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Young Europeans in an Era of Crises: Citizenship Education in a New Perspective

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Editorial: Young Europeans in an Era of Crises. Citizenship Education in a New Perspective

Keywords:

Young Europeans, crises, citizenship education, resilience, research, teaching and learning in schools and Universities

The current political, social and economic crises have serious consequences for the citizens in Europe, and at the same time in some countries a massive loss of trust in the democratic institutions is experienced. Since this is combined with an already existing decrease in political participation and the rise of populist movements in many European countries we are facing major challenges not only at the national level but also at the European level. The developments put to the test the very pursuit of European integration and its legitimacy in the eyes of citizens. This issue, structured in three parts, is focusing on young Europeans in an era of crises and the possible consequences for citizenship education.

In Part I the authors examine various aspects of the crises in general and more specifically the consequences for the youth in some European countries. Jover, Belando and Guio are analyzing the effects of the crises on Spanish youth. Mrnjaus, Vrcelj and Zlokovic on the Croatian youth. The Spanish contribution is describing the effects in terms of employment, mobility and

education and outlines the subjective perception of the crisis, i.e., how it is being experienced by the young people and expressed in the movement called 15-M and it concludes with implications for civic education at schools. The Croatian authors present the results of a qualitative study conducted on Croatian students with the aim to unveil how young people in Croatia develop resilience in times of crises; they conclude with remarks on citizenship education in Croatia and provide an overview of the curriculum of civic education.

In the next two articles from Cyprus and Norway the authors discuss one of the most sensitive topics in our times in Europe: migration. Vryonides exemplifies about the discourse concerning multiculturalism in Cyprus. Skeie exemplifies issues concerning European youth and adults who are coming to Norway, a country not affected by the crisis, but yet influenced by work immigration. In the final two articles of Part I the authors concentrate on groups who are rather optimistic about their future: Dekker, Amsing, Hahurij and Wichgers present research on recently graduated and unemployed Dutch academics and Aprea and Sappa present re-search on secondary school students in Germany.

In Part II the authors analyze the consequences of the crises on citizenship education. In the German contribution of Onken and Lange the impact of the financial and economic crisis in Europe on political attitudes, as one of the important aspects, has been considered. The conclusion indicates that a group-specific educational approach, taking into account the social background, is the most promising one for reaching the normative goal of civic education: that is politically self-determined citizens. Given the decline in the support for European integration among the public over the past years, the Dutch contribution of Oonk focuses on the improvement of the quality of citizenship education on European issues, the necessity to use a more critical approach and a good instruction by the teacher in combination with an attractive teaching and learning approach. The central question in the paper of Print is: what are the elements in a school curriculum that can build resilience in times of crises? This proposition might then be linked with a new curriculum that could address issues of

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how to build resilience amongst young people in schools. Papadiamantaki investigated students in a Greek university. The focus is their exposure to current problems, heightened by the specificities of the crisis in Greece and how this affected students' behaviour and their understanding of the concept of "active citizenship" as promoted by European Union policy. Finally implications are drawn for the prospect of promoting active citizenship through university education. In the final article of Part II, Merrigan discusses whether the ethical concept of individual responsibility as a complement to the legal human rights framework and a Kantian concept of moral 'human rights' duties in citizenship education can contribute to overcoming the crises in Europe.

In Part III Bombardelli reports on a European project, the Comenius ECLIPSE project (European Citizenship Learning in a Programme for Secondary Education) developed by six European partners with a view to develop, test and implement a Programme of European Citizenship of 8th grade pupils. Bickes, Otten and Weymann report on the Greek financial crisis and the role of the media discourses of difference and solidarity during this crisis. Finally Fischer, Fischer, Kleinschmidt and Lange report on the ideas about globalization that 9th grade students at grammar schools and secondary modern schools have.

Needless to say this is one of the many 'first' international attempts to pinpoint the character of the current crises and the impact on citizenship education. As the crises are manifold and citizenship education is definitely multifaceted there is a need for more and (as time and work proceed) deeper investigations and reports of the kind presented here. We strongly hope that this issue contributes to a better understanding and paves the way for more in depth analyses.



Gonzalo Jover, María R. Belando-Montoro, Yolanda Guío

The Political Response of Spanish Youth to the Socio-Economic Crisis: Some Implications for Citizenship Education

This article discusses the effects of the current socio-economic crisis on Spanish youth and their political response to it. It does so in three consecutive stages. In the first, it analyses the repercussion of the crisis on young people using information from certain social indicators (employment, mobility and education). It then outlines the subjective perception of the crisis, i.e., how they are experiencing it and what their hopes are regarding the economy and politics. The third part focuses on how young citizens have responded to the situation politically. The article finishes by considering what implications may be drawn from that response in terms of citizenship education.

Keywords:

youth, economic crisis, political participation, social movements, citizenship education, Spain

1 Introduction

In 1985 the United Nations held its first International Youth Day, with the slogan of "Participation, Development and Peace". Spain was having a turbulent year marked by strikes, protests and rising unemployment. Nevertheless, they were times of hope. The Spanish Constitution, ratified in 1978 after nearly forty years of dictatorship under General Franco, had established the democratic system, and the nation excitedly awaited joining the European Community on January 1, 1986. Nearly three decades later, on August 12, 2013, once again on International Youth Day, a radio station aired the following profile of a 28-year-old Spanish woman, born back in that year of 1985, and whom we shall call Laura:

"Let's look at this girl. Let's say she's 28 years old. I just made her up, so we can make her any age we want. As you can see, she's in her room. She still lives with her parents, nothing she can do about it since she doesn't have a job. She did some internships in a couple of companies, mostly for free. It was always the same story: they said she did good work, and they were very pleased with her but they never hired her afterwards because, surely she could understand, the economy was so bad and all...

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The young woman tinkers with her resume almost every day. There's no space left for any more master's degrees and courses she's taken: Corporate marketing, Computer graphic design, Chinese. Her boyfriend couldn't take it anymore and left the country. He now works abroad at a money transfer and export office. She blames herself for not going with him and suspects she started to lose him that day...

Her little sister is at college, her father has been unemployed for the last four years and her mother has barely survived the latest layoffs at her job. That's all the family gets by on. She helps out at home as much as she can, but she can't shake the nasty feeling of guilt...

Our young woman doesn't believe in politicians. They all seem the same to her. Nor has she ever considered joining a union, she doesn't get the monarchy or all that stuff with the Pope, cardinals, banks and international markets. She goes to a few protest marches and posts comments on Facebook and Twitter, but deep inside she thinks there is no way the world is going to change..."¹

Laura represents thousands of young Spanish men and women today. This is perhaps the best-educated generation in our country: they speak foreign languages, have skills with new communication systems unimaginable only ten years ago, and many have college degrees, which was something only a much lower proportion achieved among their parents' generation and ever fewer among their grandparents', especially their grandmothers. And yet, despite that, this is a disillusioned generation, one that no longer identifies with the culture of the political transition to democracy in which their parents came of age (Fernández-Savater 2012).

Laura's political detachment is a focus of interest in recent empirical literature, which has highlighted the links between the economic crises and the erosion of trust in political institutions and representative



democracy in different contexts (e.g., Córdoba and Seligson 2009; Chaistya, Whitefielda 2012; González 2012). At the European Union level, data show that support for democracy has declined over the course of the crisis. Spain is the second most harshly effected country, just after Greece. Between 2007 and 2011 satisfaction with democracy receded in Spain by 32.1 percentage points and trust in national parliaments fell 29.3 points, well above the average of the 26 EU countries studied, in which the decreases were 6.6 and 7.8 points respectively (Armingeon, Guthmann 2014). Recent research by Galais and Blais has also found a significant association between the deterioration of the individual economical situation and the relaxation of the belief in the duty to vote in Spanish citizens under the age of 30 (Galais, Blais 2013).

This article aims to explore this relation in greater depth. It does so in three consecutive phases. In the first section, it analyses the repercussion of the current socio-economic crisis on young Spaniards in aspects such as employment, mobility and education. After that it sketches out how they are experiencing the crisis and their hopes regarding economy and politics. The third section focuses on how young people have politically responded to the situation, especially through the 15-M initiative. Lastly, the article ends by wondering about the implications that can be drawn from the young citizens' response in terms of how to foster citizenship education at schools.

In order to achieve a more comprehensive interpretation, the analysis uses a variety of sources. The first section is based on information and reports from national and international organizations such as the *Spanish Statistical Office* (INE) and the *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development* (OECD). In the second section we have worked with the *Barometer series* (2009-2013) by the Spanish *Sociological Research Centre* (CIS). The third section moves to a different orientation. In this case, statistical data and surveys on subjects related to political participation by the CIS are combined with the 15-M movement's presence on the web and the personal involvement of one of the authors.

2 The scope of the crisis among youth

According to European Commission data from March 2013, the rate of youth unemployment in the euro zone reached 24%. However, the situation is very unequal in the different regions. The lowest unemployment rate is found in Germany and Austria, at 7.6%, and the highest in the southern countries: Greece (59.1%), Spain (55.9%), Italy (38.4%) and Portugal (38.3%) (European Commission 2013). In the case of Spain, the unemployment rate has skyrocketed over the last years, according to some sources rising from 37.8% in 2009 (Eurostat 2012) to 53.2% by 2012, in sharp contrast to the overall European Union (EU27) rate of 22.8% that last year (Teichgraber 2013).

This situation affects the younger population segment (16 to 19 yrs old) particularly dramatically. Data from the

Spanish labour force survey from 2013 show the unemployment rate for this age group is up to 74.2%, higher among women (76.5%) than men (72.5%). In the next higher age group (20 to 24 yrs old), the ratio is the opposite: joblessness is higher among men (52.7%) than women (50.9%). This is the age group that has undergone the biggest rise in joblessness over the last six years, with the unemployment rate soaring 254% (from 20.4% in 2008 to 51.9% in 2013).

Table 1: Evolution of the youth unemployment rate from 2008 to 2013 by age group and gender

	Total		Men		Women	
	16 to 19 years old	20 to 24 years old	16 to 19 years old	20 to 24 years old	16 to 19 years old	20 to 24 years old
2008	39.4%	20.4%	35.8%	20.1%	44.5%	20.8%
2009	55.3%	33.4%	54.9%	34.6%	55.9%	32.1%
2010	61.4%	37.0%	60.3%	38.8%	62.9%	35.0%
2011	64.1%	42.6%	64.4%	44.4%	63.7%	40.6%
2012	72.7%	49.1%	72.0%	50.5%	73.5%	47.6%
2013	74.2%	51.9%	72.5%	52.7%	76.5%	50.9%

Source: INE. Labour Force Survey (2008-2013)²

No one is being misled about the profound effects this job crisis may cause on a large number of young people as well as on social cohesion. For example, a recent report from the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), which depends on the European Union, warns that one third of the EU youth between the ages of 18 and 24 are at risk of social exclusion (Paolini et al. 2013). Along with these effects, the scarcity of financial resources keeps young people from emancipation and starting their own family, or forces them to emigrate abroad in search of a job and a better life. The following table shows the flow of emigration of Spanish youth aged 20 to 24 years old, the age group that usually corresponds with the end of higher education. As can be seen, the flow is always higher in women, who also attain higher levels of education, representing 54.3% of total university enrolment (MECD 2013). In the six years covered, from 2008 to 2013, the flow of immigration has gone up by 242%, and higher proportionally among women than men.



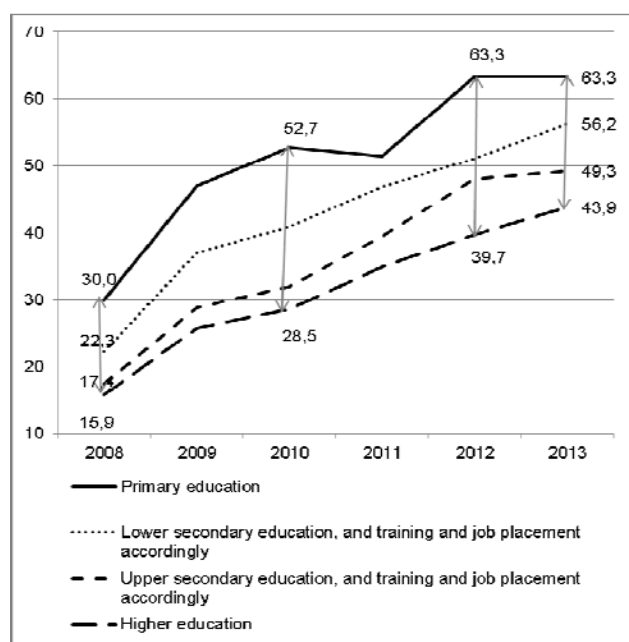
Table 2: Evolution of the flow of emigration abroad of Spanish youth aged 20 to 24 (2008-2013)

	Total	Men	Women
2008	1909	906	1003
2009	1821	858	963
2010	2183	1006	1177
2011	2930	1367	1563
2012	3252	1510	1742
2013	4615	2145	2470
Ratio 2008-13	241.7%	236.8%	246.3%

Source: INE. Migration Studies (2008-2013). Unit: migratory movements³

These data must necessarily be juxtaposed with young people's education and training, which is one of the most important variables in relation to economic crises (e.g., Varghese 2009, 2010; Barakat, Holler, Prettnner, Schuster 2010; Hartleya 2010; Shafiq 2010; Ball, Maguire and Goodson 2012). Therefore, the report from the EACEA on the social exclusion of youth in Europe, mentioned above, states that on the average in the EU countries, the likelihood for youth to suffer from "material want" is 7 times greater in those who dropped out at the age of 16 than in those who reached higher education (Paolini et al. 2013, p. 13). The report goes on to note that Spain is among the countries where this rate is lower than the average (ibid.). However, this observation requires a few caveats. According to the data from the Spanish Labour Force Survey, this ratio shows a more complex profile in which the effect of levels of education on job possibilities has become greater over the course of the crisis. As

Figure 1: Evolution of unemployment by level of schooling (young adults from 20 to 24 years old)⁴



Source: Based on data from the Labour Force Survey- INE (2008-2013)

shown in the graph (figure 1) below, the difference in the unemployment rate of young people with a primary school education and those with higher education was 14.1 percentage points in 2008 and rose to 19.4 points in 2013. The situation reached its peaks in 2010, with a difference of 24.2 points, and 2012, with 23.6 points. In primary education the line is fluctuant, while in higher education the growing tendency is permanent and softer.

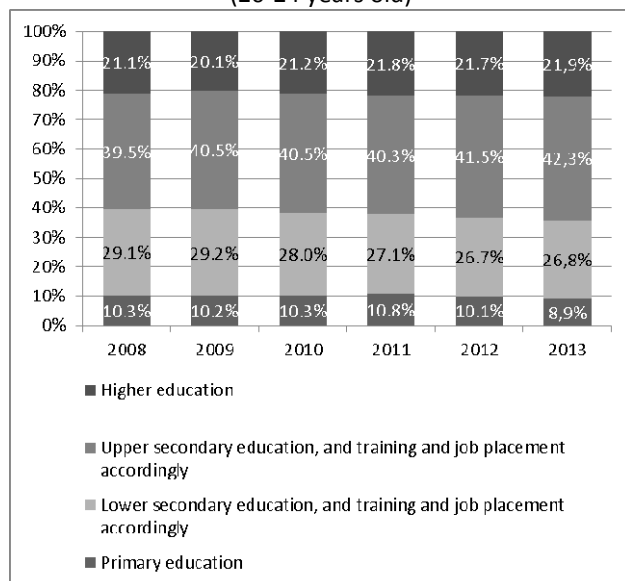
Given these results, one would expect to see an upturn in the young people's levels of schooling in an attempt to open more doors in these times of crisis. The graph below (figure 2) illustrates what has happened in that regard over the last six years. It shows that the proportional increase in schooling has mostly been concentrated on upper secondary education, i.e., the last two years of high school (grades 11 and 12). Fewer students are willing to stop at a lower secondary certificate (grade 10, the end of compulsory formal education in Spain), but rather aspire to a more thorough upper secondary education, which in Spain comprises the Baccalaureate as well as secondary-level technical/vocation training. As regards higher education, the increase is less pronounced, perhaps due to the hopelessness in young people and the lack of financial resources in this recessionary context to afford an education that, in the case of university studies, involves a sustained financial burden for at least 4 years, and whose return on investment is not always clearly perceived.

The *Education at a Glance* report from 2013 confirms these data in the context of the OECD. It reports that the percentage of youth who continue studying after completing compulsory education has increased in Spain faster than the OECD average. In 2008, roughly 81% of Spanish youth aged 15 to 19 and 21% aged 20 to 29 were enrolled, but by 2011 these percentages had increased to 86% and 26%, respectively. In comparison, in the OECD nations enrolment among 15-to-19-year-olds went up from 81% to 84% and enrolment among 20-to-29-year-olds went from 25% to 28% over the same period (OCDE 2013).

The trends point to Spanish youth between 15 and 29 years old staying an average of 6.4 years in the school system, which is less than the OECD average of 7.1 years. Spanish youth are also inactive for 1.1 years, or unemployed for 2.5 years, which is more than the OECD average of 2.4 years. This greater difficulty to find a job explains that since 2008 the estimated time that youth from 15 to 29 years old remain in school has increased by almost one year, which, according to the report, "suggests that some Spanish youth see education as a temporary way to avoid unemployment and a potential advantage when they try to return to the job later on" (ibid., p. 1). However, the report warns of the fact that more than half of the young people in that age group who do not study and who hold a part time job would like to find a full-time job instead, which is interpreted "as an indication that not all young people feel

compelled to return to school to increase their chances of entering the job market at some future stage" (ibid., p. 6).

Figure 2: Evolution of levels of education among youth (20-24 years old)



Source: INE. Labour force survey (2008-2013). Schooling completed

The difficulty increases when nothing more can be expected from the education system, which is giving rise to the phenomenon of the NEET generation ("Not in Education, Employment or Training"). In Spain, more than 20% of the youth aged 15-29 -in contrast to the OECD average of 16%-found themselves in this situation in 2011. It is significant that the NEETs in this age group with higher education increased in Spain by approximately 69% between 2008 and 2011. This increase is much greater than the OECD average for the same period, which was 24%, and that of the European Union (EU21), which rose by 29% (ibid., p. 10).

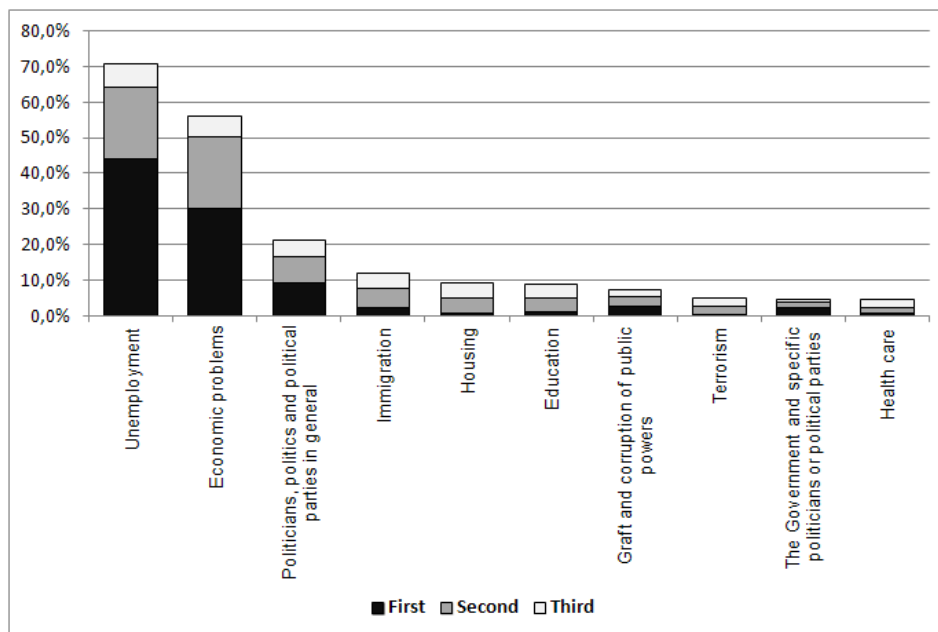
3 How young people perceive the situation

What do young people think of this crisis situation? To answer this question we turn to an analysis of the Barometer published by the *Spanish Sociological Research Centre* (CIS) from January 2009 to June 2013 (figure 3).⁵ As expected, unemployment and financial hardships from the last five years have consolidated their ranking as the main problems our country has for young people, identified as such by 70.6% and 55.9%

respectively. With them in the top ten are a set of difficulties regarding basic social rights (housing, education and health care) and questions specifically about immigration and terrorism. It is significant, however, that the third largest problem in the nation, as noted by 21.1% of the young people, involves politicians, politics and political parties in general, and that the top ten list also includes corruption and fraud in the public powers (7.3%) and the current administration and specific politicians or political parties (4.5%).

The economy and politics are both aspects that make the future uncertain for young people. As shown in the table, also made from the 2009-2013 CIS Barometer data (table 3), the proportion of young adults who think the two aspects will get worse in the near future is greater than those who think it will get better. This does not keep young people from being slightly more optimistic than the population at large as regards the economy. In contrast, regarding politics their opinion is more polarized, with larger proportions of youth than the general population who think it will worsen or improve. In both populations, and for both aspects, though mostly in politics, the greatest percentage is for those who make no claim as to whether the near future will get better or worse.

Figure 3: Main problems facing the country (youth 18-25 yrs old)



Source: CIS. Barometer (January 2009 – June 2013)

If we consider what has happened over these last five years (figure 4), pessimism has increased in terms of politics and the economy, although with a more fluctuating profile in the case of the economy. It should be noted that in January 2012, following the last general elections, optimism among youth increased regarding politics but not regarding the economy, which entered a phase of plummeting pessimism. Then, in the first half of



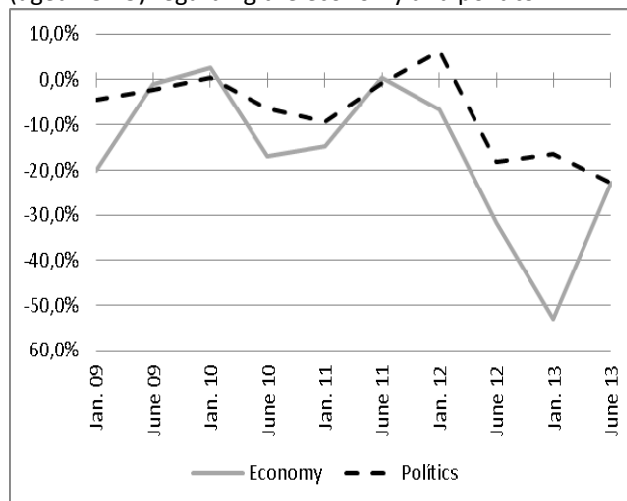
2013, the trend reverses. Hope arises regarding the economy but politics drops to a record low.

Table 3 Young people's outlook on the economy and politics in the near future

		Better	Same	Worse
THE ECONOMY	Total	18.0%	36.0%	35.7%
	Youth (18-25)	19.3%	38.5%	34.7%
POLITICS	Total	13.5%	47.2%	19.0%
	Youth (18-25)	15.5%	49.1%	22.8%

Source: CIS. Barometer (January 2009 – June 2013)

Figure 4: Evolution of expectations of young people (aged 18-25) regarding the economy and politics⁶



Source: CIS. Barometer (January 2009 – June 2013)

4 Young people's political response to the crisis

The perception of the socio-economic context is reflected in the political attitudes of youth. Back in the 1920s, the then President of the Government in Spain, Álvaro de Figueroa, Count of Romanones, bemoaned the scarce political interest held by young people when he said:

“The ball has produced important changes to modern life, and in every corner of the world, politics being no exception, contributing to youth's distancing itself from it. In the past, students abandoned the university to join the ranks of Carlists or to fight for freedom in barricades; today more than a few drop out of college to become professional ball players; this fact is regrettable, since the absence of youth in politics produces heinous effects; their vim and verve have no substitute” (Figueroa 1999, p. 12).⁷

One hundred years later, plagued on the national and international scene with historical events that have called democratic systems into question, it cannot be said that Spanish youth are politically apathetic. At least

some of the young people have become active subjects politically, even if politics is understood in a very different way. Rather than indifference, what we see today is overall distrust of institutional politics. Compared to 15.5% and 16% of the youth who state their indifference to or boredom with politics, are 40.6% who say they feel distrust and 11.2% irritation. On the other hand, only 11.8% state being interested and 3.1% enthusiastic.

Table 4: Feelings in young people regarding politics (15-29 yrs old)

Enthusiasm	3.1%
Indifference	15.5%
Boredom	16.0%
Distrust	40.6%
Irritation	11.2%
Interest	11.8%
Other feeling	0.3%
Don't know	0.7%
No answer	0.8%

Source: CIS. Study on political culture of young people (CIS 2011b)

This distrust and disdain is directed primarily at the institutional forms of representative politics. To prove it, it suffices to look at what has happened in the last general elections. The table below (table 5) uses data from post-electoral polls taken from the CIS Barometer to show the turnout of young voters with respect to the total voting population in the last two general elections held in Spain.

Table 5: Turnout in the general elections of 2008 and 2011

	2008 Elections: youth (18-24)	2008 Elections: Total	2011 Elections: youth (18-24)	2011 Elections: Total
Voted	76.5%	86.9%	74.6%	83.7%
Preferred not to vote	17.0%	9.1%	19.9%	11.7%
Couldn't vote	5.8%	3.5%	5.1%	4.3%
No answer	0.7%	0.4%	0.5%	0.4%

Source: CIS. Post-electoral studies on the general elections of 2008 and 2011(CIS 2008 and 2011c)

As can be seen, young people 18 to 24 years old are the ones who have the highest abstention rate. In the last two elections, the ones who chose not to vote exceeded 17%, and those who could not, 5%. On the other hand, the table shows an overall decline in voting in 2011 with respect to 2008, down 3.2 percentage points, which however was less pronounced (1.9 points) among the younger voters.

The reasons why young people abstained from voting in the 2011 general elections were not very different from the ones for the general public. In both cases, the

most frequent motive was distrust of political parties and politicians, followed by the lack of suitable alternatives, the pointlessness of voting and the chance to show discontent by abstention. For the electorate, consisting of all eligible persons 18 and older, an important motive was their weariness with politics and elections. Although this reason was not as strong among the youngest voters, it was still mentioned by more than 13% of them. In contrast, a stronger reason among young people in the electorate was that they felt disoriented and did not know who to vote for.

Table 6: Reasons for abstention in the 2011 general elections

	Youth aged 18 to 24	Total
No trust in any party or politician	45.7%	42.6%
No suitable alternative	38.0%	37.3%
Whether you vote or not, it won't make any difference anyway	32.7%	28.9%
To show their discontent	21.0%	25.5%
Disoriented, did not know who to vote for	14.8%	6.5%
Tired of politics and elections	13.8%	26.7%
Other reasons	11.4%	12.0%
Don't know / No answer	22.7%	20.5%

Source: CIS. Post-electoral study on the general elections of 2011(CIS 2011c)

More than a fifth (21.8%) of the young people between 18 and 24 years old in the post-election poll defined themselves politically as "liberal", the most chosen position, and in contrast to other options featured in the survey, such as socialist, nationalist or even conservative, it is hard to peg to any political formation in particular. This is in line with 57.5% of the young people stating that they do not feel any affinity to any party or coalition. Three fourths (76.2%) feel that politicians do not care much about what people their age think, and even more (81.2%) think that people in power are only looking out for their own interests (CIS 2011c).

The results of these surveys reveal the despair that built up in the time between elections, and was vented a few months prior to the 2011 elections in the social uprising represented in the 15-M movement, which got its name because it broke out in a large protest that year on May 15. Many saw this as a response to the inability of institutional politics to deal with the problems the country had been facing since 2009. The movement, which was inspired in part by Stéphane Hessel's book *Time for Outrage!* (2011) and *React* by José Luis Sampedro and others (2011), with a foreword by Hessel, brought together many different citizen groups and platforms. It sprang up out of a multitudinous protest called on the 15 of May, which ended in occupation of the *Puerta del Sol*, the main square in Spain's capital Madrid, where the headquarters of the regional presidency are located.⁸ The protests continued into a large-scale camp-out. The protesters were turned out the next day, but the effect on them was not what was intended: it made many of them set up tents, not only in

the square in Madrid but also in squares in many other cities in Spain, the largest camp being the one in the *Plaza de Cataluña* in Barcelona. The campers in the *Puerta del Sol* and the *Plaza de Cataluña*, and others, decided to stay in the plazas at least until the municipal elections on May 22, which was against the electoral regulations. Support for the movement was not confined to Spain: throughout the world, Spanish residents abroad and local sympathizers alike marched together in cities such as London, Amsterdam, Istanbul, New York, Paris, Brussels, Bogota and Bologna (Hughes 2011, p. 408).

The 15-M movement was conceived and organized on line. Blogs and websites of collectives, Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp, YouTube, etc. were essential for spreading the message and mobilizing the citizens.⁹ Their *Democracia real ya (Real democracy now)* website gave the movement an ability to reach out to a wider audience while providing an identity to different groups towards the inside.¹⁰ The virtual presence of the movement was combined with the occupation of public squares, where the activists held daily assemblies to deal with the problems of the country. They organized into commissions and interest groups to diversify the subject matters. From the start, the movement took on a horizontal assembly-type profile that shied away from leader personalities and opposed the possibility of certain leaders becoming self-appointed official spokespersons.

The chance to boost the effectiveness of the movement occurred a week later, on May 22, with the municipal and regional elections in several Spanish autonomous communities. In the elections for the Assembly of the *Comunidad de Madrid*, where the movement began, voter turnout among young people and the population at large was only slightly lower than in the previous elections in 2007, and in fact young people abstained less than they had originally claimed.

Table 7: Participation in the regional elections of 2007 and 2011 in the Comunidad de Madrid

	2007 elections: (18-24 yrs)	2007 elections: Total	2011 elections: youth (18-24)	2011 elections: Total
Voted	70.4%	81.6%	69.6%	80.7%
Preferred not to vote	23.5%	12.2%	22.8%	15.6%
Could not vote	6.1%	6.2%	7.6%	3.3%

Source: CIS. Post electoral studies on regional and local 2007 and 2011 elections in the Comunidad de Madrid (CIS 2007 and 2011a)

A large percentage of young people (41.8%) answered that the 15-M movement had influenced them a lot when it came to casting their vote in the 2011 elections (CIS 2011a, question 18). However, this influence was not reflected as much in their abstention as it was in the composition of the Assembly. Whereas in the 2007 election the two main national parties -the People's



Party (PP) and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)- together garnered 90.8% of the seats, in the 2011 elections this proportion was reduced to 83.7%, which meant a decline of 7.1%. Something similar happened in the general elections held a few months later: in 2008, 323 of the 350 seats in Congress went to the two main parties; this dropped by 8.4%, to 296, in the 2011 elections.¹¹ In both cases, the loser was the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. Although many factors contributed to these results, especially the fatigue of the socialist party in power, the 15-M movement took it as a triumph of their stance against bipartisan politics (Cioni 2011; Anduiza, Martín, Mateos 2014).¹²

The movement has been kept very much alive throughout its existence, especially in the large urban areas. Its members have continued their work in neighbourhoods and villages, from their street assemblies or at social centres. As of the autumn of 2012, a sector of the movement became more radicalized, with protest demonstrations supported by the "*Plataforma ¡En Pie!*", (*Stand Up Platform*) whose goal was to "surround/siege the congress building" to achieve a dissolution of parliament and the installation of a transition process toward a different political and economic model. The movement is now taking a greater stance on questioning the neoliberal capitalist system, generating proposals they call *constituent power*, and reclaiming what is "common".¹³

5 Conclusion: some implications for citizenship education

The protest demonstration that arose in Spain on the 15th of May of 2011 may be considered as the social response, especially among young people, to what many perceive as a sombre period in our young democracy. Spain has one of the highest unemployment rates in the European Union, which has a dramatic effect on young adults. Between 2008 and 2013, unemployment among 20- to 24-year-olds went up by 254%. In the same period, the flow of emigration abroad for those same young adults rose by 242%. One effect of the economic recession has been the increased importance of schooling for improving one's chances of finding a job. While in 2008 the difference in unemployment between young adults who had not finished high school and those with a college education was 14.1 percentage points, by 2013 that difference had risen to 19.4 points. This trend, and the difficulties in finding a job, explains that since 2008 the estimated time young people remain in school has increased by almost a year, though still short of the average among OECD countries. The demand for education is concentrated most at the upper secondary level whereas higher and university education shows a minimum increase, perhaps due to the difficulties during a recession in making ends meet, especially with the raise in tuition and fees and the new policies on financial aid.

Unemployment and economic hardship are not, however, the only problems faced by our young people.

Spanish youth have trouble with political action, the government and the parties. Institutional politics cause more distrust and outrage than indifference. Consequently, the response has not been so much political abstention as seeking out an alternative, which was found in what became known as the 15-M movement. This movement has been deemed "one of the expressions of outrage of what is likely the most well-educated generation in history" (Hernández, Robles and Martínez 2013, p. 64). As happened in analogous movements in Iceland, Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab countries during the *Days of Rage*, and in the US with *Occupy* (Castells 2012) 15-M may be characterized as a *techno-illustrated civic initiative*. Its protesters included many university students who, among young adults of their age, are the most willing to participate politically, whether formally or informally (Martin 2007). These are young people who grew up in the digital era, students who have their world on the Internet and in social media.

The 15-M phenomenon acts as a stimulus to rethinking how to handle citizenship education at school. According to the *International Civic and Citizenship Education Study* (ICCS) of the *International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement* (IEA), Spanish students in secondary school have a moderate level of civic knowledge, average among the countries studied, but below many European countries. They also support democratic values, gender equality and immigrants' rights more than their classmates in other countries. However, they fail in their critical skills and ability to feel like active citizens. Thus, they are below average in their ability to analyze or reason their knowledge, in their interest in political affairs and in their perception of their political and citizen effectiveness (understand a political problem, defend their opinion on a controversial subject, run for the School Board, etc.). Our students have the feeling that their teachers do not encourage them to participate, to give their opinion or to consider different positions on a problem and, generally, as the study points out, the answers from students, teachers and school principals indicate a lack of participatory culture in the classroom (Instituto de Evaluación 2010, p. 27-29).

A comparison of these results from the ICCS with the capacity for political action of young people as witnessed in the 15-M movement reveals a clear gap between these two worlds. Schools do not prepare students enough to become active citizens, at least in the sense it is understood at the ICCS. And yet, 15-M participants show this competence in their ability at political mobilization. Indeed, adherents to the 15-M had a particular profile. They were young people affected by the consequences of the crisis, with high levels of education and resources for understanding and acting in the political reality, digital natives widely connected, involved in community life and with prior experience in political participation (Anduiza, Martín, Mateos 2014 p. 149-157). In consequence, the existing gap indicates that school must reinforce its civic role today more than ever. Exercising the rights of citizenship today requires more



than being good at reading and writing. The school's shirking of its responsibility may thus lead to the emergence of a new class differentiation of enlightened citizens who find opportunities for literacy in the new resources and skills at the superior levels of the education system or outside of it, and those who do not.

As public spaces of collective living, schools can provide a setting for young citizens to learn early on how to participate actively in their groups and institutions, to know the demands involved in participating in formal contexts, to move with a critical eye in social networks, to share goals and responsibilities, to modulate their interests with other people's, to appreciate the value of tolerance and recognition (Guío 2012). Learners must gradually come to understand the political and social processes they are immersed in, they must know their rights and duties, and be able to recognize shortcomings of the system, and to propose alternatives and actions to benefit the well-being of their groups and of society at large. Fostering a participatory culture at school also means making use of the resources offered by the community, for instance by having students participate in the dynamics of self-organization, fair trade activities, markets and solidarity drives, shared ecological vegetable gardens, volunteer work, children's and youth councils at their town hall, town council sessions open to the public, etc.

By encouraging participation in these types of experiences, the hope is to use the dynamics at and beyond the school to promote democratic living not as something guaranteed or closed, but as a living ideal continually being constructed by everyone in the different spheres of daily life.

