday' language.

1	2	3	4
all languages spoken	**n**	***less* number with local language**	**n additional languages**
English	837		837
German	263	191[a]	72
French	211	127[b]	84
Italian	168	137	31
Spanish	164	122	42
Turkish	132	116[c]	16
Romanian	121	105	16
Polish	101	96	5
Dutch	100	82[d]	18
Russian	97	37[e]	60
Finnish	87	67	20
Slovene	79	76	3
Hungarian	78	64	14
Croatian	76	68	8
Bulgarian	75	72	3
Portuguese	72	64	8
Swedish	72	72	0
Icelandic	58	58	0
Danish	57	55	2
Macedonian	57	30	27
Czech	51	47	4
Latvian	45	26	19
Norwegian	44	44	0
Slovak	42	42	0
Estonian	37	31	6
Arabic	33		33

1	2	3	4
(continued) **Language total**	**n**	***less* number with local language**	**n additional language**
Albanian	31	21	10
Greek	29f	24[f]	5
Letzeburgesch	25	27	2
Catalan	24		24
Castilian	22		22
Serbian	20		20
Bosnian	14		14
Kurdish	14		14
Swiss German	11	11	0
Japanese	7		7
Persian	4		4
Mandarin	4		4
Somali	4		4
Berber	3		3
Moroccan Arab	3		3
Nepalese	3		3
Vietnamese	3		3
Azerbaijani	2		2
Creole	2		2
Konongo	2		2
Lingala	2		2
Latgalian	2		2
Moldovan	2		2
Venetian	2		2
Zazaki (Iranian)	2		2
total	***3394***	***1912***	***1486***

[a] 125 German, 65 Austrian

[b] 93 French, 34 Belgian Walloon

[c] 85 Turks, 31 Turkish Cypriots

[d] 52 Nederlanders, 30 Belgian Flemish

[e] 13 Estonian Russkiye, 24 Latvian Russkiye

[f] 29 Greek Cypriot

Contributions to this Report

Alistair Ross [London Metropolitan University] **(Lead Author, corresponding author): *original data***: conceptualised the research, organised and conducted all discussions, transcribed data, carried out initial qualitative analysis; ***this project***: co-chaired the project group on European Values, made substantial contributions to design of the work, analysis and interpretation of the data, wrote initial drafts of most of the text (excluding those parts specifically written by Hartsmar and Liljefors Persson, and Brunold), critically reviewed text; final approval and accountable for all aspects of accuracy and integrity of the work.

Tom Loughran [Lancaster University] **(Lead Statistical Author)** (UK)]: ***this project***: designed and constructed the data-set on which the analysis was performed; designed, reviewed and carried out all the statistical analysis contained in the report; advised on all aspects of statistical interpretation; critically reviewed all the work for its statistical robustness; finally approved all those aspects of the report; finally approval and accountable of all aspects of accuracy and integrity of the work.

Andreas Brunold[Universität Augsburg] **(Section Author): *this project***: co-chair of the project group; significant contributions to design of work; critically reviewed the main report; wrote the section indicated; final approval and accountable of all aspects of accuracy and integrity of the work.

Nanny Hartsmar [Lund universitet] **(Section Author): *original data*:** assisted Lead Author in collection of data in Malmo; ***this project***: member of the project group; substantial contributions to design of work, analysis and interpretation of the data; substantial contribution to coding analysis of data; critically reviewed the main report; wrote the section indicated, with Liljefors Persson; final approval and accountable of all aspects of accuracy and integrity of the work.

Bodil Liljefors Persson [Malmö universitet] **(Section Author): *this project***: member of the project group; substantial contributions to design of work, analysis and interpretation of the data; substantial contribution to coding analysis of data; critically reviewed the main report; wrote the section indicated, with Hartsmar; final approval and accountable of all aspects of accuracy and integrity of the work.

Zoja Chelova [Latvijas Universitāte, Riga], ***original data*:** assisted Lead Author in collection of data in Riga, Latvia; ***this project***: member of the project group up to October 2021; some contributions to design of work. Left group early 2023.

Sandra Chistolini [Università degli Roma Tre, Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione] ***Original data*:** assisted Lead Author in collection of data in Rome and Italy generally; ***this project***: co-chair of the project group; member of groups devising data coding structure; substantial contributions to design of work, analysis and interpretation of the data; substantial contribution to coding analysis of data; critically reviewed the main report; final approval and accountable of all aspects of accuracy and integrity of the work.

Leanette Thomas Dotta [Lusofona Universidade]: ***this project***: substantial contributions to design of work, and interpretation of the data; substantial contribution to coding analysis of data; critically reviewed the main report; final approval and accountable of all aspects of accuracy and integrity of the work.

Michaela Dvorakova [Univerzita Karlova, Katedra společenských věd a filozofie]: ***this project***: member of the project group up to October 2021; member of group devising data coding structure; substantial contribution to design of work, analysis and interpretation of the data; substantial contribution to coding analysis of data. Left group October 2021.

Thiago Freires: [Universidade do Porto, Centro de Investigação e Intervenção Educativas] ***this project***: member of the project group; member of group devising data coding structure; substantial contribution to coding analysis of data; substantial contribution to design of work and data; critically reviewed the main report; final approval and accountable of all aspects of accuracy and integrity of the work.

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Kristi Kõiv [Tartu Ülikool, Haridusteaduste Instituut] ***original data**:* assisted Lead Author in collection of data in Tartu, Estonia; ***this project***: member of the project group; member of group devising data coding structure substantial contributions to design of work, analysis and interpretation of the data, substantial contribution to coding analysis of data, critically reviewed the main report; finally approval and accountable of all aspects of accuracy and integrity of the work.

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