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Endnotes

- ¹ Report by Severino Donate: International Youth Day with almost two million jobless youth in Spain. *Hoy por hoy* (radio program). Cadena Ser, August 12, 2013. Audio available at: http://www.cadenaser.com/espana/audios/dia-internacional-juventud-millones-juvenes-parados-espana/csrcsrpor/20130812csrcsrnac_11/Aes. [Accessed:12/8/13].
- ² INE: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Statistics Institute)
- ³ Data for 2013 are estimated.
- ⁴ As per the categories from the National Education Classification (CNEI) adapted by the National Statistics Institute
- ⁵ These analyses were completed in November 2013. The barometers used were those of January and June in the period between January 2009 and June 2013.
- ⁶ Differences in percentages between young people who think that the economic or political situation will get better and those who think it will get worse in the months from January to June of the period considered.
- ⁷ Carlism was a Spanish political movement of traditionalist character, originating in the 1820s. It looked for the establishment of an alternative branch of the dynasty of the Bourbons to the Spanish throne, which originally advocated a return to the Old Regime.
- ⁸ <http://tomalaplaza.net/>
- ⁹ There are more than 500 videos on YouTube tagged as "Spanish revolution". See <http://www.youtube.com/user/spanishrevolutionsol?feature=watch>
- ¹⁰ <http://www.democraciarealya.es>
- ¹¹ Information using the electoral results from the elections to the Assembly of Madrid and the general elections, available respectively at <http://www.asambleamadrid.es> and <http://www.infoelectoral.mir.es/min>
- ¹² Several political projects have emerged from the 15-M movement, including *Podemos* ("We Can" Party) which won five seats in the European Parliament elections in May 2014.
- ¹³ A *Foundation of Commons*, which includes groups from many different areas of Spain, has been created under the auspices of theoreticians such as Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2012).



Kornelija Mrnjaus, Sofija Vrcelj, Jasminka Zlokovic

Young People in Croatia in Times of Crisis and Some Remarks About Citizenship Education

In this paper, the authors address the youth as a research phenomenon and present the current position of young people in the Croatian society. The authors exhibit interesting results of a recent study of youth in Croatia and present the results of their research conducted among Croatian students aiming to explore the attitudes of young people and to discover how young people in Croatia develop resilience in times of crisis. They continue with remarks on citizenship education in Croatia and provide an overview of the Curriculum of civic education. Authors discuss whether we are dealing with education for democratic citizenship or rather, with the consequences of the non-existence of education for democratic citizenship in times of crisis in Croatia.

Autorice u ovom radu obrađuju mlade kao istraživački fenomen i predstavljaju trenutni položaj mladih ljudi u hrvatskom društvu. Autorice donose interesantne rezultate recentnog istraživanja o mladima u Hrvatskoj te prezentiraju rezultate vlastitog kvalitativnog istraživanja provedenog među hrvatskim studentima s ciljem da ispituju stavove mladih ljudi o krizi i otkriju kako mladi ljudi u Hrvatskoj razvijaju otpornost u vremenu krize. Nastavljaju s opažanjima o građanskom odgoju u Hrvatskoj i pružaju pregled Kurikuluma građanskog odgoja. Autorice otvaraju pitanje da li se govori o građanskom odgoju ili radije o posljedicama ne postojanja građanskog odgoja u vremenu krize u Hrvatskoj.

In dieser Arbeit diskutieren die Autorinnen Jugend als Forschungsphänomen und präsentieren die aktuelle Position der jungen Menschen in der kroatischen Gesellschaft. Die Autorinnen bringen interessante Ergebnisse einer aktuellen Studie der Jugend in Kroatien und präsentieren die Ergebnisse ihrer eigenen qualitativen Studie, welche sie unter kroatischen Studenten durchgeführt haben, mit dem Ziel, die Einstellungen der Jugendlichen zu untersuchen und zu entdecken, wie junge Menschen in Kroatien die Belastbarkeit in Krisenzeiten entwickeln. Sie setzen mit Bemerkungen über Lernen für Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft in Kroatien fort und bieten einen Überblick über Kurikulum des Lernens für Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft. Die Autorinnen öffnen die Frage, ob wir über das Lernen für Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft oder, besser gesagt, über die Folgen der Nicht - Existenz des Lernens für Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft in den Zeiten der Krise in Kroatien reden.

Keywords:

youth, youth and crisis, Croatia, resilience, citizenship education

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1 Introduction

The youth in Croatia, in times of crisis, is the topic that recently has drawn attention of both researches and state officials while recent publications have provided solid input for further writing. Considerably more challenging task was writing about education for democratic citizenship in Croatia in times of crisis. Source of data are published reports, information about experimental implementation of civic education in some Croatian primary schools and unofficial results of this project published in the national newspaper. We asked ourselves as to how to write about something that does not exist. That is the reason why we only set forth some remarks on civic education in Croatia and present ideas on civic education expressed through the curriculum of the subject.

The authors' reflections on young people in times of crisis and how young people develop resilience start with discussion about the youth as the research phenomenon. The discussion is followed by the presentation of the

current position, attitudes and behavioral patterns of young people in Croatia through a display of the results of a recently conducted empirical research Perceptions and attitudes of young people in Croatia toward changing reality. The authors also wanted to 'hear' what young people have to say about the crisis and what their vision for overcoming the crisis is. With that aim, the authors conducted a research among Croatian students and presented respective results in the fourth section.

Remarks on civic education in Croatia are introduced with an overview of the short history of education for democratic citizenship in Croatia and followed by the main principles of the Curriculum of civic education. The authors conclude with presenting the results of the recent research conducted among students participating in an experimental civic education program. The results confirm the assumptions and findings of other researches (Mrnjajus 1998; Ledić, Mrnjajus 2000) that civic virtues and knowledge about civic principles among Croatian youth are poor. Combining the results of the researches on youth in crisis and the developments with regard to citizenship education, authors emphasize the importance of continuing education for democratic citizenship.

2 Youth as a research phenomenon

Researchers of young people, like John R. Gillis (1999), consider youth a phenomenon of the twentieth century in which the youth forms an important social group. Young people create their own history, patterns of behavior and ways of thinking. The most important traditions of youth, such as student radicalism, subcultures, delinquency, experimenting with lifestyles and the like, have been developed, according to Gillis, in the twentieth century.

Young people represent a special (research) phenomenon because they reflect problems and they are a vulnerable group but, also, they generate changes. For example, the Croatian history, when being part of Yugoslavia, was marked by student protests and the so called Croatian spring in the late sixties and early seventies of the twentieth century. Students were the most radical among the groups demanding the demonopolization of the existing federal institutions and the liberalization of political reforms. As of the proclamation of independence till 2008, students practically did not exist as an organized political force in Croatia and people often mocked the students saying the only thing they complained about were the prices in student restaurants. The first student initiative was the anti NATO initiative, when 125.000 signatures were collected to support a referendum against the Croatian accession to NATO. This initiative was followed by a protest organized by students dissatisfied with the Bologna reform. Since 1991 that was the largest student protest in Croatia. The same year, a student protest against commercialization of education was organized. In the spring of 2009, students occupied, i.e., blocked the classrooms at their faculties. That was one of the most

massive European student resistance that year. The second blockade was in November. In the spring of 2010, students organized a protest regarding free education, which had positive results as in their third attempt they won a free master study for all and free first year of bachelor study. In 2010, some students supported the academics who gave a strong stand to the new higher education and science laws. In 2011, students participated in a large scale anti-governmental protest against capitalism and joining the EU. The youth (student) protests are sporadic, start with huge enthusiasm but as fast as they start they also cease. They do not involve the entire student population. Most of the student population disagree with student resistance, considering that they should be silent and work. More than twenty years after the proclamation of independence, the Croatian society has still been in transition, which is a process resulting with great instability and insecurity in all areas of life. In particular, social differences, inequality of opportunities and great economic uncertainty may be noticed in all age groups, and this especially applies to young people. Young people express their concerns for their present and future life in different ways, often with a sense of lack of prospects. The youth reflects many difficulties of a particular society, which can lead them to risky behaviors, i.e., generate a series of problems for a longer period of time (Zloković, Vrcelj 2010).

There is a tradition of empirical studies of the youth (thematically broad set of researches of the youth in Croatia were conducted from the 1980s to the mid 2000s involving young people across the country; Radin 1988; Ilišin, Radin 2002, 2007; Ilišin 2005) in Croatia. Studies have shown that the transition period brought more risks and uncertainties rather than new and broader opportunities for the young people. Previous analyses have shown that young people in countries in transition are faced with a series of processes that hamper their proper integration into the adult world, such as the rise of social differences and inequalities of educational opportunities, escalation of competition in the labor market with rising unemployment and precarious labor, increase in crime and risky behaviors, decrease of health care quality, collapse of the former and slow installation of different social values. Thereby, the intergenerational transmission of values weakens and the socio-economic importance of family resource strengthens (Wallace, Kovatcheva 1998; Ule et al. 2000; Roberts 2003). This is confirmed by the results of the recently conducted empirical research Perceptions and attitudes of young people in Croatia toward changing reality aiming to identify and analyze some of the attitudes and behavioral patterns of young people in the contemporary Croatian society (Ilišin et al. 2013). The research was conducted by the Institute for Social Research and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Zagreb, and it was conceived and carried out by Shell model studies of the youth (Shell Youth Survey). The sample included 1500 examinees aged from 14 to 27 years (born between 1985 and 1998) from all over the country. Most of the



respondents were full-aged (mean age 20.9 years) whose childhood or early socialization took place in the turbulent 1990s. Results of this study confirm the findings of series of empirical studies dated in the past two decades. It turns out that the coming generations have withdrawn into privacy, developed a stronger orientation to family and reluctance social and political engagement as a reaction to the increasing uncertainty in their socio - economic environment.

3 Youth in Croatia in times of crisis

In Croatia, term youth embraces persons between 15 and 30 years, i.e. young people are persons "between" children and adults. Although the age is the primary criterion that "generates" collective identification, it should be noted that young people are quite a heterogeneous group because very different ideological orientations, difficulties and needs, differences with regard to the place of residence can be identified within it. This leads to the conclusion that the youth are a group that does not stand collective identifications (cf. Bužinkić 2010, Štefančić 2010). In Croatia, as in most European societies, the unfavorable demographic trends are present. From 1953 to 2001, the proportion of young people (15-29 years old) in total population decreased from 27.7% to 20.6% (Ilišin et al. 2013, 11). Situated between two relatively hard to define and easily recognizable periods of life, childhood and adulthood, youth is recognized as an unstable and ambivalent developmental period which requires special care and supervision of adults. Therefore, it is realistic to expect that care and work with young people should be an important part of state policy. In some countries, work with youth resulted in so-called young people government policy (Ule et al. 2000). In Croatia, the National Program for youth from 2009 - 2013 is integral as part of the activities of the Ministry of Social Policy and Youth and the Law on Youth Councils which encourages the active engagement of young people in public life. Despite the declarative level, the actual level of concern about young people seems to be substantially different.

Along with the problems that affect young people in both the developed and in the former socialist countries, today's generation of young people in Croatia grew up in a society marked by war traumas and modest economic development, and they mature in circumstances of economic decline and high personal uncertainties. In Croatia, 83,800 young people aged 15 - 24 years are out of the school system and have no job. Thereof, around 20,000 teenagers, or 8% of young people are 15 to 19 years old. Thereby, Croatia is at the top of the charts between Romania and the United Kingdom (Gatarić and Beti 2013). According to data from the Croatian Employment Service, at the end of 2011 there were 104,273 unemployed young people aged 15 - 29 years and 139,770 aged 15 - 34 years, and in late November 2012 there were 121,228 unemployed young people aged 15 - 29 years, or 160,272 up to 34 years. Regarding the youth unemployment, Croatia holds the inglorious

second place in Europe, behind Spain, and outnumbering Greece. In 2012, in Croatia 60% of 130,000 unemployed young people did not have a single day of service in their profession. A disturbing fact is that in Croatia in October 2012 there was as much as 22,728 unemployed persons having master's or doctorate degree. According to the latest data from the Croatian Employment Service, 51.8% young people were unemployed in September 2013. Unemployment and poor financial situation are the reasons why young people in Croatia become independent with great difficulties. The results of the 2011 census show that as much as 70,000 more young people live with their parents than in 2001. As much as 354,863 young people aged over 25 years live in households with their parents and thus being treated as 'children'. They live with their parents until the age of thirty, they do not have great prospects for their own home, and since they are unemployed bank credits are unavailable to them. These are some reasons why they are reluctant to marry and to have children. Depression, asocial behavior, fears, hopelessness, promiscuity and various addictions are only some of the problems that afflict today's young population, both worldwide and in Croatia. The facts show that suicide is one of the three leading causes of death among young people aged 15 to 24.

Results of the most recent research on youth in Croatia in times of crisis (Ilišin et al. 2013) show that one third of young people live in families experiencing everyday difficulties in covering essential needs, every seventh respondent lives in a family at the edge of poverty, while 14% of young people live in households whose monthly expenses are up to 2,500 Kuna (approx. 330 Euro). A car and a computer were a luxury for their parents, and to them they are basic needs in order to be mobile and connected. Households with young people on average own 1.23 cars and one computer (0.93). Young people in Croatia still highly regard traditional family values based on marriage and matrimonial communities which they plan to establish in the future, however every sixteenth young person plans to avoid starting a family. Years of late youth, i.e. 30 years of age for men and 27 years of age for women, are considered to be the best age for marriage. Most of them plan to have two children. Croatia has still been a country of low mobility. Two - thirds of young people tend to educate themselves in educational institutions in Croatia, while only a third of the respondents would decide for overseas education. Despite the hard economic situation and high unemployment rate, young people in Croatia show a decline in the tendency to migrate internally and externally. In 1999, 61% of young people expressed desire to leave the country (Štimac, Radin, 2002), while in 2013 only 27% expressed such a desire.

Young people mostly spend their leisure time in activities related to fun and entertainment that differ with regard to their socio - economic status and value system. Most of the time they use the Internet and their real life friends are replaced with virtual friends. Their

monthly costs include (branded) clothing, shoes and accessories (on average 216 Kuna, approx. EUR 28), hanging out in bars and restaurants (202 Kuna, approx. EUR 27), and the phone/cell phone bill (117 Kuna, approx. EUR 15). They spend very little time watching movies in the cinema and/or purchasing DVDs (35 Kuna, approx. EUR 5) and buying books (20 Kuna, approx. EUR 3). This indicates the priorities and habits of young people—good looking appearance and being well presented is important and this requires adequate “equipment”, they meet their friends most commonly in cafes and cell phones are devices from which they do not separate themselves. It is very important to make a good impression and to build a certain image. For them, it is more important to look good and to find a potential spouse than it is to build a successful career. Almost a third of young people believe that consuming marijuana is modern, about 30% of them are smokers, and nearly half of young people consume alcohol once a week or even more often, and believe that alcohol is acceptable or necessary for belonging to a certain social group. Unfortunately, alcohol has still been a socially very acceptable addictive drug in Croatia, and this opinion is shared by most young people.

Young people express the highest level of confidence towards people closest to them such as family members, friends and relatives. This is followed by trust in colleagues, neighbors, people of other religions and those of different political persuasions. Young people express reservation toward religious leaders which might indicate a dose of criticism that young people harbor toward institutional authorities. Values which young people admire most are dignity as a desirable existential goal and tolerance and fairness as desirable behaviors. The fighting spirit is a value that also occupies a high position. This represents the desirability of active and independent ways of achieving goals. Social status is a value that is not particularly widespread among young people, as well as materialistic orientation, or the acquisition of wealth. The value of innovation, which is often associated with youth as a creative social resource is rated poorly. Despite the relatively high valuation of tolerance, young people proved to be quite intolerant, especially against homosexuals and some ethnic groups (i.e. Roma, people from Eastern Europe, China, the Balkans). Young people generally believe in all four of the Christian truths (God exists, God created the world, there is a heaven and hell, God is the source of moral rules and duties). Most of them celebrate religious holidays, more than a third prays, a quarter are churchgoers, every sixth young person goes to confession and every tenth on pilgrimages.

The distinctive patterns of political behavior of young people are observed and they are generally observed in comparison with the elderly (Ilišin 1999; Norris 2004; Fahmy 2006). Young people distance their-selves from politics, especially institutional (conventional, formal), which manifests through low interest in politics and below average participation in political institutions and

processes. If, and when they get politically active, they are more prone to non - institutional political action: from various forms of protests to engagement in civic associations and actions. They are more prone to taking radical political positions and are potentially liable to various forms of political manipulation and instrumentalization (Henn et al 2007; Ilišin 1999, 2005b; Ilišin et al. 2013). Very few young people see a connection between the social and political engagement and their own prospects; readiness for social and political participation is extremely poorly rated. This is in accordance with the finding that political parties, parliament and government enjoy a very low level of trust among young people. Strategy that promises success in personal development is considered to be a pragmatic adaptation to the environmental conditions, confidence in their own strengths and reliance on family support.

Young people are more uninterested than interested in politics whereby they are more interested in politics in the EU than in the Balkans. Interest in politics grows linearly with age and level of education of young people and their fathers. Young people gather information about political events via television. Mostly they do not discuss politics with their parents and they do not know how to assess whether their political views match the views of their parents. On the ideological scale in Croatia, the left - center party has the most supporters, whereas young people slightly incline to the right center. Many pre - election polls showed that young people are more prone to electoral abstinence, which is often encouraged with a sense that they cannot affect the work of governmental institutions. Most young people believe that their generational interests are very poorly represented in the political sphere. The confidence of young people in social and political institutions is relatively low (Ilišin 2005b; Sekulić, Šporer 2010; Ilišin et al. 2013). Young people express the highest level of trust to the police and the judiciary, which can be linked to the ongoing fight against crime and corruption.

At the forefront of the scale of problems that are, in the opinion of young people, particularly disturbing in Croatian society today are the problems of socioeconomic and existential nature (unemployment, increasing poverty, insecurity). This is an indication that young people are aware of the social reality in which they live. Fear of deteriorating health, legal uncertainty, the spread of crime and environmentally irresponsible behavior follow the above mentioned. Rather frequent evictions of Croatian citizens, climate changes and terrorism are problems they fear the least. At the top tier of political priorities on which Croatian government should focus, young people put reduction of youth unemployment, fight against crime and corruption, and economic growth and development. However, most young people still consider social justice, human rights, and improvement of social status of women and youth as very important issues. This indicates that, despite the democratization of Croatian society, satisfactory results



in the elimination of various inequalities—social, gender, generational—still has not been achieved.

Young people are mostly concerned with socio-economic problems, which is an indication that they are aware of the difficulties Croatia is facing. They wonder how long the current situation will last and how it will impact their individual life chances. Despite everything, young people are optimistic regarding the economic future of Croatia and personal future in the next 10 years. The data illustrate the well-known imbalance between social and personal optimism/pessimism, which is characterized by the supremacy of personal social optimism (Ilišin 2011). This persistent tendency leads to the assumption that young people draw their optimism regarding their personal future from the hope that “time is working for them”, i.e., from expectation that there is still enough time in front of them to achieve their life goals. Results show that moderate optimism about economic future is prevalent in almost all subgroups of young people, so it seems that the vitality of youth is a strong barrier to ominous forecasts of economic and other analysts. This is good news from the standpoint of society because it indicates that youth is not affected by utter dejection and the sense of lack of prospects. Most of the young people agree with the Croatian accession to the EU, and one out of five students is against. The youngest respondents are less likely to support European integration of Croatia. This is disturbing because they will potentially spend most of their lives in Croatia as a member of the European Union. Most young people expect positive effects after Croatia’s accession to the EU. Fears caused by the country’s accession to the EU that young people express are compatible with expressed hopes. They fear the negative socio-economic consequences more than threatening to the sovereignty and identity of the state and nation. However, optimism about the future of European Croatia still has been more present among young people than pessimism.

4 Voice of the youth in times of crisis, outcomes of a qualitative study among Croatian students

Viewing the youth as a social potential (for a change), we tried, contextualizing youth not only in age but also in the structure of the Croatian society, to examine the attitudes of young people towards the crisis and their vision for overcoming the crisis. The study used a qualitative methodological approach with a questionnaire as a primary research method. The questionnaire had three open-ended questions. The sample included the target population of students, who may be considered a protected group because they have certain rights which the unemployed youth are deprived of. For the research, the authors selected the students studying to become future higher primary and secondary school teachers. One of the reasons for selecting this group was the fact that in Croatia teaching is the profession connected with greater social sensitivity and acceptance of poorly paid work without larger prospects. The study was conducted using the questionnaire on a sample of

students—future higher primary and secondary school teachers—at the University of Rijeka, which was completed by 85 respondents (approximately 17% of the total number of such students). Out of the total number of respondents, only 8.5% were men, which confirms that teaching has been becoming a majority female profession. The average age of the respondents was 22.3 years.

The questionnaire contained three open-ended questions (What is your opinion on the crisis in Croatia? How do you see the way out of the crisis? How do you deal with the crisis?) aiming to find out what the crisis means to respondents, how they deal with crisis and to how they see a way out of the crisis. This served us as a criterion for the analysis and categorization of the responses. Given the number of respondents, the conclusions cannot be generalized, but the answers are indicative because they confirm the results obtained from the survey conducted on the population of young people in Croatia (Ilišin et al. 2013). Some answers are not quite correct in terms of Croatian grammar and style. The authors maintained the original construction of sentences in transcription in order to avoid any misinterpretation and prevent influencing the answers. Also, in translation we wanted and tried to keep the original construction. In analyzing the answers, the authors did not find differences between different groups of students (regarding age, sex, study), which is the reason why we have not included the independent variables in the interpretation. We used frequencies instead of percentages because respondents often gave a few groups of answers in one answer. In analyzing the answers, we used the total number of students that mentioned a certain group of answers.

4.1 Youth opinions about the crisis

The largest number of respondents (45 of them or 53%) link crisis to the economic aspect which subsume the difficult situation in the country, government incompetence, lack and loss of jobs and unemployment. Respondents contextualize the crisis at the global level but also in the context of Croatia. Unlike global context that derives a shortage of jobs, local, Croatian context of crisis is characterized by the following features: high taxes vs. low incomes, lack of progress, which means that without nepotism we cannot thrive, crime, corruption, defective system, disorganization, false promises and stealing at all high positions, hopelessness, helplessness, fear, anger, stress, insufficient money for living, inability of average Croat to earn for a decent daily life. Respondents also commented the role of media and political speeches that emphasize crisis and thus causing mass hysteria. They call themselves “lost generation”, aware that they will face insecurity of market (economy), often change the job and do not have their own place to live and with “bitter picture of homeland”.

Unemployment is also seen as a considerable problem (33 respondents), (lack of employment opportunities, lack of jobs, job loss, and unemployment of elderly



people). However, respondents (17) said that it was difficult to separate the economic crisis from other “forms” of crisis, so in Croatia we can talk about crisis in human relations, in understanding of morality, tolerance, empathy and other aspects that are important in daily life of an ordinary (grass roots) citizen. Respondents point out the lack of tolerance in the micro-cell of society – the family, which is seen as a place of tolerance, love, warmth and support. The definition of marriage has been a topical issue in Croatia. On December 1st 2013, Croatian citizens voted on a referendum whether the definition of marriage as a community between man and woman should be incorporated in the Croatian Constitution. Many see this initiative as meddling in minority rights. Public opinion is divided.

Respondents are aware of the great impact of the crisis on social life. They notice that neighbors are not talking anymore, that humanity disappears because people are afraid for their own existence, anger, stress, aggression grow and people are more distant and crueler. For such a situation they blame the media and politicians stating that they use terms such as ‘recession’ and ‘crisis’ in order to manipulate masses. Under moral crisis, the respondents purport the lack of necessary critical dimension towards global values that are imposed. In this regard, the crisis of “mind” is stressed, which is dominant in Croatia because we accept everything uncritically. Respondents define crisis as distrust in institutions that do not function according to the purpose they exist for. That is, according to the respondents’ opinion, manifested in the way that those who are responsible do not want to find a way out of the crisis. Responses indicate the critical perception of crisis that encompasses all aspects of life and all layers of society. The respondents’ answers indicate that the political establishment is at the same time economy elite, disconnected from and desensitized to the crisis just because of their own position. A substantial number of respondents detect the source of the crisis precisely in the Croatian political establishment.

Respondents (7) indicate the paradox when it comes to the crisis in Croatia, that is, they indicate significant social stratification which is manifested with individuals crossing the poverty line, living in poverty, not having the basic conditions for life on one side, and on the other side people that live on standards of rich people. Along with commenting various aspects of the ongoing crisis, respondents “transfer” the crisis to the future. They are aware future generations will have to pay off the current large external Croatian debt and even those not born yet will also live in crisis. Respondents (11) also expressed pessimism (global dissatisfaction, disorientation, stress, intolerance, depression, suicidal tendencies). Other features of the crisis in Croatia that the respondents (13) mentioned are: high taxes, low income, lack of progress, leaving Croatia, the inability to achieve the goals, crime, corruption, violence, human hopelessness, helplessness, fear, anger, stress, high goals, and too small resources. Four respondents stated that the crisis is fictional.

4.2 Youth opinions about a way out of the crisis

The analysis of the responses as to how they see the way out of the crisis showed a greater dispersion of answers than the question about the crisis. From the responses received, we can see that young people are aware of (they perceive) all the problems in the country, and they make some suggestions for changes that might help coming out of the crisis as soon as possible. The respondents see the exit from the crisis in all aspects of life, what is to be expected since the crisis affects all aspects. In addition to interventions that are usually the responsibility of the Government and the Parliament (oust politicians and those who run Croatia, the statesmen must find the way out, honest people in the government, a government that takes care of the citizens, that politicians stop being greedy, drastic changes at the top, joining the EU, when the state starts to function as a whole, expertise of competent people, quality leadership; 18 respondents), respondents (14) mention distrust in possible ways out of crisis, and are predominantly pessimistic.

The respondents (9) see a possible way out of the crisis in larger investments in education and the change in the educational policy, investments in young people and in educating young people to think. Closely related to education, which in this context should be understood as an investment as well, is, at the micro and macro (global) levels, increase of investments (17 respondents) that would produce a “domino effect”. It would cause the raise of economic base and stimulation of domestic production and development of industry. Since the crisis did not affect all population structures, respondents (11) propose changes in tax and fiscal policy (taxes on the rich, lowering the rate of VAT, taxes on Church, to stop borrowing, proper use of money, to live sustainably in accordance with their own capabilities, thriftiness, give up the luxuries and live simply). Respondents (3) also observe a distinct moral crisis and they mention the importance of the change of moral values, i.e. return to “essential” values (such as love, family, friendship, understanding, tolerance, freedom). Although respondents provided many constructive solutions, they are rather pessimistic and believe that the crisis is very deeply rooted and will only deepen. Some respondents ignore the crisis, i.e. do not think about it. As one of the solutions, a part of the respondents (4) see the leaving – “escape from” – the state.

The respondents (13) observed the non - recognition of young people and their competences and suggests that those in power give a chance to young people and keep them in the country through opportunity and security of employment after their education. However, we must also mention the number of respondents (7), who take a positive attitude and believe in a better tomorrow. Young people are also aware of individual responsibilities (10 respondents) and state that it is important to help others, to be persistent, work and strive, to solve their own problems and to raise awareness. As “another” way out of the crisis they see



the reduction of wages of those who sit in the Parliament, and not to those who do not have; filtration of media; new ideas and solutions; that other help us; going out in the streets; protests; cooperation of all institutions; that all adhere to the rules, or in not thinking about the crisis.

4.3 Youth opinions about resilience

A large number of respondents (31) stated they do not feel the crisis, i.e. they do not feel it, but their parents do. Answering the question 'how do they deal with crisis' 8 respondents expressed ignorance when it comes to crisis and some respondents (20) find the solution in optimism and positive thinking. However, in these optimistic answers we find traces of helplessness and wandering as to how long such an optimism will last. They find support in their age, youth, and hope of having more time and a life ahead of them. Despite the positive attitude, some respondents expressed fear whether they will find a job after they graduate and expect a harsh blow of reality if they decide to stay in the country.

Some respondents stated that it is difficult to cope with the crisis. To help parents, i.e. ease the burden on them, respondents work during their studies and this solution adversely influence successful studying. Young people find security in their family. Respondents (5) state that they are lucky because their parents work and can pay for their education. As one way of coping with the crisis, respondents (19) mentioned thriftiness, i.e. rational disposal of finances and 5 of them consider leaving Croatia and moving to countries where educated young people are respected as one of the solutions. As other ways of coping with the crisis, respondents mentioned the performance of their own obligations, understanding, to be without excessive expectations, dissatisfaction, they live from day to day, they are used to it, making people aware, isolation from people who are in the "machine", preservation of old, traditional values. One respondent answered "purchasing rolling tobacco instead of cigarettes". This response reflects the growing phenomenon among the population of smokers in Croatia, i.e. purchasing of tobacco and "rolling" cigarettes at home as it is much cheaper than buying ready-made cigarettes.

5 Remarks on citizenship education in Croatia

Croatia just went through its first referendum initiated by Croatian citizens. The question was if the statement "Marriage is a community of a man and a woman." should be incorporated in the Constitution. The majority of voters declared their consent with this proclamation and it will be incorporated in the Constitution. The fact that some anonymous person(s) can finance a civil initiative that results in changing the Constitution and that the majority is not concerned by the fact that it is not know who stands behind is frightening. Frightening is the fear that some people feel of people who are different in any way, expressions of anger, rage and hate on the faces of mostly young people screaming at the

participants of the LGBT parade. Frightening are the Ustasha greetings at the end of football games, at music concerts; young people wearing Ustasha symbols and high school graduates taking photos in front of the swastika symbol. Should we worry about a civil action that collects signatures for a referendum with the aim to change the Constitutional Law on bilingualism of national minorities?! And these are only a few recent events. Result of non-existing or non-systematic education for democratic citizenship and at the same time rationale for the development of civic education.

Education for democratic citizenship is not mentioned in strategies of any political system that Croatia was a part of until the proclamation of independence in 1991. At the beginning of the 1990s Croatia established its political system according to democratic principles, yet formal acceptance and implementation of democratic principles was not sufficient to put the democracy into effect. Over the last fifteen years, Croatia developed a model of education for democratic citizenship that is organized as a part of informal educational efforts, primarily driven by civil society organizations and some higher education institutions with a mission to help young people to become competent and responsible citizens of the democratic society.

Formal consideration of education for democratic citizenship began in 1999 when the Croatian Government adopted the first National program for human rights and democratic civic education. Governmental decision (Class: 004-04/99-01/05, Reg 503018-99-17, from 14th October 1999) obliged the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport to implement the decision. Implementation of the program remained voluntary until 2012, when the new curriculum of civic education was completed, and the Minister issued a decision on its experimental implementation. In the meantime, in 2005, the Education Sector Development Plan 2005 - 2010 was enacted. It emphasized the importance of democratic principles and promotion of active citizenship. One of the results of the Plan was the Croatian National Educational Standard, passed in 2006, which introduced human rights education and education for democratic citizenship. In 2008, a proposal of National Educational Curriculum was introduced mentioning civic education. The implementation of civic education was experimentally introduced in the school year 2012/2013 in twelve Croatian schools, eight elementary and four secondary schools. This experimental introduction of civic education in Croatian schools will last for two years, and the plan is to introduce civic education as a subject in all Croatian schools in the school year 2014/2015. In six schools, the program is implemented by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport and Education and the Teacher Training Agency, while in the other six schools, in areas of special state care, by the Croatian Youth Network with IPA project partners Center for Peace Studies, Center for Human Rights and GONG. As of the school year 2014/2015, civic education will be a mandatory subject in all primary and secondary schools



in Croatia and the official Curriculum of Civic Education should be published by the end of June 2014.

5.1 Curriculum of Civic Education - competency oriented education

Curriculum of Civic Education is based on the principles of National Educational Curriculum, which brings many changes in the Croatian educational system. The National Educational Curriculum introduces learning outcomes and competencies as the most important characteristics. This document states that the previous formative principle of teaching and learning for acquisition of reproductive knowledge should be left behind and it introduces the principle of content planning based on learning outcomes aiming to enable students to act competently in different areas of life. Learning outcomes orientation should ensure an individualized approach to learning, so that each student can get to know her/himself, discover his/her own strengths, gain self-confidence and become aware of the conditions where she/he can successfully learn and act. Competence, as one of most important terms, is defined as "set of knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, personality traits, motivations and patterns of behavior which an individual disposes of and that, if necessary, may be executed in order to successfully solve certain problem or task" (Kurikulum građanskog odgoja 2011, 3). Curriculum (2011, 4) defines a competent person as a person that knows and can do, but also acts in accordance with his/her own knowledge and skills, not because she/he must, or because it yields only material benefits, but because she/he believes that such action is right and good for her/him, for the work she/he performs and the community in which she/he lives, who knows how to balance personal and common interests. Civic competence becomes one of the key learning outcomes.

National Educational Curriculum defines civic education as an inter - disciplinary topic that contributes to the "training of students for active and effective performance of the civic role" (Kurikulum građanskog odgoja 2011, 5). This implies, among other things, the development of student democratic awareness and encourages their active and effective participation in the development of democratic relations in school, local community and society, as well as in solving global problems on the principles of democracy, justice and peacemaking. Civic competence consists of three interrelated and dependent functional dimensions which are defined as civic knowledge and understanding, civic skills and abilities and civic values and attitudes. Content dimensions of civic competencies are defined in relation to the rights and responsibilities assigned to member(s) of different communities—from local to national, European to international, and they are: political dimension; social dimension, which includes communication skills, conflict management and learning and emotions management; human rights dimension, which includes human rights, gender equality, combating child trafficking and humanitarian law; socio - entrepreneurial

dimension, which includes anticorruption and consumer protection; environmental and cultural dimension, which includes issues of identity development and strengthening of interculturality. Dimensions are based on the Council of Europe Recommendation on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights CM/Rec (2010)7.

Changes in orientation from formative acquisition and reproduction of knowledge toward learning outcomes and competencies are more than welcomed. Indicative is the fact that in year 2012 teaching and learning in Croatian schools are still driven by learning for pure reproduction of knowledge. In regards to Bloom's taxonomy of learning domains, we could say that Croatian students mostly stay on the first, possibly second level, which does not meet the demands of the current market. One reason for a high unemployment rate of Croatian youth can surely be found in this fact.

5.2 Structure of the curriculum of Civic Education

The Curriculum of Civic Education is designed spirally according to cycles and can be implemented in several ways depending on the age of students and the needs and capacities of individual schools or local communities. It consists of four cycles—three cycles in primary school and one cycle in secondary school.

It is proposed that students conduct research projects addressing active and responsible citizenship in all areas of social life as part of the school curriculum for the last two years of secondary school.

This Curriculum emphasizes that the implementation of civic education in schools will improve the entrepreneurial spirit, children will develop a better understanding of self and society, they will be able to observe the law and the children will be educated to fight against corruption from primary school onwards. Introduction of civic education should significantly improve the quality of education but also create the conditions for active participation of students in civil society after graduation. Since numerous studies have shown that our young generations are often uninterested in certain social events, the aim of the civic education is to eliminate the prejudices on diversity and, what is particularly important, to develop students' self-awareness and responsibility, to be responsible and active participants in society. Through such civic education students should gain elementary knowledge about democracy and their social role in such environment, they will be educated about their rights and obligations, how to balance self-interest and common good, they will be familiarized with terms such as social solidarity, social justice and fairness.



Cycle	1 st cycle	2 nd cycle	3 rd cycle	4 th cycle
Grade	1 st till 4 th grade of primary school	5 th and 6 th grade of primary school	7 th and 8 th grade of primary school	1 st and 2 nd grade of secondary school
Implementation	Civic education content shall be mandatory, inter-disciplinarily, extracurricular and through school and community projects in the scope of 35 school hours a year.	Civic education content shall be mandatory, inter-disciplinarily, extracurricular and through school and community projects in the scope of 35 school hours a year; modular approach.	Civic education can be an optional school subject, shall be taught in the scope of 35 school hours a year.	Civic education is mandatory school subject.
Content	Focus is on the student as an active and responsible members of the school and the local community. Students should develop knowledge, skills and attitudes about dimensions of civic competence; they should be able to collaborate, communicate, be familiarized with their own strengths, develop self-confidence and respect for others and diversity, develop ethical values of justice, solidarity, equality, incorruptibility, and respect for their own and the work of others.	Students deal with specific issues or areas of civic education, as well as the basics of democracy, the role of the citizen survey, social and communication skills, ethical decision making, gender equality, identity development, intercultural understanding, mediation, consumer rights, etc. Students learn how to solve interpersonal problems and conflicts, how to participate actively in identifying and solving classroom, school and social community problems. The aim is to develop students' patriotic attitude towards Croatia as a country of all its citizens and to develop students' understanding of the connection between human activities on nature and sustainable development.	Learning outcomes of the 1st cycle are extended with learning for citizenship of the national community. The goal is to deepen and apply previously acquired knowledge and skills, and to express opinions relating to the dimensions of civic competencies. At the end of 8th grade of the primary school the students will master the methodology of project planning to address relevant issues of the community, they will have developed homeland and European awareness, character, and recognize and protect their own interests, represent the interests of the community, understand her/himself, others and differences in general. Students will be familiar with the democratic processes in Croatia, Europe and beyond, they will be able to compare them to each other and take a critical stance and present their own point of view, develop participatory communication and dialogue between children and adults based on mutual trust and appreciation. Students will be able to explain and express their own opinion about the importance of family, native, homeland, European and global environment on the quality of overall human living and will act jointly in their own environment in relation to man, society and nature. Students will have a vision of their own future.	The achievements of the first three cycles are complemented with learning for citizenship of the European and the world community. Students should be able to recognize and use the strengths of their own personality and qualifications, to manage their own process of learning, emotions and they will have developed communication and participatory skills and ethical action. Students should also be able to responsibly plan priorities in their private and professional life, linking their own initiative with the realization of their own plans; they will have developed homeland and European awareness in relation to shared values; will be qualified for understanding and participating in global processes on the principles of sustainable development; be able to explain social causes of violence, environmental disasters, poverty, corruption, human and organ trafficking, prostitution, especially children prostitution, critically relate to different types of bias, media, abuses of power; be literate to understand financial management, plan living in accordance with income and expenses, know the basics of lending operations and civil transactions; be able to act independently in their surrounding in relation to man and nature.
Activities	Elections for student council, class president election, preparation of classroom and school rules and the sanctions for their violation, humanitarian work, creative workshops, participation in celebrations (e.g. Mother's Day, Daffodil Day, action Child with special needs is a friend of mine, Volunteers Day, Thanksgiving Day, memorial	Appropriate activities from the 1st cycle and collecting scrap paper/packaging, Foundation of student production cooperatives and gardens, exhibition of paintings and drawings of the local, region and homeland heritage, making regulations on the protection of human rights and measures for offenders, assertive communication skills training, workshops with	Appropriate activities from first two cycles and volunteering, provide peer support, environmental protection, visiting children's homes, children's hospital wards, visit and help in elderly households, classroom and school savings, communication skills training with the emphasis on peaceful conflict resolution, workshops with	Students in projects, as well as on their planning and improvement of the quality of life in the community, keeping logs for analysis of media reports of human rights abuses at the local, state and global level, participation in the creation and implementation of democratic principles in schools and in the wider community, peaceful conflict



	action A light shines for Vukovar in my city, Day of remembrance for the victims of the Holocaust, religious holidays, etc.).	parents, listening, speaking, hearing, making posters, making comics, working on the classroom and the school newspaper, indigenous souvenirs, organic products for school cooperatives, simulation games, and other innovative approaches.	parents, listening, speaking, debate.	resolution, active listening and reflection, argumentative discussion, writing petitions, drafting questionnaires for surveys of target groups about some harmful effects, prejudices and events in their own environment, Croatia, Europe and worldwide. Through research and comparison of development of democracy and human rights elements in Croatia and internationally students should represent everlasting aspirations of individuals and peoples for justice and righteousness, freedom, solidarity and equality of rights, and to analyze the consequences of their violation.
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The Curriculum introduces and proposes new learning methods. Teachers are invited to use interactive and participatory teaching and learning methods; to create and design new solutions for educational processes aimed towards students and more individualized forms of learning—gifted, children with disabilities, different abilities; to find out what the student can be successful in, build on it her/his self-confidence, motivation and success in learning; to facilitate identification of talents as a base for successful learning and planning successful professional development.

Curriculum of Civic Education emphasizes experiential learning. Civic knowledge, skills and attitudes are developed in a way that students are brought into situations in which they judge, assess, resolve moral dilemmas, they witness through their own doing and so internally develop their attitudes and values. The teacher's role is maieutic, based on questions, answers and experiences—he leads students to getting their own conclusions. Teacher who teaches civic education should co-operate with other teachers through different curricular and extracurricular activities, initiation of school and community projects, cooperation with local economy, research development centers, representatives of the political and judicial authorities, humanitarian and religious organizations, civil sector and others. Previous 'policy and economy' teachers should teach civic education when it is a compulsory subject. Some of the proposed new learning methods are: various forms of group work; co-operative learning; workshop learning; social projects in partnership with parents, experts and local authorities; project problem solving and innovation in field of natural and technical sciences in co-operation with developmental centers of companies and scientific research centers; simulated trials in collaboration with the judicial system; volunteer work in co-operation with civil sector representatives; peacekeeping work; workshops of future.

Civic education also effects the development of the personality as experiential learning has multiple effects

on personal development because it encourages: thinking, problem solving and decision making – the search for meaning, deepening of understanding, overcoming challenges; creativity—imagining, reasoning, ingenuity, risk-taking in learning; cooperation with others—collaboration, sensibility for feelings of others, fairness and responsibility; self-management – self-assessment of one's own strengths and weaknesses, setting goals; development of identity and self-confidence; initiative (entrepreneurship); effective learning skills; etc.

The outcome should be the students who know and are able to do the following: explain, accept and implement codes of conduct and respect toward themselves, group members and adults; recognize the importance of knowing the Croatian history and participate in the preservation of local history and Croatian heritage; recognize the right to human dignity and that this right belongs to everyone in the classroom and in the school; recognize their rights and duties, and rights and responsibilities of people in their immediate surrounding; participate in decision-making processes of shared decisions and rules that are relevant to life in the classroom; engage in active cooperation of the school with the local community.

6 Conclusion

In recent times that are marked by the crisis, young people have launched a series of activities that are oriented to the (re)traditionalization of values: young students protests against government measures affected the extension of free education at the higher education level; one part of the youth organized a gay pride parade as an expression of freedom of sexual orientation. Since young people are not a homogeneous group, some of their actions often escalate into violence, most commonly at football matches.

As the most common way of dealing with the crisis, young people state the optimism. Optimism as one of the ways used by young people for coping with the challenges of the times they live in is confirmed by the



results of the research conducted by Ilišin et al. (2013). Although they sometimes ignore the situation they are experiencing and do not want to think about it, the responses we received indicate that young people are aware of the social environment, time and space they live in and that they are critical in that respect. They clearly locate the causes of problems and offer concrete solutions. Young people recognize their own, individual responsibility. They are optimistic but their optimism is eventually clouded by pessimism and reflections about uncertainty of their own future, their own helplessness and hopelessness (if others cannot get out of the crisis, how will we?).

The current situation in Croatia and the previous research results prove Audigiers (1996) statement that in times of crisis and difficulty the need for education for democratic citizenship, emphasizing democracy, peace, social justice and human rights, is increased. One of the attempts to prepare young people on democratic changes and activity in combating the crisis is (experimental) introduction of civic education. Nevertheless, the results of research conducted among upper primary and first and second grade of secondary school students who were experimentally included in the civic education program in schools in the school year 2012/2013 with aim to measure the effects of experimental program indicate that level of civic knowledge and civic competence of participating students still has been low despite the program.

According to published information (Spajić - Vrkaš 2014) 54% of students believe that a citizen is a person that lives in the city and only 10% of students give correct answer. One fifth of students said that to have civic virtues means that the citizen behaves civilized, and only one third know that it means to take care of a community. Every fourth student in the seventh and eighth grade of primary school believes that a citizen's main role is to attend his/her personal interests. Half of them are not familiar with the fact that the main role of the Government is implementation of law. Results have shown that students are not aware of the difference between a totalitarian, dictatorial or democratic country. For 25% of students favoring of their own culture is a sign of pluralism. During the examination of social distance toward others, Croatian high school students took the position on the principle—We (Croats and Catholics) and They (all others).

The results of open discussion on content, methods, resources and teacher competencies for civic education (Curriculum is not officially published, teachers did not complete adequate education for teaching civic education), sensitivity of important stakeholders (we can often hear opinions such as: civic education and human rights education are only transient trends; children are overwhelmed and we do not need another subject), unclear aims of civic education, and pressure from 'top' without dialogue (sending message: this program has to be implemented no matter how). The Croatian case can serve as a lesson to everyone that education for

democratic citizenship, with its moral and value dimension, never ends. If we want democracy and tolerance to sustain, we are not allowed to stop our work on civic education for current and new generations.

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Endnotes

¹ Croatian: Kurikulum građanskog odgoja. In praxis in Croatia we can find the usage of the term 'education for democratic citizenship' but more common the term 'civic education' is used. That is the reason why in this paper we use both terms. In cases when we talk about a concrete subject implemented in Croatian schools we use literal translation of the Croatian term 'građanski odgoj' which in English is 'civic education'.

² Source: on-line reports of Ministry of Science, Education and Sport.

Marios Vryonides

The Effects of the Economic Crisis on Inter-Ethnic Relations in Cypriot Schools

The aim of the paper is to examine the effects of the current economic crisis in the way teenagers experience and report interethnic relations with emphasis on interethnic violence in the school environment in Cyprus. It will report findings from an EU funded project which was recently completed (2012) titled: "Children's voices: Exploring interethnic violence in schools". Through an eclectic analysis on interview transcripts from group interviews with teenagers (16-17 year old) it emerges that in Cyprus there is an environment of growing concern about the presence of migrants in society and this has direct and indirect effects on education. Overall there are mixed perceptions about interethnic tolerance in schools ranging from negative to (politically correct) positive ones. While the prevalent discourse of multiculturalism in Cyprus uses the rhetoric of integration, what appears to be happening in the Cypriot educational system, is assimilation practices focusing on language acquisition. The findings of the empirical investigation point to interesting directions for educational policy regarding the whole gamut of interethnic relations in Cyprus at a period in time when the current economic crisis appears to have largely negative effects on multiculturalism. The paper concludes with a discussion on the way the Ministry of Education and schools in Cyprus respond to the above challenges and the prospects for the near future.

Keywords:

inter-ethnic relation, secondary education, Cyprus, economic crisis

1 Introduction

As a consequence of international migration flows and an unprecedented economic prosperity during the 90's and especially during the first decade of 2000 Cyprus has transformed from a source country of migration to a destination country. One of the consequences of the migration flows to Cyprus in the recent past was a change in the demographics of its student population. An increasing number of students from different ethnic backgrounds and countries are enrolled in primary and secondary Cypriot schools¹. Currently, the percentage of foreign students who are registered in primary and secondary public schools has increased from 5 percent in the academic year of 2006 to almost 15 percent of the total school population in 2011.

The education system at all levels had to adapt in a very short period of time in this new reality and find ways and strategies to cope with a diverse population. Moreover, the indigenous population had to adjust to an environment of inter-ethnic social relations. These relations, as is the case in many European countries, are frequently tested due to recent adverse economic developments. The economic crisis which arrived relatively late in Cyprus currently poses the biggest test for the society and education in particular. The crisis in Cyprus was the consequence of the abrupt collapse of the banking sector in early 2013 which slammed the country's economy into recession and sky-rocketed unemployment rates.

The aim of this paper is to present findings from a research project which attempted to examine the views and experiences of adolescents on issues of inter-ethnic relations in Cypriot schools. Specifically, it looks into some of the qualitative data from an EU funded research project titled "Children's Voices: Exploring Interethnic Violence and Children's Rights in School Environment" which was conducted in Cyprus in 2012. This project explored amongst other issues students' beliefs and experiences about inter-ethnic relations and tensions in schools.

2 Why focus on adolescents?

In the examination of views on inter-ethnic relations we focus on adolescents, students at the last grades of their secondary school education (17-18 year olds), because this group of students have gone through the various stages of the schooling system and are in a position to make assertive assessments on issues of controversy. There are of course other more substantive reasons which connect to the fact that this particular age group is more susceptible to wider societal ideologies and processes and can articulate their views without restraints. The way adolescents experience and report a variety of issues relating to their everyday life is usually the product of the social contexts within which they are socialized and to the developmental stage they are in the formation of their identities. Consequently, this affects the way they develop ideas about themselves and others. Through the process of transition from childhood to adolescence and to adulthood individuals internalize values and norms which become an integral part of their personalities as they try to establish their own social,

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cultural and ethnicity identity. These students, in other words, have experienced multi-ethnic coexistence in school environments that foster various forms of inter-ethnic relations. In this process a major issue that merits investigation is the way with which contemporary multicultural structures and rhetoric adopted in most European societies becomes internalized by the youth in these societies.

Quintana (1998) presents various studies that examine and explain the “developmental transformation” on ethnic understanding. According to Quintana, to explain how children’s understanding of ethnicity differs with the passage of time, one must understand how children comprehend their social environment. Influenced by Selman’s theory (1980), Quintana argues that there are four developmental stages that explain the development of children’s attitudes regarding the concept of ethnicity. Selman’s (1980) theory of social perspective-taking ability, models children’s understanding of their social environment in the context of human individuality, parent-child relations, friendship formation, and peer-group dynamics. According to Quintana (1998) even though Selman’s model was developed entirely independent of the ethnic domain, there were salient parallels in the rhythm of development in the social and the ethnic domains reflected in four levels, namely 1) Integration of affective and perceptual understanding of ethnicity, 2) Literal understanding of ethnicity, 3) Social perspective of ethnicity and 4) Ethnic-group consciousness and ethnic identity. Related to our own research are what he describes as Level 2 which is named “Social and Nonliteral Perspective of Ethnicity” (Approximately 10-14 years) and Level 3 which includes “Ethnic Group Consciousness and Ethnic Identity (Adolescence). The above are very important conceptual tools to help us investigate the way adolescents understand and experience interethnic relations in schools. Let us first examine the wider socio-political developments within which adolescents are located.

3 Multiculturalism and interethnic relations in education in Europe

During the last quarter of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first, Europe has witnessed wide sociopolitical and demographic changes as a result of increasing migration and transnationalism which had an impact on interethnic relations and social cohesion. One of the consequences of these demographic changes has been the creation of the notion of multicultural societies and the need of education to respond to this new reality. While this was particularly true for many European societies for much of the past two or three decades, recently, and possibly as an indirect consequence of the global economic crisis, the political goal of cultivating multicultural policies has suffered significant blows by an emerging changing attitude towards multiculturalism exemplified by the realization of many European leaders (such as German Chancellor Merkel) that the multiculturalism project has in fact been unsuccessful in

Europe². This realization could likely point to shifts in national policies in the near future and specifically to changes in the direction of educational policies away from the goal of multiculturalism. The way multiculturalism changed the face of European societies had inevitable effects on the way education systems operate. Below we make a brief reference to several studies that looked into this issue.

In a book edited nearly a decade ago, Smith (2003) brings together a collection of studies that point to the fact that the increase in the number of students from immigrant groups in schools could potentially lead to racial tensions in some countries. When migrant groups are targeted due to unrelated to education reasons (i.e. economic crisis, unemployment or crime) this may produce adverse effects on the well-being of young individuals from migrant or ethnic minority backgrounds. Ethnic minority and immigrant children can experience racial harassment as young people themselves may bring different expectations and experiences of deprivation and frustration into the school.

The problem of inter-ethnic relations in schools was the focus of a 2004 project led by the Italian Centre for Research in Social Affairs with partners in Spain, Germany and Latvia (cited in Smith 2004). The partners aimed to identify and analyse examples of good practice in dealing with inter-ethnic conflict labeled as ‘inter-cultural’ in secondary schools. They found that when young people of migrant background were involved in school violence, it was often assumed that cultural identity was the cause of the conflict. Because the young people concerned had often experienced exclusion and discrimination, they expected and so emphasised cultural differences and attribute the conflict to them. In reality, the analysis found that the reasons for conflict among adolescents in school did not markedly differ when the protagonists included migrant children.

In Greece, as Kontogiannopoulou-Polydorides (2010) reports, despite the fact that Albanian migrants have for at least two decades been part of the Greek society and the majority of them have integrated well in the society, there is still a lot of political resistance and animosity towards them. This hostility which has grown recently as a consequence of the economic crisis in Greece is frequently carried within schools. This attitude, as an expression of symbolic violence towards Albanian youth, is evident when many Greeks refuse to accept high achieving Albanian students in Greek schools to act as flag bearers during national days. This symbolic violence has serious negative effects in the schooling of Albanian youth and acts as a negative example for other ethnic and migrant groups.

Lastly, an issue that currently is a source of difficult interethnic relations in schools is one which relates to religious background and refers to Islamophobia particularly in the UK. Crozier and Davies (2008) and Shain (2011) assert that the increased Islamophobia in schools was a direct consequence of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York. Crozier and Davies (2008)



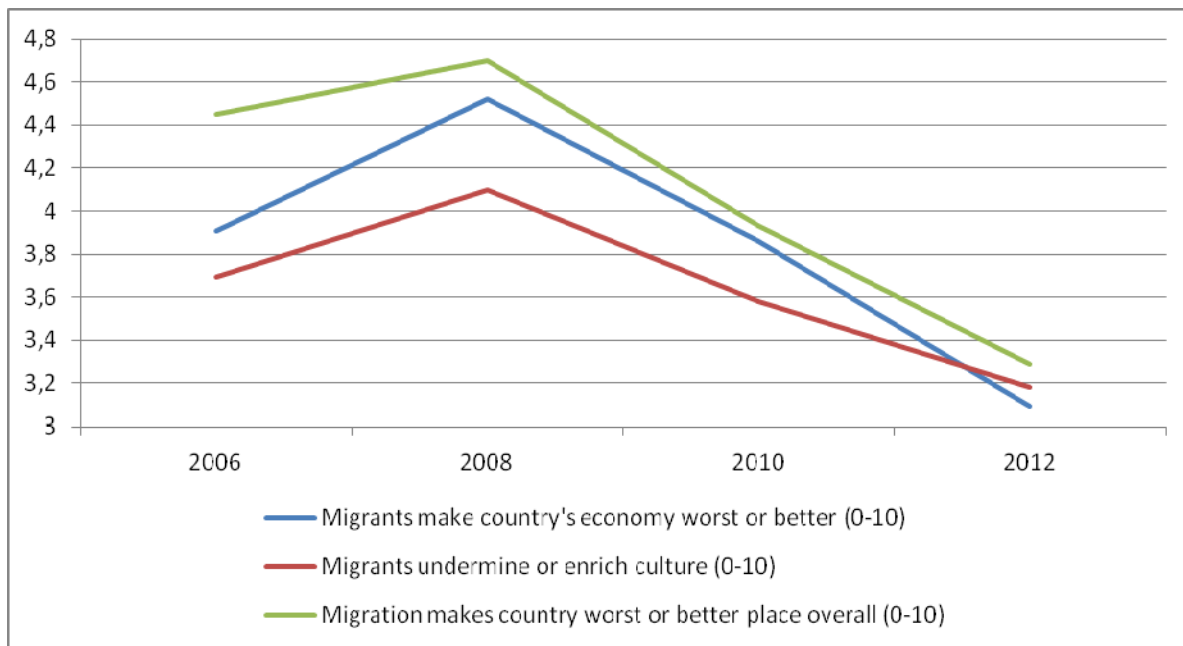


Figure 1

in particular reported evidence from an empirical study in schools in the Northeast of England which found that, for the majority of South Asian young people from a Muslim background, racially motivated abuse, harassment and subsequent violence was a central feature of their school experience.

Despite the fact that the majority of European countries employ policies of multiculturalism as far as education is concerned, interethnic and intercultural violence in the school environment is visible in schools. The conditions of interethnic and interracial relations among children and youth across European Union (EU) states are highly heterogeneous due to the diverse conditions that exist in each country. On the whole, school violence especially in subtle forms of violence (verbal harassment, rudeness) has been recognized as an important problem that is increasing (Kane 2008). Despite a general recognition of the importance of school violence, there is presently no EU legal or policy framework regarding violence in schools. There were, however, at EU level, various recommendations and resolutions concerning interethnic school violence such as Recommendation no. 10 on combating racism and racial discrimination in and through school education, issued by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance General Policy.

4 The Cypriot context

Data from the Government Statistical Bureau show that migration in Cyprus has gradually increased during the last ten years. Some of the recorded reasons which led people to immigrate to Cyprus were educational or employment opportunities and/or long-term permanent settlement. In 1990s, a large number of people from Asian countries immigrated to Cyprus looking to achieve a better quality of life. These workers worked as child/elderly caretakers, and/or domestic workers. Current data show that in recent years (2008-2011), the

highest number of immigrants was from Greece, Romania and Bulgaria (Statistical Services of Cyprus 2012).

Even though migration has been beneficial for Cyprus' expanding economy throughout the 1990's until the end of 2012, attitudes towards migrants according to the European Social Survey (ESS) have been steadily declining. Cypriots believed that the presence of migrants in the country was having adverse effects in the economy and culture and was making the country a worst place overall (Figure 1).

Moreover, it is very interesting to note that compared with other European countries according to the same survey these attitudes of Cypriots towards migrants were amongst the most negative ones (Figure 2, Data for 2012).

Regarding the ethnicity composition of the school population, up until the 1990's only certain ethnic minorities were visible in the Cypriot student population alongside the Greek Cypriot majority. These were minorities officially recognized in the 1960 constitution of the Republic of Cyprus which were granted privileges in order to protect their historical heritage: Maronites, Turkish Cypriots, Armenians and Latins. Currently, Greek Cypriot students constitute of 86.05 percent of the student population in schools, whereas the 4 constitutionally recognized minority groups make up just 0.54 percent of this population. The rest come from migrant groups which include Bulgarians, Greeks, Greeks of Pontos (ex USSR), Romanians, British, Georgians, Russians and Syrians.

The abovementioned demographics make up a picture of multi-ethnic student population in schools particularly in the schools located in urban areas of the four main cities of Cyprus.



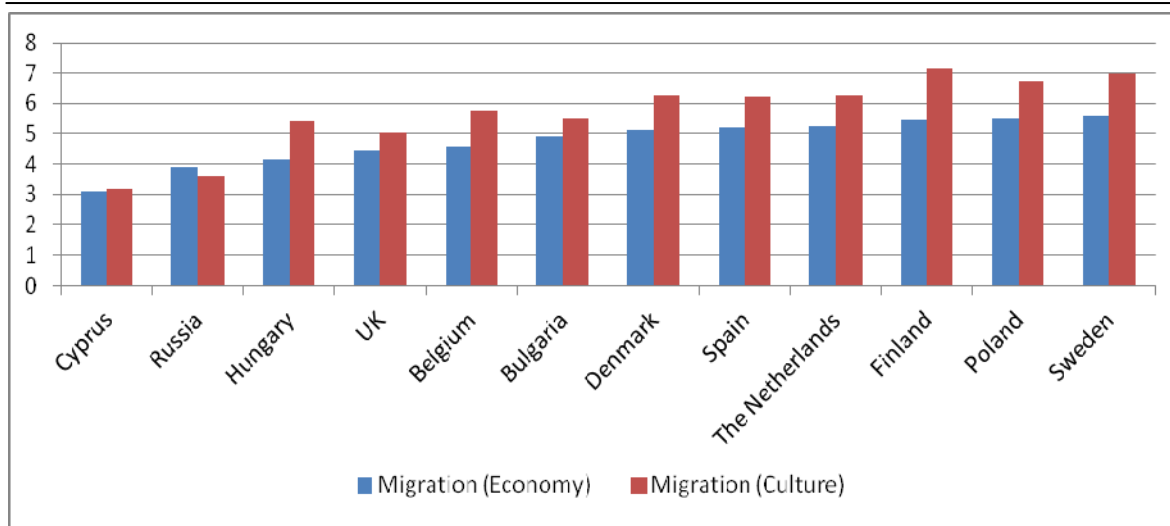


Figure 2

5 Research on interethnic relations in Cypriot schools

Various research studies have been conducted in order to examine issues of interethnic relations in Cypriot schools with mixed results. Only few studies find Greek-Cypriot students' interaction with other students from different ethnic backgrounds to be positive. For instance, in Partasi's (2010) analysis of this phenomenon, it is observed that Greek-Cypriot students gain positive outcomes through their interactions with students from different ethnicities, for example, through an increase in students' knowledge of the historical and social circumstances of others (Partasi 2010). In addition, Partasi explains that students from other ethnic minorities gain positive outcomes from their interaction with Cypriot students, depending on the intensity of their 'social network' and on their preference for forming new relationships with other students (Partasi 2010)

Most studies, however, present the problematic issues that arise from inter-ethnic interactions within Greek-Cypriot schools. A study conducted by Zembylas (2010) examined Cypriot students' attitudes towards other students who come from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. The study explored the ways Greek Cypriot students experienced issues, such as racism and discrimination, when they interact with Turkish Cypriot students in their everyday academic life. It was evident that there were many rivalries among these groups due to stereotypical and racist beliefs and attitudes towards each other. The study showed that the development of definitions of racism and nationalism depended on the age and cognitive development of the students. The younger the students the less knowledge they possessed regarding the meaning of racism and nationalism.

A recent study by Theodorou (2011) focused on foreign students' experiences in Cypriot schools and showed that they lacked useful resources at home compared with other students. Specifically, Theodorou (2011) focused her research study on Pontian students (Greeks from ex-USSR) and explained that the majority of this group identified themselves as belonging to the lower socioeconomic status in the Cyprus and appeared unable to equip themselves with certain academic tools

necessary for their studies, such as electronic devices or access to electronic sites for obtaining academic information. Moreover, these students exposed feelings of embarrassment concerning their socioeconomic status and devised strategies to avoid discrimination.

Angelides, Stylianou and Leigh (2004) examined the ways schools shape students' multicultural awareness. They pointed out that negative attitudes such as 'racism, xenophobia, ethnocentrism' and violent behaviors by Cypriot students toward foreign students was an existing aspect in Cypriot schools. Moreover they argued that the Cypriot educational system does not motivate students to acquire knowledge about other ethnic groups and cultures and even though several reform attempts have been made by the Ministry of Education they were usually met by fierce resistance by nationalist and conservative groups. This reaction was probably reinforcing stereotypical attitudes against minority students according to the authors despite the fact that foreign students were willing to participate in many aspects of the Cypriot culture, such as religious and national celebrations, customs and traditions (Angelides et al 2004).

Research by the Centre for Educational Research and Evaluation (KEEA 2010) examined whether educators in Cyprus were aware and trained on how to promote solidarity and assist the integration of foreign students. The findings showed that more than half of the educators who participated in the research were trained on intercultural issues, by either attending seminars or by taking courses during their graduate and undergraduate studies and appeared well prepared to implement practical methods to enhance intercultural awareness of all students. However, the study showed that even though educators were aware of the institutional instructions set by the Ministry of Education and Culture regarding teaching methods applied to foreign students, few of them were familiar with the existing 'Guide' on welcoming foreign students in the school environment. Also, a large number of teachers were not informed about the seminars offered by the



Ministry of Education regarding teaching methods of Greek as a second language.

Spyrou (2006) demonstrated that Cypriot teachers in an effort to explain the Greek history, they project representations of the Greeks as being the incomparable civilization. Spyrou argues that if students are urged in school to form positive perceptions about other ethnic groups, this can be an ongoing process for the following school years. As the author explains, the current social and political circumstances (e.g., the division of Cyprus, the unresolved political Cypriot problem) and the continuous political struggles in Cyprus, influence negatively the perceptions and attitudes of Greek-Cypriot students towards other ethnicities.

In view of the overall environment presented above, it was probably an expected consequence an incident that took place in February 2011. In fact many political commentators have described the following incident as a product of cultural intolerance. According to Phileleftheros newspaper (2011 February 17) there was a huge clash between Palestinian students (n=25) and Cypriots students (n= more than 100) due to interpersonal disputes. This incident was attributed to the increased feelings of cultural revulsion among these two groups of students and to the difficulty of their coexistence in a particular secondary school. The fighting was so intense that the state suspended all Palestinian students from the school to ensure their safety. Greek-Cypriot students stated that there were many occasions when Palestinians provoked them, which resulted in the brawl (Phileleftheros 2011, February 17). The Minister of Education and Culture in turn announced that these types of actions were not acceptable and that they should be avoided by all students calling at the same time the educational system, the media, and the state to help students overcome such behaviours. Moreover, the Minister attributed this incident to the fact that Cypriot society holds xenophobic and discriminatory attitudes toward other ethnicities. A fact confirmed by findings from national and international surveys (such as the European Social Survey, see above).

Against such background the investigation of interethnic violence in schools came at a timely period and the findings of such an investigation were expected to have a significant role in shaping relevant educational policy especially at a time of economic uncertainty (end of 2013, beginning of 2014) with rising unemployment and economic stagnation. Young people mostly to be affected in the short to medium term future by this situation were a suitable group to investigate their position at a time when this coincides with recent findings from international surveys (European Social Survey 2012) which depict Cypriots as being more xenophobic compared with other Europeans. Thus, the main research question was the way with which adolescents experience interethnic social relations in the school environment.

6 The research study

In an effort to investigate issues of interethnic relations in schools, five countries (England, Slovenia, Italy, Austria and Cyprus) collaborated in an EU funded project titled "Children's voices: Exploring interethnic violence in schools". In this project a mixed method approach was employed, which first involved a survey into selected schools in four regions of each country followed by a qualitative investigation which included personal interviews with teachers, school counsellors and administrators as well as focus groups with school students. For the purposes of this paper we will only present data from the qualitative investigation with focus group discussions with fifteen secondary school students in Cyprus. We will focus on issues that had particular reference to the social setting of Cyprus. The interviews took place in two public secondary schools (Lyceums) in the capital Nicosia during autumn of 2012. Participation was voluntary after the researchers working on the project have visited the school a number of times. After gaining written permission from the Ministry of Education, parents and students themselves all the interviews were recorded. They were subsequently transcribed word for word (verbatim) and translated in English. The transcripts were then coded and analysed in categories that were determined in advance by the researchers and were believed to describe the full range of views and experiences relating to issues of interethnic relations in schools.

6.1 Research questions

The research questions that will be addressed in the subsequent sections are the following:

- How do students perceive the presence of migrants groups in the Cypriot society?
- To what extent does the economic crisis affect the sentiments towards migrant groups?
- Do students feel that their peers from migrant backgrounds are not well treated by ethnic majority students?
- How do they view the school's reaction towards inter-ethnic violence?

7 Findings

7.1 Perceptions about the presence of migrants groups in the Cypriot society

An issue that merited exploration in the qualitative investigation and related indirectly to the overall school environments that fostered conditions for the development of interethnic relationships was the way students perceived the presence of migrant groups in the country. From the interview data, it emerged that most of them viewed the presence of migrants in a more or less stereotypical manner. Moreover, generally there was a belief by some of the students that overall state migration policies were producing negative outcomes for the society. Lastly, they perceived migrant presence as a



"threat" to the culture of the country and if foreigners were to be integrated in the society they needed to make an effort to assimilate primarily with the acquisition of the Greek language.

There is this neighbourhood [...] that foreigners live from a particular ethnic background and they did not assimilate in our society... they did not familiarize themselves with the country. (SS4, male, 17-18)

Things are a little bit better now, it's not like previously when they lived in truly miserable conditions [...] I never thought that they would actually live with us....(SS1, male, 17-18)

The fact migrant groups appeared not to be integrated in society was believed to be partly their fault by the students as it was thought that they did not make real efforts to learn the local language even though ... *"lessons are offered in the afternoon for free but nobody goes"* (SS4, male, 17-18) opting to communicate in English because as another student from the same focus group remarked *"Greek is a difficult language compared to English which is much easier and an international language"*(SS4, male, 17-18).

Students commented on state policies for migration often without being prompted to do so. There were at least two positions on the issue. While some mentioned that the state needed to be fairer in the provision of social benefits to migrant groups, others indicated that immigrants were already taking too much without equally contributing to the tax system. One of the interviewees, reflecting an attitude that seems to be growing lately in the country, expressed his disdain for what he has branded as "uncontrolled migration flows" in Cyprus. On this issue most secondary schools students that took part in the group interviews appeared to be well informed of the current debates that were taking place at the time regarding migration issues. They believed that Cypriot policies have been generous towards migrants and regarded the politicians as being responsible for this.

They (politicians) provide benefits to immigrants who are unemployed, they basically help them in different ways now, they didn't care in previous years (SS1, female, 17-18).

There are some politicians who try to put forward some lighter policies for better benefits to foreigners because they know that if they get citizenship that would mean more votes for them (SS4, male, 17-18).

Often when reference to foreigners was made the students used the term *political refugees* as well which indicates that for many of them there was no clear distinction or difference between the two groups. This is possibly a reflection of a widespread sentiment shared in the Cypriot society. Again politicians were seen to be making provisions to these groups in order to promote their own interests.

Some politicians are creating problems by promoting their views to the outside world for their own benefit e.g., they say that political refugees get our jobs and have privileges and that this is an economic rather than a social problem (SS4, female, 17-18).

In the same focus group from where the previous two quotes were taken, another female student commented that [this situation] *"is not the political refugee's fault ... it is how the system works"* (SS4, female, 17-18).

A very interesting notion that connects directly with findings from the European Social Survey (presented earlier) about immigrants undermining the culture of the country is echoed in the following quote where a male student said that

Foreigners curry with them invisible languages [our emphasis] which contain their value/ traditions and customs and it is very difficult to abolish them. (SS4, male, 17-18).

This reference is made in connection to the fact that Cypriot often look back at their history as being a constant effort to retain their identity against many conquerors that often were seen as trying to alter this identity. Thus, a feeling of cultural threat is always present.

It's our history having gone through so many conquerors that this fear is always at the back of our minds. (SS4, male, 17-18)

At the background of the above sentiments it was very interesting to further investigate how the economic crisis which at the time was looming over the Cypriot society (end of 2012) was affecting these feelings.

7.2 Does the economic crisis affect the sentiments towards migrant groups?

On this issue, students were acknowledging the fact that even at times of economic downturn, foreigners were coming to the country in order to cover for real labour shortages in some areas of employment and that often there was exploitation from the employers. The following quotes are indicative of this position:

I think foreigners are often not fairly treated because they come and do jobs not favoured by Cypriots turning half of our country into migrant land ...and I don't like it because it is my country and I want to see the majority being Cypriots, but okay I shouldn't blame the immigrants who after all come here to make a living because we are giving them the right to do so because we do not do these jobs (SS2, female, 17-18).

We blame them that they get the jobs from Cypriots but in all honesty they are doing the jobs that we do not want to do. (SS2, female, 17-18)



It's the current social fabric of Cyprus... Cypriots are to be found in offices, civil service etc while you will see foreigners in building sites and collecting garbage. (SS4, male, 17-18)

...yes, we learned that manual jobs are for foreigners and we [Cypriots] should all do clerical and light jobs ...but if we wanted to we could do these jobs (SS2, male, 17-18)

All labor-intensive jobs are being allocated to foreigners and Cypriots hold job positions in an office. (SS2, male, 17-18)

.... and of course connected to the above, exploitation is an issue that often comes up.

Student: I feel that foreigner youth, because it is young people that mostly come here, and Cypriots as well, nowadays are being exploited especially when you do not have adequate training...

Interviewer: who is exploiting them?

Student: ...employers. They (foreigners) come and they are willing to work for lower wages and that makes us claim lower wages as well... but now (with the crisis) these [level of wages] is a lot for us. (SS1, female, 17-18)

Similarly in another focus group it was commented that

... foreigners are treated more badly because they have more disadvantageous jobs than Cypriots. I do not like it because it is my country and I want to see it with just Cypriots (SS2, female, 17-18)

As an extension to this view, however, most of the secondary school students expressed their frustration in respect to what they perceived as unfairness towards indigenous Cypriot citizens. Specifically, they believed that politicians and society in general provided unwarranted benefits to immigrants compared to Cypriots. The comments below are quite characteristic:

I think that foreigners cannot have more privileges than someone who lives in a country more than 50 years, it's not right (SS1, female, 17-18)

We have 20 percent unemployment rate in Cyprus. Why does a foreigner have certain benefits and that he could easily find a job...to show that Cyprus defend our foreigners? Who is going to help the Cypriots? (SS1, female, 17-18)

The bad thing is that they take our jobs and they gain half the money a Cypriot would get if he/she had this job. (SS1, male, 17-18)

Isn't it a loss for the state if they (migrants) are not paying their social insurance contributions? (SS4, male, 17-18)

The expressed sentiments reflect positions that are frequently put forward by populist or extremist poli-

ticians playing with the fears and economic insecurities of Cypriot people. All in all these views seem to reflect an environment of growing concern about the presence of migrant groups in the country which is connected with the current economic crisis and the downturn of the economy. There are growing sentiments that migrant presence exacerbates an already difficult situation. Interestingly, though, and parallel to these views there were students who recognized that because of the crisis and the fact that Cypriot themselves may find themselves in similar positions they would be forced to adopt more positive attitudes.

Now Cypriots view the issue of immigration more positively because of the economic crisis many Cypriots are forced to migrate to other countries so they understand better how foreigners feel and deal with certain difficulties. (SS1, female, 17-18)

7.3 How are students from migrant backgrounds being treated at school?

At one point during the interviews students were asked how they would feel if they witnessed unfair treatment of students coming from ethnic minority backgrounds. Also they were prompted to comment whether they would be affected witnessing such an incident. Some said the following:

... you get affected.... Why? Because it could be you in their position in another country (SS1, female, 17-18).

I never thought about this.... Because even when I witness such an incident I would not get involved ... these things are unnecessary but it's not something that I would resolve. (SS1, male, 17-18)

The issue of their personal involvement when 'unfair' behaviours occurred produced comments that reflected an attitude of detachment especially when these were not directly affecting the students. For example students appeared to be reluctant to get involved out of fear that such an involvement might lead to negative consequences for them.

You don't have to get involved especially if they are not known to you... what's the point of getting involved and getting in trouble? (SS2, male, 17-18)

So, the next logical question to ask was what their reaction would be if such an incident occurred in school. Students made references to reporting such incidences to teachers or counselors, even though, as they admitted, this might potentially get them into trouble. A case was reported in a group interview as follows:

In my group of friends we have a black boy who frequently experiences discrimination and it took him a while to integrate with us and for others to stop teasing him. We defended him even though we got into



fights for this.... but in the end this thing is over. (SS3, male, 17-18)

The most frequent consequence of what might happen however, especially when an incident was not reported, was to lead to marginalization.

Some get so disappointed that they chose to be marginalized. (SS3, female, 17-18)

[...] one needs courage and the person who experiences racism should try to integrate in a group. Others, however, just give up from trying integrating. (SS3, female, 17-18)

Basically they get disappointed that's why they may choose to be marginalized because when something is different it draws attention and comments (SS3, male, 17-18)

7.4 Official school reaction towards inter-ethnic violence

Lastly, students were asked to comment on how they saw school's reaction to such behaviours and whether any official policy against such incidences was visible. Overall, from students responses it emerged that a concrete and strong leadership/management in schools regarding the presence of migrant/ or foreign students (as they were often referred to) would create conditions that would allow students to adjust and integrate smoothly into the school environment.

An issue that dominated the focus group discussions was how schools treated incidences of inter-ethnic tensions. Students expressed the view that their impression was that teachers dealt with such incidences on a case by case approach and it usually involved light forms of reprimands when such incidences occurred in class or in school. The following extract from a focus group is very indicative.

Interviewer: Do teachers intervene?

Student: Only when there is physical violence ...only then will they step in (SS3, female, 17-18)

Student: I believe that they will interfere up to a degree ... as much as they can but no more because then everybody might turn against them. (SS3, male, 17-18)

Interviewer: who exactly?

Student: other students, the media, for example if such an incident occurs then the media will show up just for the sake of their ratings not because they are truly interested (SS3, male, 17-18)

.... and if a teacher gets in the middle of this he might be criticized by parents, the perpetrators... (SS3, female, 17-18)

In another focus group the following topic was commented as follows:

Interviewer: Would you say that teachers treat students equally regardless of their nationality?

Student: Most of them yes but some are themselves a bit racist... (SS4, female, 17-18)

Student: ...but also there was a case when a student actually chased the teacher and there were no sanctions for the student... (SS4, male, 17-18)

Student: ...yes some teachers are afraid to intervene. (SS4, female, 17-18)

When asked how the school responded to issues of inter-ethnic relations, students made references to a number of strategies involving organizing discussion on multiculturalism and co-existence in class and helping students who did not master the Greek language to catch up with the rest of the class. There were many references to the issue of language as a basic source of miscommunications and misunderstandings. So much so that there was an overall belief that *"they should first learn the language and then enter regular classes"* (SS3, female, 17-18). Also, students spoke of organized activities in class on the issue of integration.

We dealt with this issue because we had it as a thematic cycle. (SS1, female, 17-18)

We had to write this essay on the various cultures, languages and differences in Europe and on how despite of these we are all equal. (SS1, female, 17-18)

We have a special topic in our syllabus on racism and there are various discussions in class and essay writing. (SS3, male, 17-18)

We have a special day for different languages. (SS3, male, 17-18)

Last year during Christmas celebrations in school, people from different countries appeared on stage and talked about customs and how was of life in their country... but nobody paid much attention to it. (SS3, female, 17-18)

The ideas suggested by students in the focus groups for preventing interethnic tension in schools could be sorted into two main categories, the short term instructive strategies and the long term policy directions. Short term instructive ideas consist of suggestions regarding effective educational processes within school to enhance students and staff understandings of the concept of racism, multiculturalism, ethnicity, prejudice, and racial and ethnic diversity. These ideas include activities such as, role and theatrical plays, organized official debates with students from different ethnic background, religion and language. Long term policy directions require extensive period of time due to the fact that these processes often include changes outside the school environment involving external actors (family, society and the state). A crucial prerequisite, however, for foreign students' successful integration into Cypriot schools is their adequate command of the Greek language. Some of the interviewees suggested that reception classes should have extended time duration, so



that students could achieve maximum fulfillment of their linguistic needs before their inclusion in regular classes. Improved communication competence in the Greek language increases academic attainment and consequently this boosts self-esteem.

8 Discussion

The findings from the interview data presented in the previous section indicate that in Cyprus interethnic relations currently go through a transitional phase and are not always overtly discernible in the educational system. More extensive findings from the overall research on interethnic relations in Cypriot schools from where these data were taken (Vryonides 2014) present a picture that on the whole suggests that prior to the economic downturn the presence of migrant populations was not a major concern for the Cypriot public educational system. Amidst the current economic environment, however, there are potentially factors that might escalate interethnic tensions due to external and unrelated to education conditions. For example, it appears that there is an environment of growing concern about the presence of migrants mostly from Asia and Eastern Europe in the Cypriot society which is perceived to have a negative effect on the economy. This leads to overall mixed perceptions about interethnic tolerance in schools ranging from negative to (politically correct) positive ones. It seems that at a period when the current economic crisis appears to be affecting all aspects of social relations, multiculturalism as a stated policy in education is at risk. There were visible trends in the way students articulated their positions during the interviews. It appeared that teenagers were in a position to understand the social contexts and issues of political correctness of educational and social policies towards multiculturalism and were conscientious of complicated issues of multi-ethnic co-existence.

The rhetoric that sees language as key in the implementation of good interethnic relations, as indicated in the last part of the previous section, is a valid one. The comments that Chancellor Merkel made with reference to these issues (see section above) hold some truth. Language is a key instrument of integration and sometimes it can become an instrument of assimilation as well. On the whole when language issues are resolved, issues of interethnic relations become less complicated. Having said the above, one needs to appreciate that tensions within the school environment will not be eradicated from schools in the near future. However, when tensions tend to be based on ethnicity differences it can become an explosive phenomenon particularly at times when racism and xenophobic behaviours appear to be on the rise throughout Europe.

Reading the existing literature on interethnic relations in schools in Europe one may conclude that this is an issue common to many countries with many possible macro and micro sociological consequences. One such consequence is on the educational experiences of ethnic minority pupils. When such experiences are negative

because of victimization, academic achievement will most definitely suffer and this could lead ethnic minority children to lag behind in terms of their achievement to that of the majority. Poor performance of migrant children at school hampers their employment opportunities too, as the likelihood of improving their living standards. The social marginalization of migrant youth could potentially have explosive social effects such as rioting and overall discontent. There are unfortunately enough examples for the above point. The 2005 civil unrest in France of October and November which involved a series of riots by mainly Arab, North African and Black immigrants in the suburbs of Paris and other French cities illustrates vividly how social discrimination of immigrants together with unemployment and lack of opportunities can alienate some ethnic minority youth.

While the majority of European countries employ policies of multiculturalism as far as education is concerned, inter-ethnic coexistence in schools constitutes the most efficient tool for combating racial and cultural stereotypes and interethnic tensions. According to Kassimeris and Vryonides (2012) multicultural education is designed in such a fashion so as to make good use of concepts pertaining to race and culture, thus engaging pupils in learning processes that will envelop a positive view of diversity. The current economic crisis that ripped through most of Europe and created feelings of growing economic uncertainty has the potential to create explosive situations in interethnic relations unless properly dealt with by effective policies by the state. The recent examples in Greece with rise of the neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn which specifically targets migrant groups and Hungary with over 15 extremist, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, anti-Roma and racist organizations currently active are just two of many cases that may be mentioned. Such developments in the public social sphere can have serious negative effects in the European multicultural schooling system. The seed for these explosive potentials may be seen in the negative attitudes and the growing concern about the presence of migrants and ethnic minorities in Europe as often documented by European comparative social surveys such as the European Social Survey. Thus, as schools are key spaces in which to explore and challenge behaviours and assumptions as well as to foster positive relations they are therefore a key arena in which to analyze interethnic relations. Moreover schools may employ successful programs and strategies to address xenophobia and racism. In today's climate, schools can play a key role in alleviating interethnic tensions and to combat ethnocentrism with the implementation of strong policies with the support of all actors involved in education.

9 Conclusion – policy implications

Policy interventions are essential to diffuse potential conflicts because the combination of factors which are often unrelated to education and multiculturalism can produce conditions for violence in schools. Examples



from such initiatives in Cyprus include the program Strategic Planning (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007) and the Zones of Educational Priority (2006) which were launched by the Ministry of Education in Cyprus. The 2007 a 'strategic planning' developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture acknowledged the issue of multiculturalism in schools and it aimed to a more effective and positive awareness of students and teachers on this issue. Up until recently, the Zones of Educational Priority were extended and applied in many schools in Cyprus. Their major goal was to assist students from different ethnic backgrounds to be easily integrated in public school environments. Amidst a climate of constant cuts in social policy because of the economic crisis such programmes become susceptible to restrictions and downsizing.

Interethnic relations in Cyprus and in Cypriot schools, and inter-ethnic tensions in particular, had been dormant so far in the sense that they were not overtly discernible in the society nor were they an everyday reality in the educational system. As indicated throughout this paper however, there are potentially factors that might increase interethnic tensions due to external conditions which relate to the economic downfall and the prediction that recession will stay with us for the next few years. Thus, initiatives like the ones described in the preceding paragraph should act as a valuable resource and shield sensitive social relations thus promoting tolerance and peaceful coexistence in a truly multicultural social environment. The crisis, however, which for the time has imposed a strict plan for budgetary cuts (2014) will definitely affect such initiatives as they are often seen as redundant and not of high priority. If such positions prevail in the long term the situation might deteriorate to a degree that might cause irreversible conditions that might not be easily addressed.

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Endnotes

¹ Cyprus and Cypriots in this chapter refer only to the part of the island that is under the control of the Republic of Cyprus. Since the Turkish invasion and occupation of the northern part of the country in 1974 and the de facto partition of the island the two main communities of the island (Greek and Turkish) have been living separately with very little contact. The educational systems of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots have always been separate. Essentially when reference to Cypriots is made it must be interpreted as synonymous only to Greek-Cypriots.

² Merkel says German multicultural society has failed, 17 October 2010 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11559451>



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Young People and the European Dimension in a Norwegian Context. Migration and National Critical Events as Challenges to Citizenship Education¹

The article discusses the 'European dimension' in a Norwegian context with focus on the relevance for young people in particular. Against a backdrop of literature discussing Norwegian majority self-understanding in relation to Europe, the article discusses some examples that are relevant for addressing the overall theme, namely recent work-migration to Norway and the terrorist attacks of 22. July 2011. As different as they may be, both these cases are raising urgent issues related to socio-cultural diversity, inclusion and resilience and it is suggested that this may be addressed more in citizenship education.

Keywords:

Citizenship education, European dimension, Norway, resilience, terrorism, work migration

1 Introduction

Many European countries today experience economic crisis or are affected by this in different ways. Norway is in some ways an exception from the rule in Europe by being very affluent, largely thanks to the oil revenue. Norway is not a member of the European Union, contrary to most of its Nordic neighbours, but member of the European Economic Area since 1992. Historically, Norway used to be among the poorer countries in Europe. It became an independent nation as late as 1905 and this together with the German occupation 1940-45, has contributed to a broad support for and emphasis on national self-determination as a value. Having been one of the countries in Europe with highest emigration rate some hundred years ago, the situation today is different, with work immigration from parts of Europe, including a significant amount of young people. The middle aged and older generations still possess a narrative of moving from a less prosperous history as well as a narrative about threatened national independence, while the younger generations do not have the same experience having grown up in a well-to-do welfare state with a solid economic basis. Their economic worries are related to the near future, one being the rising property prices, which means that even if there is work, a very high part of the income goes to pay for housing, due to neo-liberal changes in housing policy (Skeie 2004).

The European economic crisis has certainly been part of Norwegian public discourse, but mainly as a description of the actual situation in other European countries and less to explain the effects this has on Norway. There are debates about causes and effects of the crisis and a significant part of the political debate is concerned

with what should be the Norwegian response to the crisis, particularly in terms of preventing it from spreading to Norway. Occasionally feature stories have been presented in media, showing how people in European countries are affected by the crisis and how they struggle to make ends meet. It may therefore be fair to say that there has been a general awareness of the crisis. In terms of direct contact with the crisis, it is more likely that Norwegians discover the situation in other parts of Europe on the regular holiday travels that many undertake to countries like Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal than to see it as part of their own neighbourhood. The debate about beggars from Romania can be an illustration of this, where the European dimension has been a part of the debate, but where there are also ways of framing the issue that ignores the complex transnational aspects of the issue (Engebriksen 2012).

Another example of a European dimension in Norwegian society is related to the many Europeans coming to Norway to find work. This has meant that workers in certain parts of the private sector have an increasing number of colleagues with immigration background and that young Norwegians meet other young people coming from Europe to Norway for unskilled work. The background is partly the European crisis and partly that sectors of the Norwegian economy are demanding increased workforce. So, also in this case, the European crisis is not interpreted as something Norway is part of, but the effects has entered into public discourse. While the need for skilled labour at least is acknowledged, the policy towards 'European crisis refugees' is much less developed, possibly due to a lack of established political strategy in the field of immigration (Jevne 2013).

Migration as a political issue tends to challenge the traditional consensus-oriented foreign policy discourse across party lines and today this becomes visible at the top level. The Norwegian government from 2013

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features for the first time a right wing party in coalition with the conservatives. This happened to the surprise of many observers from abroad, only a couple of years after the terror attack of Anders Behring Breivik which was met by a strong popular support for openness, democracy and a multicultural society. Norway is in the rare position of having a right wing immigration-critical political party in government position and this means that the increasing support for right wing parties seen in large parts of Europe is manifested also in Norway.

The main aim of this article is how to locate the 'European dimension' in a Norwegian context, with particular focus on some aspects of this that are relevant for understanding the situation of young people and their perspectives. This is of course a big issue that cannot be fully covered, therefore some examples are chosen in order to address the problem. I start by offering some general reflections on the relationship between Norway and Europe which can be seen as the backdrop of the following discussion. Further the article takes a closer look at two different examples that have relevance for the relationship between Norway and Europe. The first are some aspects of immigration to Norway with particular relevance for work life and education and the second example deals with reactions to the terrorist attacks of 22nd of July 2011. The immigration issue represents an ongoing process, while the reactions to the terrorist attacks are (still) more concentrated in time. The argument is that the two are raising challenging issues of socio-cultural diversity and inclusion and by this actualising a European dimension. Since the two examples are relevant for the education of young people, I will finally address some issues related to citizenship education.

2 Norway and Europe

The relationship between Norway and Europe is complex to unpack and has many aspects that are not possible to cover here, but in order to address this I will offer some reflection about recent historical events that is relevant. The majority of the Norwegian population has voted against membership in EU both in 1973 and 1994, unlike close and in many ways similar countries like Finland, Sweden and Denmark. This happened irrespective of strong support for EU membership from the political and economic 'establishment' and therefore may tell something about strong currents among Norwegian citizens that cannot be explained simply by referring to economic and political structures. In 1973 finding oil in the North Sea was only a possibility, twenty years later at the time of the next referendum, Norway was an oil economy. Both times the result was the same. The national leadership both times argued strongly that membership was a necessity for political and economic reasons. Since the Norwegian economy was and is heavily export based and strongly oriented towards Europe and the political cooperation with European countries is strong, it seems relevant to ask what is behind this Euroscepticism?

The character of the relationship between Norway and 'Europe' has probably more to do with issues of collective identity than with economy and political integration. Even if collective identities are complicated to research and discuss, it does not mean that they are irrelevant. Today, theories about identity tend to underline its relational, changing and plural features, and also a possible collective Norwegian (majority) identity should take account of this (Eriksen and Neumann 2011). The referendum in 1973 against EU membership has been interpreted as a movement mainly against European integration, fearing that this would threaten Norwegian identity. This means that the collective national identity was relating itself to Europe in a way that saw 'Norwegian' in some way as opposed to 'European'. The context of the second referendum in 1994 was in many ways quite different; the Iron Curtain had disappeared in its old shape and Norway had established a strong oil-based economy. By that time real integration into the EU system had already gone a long way legally and politically, also in Norway, but this did not change the majority position. After 1994 discussion about membership in the European Union almost disappeared from parliamentary politics, while the discourse about national identity has been much more preoccupied with socio-cultural diversity in a global perspective and what this means for being Norwegian. Socio-political values like gender equality, democracy, human rights and welfare state seem to have entered the national collective identity to some extent, thereby 'universalising' the content of national identity. In this way the relationship between Norway and the rest of the world has become a more central issue than the relationship particularly towards Europe and the values mentioned are often drawn on in order to characterize Norway and Norwegians. At the same time, it may be argued that the focus on challenges of socio-cultural diversity de facto brings Norway in line with trends in many European countries and that the new right wing government is a sign of this being the case.

Another aspect of national identity is rooted in the strong position of the local, often rural communities as part of collective memory, even if this today is competing with a more urban orientation and therefore makes the role of the local more complex (Schiefloe 2002). The 'localism' does not lead to the national identity falling apart, but rather gives it a distinct flavour. It has been argued that it even contributes to the ideals of equality and 'sameness' that play such a significant role in the understanding of 'Norwegianness' (Gullestad 1992). On the political level, the strength of the 'local' is reflected in an electoral system that secures a parliamentary representation from 'peripheral' areas which is higher than their population proportion and the opposite is the case with central, urban, highly populated areas. It may be argued that this is one explanation for the somewhat more limited centralisation and higher investments in 'peripheral' infrastructure in Norway compared with e.g. Sweden. It may also be noted that local dialects play a



strong role in Norwegian public life and may be used on all levels of society, including ministers, senior civil servants, celebrities and business executives. These are among the features that have and still may puzzle immigrants and non-Norwegian visitors (Høgmo 1998). The puzzlement increases by the fact that while there is emphasis on sameness, homogeneity, local communities and welfare state equality as characteristics of Norway, the country today also displays increasing socio-economic differences, a strongly gendered labour market, urbanization and increasing international travelling. In the last years, increasing work immigration is also part of the picture.

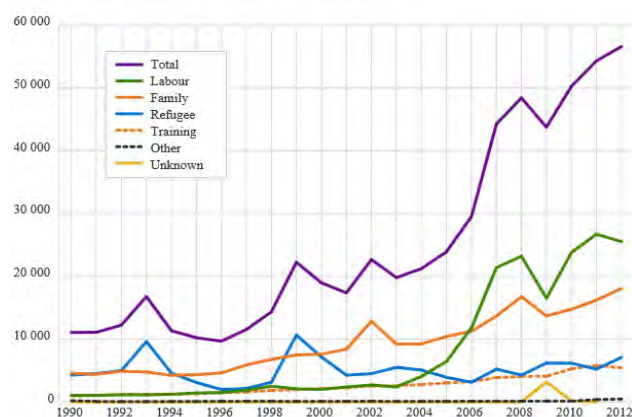
3 Migration in the Norwegian context

Recent migration patterns to Norway can be described as occurring in three phases (Brochmann and Kjelstadli 2008). The first phase which started in the 60's and continued into the 70's consisted of work migrants mainly from Southern Europe, Turkey and Pakistan. In 1975 the Norwegian government as well as many others introduced a labour migration stop due to strong labour market pressure. In this period with the exception of experts, primarily within the oil and gas industry, work migration more or less ceased. This second phase from the mid 70-ies and thirty years onwards was characterised by a gradually increasing migration of asylum seekers, refugees and their families as well as families of earlier work migrants. These were mainly from Asia, Africa, South America, and the Balkans. After the 2004 EU enlargement, labour migration from the new EU countries initiated a third phase with labour migrants dominating the migration patterns. Since then there has been a considerable and growing work migration from Central and Eastern Europe, in particular from Poland and the Baltic states (Friberg 2012). Estimates foresee that the future will bring an increase in work migration flows both in and out of the country, making both the composition of the population and also migration patterns more diverse and difficult to predict (Texmon 2012). Below is an overview of the size of immigration displaying the different reasons for migration (Figure 1).

There are today approximately 600 000 persons who themselves have migrated to Norway, roughly one half from EU, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and one half from Asia, Africa and Oceania. In addition to these figures, approximately 120 000 persons are born in the country, but have parents who were both born abroad.² Taken together this means that 14, 9 per cent of the total population of 5 million may be defined as immigrants. There are of course several differences within this large group and one significant division line in the policies towards migrants goes between refugees and migrant workers.³ Refugees are people who have settled due to agreements with the national integration authorities. An important aspect of this is that when they settle in Norwegian communities, the municipality gets funding to support the public services needed. Labour

migrants have arrived mainly due to the 2004 enlargement of the European Union combined with the crisis in European economy in later years. As part of the ordinary labour market, they are not followed by public funds, the municipalities have to provide the services needed based on their regular tax income and the immigrants get the full support of ordinary social service, health and education. In practice it is not always easy for small communities to do this and to cater for the needs of different types of immigrants.

Figure 1. Immigrations by reason for immigration, 1990-2012



Source: Statistics Norway.

Figure 1: Reasons for migration to Norway (Statistics Norway), first time migration of migrants of non-Nordic origin⁴

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4 The work and education situation of young migrants in Norway

Two thirds of the immigrants in Norway are in the age of 20-54, which means that the immigration population is younger than the rest of the population (Tønnessen 2014). Especially young adults are larger cohorts among immigrants. Due to new immigrants coming in, the age profile is not changing much, and this contributes to the image of the 'the immigrant' as a younger person. Since there are significantly more men than women immigrants, the image is also gendered. The low unemployment in Norway been combined with a demand for workforce in certain sectors like health, shops, restaurants and the health sector. Here, part-time labour is much used and the formal qualification is often low. This type of work is often done by students and other young people on a part time basis. A particular case of interest in a youth perspective, is the increasing amount of young Swedes who has come to Norway in recent years for this

kind of work, and that they partly push the Norwegian youth out of this section of the labour market. Since 2000 the number of Swedish youth working in Norway has risen from about 10.000 to more than 25.000 (Sundt 2012). With more than 15% of the youth population (18–25) in the eastern part of Norway being Swedish migrant workers periods, the competition for certain jobs is strong. The young Swedes prefer to work for a couple of years in order to save money for travels and/or further education. While there has not been any big conflicts related to this work migration, there has been a noticeable public attention towards aspects of the situation.⁵ The salary level is higher in Norway than in Sweden, but so are the living costs, especially in the south-eastern and urban parts where these young Swedes tend to come. Their living conditions are therefore not always too good and there has been allegation of being ‘exploited’ or ‘offended’ because of the social role assigned to them by employers or Norwegian youth.

Moving upwards in age, there has in the recent years been a significant work migration to Norway where the demand is not for unskilled workers in the service sector, but more towards skilled labour in construction and industry. Especially along the west coast this has been a very noticeable development and of particular interest is the many Poles who have been coming in recent years, some with family, thereby constituting by far the largest national group among the immigrant population both historically and today.⁶ So far, many of these immigrants seem to pass through stages of migration that leads to settlement in Norway rather than to return, partially due to the permanent need for their labour. This may lead to more ‘traditional’ migration patterns in years to come (Friberg 2013). If so, many young people in many small communities will grow up with a significant number of peers having a Polish background.

From these two examples illustrating developments in the labour market, I now turn to the situation of young immigrants who are permanent residents in Norway and are going through upper secondary schools. I am here referring to students with a diverse international background often born in Norway, but with parents that are born outside. In spite of having a well-developed welfare state system and formal regulations securing support systems and equal rights, the Norwegian society has not succeeded in the establishment of a truly including education and work life for young people, and those with a migrant background seem to be among the most vulnerable in this situation.

The general rate of students who are not completing their upper secondary education in Norway is at least 20%. This is higher than the other Nordic countries except Iceland and it is higher among boys than girls (Sletten and Hyggen 2013).⁷ The effect of this is that many of this drop out group also have trouble finding work later, and if they do it is usually not well paid. Some stay marginalised over longer time with negative long term effects, but many are able to manage quite well and it is difficult to establish the reasons for different

trajectories here. The mechanisms behind are many and complex, related to both structural and socio-individual dynamics, but the results are affecting measurable parameters like grades, fulfilment of upper secondary education, employment and wages and is a matter of concern (Brinch et al. 2012; Brochmann and Hagelund 2011; Djuve and Friberg 2004; Solbue 2013). In addition to immigrant youth, the most vulnerable seem to be youth with a background of being in child care and those with a history of mental health problems. Regarding immigrant youth, it seems that the so-called ‘second generation’ manages reasonably well, while the recent arrived that struggle the most. The Norwegian situation therefore seems to fit with the international literature which argues that if socio-economic factors are taken into consideration, immigrant youth do not necessarily have more difficulties in acquiring education compared with the rest of the population (Lauglo 2010). Within the immigrant group there are no gender differences in achievement, while this is significant in the majority population. Actually, the overall difference in achievement in upper secondary education between girls and boys is higher than the differences between majority and immigrant students and (Lauglo 2010, 4, 15). The conclusion seems to be that class is more important than gender in order to explain difficulties of immigrant youth in school and that gender is more of a challenge within the majority population.

The situation in labour market and education is also a concern for public service, where initiatives are taken in order to understand and improve the situation (Halvorsen and Hvinden 2014). Generally speaking, educational reforms in Norway have not been successful in reducing drop out, but individual follow up and also educational alternatives with a more practical orientation has given positive results. Also in the field of getting jobs, the general approach seems to have been less effective than more individualised and targeted approaches. These are however dependent on committed and often innovative people and many of the initiatives have come in the civil sector, often backed by public money. Research suggests that more indirect approaches focusing on a realistic self-understanding, improved self-confidence and also closer contact with adult mentors are among the promising developments, often initiated from in the civil or non-public sector of society (Sletten and Hyggen 2013). Among the effects are improvement of young peoples’ net-work and position in the local community, which are issues boarding on citizenship virtues and resilience capacities. This raises questions about what role education can play, to which I will return. Before that, I will introduce the second example chosen to approach the Norwegian-European dimension, namely the issue of right-wing extremism and violence.

5 Resilience in times of crisis

As shown above, the people migrating to Norway come for a variety of reasons and with diverse and changing



socio-cultural backgrounds. The complex and intersecting mixture of challenges produced by this migration has not been situated in an economic crisis like in other European countries. Therefore public discourse has been focusing less on economical issues and more on culture, values and politics, but still in ways that are known from other European countries. There has been however, a dramatic exception to the dominating features of rhetorics and discourse, namely a physical and violent expression of the tensions in a plural society. The terrorist attacks on 22nd of July 2011 came as a shock and particularly the killing of young people at Utøya has challenged the resilience of Norwegians in general and young people in particular.

This incident was interpreted from an early stage as a national crisis. It became not only a targeted attack on the social democratic youth organisation, but was interpreted as an attack on a whole generation which is generally positive towards a multi-religious and multicultural society (Blom 2013). Only a few hours before Anders Behring Breivik conducted his terror actions in Oslo and Utøya, he published a 1500 page manifesto online that warned about 'Islamic colonisation' of Western Europe. In this text, '2083: A European Declaration of Independence', which is still available on internet, Breivik writes about an ongoing war where he defends Norwegian and Christian values against Islam and cultural Marxists and/or multiculturalists. He sees this war as being of vital concern for Europe. Immediate reactions ranging from political leaders to the general public supported democratic values, social cohesion and diversity. This mobilisation showed how strong these values are among the population and in particular young adults belonging to the 'Utøya-generation'. After the attacks, there was a massive popular mobilisation in support of democratic values, love and openness and this was, stimulated and rhetorically formulated by the national leadership, in particular Prime Minister Stoltenberg and His Royal Highness Crown Prince Haakon (Jensen and Bye 2013).

The court trial of the terrorist went on for several months in the spring of 2012 and he was finally sentenced to life imprisonment. The public debate focused much on the question of his sanity, while the extreme right wing political message of Breivik was much less debated. It is of course difficult to get insight into the emotions and reflections of people in the aftermath of the attacks, but several research projects have started and will produce results in the years to come.⁸ The long term effects of the critical event on the population are of course difficult to investigate. One of several possible sources of information regarding the immediate reactions is related to the memory messages laid down in central Oslo and Utøya in the first days and weeks after the attack. These messages may be seen as the beginning of a 'memorialisation' of the critical event and researching these may give important insight into the building and content of resilience in the time of crisis. While these messages show strong support for love and

openness, there is also a tendency of depoliticisation by not making the content of the perpetrators ideology and his attack on a multicultural and diverse society a main issue, but rather to see him as a 'domestic alien' (Lödén 2014).

What Löden also finds in his study of the memory material is that the mobilisation for democratic values immediately after the attack, does not seem to have been followed by a stronger focus on these values since 2011. The strong democratic consensus may even have contributed to a lack of self-critical awareness in terms of investigating aspects of xenophobia and racism in the majority population by ascribing these attitudes only to small right wing groups. It is therefore of interest to know whether and how this issue is dealt with in education of young people in Norway.

Information from ongoing research into the 'Utøya generation' in a school setting seems to suggest that they hardly have dealt with 22/7 as part of social studies and religious education in school, even if these school subjects may seem to be particularly appropriate for dealing with Islamophobia, racism, right wing extremism as well as the importance of democratic citizenship.⁹ This does not mean that young people do not support the democratic values to large degree, but it may apply that knowledge about democratic values and the formal democratic system as well as a relatively strong support for the values and the system, is not a guarantee that xenophobia, racism and right wing extremism is sufficiently covered in school education (Mikkelsen et al. 2011).

This raises questions about developing resilience among young people in the aftermath of the Utøya attacks. The international, in particular European, perspective of the perpetrator, seeing Islam as a threat to Europe, has also not been much present in the public discourse after 22/7. Furthermore, the fact that his claim to be part of a larger group was not substantiated in the court case against him seems also to have contributed to a lack of a 'European dimension' in the discussion about 22/7 and its consequences. If Breivik is understood as a 'domestic alien', he is in a way neutralised politically. One alternative would be to see him as representing a political position which is well known from other parts of Europe. It is therefore possible to argue that we may witness a lack of awareness of Norway as being embedded in Europe and also a lack of reflection upon what this may mean for self-understanding in an increasingly diverse Norway. It is an open question whether this will be more strongly introduced from policy makers or if it is left for the 'Utøya-generation' to deal with it themselves. One arena for addressing these issues would be citizenship education. How well is this field of education equipped for dealing some of the issues discussed?

6 Citizenship education and the European dimension

Citizenship education is not present in Norwegian schools as a distinct subject, but is featuring as an integrated part of several school subjects, most



noticeable in social studies ('samfunnsfag'). Norwegian social studies has been criticised for being too focused on formal issues related to societal institutions and electoral democracy. There is a need for research drawing more on international studies and to focus on issues like inclusion and exclusion. Also the actual practice of teaching and learning as well as understanding and reception of content and concepts by different student groups should be addressed more (Solhaug 2012a, 2013). What is of particular interest in light of a European perspective is the central role that both history education and social studies has played in the nation building process in Norway (Lorentzen 2005). In addition, the position of the local community in relation to citizenship issues needs more scholarly attention (Knudsen 2014). Today researchers challenge the history of nation building as educational aim in the light of more global perspectives in Scandinavian countries (Solhaug et al. 2012b). While there has been considerable (critical) interest towards the national perspective, there is hardly research based knowledge about how the European dimension, which is present to some extent in the social studies syllabus, is implemented over time. The general impression is that this is very limited. Therefore some researchers argue that a perspective of cosmopolitan citizenship may be a way forward for Norwegian schools in order to counter this, rather than assuming that the international tests tell the whole story about young peoples' democratic values (Lybæk and Osler 2012). In particular it may be argued that youth with a migrant background are depoliticised even if empirical research finds them to have 'positive political orientations ...compared to Norwegian students' (Solhaug 2012c, p 15).

Also religious education in Norwegian schools has a special relevance for issues of citizenship and resilience. In recent years it has been like a 'seismograph' for tensions and changes in the relationship between diversity, nation, religion, human rights, citizenship and identity issues and has developed into an interesting and increasingly transdisciplinary researched field (Andreassen 2011; Bråten 2009; Haakedal 2001; Plesner 2013; Skeie 2003, 2012). The discourse regarding this school subject is dominated by diversity issues and the majority/minority relationships and it has been argued that the curriculum of religious education is the one that most explicitly addresses the diversity that young people experience (Nielsen 2012). It has also been argued that this subject in practice tends to avoid issues of conflict and controversy (Andreassen 2008), but other empirical research shows that there are promising developments of taking up more controversial issues, resulting in classrooms becoming 'communities of disagreement' (Iversen 2012).

A recent critical study of citizenship in Norwegian education system argues that there is a significant difference between Norwegian and international discourse in this field (Stray 2009). The argument is that the Norwegian discourse about education is dominated by a

focus on human capital and thinking related to work-life situation, with a strong emphasis on improving subject area achievements and in particular certain basic skills, like reading, writing and arithmetic. This leads to citizenship perspectives becoming more or less invisible, they tend to be seen as a subcategory of subject learning, focusing on formal knowledge. The impression is that together with broad perspectives on education like 'Bildung', also citizenship issues are marginalised. On the other hand, the prominence of child-oriented pedagogy among Norwegian teachers and in school culture, may balance this on a more every-day basis and ensures some influence of students in schools life. This egalitarian tradition is sometimes difficult for young people with migration background to interpret and adjust to, since they often are more used to authoritarian and root-learning oriented pedagogical approaches. In this perspective, Norwegian egalitarianism is more understood as an implicit socio-cultural value of the majority population than as part of an explicit political ideology. As such it may paradoxically become an obstacle as much as a democratic resource for minority groups (Gullestad 2002).

This calls for a closer investigation of the overlapping landscape of the 'canonised' national heritage, the implicit aspects of Norwegian majority self-understanding and the differing ways of which Norway is dealing with increasing socio-cultural diversity. This intersects with issues of class, gender and ethnicity, producing the 'multicultural riddle' (Baumann 1999). In terms of school subjects, a particular and common challenge faces history, social studies and religious education, all of which have a strong tradition of including a European perspective.

7 Conclusion

The contention in the beginning of this article was that issues of immigration as well as the critical event of 22/7 could serve as examples of societal challenges that young people face in Norway. The policies on European level are providing the legal framework for immigration allowing other Europeans to enter into the Norwegian labour market and by this adding a certain 'European dimension' to the challenges of a growing international work force. Examples mentioned are beggars from Eastern Europe challenging the self- image of Norwegians as well as the image of Europe, young Swedes competing with their peers about jobs in east Norway, while Polish workers are saving construction and industry from lack of workforce, thus creating more sustainable local communities in Western Norway.

It has been argued that in education the 'European dimension' is not a distinct part of the curriculum, but that issues related to Norway as a plural society can be seen as implicitly 'European'. The discourse about low achievements of minority pupils can be interpreted as partly related to the perception of more diverse student cohorts. A closer look at the research into this points towards more complex challenges than only helping the



immigrants to better their school results. Here issues of trans-nationality, gender and class are in play.

A European dimension is also present in the Norwegian debate about right wing extremism by showing this as a reaction to diversity which is challenging many European countries. Taken together, the examples are cases that tell something about how young people in Norway deal with 'Europe', not as an idea, but as background of everyday life issues in more implicit ways. 'Europe' may perhaps less than before be perceived as different from Norway. The challenges of Norwegian society can be seen as more similar to the ones of Europe at large. I have argued that a mentality of 'imagined sameness' creating 'invisible fences' between 'us' and 'them' is part of the setup of the Norwegian majority population (Gullestad 2002). This is regularly displayed in the media, irrespective of the more complex situation on the ground. The particular setup of the us-and-them mentality on the majority side is confusing and complex because it is full of good intentions and even some times self-reflexive in a way that makes it both demanding to analyse and controversial to criticise.¹⁰

Positive attitudes towards diversity among many young people of the majority population are generally voiced when researched, and this in particular came to the fore after the right wing extremist attacks in Oslo and on Utøya in 2011. While the critical incident at Utøya and reactions afterward showed a strong support for a diverse and democratic Norway, particularly among the younger generations, it seems that these democratic citizenship attitudes may be more fragile than sometimes expected, and there are signs of depoliticisation. This complex picture is also a challenge for citizenship education which is under pressure in an educational system dominated by an educational policy based focus on reading, writing and arithmetic. Still, there are signs in recent citizenship education research and scholarship that these issues are taken up and debated (Solhaug 2013). Even if there are some big challenges for both citizenship education and intercultural education if these intersecting complexities are going to be addressed, it does not make it less important to face them.

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Endnotes

¹ I appreciate the inputs from colleagues Dan Dyrli Daatland and Nils Olav Østrem to this article.

² Statistics Norway, migration statistics, www.ssb.no/befolkning/statistikker/innvbf, (downloaded 19 July 2013)

³ A third important group in OECD's "big three" is family migrants. Persons in this group will have similarities with either refugees or work migrants, but will not be subject of discussion in this paper.

⁴ See Statistics Norway: www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/innvgrunn/aar/2013-09-03 (downloaded 01.07.2014)

⁵ See Aftenposten Oct 7. 2013: www.aftenposten.no/okonomi/Innvandring-gir-knallhard-konkurranse-om-ungdomsjobbene-7331456.html (downloaded 20.12.2013).

⁶ See Statistics Norway www.ssb.no/en/innvandring-og-innvandrer/nokkeltall (downloaded 01.09.2014)

⁷ The reference has statistics based on the 20-24 year olds and is a synthetic report based on a range of other research publications. I am drawing on this report also in the following.

⁸ Coordination of research is done by The Norwegian National Committees for Research Ethics: www.etikkom.no/In-English/Coordinating-research-on-the-terrorist-attacks-227/

⁹ I am here referring to initial research results from research colleague Marie von der Lippe, University of Bergen, who is researching 'dialogue in times of crisis' with particular focus on the young people starting upper secondary school in august 2011. (Personal communication May 2014)

¹⁰ Here there may be a parallel to debates about the Norwegian development aid following Terje Tvedt's analysis of 'the Goodness Regime' which argues that precisely the good intentions is part of the problem, since it makes self-criticism difficult (Tvedt 2002).



Jeroen J.H. Dekker, Hilda T.A. Amsing, Lisa Hahurij, Inge Wichgers

The Resilience of Recently Graduated and Unemployed Dutch Academics in Coping with the Economic Crisis

Some years after the world-wide crisis starting in 2008, also many recently graduated Dutch academics were confronted with the problem of how to cope with getting a job. This article focuses on the coping strategies they use when searching after a job, spending the day, and coping with limited financial means. 91 graduated academics completed a survey and twelve more were interviewed. They exposed remarkable resilience in coping with their situation by using emotional and problem oriented coping strategies. Emotional oriented coping strategies resulted in the graduates being able to put their situation of being without a regular job into perspective, structuring their days rather easily, and being pleased with how they did it. Their problem oriented coping strategies showed willingness to look for a job outside their field of study and below an academic level. Some respondents were willing to do unpaid work to get enrolled in the job market. The rather constructive way of coping can be explained partly by their relatively favourable financial position, mostly due to their temporary or side jobs, which also gave them a way to spend their days. Thus, the recently graduated academic job seekers perceived their economic situation in a rather positive way. Whether this was influenced by their level of education should be an important subject for more research.

Keywords:

coping strategies, unemployment, economic crisis, academics, young adults

1 Introduction

The economic crisis that started in 2008 soon became an extraordinary stress situation for young Europeans in countries like Spain, Portugal, and Greece, countries where the already very high unemployment figures rose to a dramatic level. In the Netherlands, with a much better situation on the eve of the crisis, unemployment rose only slowly, and the job market for academics even seemed not to be sensitive for the influence of the crisis. After some years, however, with the crisis lasting much longer than expected by the government, this changed. From then, also recently graduated Dutch academics were confronted with the problem of how to cope with the challenge of getting a job. They started their study in a still flourishing economy and had reason to expect to get a job rather smoothly after being graduated. Sometimes, as happened in the financial sector, they were

asked to accept a job even before graduation. But in the last few years, the academic diploma no longer was a job guarantee. Apart from rising unemployment figures start salaries for academics diminished; more-over, the number of tenure contracts after one and a half year diminished from 50 percent in 2008 to 25 percent now (Deijkers, Gunst 2013).

Table 1 shows unemployment figures for recently graduated Dutch academics from 2008 until 2011, created by the research center for the labor market of the University of Maastricht (ROA 2012). Apart from regional differences, with in the Northern provinces of Drenthe, Friesland, and Groningen unemployment figures of respectively 15%, 21%, and 9%, and in the rest of the country lower figures from 6% to 8%, also the various academic studies show major differences. High figures can be found in humanities, the social sciences, and law studies, and low figures in health, technics, and science. Economic studies showed low figures in 2011, but with major and still ongoing reorganizations in the banking sector, this situation deteriorated from 2012.

Unemployment figures only tell part of the story. In the health sector, for example, 42% of recently graduated medical specialists who succeeded in getting a job, have no permanent position and thus job uncertainty (Croonen 2013). Indeed, high unemployment is not only an economic, but also an individual welfare problem. Because of less financial means and lower social participation, unemployment can result into less satisfaction about daily life, the circle of friends, and life as such (Van Echtelt 2010). Unemployment also can result in mental health problems, sometimes even depression,

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as we know from Australian research amongst adults (Breslin, Mustard 2003), longitudinal research from the USA (Dooley, Prause, Ham-Rowbottom 2000; Mossakowski 2011), longitudinal research amongst 16 to 21 aged school dropouts from New-Zealand (Fergusson et al. 2001), and longitudinal research among Swedish youngsters (Reine, Novo, Hammerstrom 2004). Also the relationship between unemployment and anxiety disorders and drug abuse (Fergusson, Horwood & Lynskey 1997; Fergusson, Horwood, Woodward 2001), smoking (Reine et al. 2004), alcohol abuse (Mossakowski 2008), and criminality (Fergusson et al. 2001) has been pointed out. For Australian New South Wales it has been shown that unemployed youngsters have more mental health problems when unemployment figures are low than when they are high (Scanlan, Bundy 2009). Perhaps because being aware that you are not the only unemployed youngster is making you feel better.

Table 1 : Percentage of unemployment under recently (less than one year) graduated Academics by University sector (ROA 2008, 2010, 2012)

University sector	Before the economic crisis		During the economic crisis	
	Average 1996-2008	2007	2009	2011
Agriculture	5,8	6	9	8
Technology	2,6	2	5	5
Economics	2,3	2	5	5
Health	3,3	3	2	2
Behaviour and society	4,8	4	6	9
Humanities	7,3	6	8	17
Law	3,4	3	9	10
Science	3,7	4	2	6

But unemployment does not as a matter of course result into such problems. Studies among youngsters from Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Iceland report that social exclusion and marginalization are not automatically related to unemployment (Hammer 2000; Hammer 2007). It seems that next to the length of unemployment, also mental health, the level of education, and the strategy of coping with unemployment could be of influence on the consequences of unemployment for youngsters (Hammer 2000). In this article, the focus is on the strategy of coping with unemployment and on the level of education.

Coping theories focus on the ways by which and how people manage problems in their life. Those ways consist in cognitive and behavioural efforts to cope with demands from both the external world and people's own personality (McKee-Ryan, Kinicki 2002). Thus, coping is not simply solving problems. It is the capacity to reduce the stress level of any stress situation caused by demands and problems in one's life course (Morrison & Bennet 2012). In the Netherlands, with the crisis starting as a financial one, and only later on also affecting the job market for academics, it was rather recently that also for recently graduated academics the problem arose of how to cope with the challenge of getting a job. This

challenge soon became one of their most important life challenges, and a major test of their resilience capacities. Next to cope with job search, they also are confronted with the challenge of how to cope with spending a day without a job, and how to tackle possible problems because of limited financial means.

The level of education is addressed by focusing on a specific group of unemployed young Europeans, namely academics. While also unemployment figures for non-academics are rising in the Netherlands during the crisis, the actual crisis is historically unique for academics. The reason why is that never before in Dutch history such a high percentage of young people got higher education and now, with rising unemployment figures (see above) have to find a job on their level of education. Therefore, the research question for this article will turn to the various coping strategies that recently graduated young academics do use when confronted with the necessity of searching after a job, spending the day without a job, and with limited financial means during the present economic crisis.

The next section will look at the theoretical framework of coping with job search, spending the day, and limited financial means. In the third, methodological section, the two methods used, namely the survey and the semi-structured interview, will be explained. The main reason for interviewing people next to the survey was that those semi structured interviews could result into depth research into the coping strategies of the interviewees. In the fourth section, the results will be described for the three selected domains of coping, namely searching for a job, spending the day, and managing limited financial means. In the concluding section, the results will be interpreted, the research question will be addressed, and the limits of the research will be discussed.

2 Coping with the crisis: a theoretical framework

Coping theories focus on the way by which and how people manage problems in their life. In this section, first the main aspects of respectively problem focused and emotion focused coping strategies will be addressed. Then, we will turn to specific coping strategies on the three domains selected for this research, namely job seeking, spending the day without a job, and the challenge of limited financial means. Coping strategies on those domains can tell us more about the degree of resilience that young people show when confronted with unemployment. Although our research turns to recently graduated and unemployed young academics, also coping research results on other groups will be included when necessary.

Coping can be described as a series of cognitive behavioral attempts to manage internal and external demands by referring to sources belonging to one's individual personality (McKee-Ryan, Kinicki 2002). In sum, coping is everything people do to diminish the impact of an experienced stressor and to change negative emotions (Morrison, Bennet 2012). Coping is



based on the idea that people first designate the stress situation as a challenge or a threat, and then use several ways to solve it (McKee-Ryan, Kinicki 2002). The distinction between problem and emotion focused coping, prominent in the Ways of Coping Questionnaire (Sulsky, Smith 2005), is often used in research. Problem focused coping turns to radically address the problem, and emotional focused coping tries to manage the emotional reactions on the stressor experienced (McKee-Ryan, Kinicki 2002).

The distinction between those two coping strategies is not always conceptually clear, as was shown in a review of 69 studies on coping (Skinner, Edge, Altman, Sherwood 2002). It seems that coping strategies often could be placed in both categories, while some, for example looking after social support, are difficult to place in either of them. Indeed, coping is more complex and has more functions. Therefore, Skinner and his colleagues proposed to make use of twelve so called coping families, to be placed in three main categories, namely relatedness, competence, and autonomy. Each category consists of two pairs of coping families on both the self and the context level, with some coping families turning out to be more important than others. This operationalization of coping by Skinner et al. was sometimes criticized as unclear and inconsistent (Maybery, Steer, Reupert, Goodyear 2009). Indeed, this twelve families approach is not satisfactory. Therefore, notwithstanding the above discussed conceptual problems with the distinction between problem and emotion focused coping, it seems to be useful to retain the distinction between problem and emotion focused coping. At the same time, it should be taken into consideration that those strategies are first level coping strategies that organize second level strategies, as the majority of the twelve coping families described above are (Folkman, Moskowitz 2004; Maybery et al. 2009).

In the next part of this section we address coping on the three specific domains of coping addressed in this article, namely seeking a job, spending the day, and managing limited financial means. In recent research (Bachman, Baumgarten 2012) into the intensity and the patterns of job seeking, seven search methods are being identified, among them search through the public employment office, through a private employment agency, by direct applications, through friends or relatives, through trade unions, by inserting, studying and answering advertisements, finally through testing, interviewing or examination. Among European countries there exist differences in the use of those methods with Dutch job seekers making slightly less use of informal methods and with both young job searchers in general and academics making less use of the public employment office (Bachman, Baumgarten 2012). The length of being unemployed seems to be related to job search behavior (Barber, Daly, Giannantonio, Phillips 1994).

Three models, the sequential, the learning and the emotional ones, could describe changes in job search.

According to the sequential model (Barber et al. 1994) the search starts with a preparation period, after which a more intensive phase follows which will be repeated when necessary. The learning model assumes that job seekers through learning by doing develop more efficient search methods. For this model it also is assumed that with the duration of job search both the use of informal sources and the intensity of searching are increasing (Barber et al. 1994; Saks, Ashforth 2000). Finally, the emotional model assumes that job seekers experience stress or frustration, which could result in escape behavior. For this model the use of informal sources does not increase but decreases because of those sources working as stressors (Barber et al. 1994). For the rest, according to a study into unemployed Europeans of various ages, people who are more than eleven months without a job are searching after a job much less intensively than people who are jobless between six to eleven months (Bachman, Baumgarten 2012). Thus, the length of unemployment seems to be decisive for changing coping behaviour. Furthermore, according to a review of sixteen studies on coping with loss of a job, the personal significance of being without a job could be very different, depending on social support and personal resources as self-esteem and life satisfaction (McKee-Ryan, Kinicki 2002).

The second domain is coping with spending the day. According to a longitudinal study in South Australia on school leavers in the 1980s with increasing unemployment figures with topics on viewing television, doing nothing special, and time spent to hobbies and unpaid activities such as being active in politics, no differences occurred between youngsters becoming unemployed later on and those getting a job. Not surprisingly, later on this changed with unemployed youngsters spending more time on doing nothing special (Winefield, Tiggemann, Winefield 1992; Scanlan, Bundy 2011). Time spent with friends, however, did not differ between these groups. According to research on time spending by Australian students, youngsters with and youngsters without a job, all aged from 18 to 25, unemployed young adults spent more time to the household and to freely-to-spend time by viewing television, using the internet, or just doing nothing. Unemployed women spent more time to sleep and, when being mothers, to care their children than women with a job. For men, in that respect there was no difference. For the rest, activities in spending the day can change a lot and it is difficult to conclude to typical patterns of activities for those youngsters (Scanlan, Bundy 2011). Other Australian studies state that activities as such are not that important; it is the significance people give to them (Scanlan, Bundy, Matthews 2010; Winefield 1993). When people want to do something, or when they have to do it, the effect of that activity on their mental health is more positive than when they do something only because they have nothing to do (Winefield 1993; Scanlan et al. 2010). Another result of studies on



Australian youngsters without a job seems to be that solitary activities are more negatively related to mental health than activities undertaken with other people, while this relation was not found for young adults still on school or having a job (Winefield 1993).

As to the third domain, coping with limited financial means, Dutch youngsters aged up to 27 can get social security after four weeks of unemployment if they can show that finding a job was impossible for them and if their capital is under 5850 Euro (“Bijstandsuitkering” n.d.; “Wanneer heb ik recht op bijstand” n.d). This, however, is not the case in many other countries. Moreover, in the western world poverty and financial deprivation are based on relative criteria instead of absolute ones such as not enough food and no housing in underdeveloped countries. Poverty in the western world is first of all having less than the majority of the population (Kochuyt 2004). About coping with economic deprivation there is not much knowledge available (Waters, Moore 2001). From studies on the relationship between problem focused and emotion focused coping and the impact of again getting a job it seems that in the first stage of unemployment economic deprivation was related negatively to emotion focused coping, but not to problem focused one (Waters & Moore 2001). But with economic deprivation in those studies considered as a global construct, difference in coping strategies could also be the result of various forms of deprivation (Waters, Moore 2001). Studies have been done with the Deakin Coping Scale (Waters, Moore 2001) to assess how Australian unemployed adults cope with economic deprivation. Coping strategies differed from problem solving coping to emotion focused coping. It seems that problem solving coping moderated the impact of economic deprivation on depression and self-esteem while emotion focused coping resulted in the opposite, namely a major impact of unemployment on depression (Waters, Moore 2001).

Studies on reactions by both unemployed and employed people in the Netherlands in the 1980s, also a period of economic crisis, conclude that less-spending strategies for those groups did have similarities like economizing on luxury spending such as holidays, eating out, going out, and not saving on daily food, but also differences with unemployed people postponing payments, saving less, eating into one’s saving, and borrowing from friends and family (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau 1989).

Looking at the three above described specific coping strategies from the perspective of the two main general coping strategies, namely problem focused and emotion focused ones it seems to be necessary to better understand the significance of unemployment for an individual human being. Finally, it seems that there exist various relationships between how people cope with seeking a job, spending the day, and managing limited financial means. Less financial means and more financial deprivation could have impact on daily activities of

people in search of a job, for example because they could be hesitating in inviting other people at home (Julkunen 2001), while people who cope effectively with financial deprivation could have more time and more motivation for search after a job. Therefore, the assumed relationships between problem focused coping strategies as to the domain of having less financial means or feeling economically deprived with regard to both looking for a job and with regard to social activities (visiting clubs, meeting friends and family and going out) will be tested in this study.

In the next section, the methodology used in this research, namely survey and semi structured interviews, will be explained.

3 Methodology: survey and semi-structured interviews

3.1 Design and respondents

A mixed method design of both a survey (N=91, 67 female, 19 male, 5 unknown) and semi structured interviews (N=12, 5 female, 7 male) was used. The reason for also interviewing people was that in depth research into the coping strategies of the interviewees was possible. The interviewees were approached by the personal network of the researcher. The survey was carried out among recently graduated academics from different studies (see Table 2) with varying unemployment figures. All respondents are alumni of the University of Groningen in the Netherlands; they are unemployed or have a temporarily or side job, are without an employment history, graduated less than two years ago and are under thirty. The respondents are approached by using social media alumni networks of the University of Groningen, especially LinkedIn, and personal networks.

Table 2: Number of respondents from the different branches of study joining the survey and the interviews

Branches of study	Survey	Interview
Science	8	2
Arts & humanities	6	2
Economics	16	2
Medical sciences	4	2
Social sciences	46	2
Law	11	2
Total	91	12

3.2 Instruments

For the survey a questionnaire was used consisting of 83 items together with 7 questions that were directed at various background variables of the respondents. The questionnaire covers the three domains studied in this research, namely looking for a job, spending the day, and economic deprivation. For each domain the items cover the problem focused and the emotion focused coping strategies with twelve different categories of activities (see Table 4). The items are based on five existing and valid instruments, namely Coping With Job Loss Scales (Kinicki, Latack 1990), Job Search Behavior Measure (Blau 1994), a questionnaire of Julkunen (2001), the Time Structure Questionnaire (Bond, Feather 1988), finally the



Deakin Coping Scale (Moor 2003). Some new items are included, for example to fit the present day situation in which internet is supposed to play a dominant role in looking for jobs and spending days for unemployed young academics. The items are translated to Dutch and some scales of the original items are adjusted to achieve uniformity within the new questionnaire. After a reliability check on the twelve categories, 21 items were left out of the analysis, which leaves an instrument consisting of 62 items ($\alpha = .60$). In Table 3 the number of final items based on these five instruments is depicted.

Table 3: Number and origin of the items for the domains Looking for a Job, Spending the Day and Economic Deprivation and the reliability of the domains

	Coping with Looking for a Job	Coping with Spending the Day	Coping with Economic Deprivation	Level of Economic Deprivation
Items total	19	23	13	7
Kinicki & Latack (1990)	5	-	2	-
Blau (1994)	7	-	-	3
Julkunen (2001)	-	4	-	4
Bond & Feather (1988)	-	10	-	-
Moore (2003)	-	-	5	-
Added	7	9	6	-
Scale	7 points Likert (15) dichotome (4)	7 points Likert	7 point Likert (11) dichotome (2)	7 point Likert
Cronbach's alpha	.64	.48	.64	.87

Within each of the coping domains, categories of activities are distinguished, as can be seen in Table 4. This table also depicts the results of the exploration of the reliability of the instrument used (Cronbach's Alpha), both for the coping strategies themselves as for the categories of activities distinguished.

Table 4 shows that the reliability of some categories and the reliability of the problem focused coping strategy within the domain of Spending the Day is rather low. Some of the items within these categories, however, are relevant for our research. Therefore, it was decided to explore these data on item level instead of on category level. Also some other items that were excluded from subscales, but which are nonetheless of importance, for example in relation to the data of the interviews, are explored on item level. For the semi structured interviews the same topics covered by the items of the questionnaire are used. But the interviewer also could ask the respondents to describe their behaviors, motives and emotions. The interviews are transliterated and analyzed by using Atlas.ti.

Table 4: Reliability of strategies and categories within the three domains

Domain	Coping strategy	Cronbach's Alpha	Category of activities	Cronbach's Alpha
Looking for a Job	Problem focused coping	.73	Preparation	.60
			Active search	.60
			Regulating emotions	.61
Spending the Day	Problem focused coping	.38	Leisure/private	.48
			Unpaid/nonstructural work	.22
			Structuring the day	.74
			Feeling meaningful	.89
			Present day orientation	.62
Economic Deprivation	Problem focused coping	.70	Financial control	.60
			Generating money	.41
			Social support	.48
			Positive attitude	.62
			Emotion focused coping	.62
			Emotion focused coping	.77

4. Results

4.1 Coping with looking for a job

For the domain of Looking for a Job, the means and standard deviations of both the coping strategies and the underlying categories of activities as found in the survey are depicted in Table 5.

Table 5: Means and Standard Deviations of the four components in the domain Looking for a Job (7-point Likert Scale)

Coping Strategy	M	SD	Category of activities	M	SD
Problem focused coping	3.29	.71	Preparation	3.58	.71
			Active Search	3.00	.89
Emotion focused coping	4.50	.89	Regulating emotions	4.50	.89

1= never, 2= less than once in month, 3= once a month, 4 = 2 to 3 times a month, 5= weekly, 6= 2 to 4 times a week, 7= 5 times a week or more

From Table 5 we can conclude that alumni in the survey frequently use emotion focused strategies for dealing with the domain of looking for work. This means that they try to put into perspective their situation of being in search for a job. They tell themselves that they are not the only people in the world who are looking for a job (M= 5.41, SD= 1.2) or that being unemployed is not a hopeless position (M= 3.90, SD= 1.7). Although the

youngsters who participated in this research had a successful school career, the job with which they also hoped starting also a working career is not available. One of the interviewees (historian, male) expressed this as follows:

“This is an awareness I now have had for several months. I honestly did hit my head to the wall, sure and had been frustrated and sad. Well, not really sad, but... I don’t know. You discover your own limitations when things are not working. Actually, things went well, I never had to put much effort for that, and now that is different”.

It was supporting for the interviewees to realize that they were not an exception:

“Look, if everybody around me would have succeeded in finding a job, than I might have felt not at ease, like, shit, I really need to find a job. At this moment this is not the case and I feel like that it apparently is very difficult to find a job and to enter the job market. So, yes, that comforts me” (economist, male).

Although most of the interviewees tried to remind themselves that other things like their health and their social network are more important than not getting a job, four out of ten interviewees explicitly mentioned the importance of work, emphasizing its significance for their personal development: “(...) it is important and forms a crucial part of my development. It is not just the work itself, but to continue your own development, to continue learning, to have new experiences, to meet new people” (human movement scientist, male). Some interviewees worried about their opportunities: “we are from the generation that always ends up in between things and that makes you think it is quite shitty” (psychologist, female). Most of the interviewees, however, were positive about their chances on the condition that they kept on trying: “I think eventually it will work out fine, I am convinced it will. But I think I have to become actively involved” (human movement scientist, male, who applied for social security).

When we look at problem focused coping strategies and consider the kind of activities the respondents in the survey undertook in preparing their entry to the job market, the survey results show that the respondents regularly, almost weekly, talked to friends or relatives about possible clues for finding a job (M= 4.70, SD= 1.1); that they looked for jobs on the internet several times a week (M= 5.87, SD= 1.05) and that they sent letters of application several times a month (M= 4.3, SD= 1.32).

In the interviews looking for jobs on the internet also was popular. It was done by all respondents; even more, the internet was the only medium used for none of the interviewees used printed media. Most respondents always used the same sites, such as “Monsterboard” or the “Nationale Vacaturebank” [National Job Vacancy

Site]. Another way of trying to find a job is by getting work experience in an unpaid training position. From the survey it appears that a number of respondents followed that course, although a broad variety characterized the way they responded to this item (M= 2,79, SD= 2.06). Some interviews showed fundamental objections towards an unpaid training position:

“It is a bit against my principles, because I believe that already during your Master training you have to do a lot of work for which people normally get paid for. I should become concerned if all graduates should to do unpaid work for another year to get working experience” (biologist, male, social welfare).

Others respondents changed their mind about an unpaid training position:

“In the beginning I did not want to do that. I am graduated now, which took me quite some time and I now want to earn some money. But I start to reach a point where I think that it might be necessary for entering a company or creating a network. Yes, and if it is unpaid, so be it. If it helps me to reach a job, yes. I think it is almost beginning to get a prerequisite to do it that way” (human movement scientist, male, applied for social welfare).

Next to the items measured by the 7 points Likert Scales, 4 dichotomous items were included to study coping behavior with looking for a job, see Table 6.

Table 6: Percentages dichotomous items on looking for work, Problem focused coping

Item	Agree	Disagree
Being registered as looking for work (preparation)	30 (33%)	60 (66%)
Looking for a job outside my field of study (active search)	63 (69%)	27 (30%)
Looking for work below my level of study (active search)	71 (78%)	20 (22%)
Starting a company of my own (active search)	20 (22%)	70 (77%)

Only a minority of the alumni were registered at the national employment office, the UWV, which supports the unemployed to find a job and to receive social security. The reason why was that many of the respondents had a temporarily job. Table 6 shows that the respondents are rather pragmatic in their job search. While completing an academic study, a majority of them was also looking for jobs outside their field of study or for jobs at a lower level.

The interviewees considered a job on the level of “higher professional education” (HBO), usually understood as just below academic level, as non-problematic. Some of them even considered a job at secondary professional level (MBO), on a much lower level than



academic jobs, as a reasonable option. Others, however, did not:

“I do not feel like selling newspapers on the street or selling subscriptions. (...) Then I would rather borrow something of my parents. That is a matter of pride. Maybe I am too proud. (...) Maybe I need not to clown around and just do things like that. But on this moment, I think I would get unhappy if I did” (human movement scientist, male, applied for social welfare).

A substantial amount of 22 percent of the respondents in the survey is starting a company (see Table 6). The interviews show that one of the reasons for doing this is becoming independent from the supply of vacant positions: “Just being dependent is very frustrating. Dependent on the supply of positions. And on the competition. You just cannot control it” (communication specialist, female).

4.2 Coping with spending the day

We also asked the respondents how they spent and structured their days and how they felt about this. Many respondents worked in a temporarily job or a side job, some on a full time basis. That made them earn a living, stay independent, but also have a purposeful way of spending the day. One of the interviewees working in a distribution centre explains this as follows:

“If I would not have this temporarily job or temporarily earnings, I would have to move back to my parents, because I would not be able to pay my room’s rent anymore. And I very much would like to stay in Groningen. And besides, although the job is not really fun, it is simply nice to have a purpose during weekdays, to have a kind of routine”.

Table 7, on the results of the survey regarding spending the day, shows that respondents are rather positive about the way they structure their days, but rather neutral on the items regarding the way they handle their situation emotionally.

The respondents indicate that reading, playing on the computer, watching television, doing sports and doing domestic work were regular activities for them. But they almost never were active in politics or fulfilled caring tasks. The interviewees told us that watching television and using the computer was often performed at the same time. Although doing these two activities varied from one respondent to another, most interviewees mentioned a duration of two hours a day. The interviewees reported an increase in their time spent to domestic work due to their situation of unemployment: “You just go to the supermarket more easily to get lunch, or you cook more extensively. You have more time for cleaning, so yes, probably you do that more tedious” (economist, male, applied for social welfare). Another interviewee (human movement scientist, male) about

domestic work: “Because of being bored? Yes, maybe. There are not so many things to do, so then you spend more time on these things”. In the interviews most respondents kept on doing sports, or even increased the time set aside for sport: “Usually I go to the gym when I have nothing else to do. After sport my head is clear again and then I can move on” (human movement scientist, male).

Table 7: Means and Standard Deviations of the four components in the domain Spending the Day (7-point Likert Scale)

Coping Strategy	M	SD	Category of activities	M	SD
Problem focused coping	3.79*	.48*	Leisure/private**	4.45*	.71*
			Unpaid/nonstructural work**	1.69*	.72*
			Structuring the day***	4.82	1.34
Emotion focused coping	3.42	.98	Feeling meaningful***	4.51	1.51
			Present day orientation***	2.88	1.16
			Effective organization***	4.68	1.59

* Cannot be considered as reliable subscales, analyses on item level required.

** 1= never, 2= less than once in month, 3= once a month, 4 = 2 to 3 times a month, 5= weekly, 6= 2 to 4 times a week, 7= 5 times a week or more

*** 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= slightly disagree, 4 = neutral, 5= slightly agree, 6= agree, 7= strongly agree

Results from both the survey and the interviews let see that respondents try to be effective in spending their time (category of activities “Structuring the day”) by starting to use their alarm clock and so to get up early (M= 5.25, SD=1.65, meaning slightly agree on “I use my alarm clock every day”). The interviewees told us that they did not need an urgency to do that: “I try to not be too late in the evening, because I want to stick to the routine of getting up early” (biologist, male, rejects social welfare). The respondents in the survey also tend to agree with “I plan my activities in a fixed pattern” (M= 4.44, SD= 1.65) and “I have a fixed schedule” (M= 4,78, SD= 1.7). For one of the interviewees this is the reason he did not watch television during the day: “I consider watching television at daytime as being rather stupid actually, it makes me feel bad”.

The emotion focused coping strategies refer to items that indicate that the respondents feel comfortable with the way they use their time. They slightly disagreed with notions as “I feel like my life is meaningless at the moment” (M= 3.54, SD= 1.94) or “I feel like the way I spend my time is of little use” (M= 3.42, SD= 1.56). From the interviews we know that respondents when not knowing what to do deliberately filled their time: “If I do not know what to do for an afternoon, than I very deliberately start calling people or something in order to



get out of that situation” (biologist, male, receiving social welfare). Thus, it seems that the respondents are successful in filling their days. Yet, some of them wonder if the way they live their lives at the moment is really fulfilling: “I think I do not use my time for the benefit of the common good. It is just about small things now” (historian, male).

The respondents on the survey are not concentrating on the present (rather low Present day orientation) for they (slightly) agree on the items “I think about how my future would look like” (M= 4.92, SD= 1.45) and “I day dream about the future” (M= 5.33, SD= 1.28). All interviewees frequently thought about their future, especially about the kind of job they would like to get. Some are wondering whether or not they would achieve the kind of job they had in mind, like the alumnus who graduated in economics and who is now aware of the fact that he cannot be too demanding: “It is not like you do not have any clue about your future, but you are just curious where you will end up. There are so many possibilities and you are not totally in control. The job market is not like ‘this is what I want to do’” (economist, male). Others assume it will work out just fine: “I have many friends in their thirties who only recently got jobs they feel happy about, so I just take the time I need to find out what I really want and to explore my talents” (historian, male).

4.3 Coping with economic deprivation

To explore the way respondents cope with economic deprivation, first, the level of economic deprivation was determined. The scale “Level of Economic Deprivation” ($\alpha=.87$) consists of two subscales: Financial need and Material deprivation. The subscale Financial need ($\alpha=.83$) consisted of items such as “it is difficult to finance more than basic needs” and “in order to have a desired standard of living, I need to raise my basic income”. The subscale material deprivation ($\alpha=.86$) consisted of items such as “I can afford necessary clothing” and “I am able to pay the rent in time”. The items are measured from 1= strongly disagree to 7= strongly agree.

Table 8: Means and Standard Deviations and Cronbach’s Alpha for the subscales within Level of economic deprivation (7-point Likert Scale)

	Cronbach’s Alpha	M	SD
Financial need	.83	3.19	1.80
Material deprivation	.86	5.29	1.47

The scales as depicted in Table 8 are adjusted in a way that a high score means a positive attitude (so a low level of experiencing economic deprivation). We can conclude that the respondents do not feel materially deprived, although they would like to be in a better position financially. They tend to slightly agree with notions as “it is difficult to finance more than basic needs” and to slightly disagree with “With my current income I can live the life I want”. From this it seems that they do not experience severe economic problems. Also the inter-

viewees do not report severe economic problems, but some report to be careful with their spending behavior. Only two of them sometimes have a negative bank account, the others never have. The reason for this relative welfare is mostly to be found in their temporarily jobs. Also the respondents from the survey in majority did not have social welfare. One of the interviewees was married with a partner who had a job and supported her financially; another respondent used her saving money. Nevertheless most of them longed for more financial space and this was one of the reasons to look for a job fitting their diploma: “I can really look forward to the moment I have a job and a steady, and hopefully a decent, income. Then I can just spend my money more easily” (economist, male, no social welfare).

Table 9: Means and Standard Deviations of the four components in the domain Economic deprivation (7 point Likert-Scale)

Coping Strategy	M	SD	Category of activities	M	SD
Problem focused coping	3.14	.83	Financial control	5.43	1.24
			Generating money	2.75*	1.04*
			Social support	2.13*	.91*
Emotion focused coping	3.58	1.63	Positive attitude	3.58	1.63

*Cannot be considered as reliable subscales, analyses on item level required.

1= never, 2= once in a quarter at the most, 3= twice a quarter, 4 = monthly, 5= 2 to 3 times a month, 6= weekly, 7= more than once a week

Table 9 depicts the means and standard deviations of Problem focused and Emotion focused coping strategies and the relevant categories of activities and shows that both Problem focused and Emotion focused strategies were used regarding economic deprivation. Financial control, including controlling budget and considering ways of saving money, had a high score. Respondents reported that they performed this behavior nearly weekly. All interviewees tried to save money regarding groceries, but some of them also on trips, transport and energy consumption. Only one of them used a cashbook.

To generate money, respondents in the survey reported several strategies such as buying second hand goods (M= 2.55, SD= 1.48) and selling second hand goods (M= 2.25, SD= 1.42), and saving money (M = 3.48, SD= 1.93). The social support these respondents got did not so much include getting money from others (borrowing money from friends scored only M= 1.06, SD= .36 and borrowing money from family scored M = 1.60, SD= 1.24), for they seldom asked for financial support (M = 1.25, SD= .87), but included talking about their financial situation to others (M = 3.60, SD= 1.82). Four (out of ten) interviewees reported that they bought or sold things on the internet. One of them, a biologist (male, receiving social welfare), started refurbish bicycles: “So I did think



about it, like, I have lots of time now. I had quite a lot of rubbish in the shed. So, if I was able to fix and sell it, that might be a good idea. That way I am busy and I succeed in raising my income with hundred to hundred-and-fifty euro's".

The interviewees also were asked about getting money from others. Most of them did not lean or borrow money from others, with one exception, namely from their parents. Several interviewees got or borrowed money from their parents, while others said they did not try to avoid it, but that they could ask their parents for financial support if needed.

The emotion coping strategy included two items: "Approaching the financial situation as a challenge" and "Looking at the financial situation from a bright side". In line with the already mentioned result that the respondents in the survey are controlling their budget, they approached their financial situation as a challenge (M= 3.49, SD= 1.98). In line with the fact that they are not severely economically deprived (although they would like to have more money), they evaluated their financial situation in a positive way (M= 3.66, SD= 1.86). In the interviews one of the respondents (jurist, female, having a temporarily job) expressed her feelings towards her financial position as follows: "It is a good thing to find out how you need to spend money, to know your responsibilities, to set priorities".

4.4 Relations between economic deprivation and respectively job searching activities and social activities

As indicated in section 2, on the theoretical framework, we assumed a relationship between respectively 1. Feeling economically deprived relates to problem focused coping strategies with regard to looking for a job; and 2. Feeling economically deprived relates to social activities (visiting clubs, meeting friends and family and going out).

Table 10 shows the correlations between the level of economic deprivation (including Financial need and Material deprivation) and Problem focused coping.

Table 10: Pearson Correlation of economic deprivation and Problem focused coping of Looking for Work

	Preparation		Active search		Problem focused	
	R	P	R	P	R	P
Economic deprivation	-.06	.59	-.34	.00**	-.25	.03*

p<0.05 (bilateral). ** p<0.01 (bilateral).

From Table 10 we can conclude that there indeed is a significant relation between the level of experienced Economic Deprivation and Problem focused coping strategies (p< 0.05), more specifically, between Economic Deprivation and the activities of Active search (calling potential employers concerning a vacant position, having a job interview, open applications, presenting yourself as a job applicant and sending a letter of application).

Table 11: Pearson Correlation of economic deprivation and Problem focused coping of Looking for Work

	Meeting friends		Meeting family		Going out		Clubs	
	R	P	R	P	R	P	R	P
Economic deprivation	.17	.12	.13	.26	.16	.15	.09	.40

From Table 11, however, we can conclude that there are no significant relations between experienced economic deprivation and social activities.

5 Conclusion and discussion

The graduates in this research exposed remarkable resilience in coping with their situation of being in search for a job during the economic crisis. This study was focused on three specific coping domains, namely seeking a job, spending the day, and coping with limited financial means. The graduates studied used both emotional and problem oriented coping strategies to deal with the situation. Regarding their problem solving strategies we see that they preferred a rather pragmatic attitude. We saw willingness to look for a job outside their specific field of study and below an academic level of study. Also, we saw, but not for everybody, a certain willingness to do unpaid work as a mean to get enrolled in the job market. This pragmatic attitude cannot be explained as a sign of desperation: doing everything because of being desperate. On the contrary, the respondents seem rather successful in putting their situation of being without a regular job into perspective. We also saw that the respondents are structuring their days rather easily, and, furthermore, that they are pleased with the way they do this.

The rather constructive way of dealing with the situation might be explained partly by their financial position. That position might be different from graduates in countries with higher unemployment figures and without an adequate social security safety net. In the present case, respondents were not severely economically deprived and that was mostly due to their temporarily or side jobs, apparently available for them, and which gave them, besides financial means, also a way to spend their days. The reason why temporarily or side jobs were possible seems to be that those academics could operate both on their own level job market and on job markets below that level. Thus, perhaps surprisingly, the recently academic job seekers from this study evaluated their economic situation in a rather positive way and even regarded it as a challenge. The way they experienced their financial position is significantly related to strategies of active search for a job, but not to their social activities. That means that they undertook social activities regardless of their experienced economic deprivation.

Although, however, for the young academics themselves, unemployment seems to be a problem they can cope with, it still remains a serious problem for the Dutch state that invested in their studies. While trained at an



academic level, graduates perform otherwise when entering the job market on a (much) lower level. This development could even affect academic education as such. It might result in less youngsters entering academic education or also in universities being tempted to adapt their curriculum to the more practical competencies youngsters need in their (lower) future jobs. These questions urge for the evaluation of long term effects of coping strategies of youngsters on university education.

Whether or not higher education was of influence of a higher resilience level was not comparatively studied in this research. But it seems that the opportunities of academics in operating on the job market both on and below their own level and thus in earning their money were of substantial influence in giving them a high resilience degree. That option, however, is not possible for job seekers in times of crisis with a lower level of education. In the Netherlands, recently new policy is formulated to stimulate people with trouble in fulfilling a regular job because of impairments to enter the regular job market. Until now, however, those people had subsidized jobs in a protective environment (*Wijziging van de Wet werk en bijstand*, 2014). While being situated at the bottom of the job market, they, when ending up unemployed, are expected to be far less resilient than academics. They probably will be economically deprived and have problems spending their days. For what seems to be a main protective mechanism for the academics, namely the option of having a side job or a job below their level of education, is not available for them. And indeed, from our literature review we know that not having this option can result in less satisfaction about daily and social life and mental health problems, among them anxiety disorders, depression, and drug abuse. A systematic comparison of the group studied with a group of unemployed lower educated young people should be an important subject for more research about the relationship between resilience and the level of education of unemployed people.

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- Wijziging van de Wet werk en bijstand, de Wet sociale werkvoorziening, de Wet werk en arbeidsondersteuning



jonggehandicapten en enige andere wetten gericht op bevordering deelname aan de arbeidsmarkt voor mensen met arbeidsvermogen en harmonisatie van deze regelingen (Invoeringswet Participatiewet) [Change Law Labour and Social Welfare (etc.)]. Parliamentary documentation, Upper Chamber, 2014. No. 33.161.

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Carmela Aprea, Viviana Sappa

Variations of Young Germans' Informal Conceptions of Financial and Economic Crises Phenomena

The development of a sound understanding of financial and economic crises phenomena must be considered an important goal within the scope of citizenship, economic and social science education. As with every other educational endeavour, this intention requires solid information about what informal conceptions learners hold about this specific aspect of reality. However, even though this necessity is widely acknowledged, respective theoretical and empirical research is rather scarce. The research to be presented here aims to contribute to filling this gap by exploring variations in young Germans' common-sense conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena. The research activities adhere to a comprehensive view of how economic issues should be involved in education. Moreover, a phenomenographic research approach is adopted. This approach was implemented in an interview study with 56 secondary school students in Baden-Württemberg (Germany). Besides this study, the paper also considers evidence from German survey data. In the interview study, four different conceptions (i.e., denial of the crisis, magical thinking, optimism, realism) could be reconstructed, which vary with respect to whether students' awareness of specific facets of the crisis was given or not. In addition, from this study as well as from the survey data, an excessively optimistic attitude was stated in young Germans. This attitude, however, seems to be more a symptom of insecurity and overstrain than a manifestation of a profound comprehension. These results are discussed with regard to the design of formal curricula and instruction.

Keywords:

common sense conceptions, economic/financial education, phenomenography

1 Introduction

Given the impact and the persistence of financial and economic crises phenomena, the development of a sound understanding of these phenomena must be considered an important goal within the scope of citizenship, social science, and economic education (e.g., Hippe 2010; Mittelstaedt, Lutz, Wiepcke 2013). As with every other educational endeavour, this intention requires solid information about what informal conceptions¹ learners hold about this specific aspect of reality. In order to determine the point of departure and to optimize respective learning processes, it is, for example, important to know if students consider current crisis phenomena as relevant to their daily life, as well as how they perceive and explain them. However, even though this necessity is widely acknowledged (e.g., Hedtke 2010; Weber 2013), respective empirical research efforts are rather scarce. Two exceptions in this regard are the studies provided by Klee and Lutter (2010) and by Schuhen (2010). In the former study, informal conceptions of the 2008 financial and economic crisis of 11th graders in a northern German comprehensive school

were investigated by using focus group interviews, whereas in the latter study, essay questions were assigned to university students from different disciplines. The questions asked them (a) to provide explanations for the causes of the 2008 crisis, (b) to describe its consequential impact, and (c) to give recommendations for governmental action. The answers to these questions were then compared to argumentation patterns derived from reporting in the media as well as from the scientific discourse on the crisis. Both of these studies consistently indicate that students at all educational levels—and most alarmingly even those who want to become social science teachers—seem to have severe difficulties in adequately understanding the 2008 financial and economic crisis. Similarly to research regarding other complex economic issues (for a synthesis cf. Aprea, under review), especially two typical difficulties appeared:

The students tended to perceive and understand important aspects of the crisis (e.g., causes and consequences) in the light of their everyday experience, whereas scientific concepts were—if ever—portrayed and used only superficially (e.g., at the level of the formal language use).

Moreover, their conceptions tended to be simplistic, fragmented, and monocausal, which is in sharp contrast to the multifaceted and dynamic nature of financial and economic crises phenomena.

These results may be, on one hand, cause for concern and urge the question of the effectiveness of the current

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schooling and university system, as concluded by the above cited authors. On the other hand, they seem not to be particularly surprising as often even more instructed persons—and sometimes also economic experts—struggle to find conclusive explanations for the issue at hand. In order to provide suitable remedies, however, the results not only suggest the need to further elucidate how and why students' everyday conceptions of financial and economic crisis phenomena differ from expert representations, but also to explore how and with regard to what characteristics they vary among each other. This latter question is particularly important for a heterogeneity-sensitive design of curricular pathways and learning environments (e.g. Birke, Seeber 2011). As research on conceptual understanding in other complex content domains also suggests (e.g., Sinatra & Mason, 2008), the observable comprehension difficulties might not only stem from cognitive problems but also be heavily influenced by more affective concerns, which were not yet considered in the above-mentioned prior research studies.

Against the background of these considerations, the research to be presented here combines an interest in further validating the available findings with the aim of amplifying these studies by specifically addressing the differential aspect. Within this perspective, it also seeks to expand the yet prevailing cognitive orientation of financial education by explicitly focusing on how conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena are embedded within adolescents' and young adults' broader worldviews or value systems, which usually manifest themselves as emotional and attitudinal facets. The underlying motivation for this research is twofold: first, to advance scientific knowledge of how young people perceive and experience the socio-economic reality that surrounds them, and second, to provide a solid foundation for the theory and evidence-based design of curricula and instruction in the field of financial and economic education.

The research activities adhere to a comprehensive view of how economic and particularly financial issues should be involved in education, as it is recently advocated by many scholars in the field. This view emphasises that these issues are not separate from, but embedded within the wider societal and political context, and should thus be part of the broader concept of citizenship education. In addition to this general orientation, the activities are informed by a phenomenographically oriented research methodology. In section 2, both of these approaches—the comprehensive view of financial education (2.1), and the phenomenographic methodology (2.2)—are delineated. Section 3 then addresses empirical evidence regarding variations of young Germans' informal conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena. More specifically, the design and selected results of an interview study concerned with German secondary school students' conceptions of the 2008 financial and economic crisis are presented (3.1). In order to further substantiate the empirical evidence base, additional

findings from recent surveys in the German context are also provided (3.2). Finally, in section 4, the findings are interpreted in the light of the aims and motivation of the research, including a consideration of their implications for educational practice and research as well as of the suitability and limitation of the applied theories and methods.

2 Conceptual and methodological background

2.1 Comprehensive approach to financial education

Economic, and particularly financial, issues have long been considered as peripheral or sometimes even as detrimental to educational concerns. However, this rather distant relationship seems to have changed in the past decade. Especially since the global turmoil of 2008, financial education has become an important priority for political leaders in many countries and a matter of interest for international organizations such as the World Bank (e.g. Xu, Zia 2012), the European Commission (e.g. 2011), and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (e.g. 2005). Besides helping people to cope with the individual consequences of current structural challenges, such as the demographic change in many Western societies or the decrease of the welfare state, most of these initiatives typically assume that more and/or better financial education should also augment collective financial well-being and foster economic stability. This goal seems to be quite ambitious because it requires people not only to understand the complexities of economic and financial phenomena but also to establish connections among these issues, their own financial decisions, and the broader political and societal context. Such a goal most probably necessitates a holistic approach to financial education. However, if one takes a closer look at the current considerations, it becomes evident that most of them are restricted to a rather individualistic view by exclusively focusing on personal finance management skills and decision making, whereas macroeconomic, systemic, and/or political aspects of the financial landscape are often ignored. These aspects, however, are not only indispensable for sound individual decision making but also particularly important if one considers students' future role as citizens and voters. In this section, we will seize upon this line of argumentation by outlining the key characteristics of a comprehensive approach to financial education.²

A coherent rationale for conceptualizing financial education within a citizenship framework is provided by Davies (2012) who doubts the credibility of financial education approaches that heap all of the responsibility for financial problems upon individuals. Based on a detailed analysis of the recent mis-selling, malpractice, and misjudgements in the financial sector, he opts for an expanded approach, "which alongside personal financial responsibility extends to citizens understanding of the financial sector (and by implication the rationale for regulation) and government finances. The underlying motivation is that democratic processes and economic well-being require voters whose financial understanding



creates functional rather than dysfunctional incentives for government” (Davies 2012, p. 6). Besides traditional financial education contents, for example, personal budgeting, saving, borrowing, or pension planning, such an approach would also include topics such as lending risks, information asymmetries, government budget and debt, and of course financial and economic crisis phenomena. In a similar way, Gallery and Gallery (2010) argue that the factors contributing to the pertaining global financial and economic crises phenomena highlight the need to rethink the scope and nature of current financial education initiatives from different perspectives: first, the perspective of individual decision making; second, the perspective of financial markets and their participants; and third, the perspective of regulation and policymaking. A plea for connecting financial education with a citizenship impetus is also made by Remmele and Seeber (2012) as well as by Carr (2012). In addition, a complementary and inextricable aspect is brought up by Mikl-Horke (2010) who criticizes traditional approaches of financial education for being short-sighted with respect to relational and normative issues. From a sociologist point of view, she particularly emphasises the social and cultural embeddedness of money, financial markets, and the capitalist financial system, and highlights that these entities are constituted by acts of meaning-making. As such, they are closely associated with individual worldviews, including respective emotions and value systems. This line of argumentation is also pursued by Farnsworth (2012) with a specific focus on the relationship between financial issues and identity development, as well as by Lucey (2012) who argues in favour of a financial education view that explicitly seeks to include concerns of morality and justice.

As should have become evident from these considerations, a comprehensive approach to financial education as it is proposed here requires a research methodology that is able to capture the diversity of individual understandings of complex socio-economic issues. One such methodology, which has proven useful in other fields of investigation, is phenomenography. Phenomenographers consider conceptions as holistic entities, the so-called outcome spaces, which can be reconstructed and described by systematic variations of hierarchically arranged structural characteristics. In contrast to more standardized procedures such as multiple-choice items, this approach is expected to have the potential for delivering rich and individualized information on young people’s mental landscapes with regard to financial and economic crises phenomena. The key assumptions of the phenomenographic research methodology are described next.

2.2 Phenomenography

Phenomenography is an empirically based interpretative research methodology originally developed in the 1970s at the University of Goteborg by Ference Marton and his research group. Since then, it has spread throughout the

broader Nordic context (Paakkari et al. 2011) as well as the United Kingdom (e.g. Entwistle 1997), Australia (e.g. Herbert, Pierce 2013), and Hong Kong (e.g. Pang, Marton 2005). According to Marton and Pang (2008, p. 536), the “object of research of phenomenography is the qualitatively different ways in which people are aware of the world, and the ways in which they experience various phenomena and situations around them.” In other words, phenomenography is concerned with reconstructing how things appear to and are understood by people. However, this does not mean that everyone understands the phenomenon in his or her unique way. Rather, a qualitatively different, but limited, set of ways of understanding can be derived based on an internal logic (Booth 1997). When combined, these variations portray the phenomenon as a whole, and this specific combination is termed an “outcome space” (e.g. Marton, Booth 1997). Outcome spaces are hierarchically structured as a set of related categories of description of the specific phenomenon. These categories denote distinctively different ways of seeing the phenomenon and, thus, describe the variation in the possible ways of experiencing it. They are ordered according to their logical complexity and inclusiveness, which in turn is established by so-called dimensions or structural characteristics of variation, which highlight the changes in awareness of the critical features of the phenomenon under investigation. “More sophisticated conceptions are differentiated from less sophisticated conceptions by the awareness of different or additional values of a dimension or the discernment of more dimensions” (Herbert, Pierce 2013 p. 2). Thus, it can be said that the intended outcome of phenomenographic research consists of a hypothetical outcome space, developed from researchers’ exploration of the data typically collected through a series of open-ended or semi-structured interviews from a sample group. The procedures used to analyse these data are inductive and qualitative in nature, and they involve an iterative processing, preferably through the complete responses of the participants. During these cycles, phenomenographic researchers shift their attention from the individual to the meanings expressed by the group as a whole—or as Barnacle (2005, p. 50) states, “categories of description are not intended to necessarily correspond to the perception of any particular individual. Rather, they are compositions formed out of an aggregate of similar perceptions.” According to this view, transcriptions thus represent “various accounts of phenomenal experience [...], rather than [manifestations of] the singularity of individual experience. As a consequence, any one transcript could contribute to a number of the categories that [are] formulated” (Barnacle 2005, p. 50).

With regard to its field of application, phenomenography originally grew out of investigations into students’ experiences of learning, which focused on finding out how university students approach their ordinary studies. Starting from this origin, the use of phenomenography has subsequently expanded to a



broad range of phenomena and contexts within and outside education (for a detailed schedule of existing research cf. Marton, Pang 2008). Previous phenomenographic research in the domain of economics and financial education has concentrated in particular on students' conceptions of how prices of goods are determined (e.g. Pang, Marton 2005). This line of reasoning has been expanded to students' understanding of wages (Birke, Seeber, forthcoming) and private credits (Speer, Seeber 2013). In addition, the phenomenographic methodology has recently also been applied to investigate conceptions of macroeconomic and/or political economic phenomena, notably by Davies and Lundholm (2012), who investigated conceptions of public goods, as well as by Davies, Syed, and Appleyard (2013), who addressed secondary school students' understanding of the financial system. As these studies witness, phenomenography seems to be particularly useful to depict the idiosyncrasies of young people's conceptions of complex issues, including their inconsistencies, as well as to understand how these conceptions are embedded in youngsters' emotional and attitudinal realities. As already mentioned in the introduction, it was thus decided to apply the phenomenographic methodology within the scope of an interview study to further investigate young Germans' informal conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena. The study, which was conducted at the University of Mannheim (Germany), is a primer within a larger international research program aimed at modelling, assessing, and promoting conceptual understanding and conceptual change in economics. Besides Germany, different tertiary institutions from Switzerland and Italy are currently involved in this program. The research questions, participants, and methods, as well as selected results³ of the study, are presented in the following section.

3 Empirical evidence on young Germans' informal conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena

3.1 Interview study on variations of secondary school students' conceptions of the 2008 financial and economic crisis

Research questions, participants, and methods

Based on the above-mentioned considerations, the study was, among others, guided by the following research questions: (a) What variations in the outcome space of adolescents' informal conceptions of the financial and economic crisis can be identified? and (b) Which structural characteristics describe them?

The study involved 56 students, 14 to 19 years old ($M = 15.98$ years), from public secondary schools in Baden-Wuerttemberg (Germany). Females accounted for 58% of the sample. Nearly half of the students went to a middle school (Realschule). The other half went to an economics- and business-oriented vocational college (Berufsfachschule). Students in both schools were considered to be "average" students—that is, not particularly low or high achieving. According to the

official curricula in the two school types, they are moreover expected to have some basic knowledge with regard to economic issues (e.g., economic and monetary system as well as economic policy). However, since these issues are often taught together with other contents from social science, it is quite hard to estimate how well economics is really present in the classroom. As confirmed by the teachers, all participating students came from a comparable lower-middle class socio-economic background. A further commonality was the fact that both groups of students were about to decide their professional futures—that is, either finding a job or an apprentice position, or deciding to continue with school-based education, if their grade point averages allowed this option. The sample was determined based on the availability of the teachers to participate in the study and thus has to be considered as a convenience sample with possible biases. The study was approved by the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, the school authorities, and the parents' council.

To gather data, semi-structured individual interviews were used. This methodological decision was based on the following considerations: On one hand, the data collection method should leave enough space for students to express their spontaneous and genuine personal ideas, especially at this early stage of research. An over-structuration of the data-collection instrument should thus be avoided, and possibilities for one-to-one dialogue and clarifications should be provided. For these reasons, written essays or focus groups were excluded. On the other hand, it was also important to prevent overly excessive demands. In this regard, it was assumed that a completely open-ended approach might have required content-related and articulation abilities that probably go beyond the scope of ordinary secondary school students.

The interviews were conducted in spring 2009, during a period when the Subprime crisis was very prominent in Germany's political discussion and media. After being briefly informed about the research goals and providing their consent to participate in the study, students were asked to describe what comes to their mind when thinking about the economic and financial crisis. In order to trigger their reasoning, questions like "What do you know about the onset and origin, the causes, the progression, and the impact of the financial and economic crisis? What can the German government do to deal with the crisis?" were used. In addition, students were also asked whether they feel personally involved in the crisis and if they think that the crisis has or will have consequences for their life.

The interviews lasted on average 18 minutes and were conducted during regular class hours in a separate classroom. The assignment of individual students to the interview appointments was done in collaboration with the teachers.

In order to identify variations in the outcome space of students' conceptions of the financial and economic crises as well as the respective structural characteristics



that constitute them, the following steps were executed in accordance with pertinent recommendations from the phenomenographic literature (e.g. Åkerlind 2005): (1) repeated reading of the complete transcripts; (2) tentative extraction of central differences in students' utterances; (3) identification of structural characteristics; and (4) drafting and refinement of a distinct set of categories of description. The results of these moves (i.e., the categorical descriptions and the structural characteristics that together form the outcome space of students' conceptions of the financial and economic crisis) were validated by two other researchers who were not involved in conducting the study. After saturation in data analysis and interpretation was achieved, each participating student was assigned to one of the emerging categories according to the main emphasis of his or her argumentation, and frequencies of designation were calculated. In addition to these steps, an in-depth qualitative analysis of the interview transcripts within the evolving conceptions of the phenomenographic analysis was accomplished to detect prevailing difficulties in students' representations of the financial and economic crisis. This final analysis was intended to provide some comparability with the prior studies mentioned in the introduction of this article.

Selected results

As depicted in Table 1, four different conceptions could be reconstructed, varying with respect to whether students' awareness of three different facets of the crisis is given or not. These facets are (1) awareness of the existence of the crisis, (2) awareness of the development and the causes of the crisis, and (3) awareness of personal consequences of the crisis.

1) *Denial of the crisis.* The first conception, which was attributed to four students from the sample, is characterized by a lack of awareness of all three facets. In this conception, the crisis is viewed as something that employers or politicians have invented in order to assert their own interests and to fleece employees and voters. This position is evident in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 5. "It is not possible that companies are really doing so badly. They simply force people to work short-time in order to save money."

Excerpt 11. "Politicians fuel our fears. They want us to believe that they are the heroes. Once we do believe them, we will vote for them. Then they will do whatever they want."

Because in this conception the crisis appears as something that is constructed but not yet existent, it is termed "denial of the crisis". The lack of awareness of the existence of the crisis is accompanied by a lack of any clear idea about its causes and/or its progression. The students in this group were even hardly able to indicate when and where the crisis began, let alone to explain its dynamics or the intended effects of governmental efforts

to overcome the crisis. When asked about any personal consequences, they reacted with indifference ("I don't care at all", "The crisis leaves me cold"). In effect, interviews with these students were rather short, also because they resisted the interviewers' effort to involve them in any kind of closer explanation.

Table 1: Variations of secondary school students' informal conceptions

	"Denial"	"Magical thinking"	"Optimism"	"Realism"
Awareness of the existence of the crisis	---	√	√	√
Awareness of the development and causes of the crisis	---	---	√	√
Awareness of personal consequences	---	---	---	√

Legend:

--- = Awareness not demonstrated;

√ = Awareness demonstrated

2) *Magical thinking.* In the second conception, which was held by 27 students, the crisis was realized in terms of its more immediate manifestation; that is, they stated an increased unemployment rate or noticed that people have lost their bank deposits. However, this group of students also lacked awareness of the root causes and progression of the crisis. When prompted to provide reasons for their observations, they apparently tried to respond, but were not able to construct a coherent explanation. As the in-depth analysis of their responses moreover revealed, students in this group had difficulties to argue how the crisis spilled over from the real estate bubble to the banks and then to the real economy. This weakness was also mirrored in their answers to the question of how the crisis came to Germany. Typical answers were that the German state or the German banks wanted to help the American citizens or their American colleagues, respectively. Moreover, students had quite a restricted view of governmental actions. If able to answer at all, they were only able to state, not explain, those measures that at that time gained much attention in the media (e.g., public spending on infrastructure or the car scrap bonus, which was intended to stabilize the domestic car market). As with the causes, measures that tackle the problem at a system level (e.g., measures to stabilize the banking system or introduce a tax on financial transactions) were far beyond students' conceptual horizon. Finally, these students also refused acknowledgement of any long-term consequences that the crisis may have in general and for their personal lives. Typical examples of this type of argumentation are as follows.



Excerpt 13. "I don't think that the crisis will influence my life because I am sure we are out of the woods in about a month."

Excerpt 50. "There are less job offers but I am sure this will be fixed quite soon. In any case, I think that this does not influence the opportunity to find an apprenticeship position. It can't get worse anyway."

In a kind of "magical thinking," they argued that things will turn out positively in the end, without having a clear idea of how this could be the case.

3) *Optimism.* 17 students were not only aware of the existence of the crisis but could also give acceptable explanations about its development and causes. Thus, their answers were more elaborated and lasted longer. However, even though these students acknowledged potential detrimental effects of the crisis, they believed that this would have no serious consequences for themselves due to their outstanding personal resources (e.g., qualifications, self-esteem, or contacts to powerful groups), as witnessed by the following quotations:

Excerpt 9. "I think it will not be easy to find an apprenticeship position. However, you will do it if you believe in yourself. You need to strongly believe in yourself."

Excerpt 15. "I know that life will be harder for my generation, but my parents have a lot of contacts with the world of work. I think this will help me finding a job."

This conception is thus characterized by an excessive optimism and by a marked inclination to respond to the crisis with an elevation of individual efforts, whereas factors that are beyond the scope of one's personal influence were not considered. Students who hold this conception seem to have perfectly internalized the credo of the achievement-oriented society according to which every man (and woman) is the architect of his (her) own destiny.

4) *Realism.* In contrast, the remaining eight students showed more realistic appraisals; that is, they were aware that the crisis could have systemic effects that elude individual effort. One student, for example, mentioned that the crisis would endanger the pension system. Another student argued that the crisis could have detrimental effects on young generation's possibilities to acquire property ownership. Based on these considerations, students in this group were aware that the crisis and its effects may raise questions concerning the prevailing value system. Examples of this kind of discourse are given below.

Excerpt 17. "I hope that I can maintain the life standard of my parents. I am not sure. However,

maybe the crisis urges us to reconsider what we really deem as important."

Excerpt 25. "The crisis does not concern everybody to the same extent. It will probably diminish our opportunities in life. It will be harder to get a job application even though you might be smart. I think this is not fair."

Even though these students fortunately did not seem to fall into a deep depression, they were aware of potential pitfalls beyond their personal effort. In this sense, their conceptions were more realistic than those of their more optimistic peers.

3 Additional empirical studies on young Germans' conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena

Since the 2008 turmoil, adolescents' and young adults' conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena have been also the subject of several surveys in the German context. In this regard, a specific interest is directed towards their values and attitudes. Respective findings are, for example, provided by two surveys led by the research group around Klaus Hurrelmann, a renowned scholar in youth research (cf. Hurrelmann, Karch 2010, 2013). These studies were commissioned by MetallRente, which is an organisation that was founded by the two social partners Gesamtmetall and IG Metall to provide companies and employees with coverage solutions for financial security in old age and vocational disability. The studies were conducted in 2009 and 2012, respectively. Each study covered a representative sample of 2,500 adolescents and young adults in the age group from 17 to 27 years, and both of them used computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI) with primarily Likert-scaled rating questions. Although the studies are mainly focused on retirement planning and provision, they also touch on some questions related to young Germans' perceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena. In this respect, participants were, for example, asked to estimate future prospects for the next 10 to 15 years, both for their personal life as well as for Germany in general, and to determine their self-perceptions regarding their ability to cope with possible upcoming challenges. Moreover, young people's opinion towards the 2008 economic and financial crisis—and in the 2012 survey also towards the Eurozone crisis—were taken into account.

In general, both studies confirm that German adolescents and young adults are predominately optimistic with regard to their personal future. This conviction, which seems to be independent from demographic or social variables, has even increased between the two inquiries (Gensicke 2013, p. 38).⁴ The data also reflect a stable tendency towards a pronounced willingness of achievement-orientation and self-optimization as preferred strategies to cope with the present requirements (Gensicke 2013, p. 52). However, these predominantly positive ratings of personal chances and



opportunities were not consistently mirrored by young people's expectations regarding the future prospects of Germany in general. In the 2009 survey, more than half of the participants expressed a view that combined optimism with regard to the first aspect with a rather grim picture concerning the second. This orientation, which the authors of the studies term as "pragmatic optimism", remains stable in the 2012 data. As Gensicke (2013, p. 42) further explains, pragmatism here means that the young generation tends to adopt a point of view that primarily refers to manageability and feasibility, whereas things that appear to be wicked and unsolvable—and are thus beyond one's immediate scope of action—are preferably disregarded. This position is accompanied by a retreat to values that are very much focused on the private sphere (e.g., enjoyment of life, family foundation). In contrast, values concerned with traditional political and civic engagement (e.g., activity in associations or political parties) are less of an issue for young Germans. According to the authors, the totality of these attitudes is an expression of a considerable uncertainty, caused by a perceived lack of transparency with regard to the prevailing dynamics and mechanisms, and in consequence demonstrates a cognitive overload on the part of the young people—an interpretation that is also sustained by participants' answers to the questions directly related to the financial and crises phenomena. Especially when it comes to questions that require a knowledge-based (rationale) rather than a value-driven judgement (e.g., the question of whether the German economy can compensate for the loss of European demand in other markets), a tendency towards vague answers seems to appear.

The aspect of young Germans' perspectives on their own lives in face of the financial and economic crisis was also picked up and deepened by Gaiser, Gille, and de Rijke (2011), who report findings from the youth survey AID:A ("Aufwachsen in Deutschland: Alltagswelten" [Growing Up in Germany: Everyday Worlds]). This survey was conducted by the German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut, DJI) in 2009 and included a sample of 7,900 persons from 18 to 32 years of age. The findings of this study largely confirm the results that were obtained by the previously mentioned surveys as they also reveal a high and growing degree of perceived uncertainty among young Germans, which according to the authors not only stems from current financial and economic crises phenomena but is also based on diverse and long-standing factors such as the erosion of societal ties and socio-economic milieus, the decline of the welfare state, or the risk of unemployment. The growing feeling of uncertainty, however, is paralleled by perceptions of quite high estimation of personal distribution justice (i.e., perception of their own position in the current structure of wealth distribution). According to Gaiser, Gille, and de Rijke (2011, p. 43f), one possible interpretation for this surprising coincidence might be that beyond structurally increasing generational differences, today's youth in their understanding of a just

distribution of social prosperity compare themselves not with previous youth generations but base their standards on current conditions. This shift concerning the point of reference once again might be considered as a manifestation of pragmatism in the sense described above.

Empirical evidence regarding young Germans' values and attitudes in relation to financial and economic crises phenomena is finally provided by a recent survey which was commissioned by the German Banking Association (Bankenverband 2012). This survey, which was first conducted as CATI in spring 2009 and then repeated in spring 2012, enclosed a representative sample of 758 subjects between 14 and 24 years. Besides covering banking related issues such as young people's spending and saving behaviour or their use of financial products, it also addressed questions regarding their future outlooks as well as questions concerning their awareness of the existence and the potential consequences of financial and economic crisis phenomena as well as their motivation and interest to engage themselves with economic issues, including the financial and economic crisis. The results of this survey again confirm young Germans generally optimistic attitude and their distinct performance orientation. Moreover, even though most of the participants have heard about the financial and economic crisis—and in the 2012 survey about the Eurozone crisis, respectively—again, only 9% stated that the financial and economic crisis will have a substantial influence on their personal lives. With regard to the Eurozone crisis, this ratio was somewhat higher (13%) but—compared to the potential objective effects—still rather low. Last not least, the data from this survey evidence a declining interest in economic and financial issues and an increasing insecurity of being able to grasp the complexities of these issues among young Germans.

4 Discussion and conclusions

Based on a comprehensive approach to financial education and a phenomenographic methodology, this article presented research activities that were concerned with investigating young Germans' informal conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena. More specifically, an interview study was described that explored how secondary school students perceived and experienced the 2008 financial and economic crisis. In order to expand the empirical evidence base, additional findings from surveys on young Germans' values and attitudes towards financial and economic crises phenomena were reported. In reference to the aims of the research (i.e., further validating of results from prior research, exploring differential aspects of young people's informal conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena, and investigating how these conceptions are embedded within their emotional and attitudinal realities) as well as its motivation (advancing scientific knowledge of how young people perceive and experience the socio-economic reality that surrounds them, and providing a foundation for the design of



curricula and instruction), the presented results can be interpreted as follows:

The findings from the interview study confirm prior research (Klee, Lutter 2010; Schuhen 2010), which indicates that financial and economic crises phenomena are scarcely understood and that there seems to be a fairly big divide between young people's understanding of these phenomena and relevant scientific accounts. Especially the findings from the in-depth analysis of common errors, difficulties, and misconceptions reveal that students tend to be rather one-sided in their argumentation and inclined to use their everyday experience when trying to fill potential gaps in their understanding of the issue at hand. This result, *inter alia*, illustrates the need to carefully consider the question of how to guide students in transcending from an argumentation based on individual agency and motivation towards thinking in systems and structures. As argued elsewhere (Aprea 2014), a strategy that graduates from more personally oriented practices (e.g., private credits) to more systemic phenomena (e.g., the functioning of financial markets), combined with efforts to make evident the relevant shifts in argumentation, might be a promising idea in this respect

However, the findings from the interview study not only substantiate results from prior investigations but also go beyond the available evidence in that they provide advanced insights into the diversity of students' conceptions. This diversity, in turn, needs to be addressed by differentiation of instructional strategies. Whereas informative instruction, for instance, on financial and economic crises phenomena might prove to be useful for building or deepening the understanding of students who are already aware of the crisis and acknowledge its consequences, it is quite likely that this approach loses its effectiveness with students who ignore its existence or do not consider it as relevant. These latter students might first be supported to overcome their distance in awareness before being able to adequately grasp the incoming instructional information. Moreover, students with a somewhat over-optimistic attitude may profit from instruction that underlines the long-term effects of the crisis.

Furthermore, the results from the interview study as well as those from the surveys indicate that the connection between one's individual situation and the larger collective context seems to be anything but clear and evident in young Germans' mental frameworks, a result which might be attributable to the perceived complexity of the contents related to financial and economic crises phenomena. Young people might thus feel overwhelmed and lose interest in this topic. This observation, in turn, substantiates not only the need for a comprehensive approach to financial and economic education as described in section 2.1, but also calls for remedies that help to make financial and economic issues more appealing and relevant to young people. In this regard, the benefits of boundary objects such as literature, music, and arts should be exploited when

designing respective learning environments (e.g. Lucey, Laney 2012).

Finally, the available data evidence that a predominantly optimistic stance as well as a proactive attitude prevails among the young generation in Germany. On one hand, this mind-set must be definitely conceived as beneficial because it helps to protect young people from irritation and paralysis. On the other hand, their positive prospects seem not to be sustained by an awareness—let alone an understanding—of the complex relationships that characterize financial and economic crises phenomena. Combined with this ingenuousness, young people's "pragmatic optimism" not only involves the danger of overlooking political demands for action, but also bears the risk of imposing a constant pressure of self-optimisation. Especially in times of precarity and transience, relying only on one's own responsibilities and fading out structural aspects might lead to frustration and burnout, and thus probably inhibits the development of psychologically more functional resilience strategies. Both of these blind spots—i.e., overlooking of political exigencies and overreliance on individual resources—need to be addressed and made salient by educational efforts.

In sum, it can be concluded that the conceptual and empirical considerations presented in this contribution provide useful information for amplifying the available knowledge base on adolescents' informal understanding of complex socio-economic phenomena. Furthermore, initial suggestions can be derived of how this understanding might be supported by the design of formal curricula and instruction. However, given the early stage of the research on students' conceptions of financial and economic crisis phenomena, caution in interpreting these findings is of course advisable, and additional research is certainly needed to further warrant these claims. With regard to future studies, the following methodological aspects should be considered in particular:

- As already mentioned, one limitation of the interview study concerns the sampling. Thus, first and foremost, a more systematically constructed and possibly also more heterogeneous and larger sample is to be considered. This should also help to further explore the question whether and in which direction the identified four categories of the outcome space need to be changed and/or supplemented, respectively.

- Moreover, matters of validity and reliability of data collection methods need to be addressed. This could be done by posing the interview questions in different ways in order to get longer and possibly more elaborated responses (e.g. Lundholm, Davies 2013; Davies et al., 2013) and/or by combining the interviews with other types of data-collection instruments, such as problem-solving tasks (e.g. Hmelo-Silver, Green Pfeffer 2004). In addition, the application of mixed-method



designs within the scope of single studies should be considered (e.g. Aprea, Sappa, in press).

- Likewise, the impact of different socio-economic backgrounds as well as cultural influences on students' conceptions of financial and economic crisis phenomena need to be considered. This latter aspect will be a specific focus of the larger research program mentioned above.

Besides these methodological considerations, future research should address two important questions. First, it should further investigate how different conceptions of financial and economic crises phenomena influence subsequent learning, and second, it should explore how conceptual change with regard to this topic can be supported. In planning and conducting this kind of research, it should, however, be clear, that financial education can be nothing but *one* remedy to effectively cope with the detrimental effects of financial and economic crises phenomena, which of course needs to be accompanied by respective measures on the institutional and governmental layer.

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Endnotes



¹ Informal conceptions are sometimes also referred to as “naïve understandings,” “lay theories,” or “subjective theories.” However, in this article, the more neutral terms “informal conceptions” and “preconceptions” (or understanding and perceptions as synonyms for conceptions) are preferred because they avoid preliminary judgements and thus seem to be more in line with considerations from the learning sciences (e.g., Smith, diSessa, & Roschelle, 1993). The expressions “mental framework” or “mentality” are also used interchangeably.

² Given space limitations, it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide an extensive review and critique of current approaches to economic and financial education as well as a systematic derivation of the comprehensive view. For a more detailed consideration of these aspects, see Aperia (2014).

³ For a comprehensive account of all results cf. Aperia (2013, under review).

⁴ Please note that the studies did not foresee a longitudinal design. Thus, participants were not the same persons in the 2009 and the 2012 interviews, respectively.



Holger Onken, Dirk Lange

Social Background, Civic Education and Political Participation of Young People – the German Case

Due to social and political change the process of young citizens' political socialization was put on a new basis in West European democracies over the last decades. In this article we discuss some aspects of this development and show their consequences. We analyse empirical findings from Germany, focussing on the relevant social factors which influence the individual propensity to participate in politics. The impact of the financial and economic crisis in Europe on political attitudes will also be considered, taking in account sociological aspects. Based on the empirical findings we discuss implications for civic education. In contrast to many discussions in literature about this issue, in which the focus is on the need to put the various influences of political socialization into a broader context, we argue that the parental social background is the crucial upstream factor, prior to e.g. civic education. The conclusion indicates that a group-specific educational approach, taking into account the social background, is the most promising one for reaching the normative goal of civic education: Politically self-determined citizens.

Aufgrund der sozialen und politischen Veränderungen ist die politische Sozialisation Jugendlicher in den Westeuropäischen Demokratien auf eine neue Grundlage gestellt worden. In diesem Beitrag diskutieren wir Aspekte dieser Entwicklung und zeigen, welche Folgen sich aus diesen ergeben. Wir analysieren empirische Befunde aus Deutschland mit dem Schwerpunkt auf die Frage, welche sozialen Faktoren relevant sind für die individuelle politische Partizipationsbereitschaft. Der Einfluss der Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise in Europa auf politische Einstellungen wird dabei ebenfalls betrachtet. Dies geschieht unter Berücksichtigung der soziologischen Aspekte. Auf Grundlage der Ergebnisse fragen wir nach den Folgen für die politische Bildung. Im Gegensatz zu dem in der Literatur häufig vertretenen Ansatz, die politische Sozialisation in einem breiten Kontext zu betrachten, verweisen wir auf die hohe Bedeutung des Ausgangspunktes von Sozialisationsprozessen, die soziale Herkunft. Diese ist anderen Faktoren der politischen Sozialisation, wie der politischen Bildung, vorgelagert. Um das normative Ziel der politischen Bildung zu erreichen, den „politisch selbstbestimmten Bürger“ ist ein gruppenspezifischer Ansatz, der die soziale Herkunft berücksichtigt, am vielversprechendsten.

Keywords:

Political participation, civic education, social background, information behavior

1 Introduction

The capability of social and political organizations to educate and socialize citizens has been weakened over the last two decades. We can observe this development, mainly triggered by social change and globalization processes, in West European democracies. Studies show empirical evidence that the involvement of citizens in politics is declining, we also witnessing less political participation and waning civic commitment (Dalton 2004). These developments affect mainly traditional

associations, interest groups and political parties (Gaiser, Rijke and Spanning 2010) that still constitute the main channels of political influence. Hence one can expect a weaker integration of citizens into the political systems. Such changes could have impact on the significance of civic education within democracies.

The goals of political education are often seen and described as directive for a certain behavior or aimed at adopting a certain attitude, referred to as "education for good citizenship" (Farnen 1990, 99). The objective of "democratic education" is to generate a subjective appreciation of the democratic order among citizens. Consolidation of democratic principles and rules is considered as a condition for the development of democratic citizenship. The acceptance of the democratic order shall be elevated through the transfer of democratic values and knowledge about the function of democratic institutions. *Civic education*, in contrast to democratic education, is not aimed at the reproduction of political structures. Instead civic education is aiming at a civic consciousness that leads to politically mature and self-determined citizens. Learning students should

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acquire the ability to locate themselves within a plural society, to recognize their interests, to form their own opinion, and the capability to get involved in the political discourse (Lange 2008). According to a participatory concept of democracy this happens mainly by civic or political engagement of politically interested citizens and by a high turnout in elections. Civic education aiming at a potentially higher scale of political engagement among young people should not give the impression that political participation has to take place in a conflict-free sphere. Instead it should be made clear that open discussions, the exchange of arguments and a constructive conflict management are important aspects of democracy (Haus 2011, 17).

The motivation for civic or political engagement can develop from individual interests and intensions to contribute to the public good. Political socialization, determining how citizens behave in these terms, is a lifelong process. However, foundations and standards for the individual political behavior are mainly settled in the first two decades of life. Individual behavior patterns increasingly solidify with increasing age. Hence the early years of political socialization determine to a significant extend if and how frequently political participation takes place during the course of life.

How much attention does the young generation pay to politics? How pronounced is their intention to get involved? Which factors influence different views on the economic crisis in Europe? We investigate these questions with a group-specific approach, under consideration of the social background and the educational goals. In the following section we analyse which factors influence the willingness of young people in Germany to participate politically. We use data from two surveys conducted in 2009 and 2012 by the institute of political science of the Leibniz University of Hannover among students aged 16 to 25. The first four tables show survey data from 2012. In table 5 we take data from 2009, when we asked for views on the crisis. At this time, the respondents underwent the impression of the financial and economic crisis. For both surveys we do not claim full representativeness for Germany, disadvantaged groups, such as unemployed young people, might be underrepresented. However, we aim to compare different groups within our samples. In this respect the data gives substantiated information.

2 Social background and the willingness for political participation

Prerequisite for a self-determined political participation is a certain degree of interest in politics. Empirical findings of the Shell Youth Studies findings show, with some fluctuations, a decline of political interest among young Germans in a long term perspective. In 1991 57% of young people between 15 and 24 evinced political interest whereas in 2010 the share was 40% (Schneekloth 2010). On a different data basis, Kroh (2006: 190) concludes that the interest of youngsters in politics was stable between 1985 and 2003.

To investigate the willingness for political participation we developed an index consisting of several components: the general political interest of the questioned students, the value they assign to vote in elections, their appreciation towards civic and political engagement. Each question was metrically scaled from 1 to 5, with 1 indicating a weak willingness to participate and 5 indicating a strong willingness (Lange, Onken, Korn 2013, 32). On the basis of the index we identified three groups, which differ with regarding to their willingness for political participation.

Political issues are often perceived as overly complex. This explains the importance of education as a factor of influence on the political interest and the willingness to participate (Reinhardt and Tillmann 2002, 50). In table 1 we distinguish between youngsters with the intention to start or pursue higher education (i.e. aiming for an academic degree); and those who do not. Most of them had chosen to undergo a vocational training in the German "dual system".

	Respondent aims for higher education	
	Yes	No
Willingness to participate		
High	38%	18%
Medium	54%	48%
Low	8%	34%
N = 975	526	449
Source: ownsurvey, 2012		

The results show differences between both groups. Young people who do not aim for an academic qualification are particularly overrepresented in the category "low willingness to participate in politics". On the contrary, those who aspire a higher educational degree, show a higher willingness to participate than the reference group.

Our data supports the premise that social characteristics are very important for the probability of political participation. However, one cannot conclude that the impact of family-background is very direct. We argue there is a chain of conclusions with social origins as the initial point (see figure 1 below). Higher economic resources within the family and advanced occupational parental background tend to foster a social environment stimulating youngster's political interest (e.g. the course of education) as table 2 shows.

Pupils from parental homes providing a white-collar and high-income environment aspire far more often an academic degree than youngsters with a blue-collar and low-income background (Wernstedt and John-Ohnesorg 2008). Another consequence of the social origin, and partly related to the choice of the educational course, is the nature of social circles and networks youngsters' live in. How do personal circles deal with "politics"? Discussions about political issues with friends and within the family do not seem to be popular among young people (see also table 4). Less than 15% of the participants in our sample talk often or very often with



friends about politics. However, the analysis shows that youngsters with a blue-collar – low-income background discuss politics even less: only 7% of the respondents from the lowest income group discuss political questions with friends often. The connection between the income-situation of the family and frequency of political discussions is still measurable between the two income-groups in the middle, but much weaker.

Vocational family-background and educational goal: "higher education"				
Occupation	Blue-collar	White-collar	Self-employed/business owner	Public servant ("Beamt er")
Share higher-education	38%	66%	57%	75%
N=904	277	294	229	104
Disposable monthly family-income and educational goal: "higher education"				
Income	Less than 1000€	1000-1999€	2000-2999€	3000€ and more
Share higher-education	24%	44%	57%	69%
N=826	74	214	267	271

Source: own survey, 2012

The two factors discussed in table 2 influence the subjective self-assessment about the own position within the social stratification. Table 3 points in the same direction as suggested above: a higher position within the social stratification leads to a higher willingness for political participation.

Willingness for political participation	Underclass and lower middleclass	middleclass	Higher middleclass and upper class
High	25%	30%	33%
Medium	48%	54%	51%
Low	27%	16%	16%
N=967	168	498	301

Source: own survey, 2012

3 Sources for political information

In the context of the analysis of young people's information patterns about politics we ask for the importance of civic education. Where do students get their information and knowledge about politics from? The answer to this question shows that even "in times of the new media" the traditional media still plays a major role. T.V. was mentioned most frequently by far as an important source for information.

	Overall result	Willingness to participate		
		Low	Medium	High
Television	80%	67%	84%	82%
Civic education	51%	48%	59%	39%
Newspapers	47%	28%	47%	59%
Web-pages	42%	27%	42%	53%
Discussions with family members	27%	15%	27%	37%
Discussions with friends	17%	7%	16%	25%
Internet-blogs	8%	6%	6%	12%
Seriously, I'm not interested in politics	3%	14%	0%	0%
N	1008	194	523	291

Source: own survey, 2012 (multiple answers were possible)

It is noticeable that the group, showing a low willingness to participate in politics is generally more reluctant to mention any source, compared to the other groups. The exception is the category "civic education" which is mentioned more frequently by those showing a low willingness than those showing a high willingness to participate. Also notable is the frequent mentioning of civic education by the large "medium-group", 59% of them label it as an important source of information. Another remarkable result is that media which require a more active search behavior (web-pages and internet-blogs) or normally comparatively demanding (newspapers) are more often used by those students stating a high disposition to get involved in politics. The frequency of direct conversations about politics with family members and friends rises recognizably with the respondent's willingness to participate. From this we conclude that politically interested youngsters look actively for political information, while the less interested tend to avoid. The implication of these findings on civic education is that it should focus more on types of schools which courses do not lead regularly to higher education.

3. In times of crisis? Student's perception of the economic situation in 2009

For most of the German citizens, the economic crisis in Europe, starting in 2007, was an abstract threat so far. However, temporarily there was a broad public discussion in the media about the possible consequences of the economic crisis in general and the labor market in particular.

In table 5 we analyse the attitudes of young Germans towards the crisis. The three groups regarding differences in political interest have been operationalized in a similar way as the groups differ in the willingness to participate in politics in section 1 above (Lange and Onken 2013, 66). Similar to the index above, social characteristics determine the degree of political interest.



Statement*	Overall result (agreement)	Low political interest	Medium political interest	Strong Political interest
The crisis has a negative impact on my personal job perspective	50	54	51	41
The consequences of the crisis are not foreseeable, but I suspect worse to come	40	43	40	37
As in every crisis there are opportunities also in this one	35	25	35	49
Political and economic leaders won't draw any consequences – until the next crisis	24	19	25	26
The crisis will not proceed as bad as anticipated	13	11	14	13
My personal future will not be affected by the crisis	12	11	10	18
All in all one can say the government acted in the right way in the crisis	11	3	11	20
The state should stay out of the economy, despite the crisis	7	6	6	12
N	1124	231	687	206

*multiple answers were possible, source: own survey, 2009

Negative statements with pessimistic expectations are generally mentioned more often than statements with optimistic expectations. However, we see one significant exception: almost half of those showing a strong political interest see opportunities in the crisis. Youngsters belonging to this group also much more often conclude the government acted right in the crisis. The results suggest that stronger political interest leads to higher resilience groups against adopting “negative” political attitudes or showing signs of resignation.

4. Discussion

In sections above we discussed the importance of social factors for the probability of political participation.

Obviously the impact of such a static sociological concept like “*how a person is socially*” on his or her political interest, attitudes and participation is very indirect. There is no doubt about the importance of social networks for political participation (McClurg 2003: 459). These findings suggest the diversity of social networks and the question how important politics is within them have an impact on the probability of political participation (Quintelier, Stolle and Harell 2012). But what triggers the probability whether someone grows into what kind of network? It is the social characteristics that determine in many cases to a large extent pathways of political socialization.

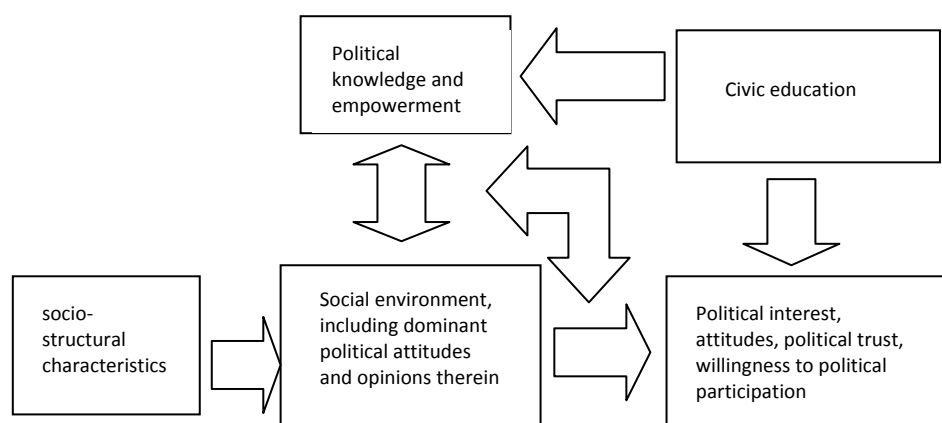


Figure 1: Causal model of factors influencing the willingness for political participation

Social characteristics are the starting point of many aspects of social life, the course of education, social contacts, friendships and activities, discussions about politics within and outside the family. The individual origins determine the chance whether an individual develops a certain degree of interest and whether he or she gets involved in politics.

When it comes to civic education it seems that students who do not need it look for it, while those who need try to avoid it. This applies also to the contact with political contents in the media. Our data indicates that a specific group-approach taking into account social factors is the most promising.



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Henk Oonk

The European Cooperation is Facing new Challenges – Some Impact on Citizenship Education in the Netherlands

The crisis in Europe constitutes a major test for the very pursuit of European integration and for its legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens. In this paper a number of striking economic aspects of the crisis will be discussed next to political tensions concerning sensitive issues. Given the decline in the support for the European integration among the public over the past years it is necessary to improve the quality of citizenship education on European issues and to use a more critical approach. Teaching and learning in a balanced manner is necessary about issues like migration, free movement, populist political parties, enlargement and other themes, besides other regular topics. In contrast to current opinions we argue that to reach not only the higher levels of secondary schools but also the lower levels a too strong social-constructivist approach is not effective. Complicated European issues need a good instruction by the teacher in combination with an attractive didactical approach that builds on a common core European orientation curriculum improving students' knowledge and skills and thus enhancing opinions and attitudes.

Keywords:

(European) citizenship education, European and international orientation, European issues related to citizenship education, curriculum development in secondary education, internationalization in education

1 Introduction

For several years now Europe has been confronted with a crisis, starting as a financial one, developing into a full economic one and flowing into a social and political crisis. Citizens have lost their savings, have become unemployed, are confronted with cuts in wages, social security and tensions between social groups of diverse cultural background. Given the interdependence between the European countries financially and economically and the fact that financial support from the Northern member states to the Southern member states is provided under harsh conditions, this crisis constitutes a major test for the very pursuit of European integration and for its legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens. Combined with the rise of populist movements with an anti-Europe agenda in many countries, Europe is facing major challenges.

This article has two main objectives which seek to answer the following research questions, namely to:

- a. investigate some aspects of the crisis in Europe and the support among the citizens concerning European integration.
- b. identify the impact of the crisis on European issues related to citizenship education in secondary schools with a focus on the Netherlands.

In other words with regard to the first question: is the current crisis indeed a test for the pursuit of European

integration and is there a change in the public opinion concerning the European cooperation? And if the answer is affirmative, what are the main elements of these changes? Needless to say some features of the crisis are global, in the context of this thematic issue, nevertheless, the focus is on European aspects.

Following the line of possible changes, concerning the second question, it is necessary to consider some effects on the curricula and the teaching practice in secondary schools. Every secondary school curriculum in Europe is dealing with aspects under different names as there are: European and international orientation, European citizenship education, the European dimension or European issues related to citizenship education. Major changes in the European discourse will have consequences for the curricula of various subjects where European issues are dealt with and for the discussion between teachers and pupils in the classroom. In this part of the article the focus is on Dutch secondary schools.

2 Theoretical notions and research methods

The following three theoretical notions have guided the research activities in the area of citizenship education, as far as the issues in this paper are concerned.

A coherent rationale for conceptualizing citizenship education including the European aspects is provided by the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS). In the Assessment Framework (Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito & Kerr (2008), civics and citizenship is 'organized around three dimensions: a content dimension specifying the subject matter to be assessed within civics and citizenship; an affective-behavioral dimension that describes the types of student perceptions and activities that are measured; and a cognitive dimension

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that describes the thinking processes to be assessed' (p. 13). The content is divided in four domains: civic society and systems, civic principles, civic participation and civic identities. Four affective-behavioral domains are identified: value beliefs, attitudes, behavioral intentions and behaviors. The two cognitive domains are: knowing and reasoning/analyzing. This concept forms a fruitful theoretical background of what European issues related to citizenship education are about.

An additional pedagogical approach is developed by Lange (2008, p. 92); he gives a description of the vital areas in which citizens in modern societies need to become competent: learning areas regarding social, cultural, economic, historical and political aspects. These aspects are referring to various subjects in secondary schools and all these areas and subjects have European aspects.

A third theoretical notion which has been used in this research is described by Van der Werf & Oonk in 'Internationalization in Secondary Education in Europe' (2011, chapter 16). In this work the authors are opposing the extreme social-constructivist view that students can only learn European competences by constructing their own knowledge in a context-rich learning environment and cooperative learning situations. They argue that the complicated European issues should be learned through a good instruction by the teacher, building on a common core curriculum in order to improve students' knowledge and skills while enhancing equal opportunities for all pupils.

With regard to the process of European integration the theoretical approach of ICCS is appropriate for the educational aim in this paper to identify important elements which need to be implemented in the curricula and school practice in the Netherlands and perhaps in other European countries. But the whole process of European integration after World War II since 1945 – i.e. greater economic, political and social cooperation, EU enlargement, the Euro- has of course many more dimensions than what is possible to teach and learn in schools. A very interesting source to understand all these dimensions is the grand history of postwar Europe, both east and west, written by Tony Judt (2005).

Whilst discussing the current challenges the European cooperation is facing, there are many conflicting opinions about the future of the European integration which are often summarized in 'more Europe' versus 'less Europe'. Habermas who is in favor of 'more Europe' thinks it necessary that the national arenas open their minds for the political activities in Brussels and Strasbourg and make citizens aware of the relevance of decisions which encroach deeply into daily life (Habermas 2013, p. 18,19). 'The elite project' should be redefined now on the basis of a broad participation of the populations (p.20). Scheffer, who is in favor of 'less Europe', stated in a recent article that the policy makers in Europe are refusing to explain the necessary political and economic steps, fearing the rejection by the public. He argues there is much to be proud of in Europe: equality, quality of life,

the constitutional state. Keep the diversity, do not continue federalization and offer in this way an alternative for populism. (Scheffer 2013). Although the authors have different opinions, both are convinced that it is absolutely necessary to involve the citizens in the next steps of the European integration.

The methods of researching the topics mentioned in this paper are a combination of analyzing documents, conduct literature reviews and analyzing statistical data.

3 Striking aspects of the crisis in Europe

This paragraph analyzes a number of striking aspects of the crisis in Europe in view of the economic, social and political developments, answering the first research question.

3.1 Economy in great problems

The Lisbon European Council held a special meeting on 23-24 March 2000 in Lisbon to agree on a new strategic goal for the Union in order to strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion as part of a knowledge-based economy. This strategic goal for the next decade was formulated in the famous words: 'to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion' (Lisbon European Council, p.2). The document expresses a spirit of optimism about the macro-economic outlook, the successful introduction of the Euro, the completion of the internal market and the forthcoming enlargement which will create new opportunities for growth and employment.

When reading this text 15 years later it is hard to believe that the members of the European Council were convinced that the goals set were based on hard data. Besides their analysis of the Union's 'strengths', the members also discussed weaknesses, such as the 15 million Europeans who were out of work and the underdeveloped services sector. The general feeling however was that the time was right to undertake a positive strategy which embraced both competitiveness and social cohesion.

What a contrast with the opinions in the beginning of the second decade of this century! In the Preface of the 2011 European Parliament Report on the Financial, Economic and Social crisis, it was observed that the crisis contributed significantly to the debt crisis that engulfed some Eurozone members which gave rise to dramatic and controversial measures to keep the Euro together. The crisis is recognized as the worst financial meltdown since the Great Depression (European Parliament 2011, Dekker, den Ridder, Schnabel, 2012). In the years 2010-2012 financial mechanisms were put in place such as the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) and the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) to support European countries and to reduce the probability of a future crisis.

What follows are some figures on unemployment in general and more specific ones on youth unemployment. The Euro area seasonally-adjusted unemployment rate



was 12,2 % in September 2013 and in the EU-28 11,0 %. Among the Member States, the lowest unemployment rates were recorded in Austria (4,9%), Germany (5,2%) and Luxembourg (5,9%), and the highest rates in Greece (27,6%) and Spain (26,6%). In September 2013, the youth unemployment rate was 23,5 % in the EU-28 and 24,1 % in the Euro area. In September 2013 the highest rates were observed in Greece (57,3%), Spain (56,5%) and Croatia (52,8%) (Eurostat, Sept. 2013).

Looking at those figures, particularly regarding youth unemployment, it is fully understandable that Europeans are deeply concerned about their future. Four Eurobarometer measurements in 2010 and 2011 show a growing pessimism among the population of several European countries about the development of the economy in general and the labor market in particular (Dekker, den Ridder, Schnabel 2012). In the Standard Eurobarometer 79, Spring 2013, the main concerns of Europeans being rated at national level have all an economic aspect, except crime: unemployment (51%), economic situation (33%), rising prices/inflation (20%), government debt (15%) and crime (12%) (European Commission 2013). In the second half of 2013 and the first half of 2014 the economic indicators became more positive but still the problems in most European countries remain unabated.

A broad range of European citizens is confronted with the current crisis, but the younger generation is particularly vulnerable as we see in the Eurostat figures, resulting in a growing uncertainty about their future.

3.2 Political tensions and debates in the European Union

The process of European integration has always been accompanied by discussions and conflicts. This time around, nevertheless, on the top of the economic crisis we are also confronted with tensions and debates concerning such fundamental issues as: policies regarding migration/immigration, free movement/enlargement, right-wing populist parties and the overall issue of the meaning of the nation state in the context of continuing European integration.

Migration/immigration

The results in the Eurobarometer of Spring 2013 include also other concerns next to the ones listed above such as health, social security (11%) and immigration (10%). Although 'immigration' as topic receives now less attention than earlier likely caused by the economic crisis, it is still an issue that creates discord in many Member-States. Certain groups of citizens see immigration and especially the Islamic part of it as endangering national identity; other groups are more positive and speak about an enrichment of society.

Scheffer published in a Dutch newspaper in the year 2000 an article titled 'The Multicultural Drama'; this article initiated a debate in the Netherlands about immigration and was followed by meetings, critical articles, papers and books (Scheffer 2000). In his book

'Immigrant Nations' (2011) he puts forward many issues for discussion: the openness of the receiving societies versus the traditional beliefs many migrants bring with them, questions about the position of women and freedom of expression, the difficulty with the phrase 'enrichment of the societies' used in the discussions regarding the newcomers and the difficult circumstances in which many immigrants and their children live, next to the problems schools are facing. In Scheffer's opinion 'clear choices need to be made about which immigrants to allow in; as selectivity is essential to successful integration. This idea was resisted for many years, with integration and immigration treated as separate issues' (p. 316).

In a study undertaken by the European University Institute at Florence an overview has been published about immigration in the EU, policies and politics in times of crisis (Jonjic, Mavrodi 2012). According to data provided by Eurostat, in 2010 there were 20.2 million third-country nationals living in the EU. In some southern Member States the size of the immigrant population is approximately 10 % of the total population (Spain, Greece and Italy). The authors state like Scheffer that immigration involves strong emotions and controversies in the areas of politics, economy and culture. A crucial observation is that 'the impact of immigration is mostly felt at the local level, where realities, opportunities and problems differ substantially' (pp. 7,8).

The researchers found that anti-immigration sentiments are on the rise in some southern countries, but it is obvious that the same is true in nearly all Member States. Migration and immigration issues are expected to remain very sensitive in the Member States and at the EU-level.

Free movement/enlargement

Free movement of workers is one of achievements of the European Union enshrined in Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union and developed by EU secondary legislation and the Case law of the Court of Justice. But this achievement has become subject to discussion in some Member States, especially in Northern countries, influenced by the rise of unemployment. The perception is that EU-migrants bring advantages if they are highly qualified, but disadvantages in the case of low qualified workers who are pushing away the lower segment of the labour market. At the same time it must be acknowledged that on the other side of the coin thousands of East-European workers are fulfilling jobs that are not wanted by West-Europeans.

In a letter of the Dutch Minister Asscher of Social Affairs and Employment to the Lower House of the Dutch Parliament (Asscher 2013) is stated that the Netherlands cannot solve certain problems of EU-labor migration by itself. The Netherlands government is asking the European Commission and other Member States to have an eye for the reality that free movement of workers has not only advantages but also drawbacks. It is important



to discuss this kind of problems in order to avoid that public support for the EU is eroding.

In connection with the issue of 'free movement' there are also discussions concerning possible social security abuse. In the past years it was virtually impossible to discuss these problems: in the extreme European view free movement was a sacred principle that could not be discussed while in the extreme nationalistic view the concept of free movement had to be abandoned. It is a positive sign that the European Commission is aware of the concerns of some Member States regarding potential abuses related to mobility flows. Abuse weakens free movement and the Commission recognizes that local problems can be created by a large, sudden influx of people from other EU countries into a particular geographical area, but the Commission did not see the need to change the rules of free movement. (European Commission, 25 November 2013). However on Monday 9 Dec. 2013 the EU employment ministers agreed on a series of measures meant to end tax and other abuses among foreign workers, 'an increasingly sensitive issue just months ahead of European elections' (Press release France 24, 2013).

This article is not meant to come forward with concrete answers and solutions; the most important premise being that fundamental EU-principles can now be discussed in a politically political way. The discussion about the Schengen agreements should also be seen in relation to the enlargement discussions: as long as the external borders of the EU are not fixed and the impression is that the EU is enlarging without vision and clear policy, the uncertainty among the public about the internal borders will continue to grow; here clarity is needed.

Rise of right-wing populist parties in Europe

The economic crisis and the debates regarding sensitive topics like immigration/migration, free movement/enlargement and the national identity are all contributing the rise of right-wing populist parties in Europe. For many citizens, the main stream political parties and the established institutions these developments are rather shocking; as it is clear in newspapers, tv-programs, on the internet, in meetings, publications and in Parliaments. Although fruitful responses are difficult to formulate it is vitally important to discuss the problems with citizens who are suffering from certain developments and who are having a hard time distinguishing between real problems and populist slogans. What are the essential norms and values for the majority and the minorities? How far can minorities be asked to adjust to the norms of the country where they live or wish to live? In this context frictions in society associated with large-scale migration can be seen as an invitation to critical self-examination at a national and European scale.

The Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Chatham House in London, published a report on how to understand and how to counter populist extremism in Europe (Goodwin 2011). Supporters of PEPs (Populist

Extremist Parties) are often dismissed as political protestors, single-issue voters or economically deprived 'losers of globalization', their supporters share one core feature: their profound hostility towards immigration, multiculturalism and rising cultural and ethnic diversity'. It is not the economy which drives the supporters but the 'fear that immigration and rising diversity threaten their national culture, the unity of their national community and way of life' (Executive summary, pp. 1,2). The author sees no uniform response to PEPs, but describes some potential strategies for mainstream parties: exclusion, defusing, adoption, principle, engagement and interaction. The last two are focused more heavily on the local arena, where winning the hearts and minds of voters presents the best prospect for progress.

Others like Kukan from Slovakia, member of the European Parliament, are more pessimistic and think that these right-wing parties are ready to blame 'others' for their misfortunes. He is sometimes puzzled to see these trends in the countries that have been inspirations for newly independent and democratic countries such as in Slovakia¹.

We may observe that recently (in 2013) in some countries main stream political parties are changing their approach toward the issues addressed by the populist parties, although more work seems needed to bring the 'patriot' and 'the world citizen' closer to each other.

New balance between Nation state and European Union

All the issues mentioned above are part of a search for a new balance between the Nation state and the European Union. Since 1960 among the political and intellectual elite the opinion has been that modernizing society supposed a relativisation of cultural, national and religious identities. The ideal was the European unity, since national identity was something from the past which had caused disasters in the first part of 20th century. The majority of the citizens however were still attached to their country and gradually in the last part of the 20th century a gap arose between the European elites and the wider public, with regard to issues like migration, the Islam and European cooperation. Now in the second decade of the 21st century we see developments towards a renewed consciousness about the importance of the nation state resulting in a newly found patriotism.

A broader view, contrary to rather simplistic explanations is to be found with the Dutch historian and political philosopher Van Middelaar, who speaks about a Europe of States, Citizens and Offices, each stream has its own political style and recipe (Van Middelaar, 2013). In his study he explains that the European 'game' is not played only in Brussels, but that European politics are penetrating governments, parliaments, courts and populations in all Member States. We are living in a passage to Europe, but the question remains: which Europe?

In an interesting article with the title 'Heimat Europa', Heribert Prantl writes that Europe is the best that has



happened in our history but less and less citizens believe this (Prantl 2011). He points at the fact that the EU perceives everything that hinders the freedom of movement of persons, capital, goods and services as an obstacle. The European Court works also in this perspective. Citizens however want to know what the EU is doing for them. The policies of the EU-elite in Brussels and Strasbourg are not the way forward as seen by many EU-citizens.

The Nation state remains important in spite of the transfer of powers to multinational authorities like the EU. In fact there need not to be a contradiction between modest nationalism/patriotism and internationalism: you can love your country and still be a European. Or one might say that you can be a real European while loving your country. The German philosopher Safranski claims that the process of globalization enhances the need of one's own identity (Safranski 2003). Globalization as ideology shows a picture of a world society which is non-existent: humanity as a subject to act does not exist. He believes that we are making the wrong observations concerning globalization.

Looking at the Nation state in our times it is useful to refer to the French philosopher Ernest Renan (1882) who held a famous lecture at the end of the nineteenth century at the Sorbonne in Paris, with the title 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?' [What is a nation?] The question is still relevant and useful in our times. A modern nation is the historical outcome of a series of events. Although factors like race, language, religion and geography played a part, the nation is finally a result of a history full of efforts, sacrifices and commitments. It supposes a past, but manifests itself in the willingness to live together: a nation is in fact a daily referendum.

The editors of the Dutch Renan translation explain, under the title 'A pragmatic plea for an enlightened patriotism' (Huijsen, Waling 2013), the strength of Renan's approach in combining pragmatic and emotional elements seen as indispensable in politics. The limited scale of the national European economies would have convinced the pragmatic Renan of the usefulness of a strong European cooperation. Also the practical meaning of the nation state in our times would have been emphasized as the basis for the parliamentary democracy and as a determining factor in the framework of international cooperation. An effective and democratic supervising alternative for the nation state, supported by a wide public is not yet available.

What do we see in the most important hall of the renovated Rijks Museum in Amsterdam? The Nightwatch of Rembrandt in the center, surrounded by only Dutch masterpieces of the Golden Age. After the Second World War such an exhibition with only Dutch masterpieces was impossible, at that time it was seen as too nationalistic, so non-Dutch if you like foreign paintings were exhibited in that hall as well. The current setting is possible, as explained by the director of the Museum, as a result of the European integration. That integration gave nationalism a different content and color and is no

longer seen as narrow-minded but as a trademark: is this the direction needed in Europe?

3.3 Declining support for the European integration

The second part of our first research question is about the support among citizens for European integration as a result of the described developments in paragraph 2, during the last ten years. In a report of 2000 about the Netherlands in Europe, Dutch and Italians indicate the greatest satisfaction with the European Union. In fact 73% of the Dutch stated that membership in the European Union is a good idea, 45% said that they would be disappointed if the European Union was disbanded and 64% indicated support for the primacy of the European Union in relation to national policy (SCP, 2000). A publication of the European Commission (2001) showed that nearly six out of ten European Union citizens felt very positive about strong ties to Europe.

In my doctoral thesis I wrote: 'If we look at the pains that countries have taken in order to join the Economic and Monetary Union, the result of which is the common form of currency the euro, and the efforts exerted by countries in Middle and Eastern Europe to qualify for membership in the European Union, clearly this European institution has a tremendous appeal to parts of the population and governments of the countries involved' (Oonk 2004, p. 20).

Comparing certain outcomes of the Eurobarometer 67, carried out in Spring 2007, just a year before the beginning of the crisis in 2008, with the Eurobarometer 79 carried out in Spring 2013, the following trends can be observed (only those items which return in every Eurobarometer has been used).

Image of the European Union

In 2007 57% of the respondents tended to trust the European Union; this figure has declined to 31% (- 26%) in 2013. Although the trust in the national government has also fallen back from 43% in 2007 to 26% in 2013 (- 17%), the decline of trust in the European Union is much greater. In 2007 over half (52%) of all citizens hold a positive image of the European Union, 31% was neutral and 15% negative. In 2013 30% was positive, 39% was neutral and 29% was negative. During these 6 years the positive image declined from 52% till 30% (-22%), the neutral image increased from 31% till 39% (+ 8%) and the negative image increased from 15% till 29% (+ 14%). 69% of the respondents were optimistic about the future of the EU in 2007 and 24% pessimistic; in 2013 that percentage optimistic has been diminished till 49% (-20%) and pessimistic increased till 46% (+ 22%).

In 2007 55% of Europeans said that their voice did not count in the EU; in 2013 67% (+12%). 35% said in 2007 that their voice counts, in 2013 28% (-7%). Awareness of the European Parliament is widespread in every Member State: 89% of the respondents have heard of the European Parliament in 2007 and 90% in 2013 (+1%). Since 2010 59% of the respondents knew that the members of this institute were directly elected by the



citizens of each Member State; in 2013 52% (-7%). In 2007 63% of the respondents supported the European economic and monetary union with a single currency, the euro; in 2013 51% (-12%).

3.4 Conclusions

The analyses of a number of striking aspects of the current crisis in Europe shows very high unemployment rates in several countries, particularly among youngsters, the sensitive nature of issues like migration, immigration, free movement, enlargement and as one of the consequences the rise of right-wing populist parties and a clear decline of the support among the citizens concerning the European integration process from a rather positive response in 2007 to a far more negative response in 2013. Several European scientists, journalists and politicians have made suggestions to solve certain problematic elements in European politics, for instance the acceptance that the principles of the freedom of movement of persons, capital, goods and services asks in our times for revision and to discuss the frictions in society as a result of large-scale migration. It is important to discuss the essential norms and values for the majority and the minorities in the Member States of the EU. Repeating the conclusion of Habermas in the introduction of this paper, 'the elite project should be redefined now on the basis of a broad participation of the populations'. A strong European cooperation in certain areas must be combined with a redefinition of the nation state in the framework of the EU as the basis for parliamentary democracy and as a determining factor in the framework of international cooperation in order to bring together European cosmopolites and patriots.

4 Impact of the crisis on European issues related to citizenship education in secondary schools: the case of the Netherlands.

This paragraph is focusing on the identification of the impact of the crisis on European issues related to citizenship education in secondary schools in general and more specifically in Dutch schools, answering the second research question. The policies described in the previous paragraph requires a better involvement of the citizens in the next steps of the European integration and therefore it is necessary to discuss possible changes concerning some aspects of citizenship education in schools. In other words, what could be or should be the effect on the curricula and the teaching practice in secondary schools? Before discussing the necessary changes it is important to give a general picture of the current situation

4.1 Current situation in secondary schools in Europe and more specifically in the Netherlands

To describe the current situation the best reference in this field is the European part of the International Civics and Citizenship education Study (ICCS) which was carried out between 2006 and 2009. It was the first time in the history of 'Europe at school' that in 24 European

countries 3000 schools, 75000 students in their eighth year of schooling and 35000 teachers were involved in a study to 'investigate students' knowledge and understanding of civics and citizenship in a European context and their perceptions, attitudes and behaviors with respect to specific European-related civic and political issues, institutions and policies' (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz & Burge, 2009, p.3)

Knowledge, interests and opinions concerning European issues

In the Executive Summary of the European ICCS report we find that 'although a majority of students of grade 8 in the European ICCS countries demonstrated knowledge of main citizenship institutions and understanding of the interconnectedness of institutions and processes, substantial minorities of students had lower levels of knowledge. These findings suggest that there is still a need to improve learning about the EU as part of citizenship education' (p.14). The same outcomes can be mentioned concerning opinions regarding intercultural relations, European language learning, equal rights for immigrants and freedom of movement within Europe: a majority was positive but also here substantial minorities were negative. The report asks attention for the fact that according to most teachers and principals in the European ICCS countries, the focus of civic learning should primarily be on developing students' knowledge and skills and not necessarily on their participatory skills or strategies (p. 14). Here the authors see room for broadening the focus of citizenship education. An important finding is the fact that a consistent association was shown between students' national and European identities, in that students with more positive attitudes toward their country tended also to have a stronger sense of European identity.

Most of the outcomes of the Dutch pupils as part of the ICCS are generally not deviating from pupils in other European countries, but with regard to some topics the findings are remarkable. Although the Netherlands didn't meet the sampling requirements, the Dutch ICCS-researchers take the view that nevertheless it is possible to sketch a picture of the situation in Dutch schools (Maslowski, Van der Werf, Oonk, Naayer & Isac (2012, p.8).

In the overview of the civic knowledge, Finland and Denmark were the highest scoring European ICCS countries with an average of 576; the Netherlands reached with 494 position 18 in the ranking list just before Malta, Latvia, Greece, Luxembourg and Bulgaria (466) and Cyprus (453) with the lowest scores (Kerr et al. p.48). Students' attitudes toward Europe and the country in which they live and more specifically the statement, 'I see myself first as a citizens of Europe and then as a citizen of my country, the answers ranged from 25% in Poland to 50% in UK and 53% in Cyprus; the score for the Netherlands was 20%, the lowest from all participating European countries (p. 69). Countries with the highest level of support for equal rights for immigrants were



Bulgaria, Luxembourg and Sweden (with scale scores of 52); the lowest levels were reached in Belgium (Flemish), England and the Netherlands (with scale scores of 46; p.90). Support for free movement to live and work within Europe on single items reflecting acceptance of free movement for citizens from European countries within Europe, show the following outcomes: live and work anywhere in Europe (European average 90%, NL 79%); bring different cultures (European average 76%, NL 71%); good for economy (European average 70%, NL 68%) and understand other European cultures (European average 88%, NL 81%; p. 98).

Looking at these Dutch outcomes one would think that Dutch pupils are very critical with regard to the National and European institutions, but on the contrary, regarding the national percentages of students' trust in different local, national, European and international political institutions, the Dutch pupils have surprisingly a higher score than the European ICCS average: national government (ICCS average 61, NL 70); local government (ICCS average 65, NL 75); national parliament (ICCS average 52, NL 65); United Nations (ICCS average 65, NL 65); European Commission (ICCS average 58, NL 62) and European Parliament (ICCS average 59, NL 67) (p.84).

Looking to additional research in the Netherlands, an analysis of the implementation and the effects of a European and international orientation shows that students in upper secondary education have 'considerably more knowledge on Europe than students in lower secondary education'. But it is difficult to determine to what degree the higher knowledge can indeed be attributed to Europe-oriented education at school, rather than a 'natural' growth that could have been observed in other schools as well. (Maslowski, Naayer, Oonk & Van der Werf (2009). In the same study among 15 schools and 1193 pupils, responses of students in Grade 8 and Grade 11 were compared with attitudinal aspects: no differences between the two grades were reported, which means that all the Europe oriented educational activities during these three school years didn't change the opinions of pupils.

In another study (21 schools and 880 pupils) concerning the European and international orientation in bilingual schools in the Netherlands (Naayer, Maslowski, Oonk & Van der Werf (2011), several findings are interesting. Upper secondary pupils feel no stronger identification with Europe than lower secondary pupils; in some cases the older pupils are more critical. It is worrying that no significant correlations have been found between knowledge about Europe and opinions towards the European integration. Pupils from bilingual schools have a less strong identification with Europe than pupils from regular secondary schools (p. 105).

In lower secondary education schools need to follow the core aims and in case of European issues the most important core aim is: the pupil learns to understand the meaning of the European cooperation and the European Union for her/him self, the Netherlands and the world (SLO, 2007). Several questions need to be discussed:

what are the consequences of the European cooperation? What are the powers of the EU and what of the Netherlands? Cooperation is sometimes difficult if countries must give up certain competences. Several concepts and topics are mentioned in this core aim without explanation how to introduce these issues: institutions of the EU, open borders, migration, mobility, free movement of goods, capital, services and people, solidarity, democracy, the European citizen.

4.2 Towards a new approach

Higher level of knowledge on Europe related issues

The conclusion of ICCS is that a majority of students of grade 8 in the European ICCS countries demonstrated knowledge of main European citizenship institutions and understanding of the interconnectedness of institutions and processes. Substantial minorities of students had, nevertheless lower levels of knowledge; this applies also to the Dutch schools. The rather low position of the Dutch schools in the European ranking list of civic knowledge underlines the necessity for Dutch secondary schools to pay more attention to teaching and learning with respect to specific Europe related issues. The conclusion in other Dutch studies focusing on the European orientation in schools is that the growth in European oriented knowledge is not great from lower secondary education towards higher secondary education. This confirms the importance of the necessary approach and could stimulate more grounded opinions about European issues.

Critical approach of European issues

Comparing the rather descriptive core aim concerning European cooperation in lower secondary education in Dutch schools with the analyses of several sensitive issues like migration, immigration, free movement, enlargement, right-wing populist parties and a clear decline of the support among the citizens concerning the European integration process it is obvious that also in schools a more critical approach of the European developments is necessary in order to teach and learn besides facts and figures also problems and dilemma's. This more critical approach can also be found in the introduction of the ICCS European report where the authors describe the changed context of citizenship education since 2000. The authors are reporting some challenges for instance the balance between citizenship as status through nationality and citizenship as identity, including the added dimension of European citizenship. They are also reporting the migration of peoples in Europe and the movement of peoples from former colonies and from some Eastern European to Western European countries and how to balance the rights, cultures and traditions of diverse groups in society, including those from minority and majority groupings (Kerr et al. p.16/17).



A classic modern view

Referring to the three theoretical notions as explained in paragraph 2 of this paper it is now possible to elaborate these notions in a new pedagogical concept. The ICCS framework gives an adequate description of what citizenship education in general is about and more specific the European issues: four content domains, four affective-behavioral domains and the two cognitive domains: knowing and reasoning/analyzing (Schulz et al. (2008, p.13). Lange (2008, p.92) describes learning areas regarding social, cultural, economic, historical and political aspects which have a relation with various subjects in secondary schools. The third notion as explained is elaborated by Van der Werf & Oonk in 'Internationalisation in Secondary Education in Europe' (2011, chapter 16).

In that chapter we are opposing the extreme social-constructivist view that students can only learn European competences by constructing their own knowledge in a context-rich learning environment and cooperative learning situations. We think that the complicated European issues should be learned through a good instruction by the teacher, building on a common core curriculum in order to improve students' knowledge and skills while enhancing equal opportunities. Such a curriculum has a clear ordering of learning content developed grade by grade. From time to time during the schooling period students show their European orientation competences by completing achievement tests.

In such an approach there is still room for a constructivist element in the field of developing attitudes, opinions and beliefs by the students themselves. The knowledge and skills are taught by a good teacher whereas the opinions and attitudes can be developed in activities like school partnerships and exchanges: here pupils are outside their ordinary daily world and confronted with a diversity of other opinions and behaviors where as a consequence they are asked to reflect upon their own opinions.

I quote: 'One also might characterize this view as 'classic modern'. Classic because it emphasizes knowledge and skills that encompasses strong and long-lasting tradition and teaching methods that have proven to be effective, and modern because it also includes knowledge and skills that students need in the modern European society and that are supposed to be acquired by new methods suited to the new generation of European citizens' (Van der Werf & Oonk, 2011, p. 266).

5 Final conclusions

New challenges in the field of European cooperation in a period of declining support for the EU make it necessary to introduce a sustained critical approach concerning the developments in Europe. The current situation in Europe requires an enhanced participation of more citizens in order to go from a 'technical Europe' to a 'Heimat Europe'. It is not sufficient to inform pupils and students about the facts and the constructive elements of European decisions, but also needed is an explanation of

the negative and problematic aspects. Discussing both is vital to democracy: the European Union needs the support of its citizens and in that perspective citizenship education must give a balanced pedagogical response. A balanced teaching and learning is needed about issues like immigration, migration, free movement, populist political parties, enlargement, relation EU-Nation state and other sensitive themes. Complicated European issues need a good instruction by the teacher in combination with an attractive didactical approach, that builds on a common core European orientation curriculum improving students' knowledge and skills and enhancing opinions and attitudes. The crisis in Europe creates very serious problems but has as a side-effect that there is an opportunity to discuss issues that are fundamental for a future Europe.

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Endnote

¹ The Parliament, politics, policy and people; 9 Oct. 2013



Murray Print

Can Resilience be built Through a Citizenship Education Curriculum?*

The global financial crisis has impacted upon the way of life of young Europeans with great severity. Across most European countries youth unemployment has remained stubbornly high for many years, compounding the effects of the crisis on the social and psychological well-being of young people. Given that crises are highly likely to occur in the future are there ways to help prepare young people to build resilience to meet an unpredictable future? For a long-term approach to building youth resilience the role of the school is highly significant. Consequently this article asks - what are the elements in a school curriculum that can build resilience for times of crisis? The article explores the case of the Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship as a possible approach to building resilience amongst school students. The curriculum identifies knowledge, skills and values that students may acquire through this curriculum that build resilience.

Keywords:

Citizenship education, citizenship curriculum, civics, curriculum resilience

1 Introduction: Scientific context

Young Europeans currently live in an era of financial crisis that has impacted upon their way of life with great severity. Levels of youth unemployment across most European countries are exceptionally high and have remained that way for several years with compounding effects on the social and psychological well-being of young people. Given that crises are highly likely to occur in the future are there ways to help prepare young Europeans to build resilience to meet potential future crises? There may well be some short-term attempted solutions but the nature of crises is that they will continue to occur in some form in the future and so a long-term approach to building a broad-based youth resilience is also required. In this context the central question this paper poses is - what are the elements in a school curriculum that can build resilience for times of crisis? One way to examine this question is to explore the case of a new school curriculum that may offer opportunities to build resilience within students. Essentially then, this is a hypothetical proposition that will be linked with a new curriculum in a way that could address issues of how to build resilience over time amongst young Europeans in schools.

The global financial crisis (GFC) has impacted severely upon many from 2008 but the situation facing young Europeans is a far more complex problem, complicated by the impact of significant variables in Europe over the past decade including patterns of migration, levels of unemployment, influx of refugees, as well as declining levels of trust in politics and political institutions,

reduced political efficacy, declining political engagement particularly in political parties, and less support for liberal democratic values. For example, recent findings of the Eurobarometer (Standard EB 77, spring 2012), found that young people tend to distrust the European Union, a level that has constantly increased in the aftermath of the crisis, rising to 50% in 2012.

Similarly, the European Report of the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Kerr, et. al, 2009) found relatively low levels of trust in many forms of government [local, national, European] amongst young Europeans. Further, according to the Eurobarometer (2012) almost half of the young Europeans surveyed consider that things are going in the wrong direction in the European Union. Although young people claim they are more active in non-governmental and local associations, according to the Eurobarometer Flash 'European Youth: participation in democratic life' 2013 (n°375), they are significantly less engaged in political parties and formal politics, even though most of them generally vote in elections at different levels.

2 International civics and citizenship education study: Europe

The impact of the GFC for many young Europeans has been particularly dramatic particularly in terms of high levels of unemployment. A recent major international study of young people, the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study [ICCS], identified many concerns and issues of young people with politics and government. The European sub-study of the ICCS data is particularly valuable as it provides an insight into issues of resilience amongst young Europeans at the height of the GFC. Included are data about aspects of the crisis such as students' interest in engaging in public and political life and their disposition to do so, perceptions of threats to civil society, understanding of and attitudes

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towards democratic values including freedoms and human rights, civic engagement in the local community, environmental protection, attitudes towards ethnic and racial groups as well as immigrants, and levels of trust in national and European civic institutions.

While the ICCS is a study of 14/15 year old students it does give us a guide as to how young Europeans are responding to a major crisis. I have some reservations about extrapolating from this data set as these young people are directly 'protected' by the school and family though the latter will certainly have been affected by the GFC. In this context the responses of students may be muted and less severe than other young people not in school contexts.

The ICCS 2009 European Report (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, Burge 2010) investigated European students' knowledge and understanding of civics and citizenship and their perceptions, attitudes and behaviors with respect to specific European-related civic and political issues, institutions and policies. Key data were collected on student knowledge of political systems, multiculturalism, rule of law, social cohesion, legal systems, rights & freedoms, the common good and national identity.

A second set of findings related to civics and citizenship skills such as problem solving, peaceful change, questioning, civic participation, accessing media, analysis and interpretation, communication, cohesion and conflict resolution. A third set of findings addressed values and attitudes towards political trust, identity [broader than national with specific mention of European identity], the common good, human rights, equity [including multiculturalism], and civic participation.

The study identified many significant issues amongst young people across Europe, with significant variations across regions, especially the north - south and west – east divides. While it is important to recognize that schools and education are the domain of individual countries within Europe it is also possible, in a broad sense, to discuss students within Europe as a single entity. Indeed, that is the approach taken by the ICCS study as with other studies (European Commission, 2010; Eurobarometer 2012; Davies 2008; Print, Lange 2013). An overwhelming finding from the European Study was, in 2009, the lack of trust and support for government in Europe. This ICCS European Study data, together with recent Eurobarometer (2012) data, demonstrate some of the issues facing young Europeans in recent times and their responses to those issues. For example, trust in political institutions varied significantly amongst students in the participating 24 countries both at the national and European levels. Latvian student's level of trust in their national government was 32 compared with 74 for Italy and 82 for Finland (2009, p. 84). Similarly levels of trust in the European Commission varied from 45 for students from Cyprus to 75 for Italy with related levels of trust for the European Parliament (2009, p. 64). Given relatively low levels of trust in major institutions young Europeans would need to rely more on other sources to secure their

future. A conclusion that may be drawn from the data, and the last six years of the impacts of the GFC, is that young Europeans need to build, or enhance, their resilience to crises both now and for the future.

3 Resilience

Resilience is commonly defined as the ability to recover from an adversity of some form. It is a process, and not a characteristic trait, by which an individual returns to a previous condition / situation or copes with the adversity (Buzzanell 2010). For Brassett, Croft and Vaughan-Williams (2013) the concept of resilience "... now occupies a central place in understanding and responding to a range of global uncertainties posed by high-impact low-probability systems failures and traumatic events. As such, resilience is often proposed as the solution to a range of otherwise seemingly diverse security challenges including, inter alia, flooding, cybercrime, terrorism, financial crises, critical infrastructure collapse and social disorder." (p. 222). Indeed, in the United Kingdom the government has devised a resilience agenda to enhance the UK's ability to prepare for, respond to and recover from diverse emergencies. These emergencies range from natural disasters to deliberate attacks particularly from terrorists (Cabinet Office 2013) what Davies (2008) refers to as violent extremism.

Resilience, however, is a concept used in diverse academic fields notably psychology [individual resilience], management [system resilience], risk management resilience and military resilience. In the context of this paper resilience refers to a combination of political and social abilities to enable resilient citizens to recover from an economically induced adversity. The definition above is then applied to young people recovering from a political, social or economic adversity. In recent times the adversity is the economic, social, political and psychological impacts of the GFC on young Europeans and in this context it refers to elements of building resilience such as a sense of identity [individual, national and European], self-confidence to handle adverse situations, skills and knowledge of rights and responsibilities in general, and attitudes towards migration, equality, solidarity and the community in general.

This suggests that people can respond to a crisis by means of participating in a resilience process that addresses the crisis and potentially nullifies or reduces the impact of the crisis. Similarly, resilience may be accumulated over time as a result of participating in a program that addresses responding to crises in the future. Such a resilience process can include the effects of schooling in building resilience to existing crises and to potential crises in the future. Consequently this paper suggests that opportunities exist for building resilience amongst young Europeans through a component of the formal curriculum usually referred to as Civic Education or more recently as Civics and Citizenship Education.



4 School curriculum

The school curriculum may be defined in many ways but a central feature of any definition is the group of subjects, learning areas or fields of study that students would be taught during the school year. Some might refer to this as the formal curriculum (Education Queensland 2014; Kelly 2009; Print 2009, 2009b) to distinguish it from the informal curriculum and the hidden curriculum (Kelly 2009). Some might identify the school curriculum as all these experiences and so the term formal curriculum will be used to refer to the school subjects to be studied by students within schools.

While European countries vary significantly in their schooling and the school curriculum they all provide schools for the purpose of educating their children and young people. And while schools are the domain of individual European countries and possibly jurisdictions within those countries, as in the case of federal countries such as Germany, it is still possible to discuss the needs of European school students as a single group.

Given that there are many ways in which young people become politically and civically aware and engaged, or not, (see Print, 2009a; 2009b) what role might the school play in building resilience amongst the young? As seen in Print's model (2009b) there are both formal and informal curriculum experiences that can influence young people at school and the influence of the informal curriculum has been identified elsewhere (Kelly 2009). The importance of locating such learning experiences within the school curriculum is that they are available to all who attend school and given the compulsory nature of schooling in Europe this covers most children and youth. Other sources, such as the family, the community, religion, and friends may have a contribution to make but that is likely to be uneven and potentially biased. A school curriculum, developed and delivered professionally, is the best source of learning for the general population of young people.

There are many intervention projects and programs designed to specifically build resilience amongst students in schools. A good coverage of many pedagogical interventions applied in some schools within Britain are analysed in a research study by the NFER and the Office of Public Management (Bonnell, Copestake, Kerr, Passy, Reed, Salter, Sarwar, Sheikh, 2011). These can be influential in building resilience amongst students but they are not the subject of this paper. Also there are many other aspects to effective learning in schools including the informal curriculum, the role of teachers, and school policies that could affect student resilience but these similarly are not considered here. This paper focuses attention on the role of the formal curriculum, namely the school subjects studied by students, and in particular, a civics and citizenship curriculum, in providing opportunities for building resilience amongst young people in schools.

This is a hypothetical proposal based upon a recently developed curriculum that reflects developments and

directions in civics and citizenship since the beginning of the century. It is necessarily speculative but it raises important questions about elements of the school curriculum that could contribute to building resilience amongst students. More specifically this paper asks a key question—are there elements in a school citizenship curriculum that can build resilience for times of crisis? In this context this paper will primarily address issues related to political and social impacts of crises and how a school curriculum might address building resilience within young people over time.

5 Australian curriculum: civics and citizenship

A civics and citizenship curriculum, based in a democracy, mostly attempts to produce informed, active and engaged citizens who will sustain that democracy (Civics Expert Group 1994; Crick 1998; MCEETYA 2008; Print, Lange 2013). Such citizens may be active in many ways including being critical of their government or authority more generally. In the process of educating the young to become informed and active citizens there are opportunities for building resistance to future crises.

A possibility for building resilience amongst young people may be found in the application of the recently developed Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship (ACARA 2014). This curriculum was developed as part of the Australian Curriculum, a recent initiative in a national curriculum by a federal state (ACARA 2010). Due to a politically inspired review of the whole curriculum, the Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship (AC:CC) has not been finally approved by the incoming federal government at the time of preparing this paper. However, it has been supported by all state and territory governments throughout its development process and has been agreed for use in their schools subject to individual state adjustments. Consequently ACARA has released the Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship for use by education systems and schools (ACARA 2014). The curriculum may change as a result of the current government review of the Australian Curriculum though significant changes are unlikely given the high levels of support from those governments that actually implement curricula in Australia, namely the eight state and territory governments and not the federal government.

Within the Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship (AC – CC) it is possible to identify many components that address building resilience, as defined and identified above, amongst young people in schools. While these were not specifically designed to build resilience to a specific crisis [such as the GFC] or to address a particular time, these components are applicable generally for times of crisis as aspects of building democratic citizens. While there are many ways civics and citizenship education may be interpreted (ACARA 2012; Civics Expert Group 1994; Crick 1998; Niemi, Junn 1998; Shultz, et al., 2010; Torney-Purta et al. 1999), if the explicit intent of a curriculum in democratic citizenship is to build active, informed as well as resilient citizens who can participate



effectively in their democracy, then these characteristics can be incorporated within a curriculum to build resilience in students so that they may address crises when they occur. What characteristics of the AC-CC can contribute to building resilience amongst students?

6 Civics and citizenship rationale and aims

The rationale for the AC: CC is to provide essential learning for young Australians to be active, informed citizens within their democracy and also in an increasingly interconnected world. This position is stated clearly in the Melbourne Declaration (2008) of goals for Australian schooling, a widely accepted and agreed statement of direction for Australian education. To achieve this, the AC: CC focuses on developing the essential knowledge, understanding, skills, values, attitudes and dispositions within young people to enable them to participate in civic life locally, nationally and globally.

The intent of the CCC is to help build active, informed citizens who can participate effectively in their democracy. While these are general aims they have relevance to the role of resilience-building within young citizens. Democracy is not expected to be an uneventful journey. By its nature it allows for dissent and expects its citizens to be resilient to pressures, political, economic, and social, in the process of maintaining democracy.

How can the aims of the AC: CC contribute to building resilience? In encouraging and facilitating young people to become active, informed citizens the aims of the AC: CC also contribute to making for a more resilient student in two main ways. First, this is to be achieved by developing knowledge of democracy, the political system and the means to participate in society. The aims specifically state the AC: CC intends to: “develop the knowledge, understanding and skills that will facilitate the development of the attitudes, values and dispositions students need to fully participate in civic life as active citizens in their communities, the nation, regionally and globally (ACARA 2012, p7). Further they state the curriculum will “develop knowledge and understanding of Australia’s liberal, representative democracy, legal system and civic life, including reference to Australia’s democratic heritage”. (2012, p. 7).

Second, to appreciate citizen rights and responsibilities and the values that underpin liberal democracy. Specifically, the aims intend to “develop a critical appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and civic life nationally and globally, including the capacity to act as informed and responsible citizens and to critically examine values and principles that underpin Australia’s liberal democracy” (ACARA 2012, p. 7). By providing this guiding rationale and aims the AC: CC reveals that it also will provide the opportunities for young people to build their resilience.

7 Curriculum structure

How should such a curriculum be structured in order to achieve the stated aims and rationale and also facilitate resilience-building? The AC: CC identified a curriculum structure based on three areas of knowledge, skills, values & dispositions in a way that makes for an informed, active citizen i.e. the knowledge, skills and values that contribute to building resilience for the young as identified above.

Knowledge

What CC knowledge could help build resilience in young people? Typically a civics and citizenship curriculum is built on a knowledge base of political systems, law and citizenship for building an informed, engaged citizen (ACARA 2012; Crick 1998; Torney-Purta et al. 1999). In the case of European students trying to understand their political systems in order to function effectively in times of political crisis, specific knowledge will enable them to address crises by understanding those systems, how they function and how the individual may function within those systems. Given that resilience is a process, and not a characteristic trait, by which an individual returns to a previous condition / situation or copes with the adversity (Buzzanell 2010), then knowledge would facilitate this process by providing a basis upon which an individual may cope with adversity. This knowledge, in a political context, could typically include appropriate knowledge and understanding of political systems; multiculturalism; the legal system; peaceful change processes; the rule of law; social cohesion; rights & responsibilities; the common good; national and European identity; and global issues in an increasingly interconnected world.

What does the AC: CC provide in the form of knowledge that could build resilience amongst students? To prepare an informed citizen the AC: CC identified the importance of students acquiring significant areas of knowledge and understanding that together could also function to build resilience within young people. In summary this knowledge addresses:

- a) Key institutions and processes of the political system and of government and the principles, concepts and values underpinning liberal, representative democracy.
- b) Key elements of the legal system and legal processes including the purpose of laws, constitutional principles, legal rights and responsibilities and the rule of law,
- c) Rights and responsibilities of citizens, including human rights, as well as the right to dissent, critique and communicate and how individuals, groups and governments exert influence on civic debate and citizen engagement.
- d) Modern nations as pluralist, multicultural societies composed on people with multiple citizenships and the contribution of major groups to civic life and to the development of civic identity.



Should European school students be able to learn the knowledge identified above from the AC:CC, adapted to local and European contexts, they will have the basis for building a foundation of resilience related to political and social matters in the future. For students to cope with adversity more effectively they need to understand how their political systems function. If they can understand those systems, through acquiring knowledge of the content above, they are more able to understand the nature of a crisis and what may be done to address that crisis and hence become more resilient to the outcomes of that crisis.

Skills

What CC skills could help build resilience in young people? Typically a civics and citizenship curriculum includes several skills relating to being an engaged citizen (ACARA 2012; Crick 1998; Torney-Purta et al. 1999). What skills could be drawn from such a curriculum that would enable European students to understand their political systems, democracy and the like in order to function effectively in times of crisis? Typically this would include skills of affecting peaceful change; questioning; analysis and interpretation; problem solving; communication; cohesion and conflict resolution; accessing media; electoral participation and civic participation (see ACARA 2012; Print, Milner 2009; Print, Lange, 2013).

What does the AC: CC provide in the form of skills that can build resilience amongst students? To prepare an informed citizen the AC: CC identified the importance of students acquiring skills that together could also function to build resilience within young people. In summary these skills include:

- a) Questioning and research builds inquiring skills including investigating information and ideas, using research skills in reviewing literature and collecting data, questioning existing situations; preparing reports and critiquing research.
- b) Analysis and synthesis enables understanding of information to facilitate evaluating a position or decision, taking a position, and defending a position; distinguishing a statement of fact from an opinion; synthesising research data; understanding and coping with ambiguity.
- c) Collaborative problem-solving and decision-making builds team-working skills to address issues, such as solving problems and resolving conflict resolution through collaboration and demonstrating intercultural competence.
- d) Interpretation and Communication is essential to distinguish vested interests that involves interpreting political policies and decisions, and critiquing media messages, including the interests and value systems that are involved

Familiarity and competence with these skills from the AC: CC, adapted to local and European contexts, will enable European school students to build a foundation of resilience in the future. In school contexts these skills might take the form of presenting ideas in oral and written form; critical reading, debating, writing and listening; applying empathic and social skills; using both traditional and social media (e.g. Twitter, Facebook) and the internet in socially constructive ways as communication tools.

Values

Teaching values is an important part of preparing future citizens (Print 2009a; Print, Lange 2013). Civics and citizenship curricula address the learning of values either directly or indirectly, but acknowledge the importance of values to being an engaged citizen (ACARA 2012; Crick 1998; Torney-Purta et al. 1999). But what values could help build resilience amongst young Europeans and that may be found in a civics curriculum? In general the AC: CC encourages the building of a sense of civic identity, particularly one that is broader than national in nature such as European citizenship and global citizenship but including a national identity as well; the importance of valuing and supporting the common good, human rights, equity [incl. multiculturalism]; as well as building trust in political institutions and participation as an active citizen. Given the findings from the ICCS European Report (2009) the need for European school students to build values of civic engagement, political trust and the disposition to participate in their communities have been highlighted.

Values identified in the AC:CC may be categorized into two groups that contribute to building resilience. First, liberal democratic values that are foundational to parliamentary representative democracy, such as freedom of expression, government by the people, the rule of law, fair and effective representation, responsibility, equality, accountability and the common good.

Second, values that relate to others through commitment to civil behaviour, civic duty and human rights in a modern democracy, including care and compassion, respect for all people, fairness, social justice, freedom of speech, honesty, respecting others' rights and views, responsibility, inclusiveness, sustainability, peace, giving and contributing to the common good.

Values then need to be converted into the dispositions, that is the inclination of an individual to behave in a manner that is conducive to being an active, democratic citizen, such as an inclination to participate in the political community, volunteer for community service, participate in civil society, and engage in activities to improve society, guided by civic values and attitudes

To be active, informed citizens European school students need to acquire values identified above from the AC:CC and adapt them to local and European contexts. From this foundation students will have the basis for building a foundation of resilience related to their political and social contexts in the future.



8 Conclusions

Youth in Europe have faced the prolonged impact of the global financial crisis for several years. More is to come as Europe emerges from the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. The impact of extremely high, and sustained, levels of youth unemployment will have lasting effects, not only financially but politically, socially and psychologically, upon the youth of Europe.

This paper has argued that people can respond to a crisis, such as the GFC, by means of participating in a resilience process that potentially nullifies or reduces the impact of the crisis upon people such as European youth. It is also argued that resilience may be accumulated over time as a result of participating in a program, such as a school curriculum, to address potential future crises.

In the short-term European youth have adjusted to the current GFC and its political, social and psychological impacts in different ways and with varying levels of success. A major problem for Europe though is what to do in the longer term. How can young Europeans build resilience to sustain themselves in future crises?

There is a distinct role for schools in general and the school curriculum specifically to play in building resilience amongst school students. Substantial research studies would contribute to a deeper understanding of when and in what ways the school curriculum may contribute to building resilience amongst students. This paper is speculative in its main proposition but has argued that resilience may be built through acquiring the knowledge, skills and values found in a Civics and Citizenship Curriculum within a school curriculum. One example is the recently completed Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship a curriculum that will contribute to building resilience within young Australians. An extrapolation of this curriculum to European countries offers an opportunity to build resilience amongst European school students for the future through an adaptation of the knowledge, skills and values to European contexts.

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Endnote

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Yioulis Papadiamantaki

Active Citizenship in University Education: Lessons Learnt in Times of Crisis

Despite the fact that historically the university has been the par excellence locus for the discussion of public issues and the formation of citizens, current European Union education policies promote and foster citizenship in secondary education, while the civic dimension of higher education is less prominent. This paper presents the case study of a small peripheral Greek university, which provides for the teaching of citizenship, through a dedicated taught module. According to the analysis a strategy of exposure to current problems, heightened due to the crisis in Greece, has affected students' behaviour and their understanding of the concept of "active citizenship" as promoted by European Union policy. Finally implications are drawn for the prospect of promoting active citizenship through university education.

Keywords:

Citizenship, active citizenship, Higher Education, EU policy

1 Introduction

Since the adoption of the Lisbon strategy in 2000, active citizenship is regarded as a means for fostering participatory democracy and strengthening social cohesion across the European Union. The current Education and Training programme (ET 2020) emphasizes inclusive growth built on solidarity and presupposes the stronger involvement of citizens in discussions on matters of European Union policy.

The issue that this paper explores is whether the university could play a special role concerning the formation of the "active" citizen and whether there are specific practices that could contribute towards this end. As McLaughlin and Annette (2005) point out, it is important to distinguish between the general effect of universities on the civic sphere, and the direct effect they may have on "the formation of citizens". The former relates to the development of critical traditions of thought, the promotion of relevant disciplines, such as political philosophy and sociology, and the maintenance of culture. This article, however, addresses the direct effects of university studies and the ways in which students' and graduates' behaviour develops as a result of specific interventions.

The theoretical part of this paper discusses the concept of "active" citizenship. It is followed by a part that focuses on the policy discussion and the role of the University in the relevant European Union discourse. The final part assesses the case of a small, peripheral Greek university which offers dedicated provision for citizenship learning through a module on "Citizenship

and education in times of globalisation", and describes the way it has affected graduates' behaviour and their understanding of the notion of citizenship. It should be noted that the module was intentionally introduced with a view to foster students' competences for active citizenship. This final part discusses the relationship between the design of the curriculum, its implementation in practice and the impact on graduates' behaviour, assessing the prospects of university programmes in promoting 'active citizenship' and democratic participation.

2 The citizenship discourse: "civic competence" and "active" citizenship

A full review of the literature on the concept of citizenship is clearly far beyond the scope of an article. However one should point out the broad and well-known distinction between traditional more politicized notions of citizenship and the concept of active citizenship. This seems to be helpful, since, despite its wide use, the content and meaning of "active" citizenship remains unclear, as various actors understand it differently. As Lawson suggests, the concept of active citizenship is characterised by its diffuse usage; "the fact that there does not exist one, universally held, definition of citizenship means that beliefs about what active citizenship entails differ greatly" (Lawson 2001, 166). Abowitz and Harnish (2006, 654-675), also point out that multiple discourses of citizenship may be operating within given contexts at any one time. In summary one may distinguish between a liberal and a communitarian or civic republican approach to citizenship (For a relevant discussion see Jochum, Pratten, Wilding 2005; Abowitz and Harnish 2006; Nelson and Kerr 2006).

The liberal approach regards citizenship as a 'legal status', tied to the idea of citizens' rights, as expressed in the tradition of T.H. Marshall, and framed in a discourse stressing its civil, political and social dimensions. This is

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because the nation-state has always been the guarantor of citizenship rights. Traditionally the meaning of citizenship was directly linked to the allegiance of the citizen to the nation-state and the political rights and duties resulting from nationality; these duties, and the related responsibilities, presuppose the prominence of a nation-state that functions as the main building-block of the international relations system, operates within a geographical territory demarcated by borders and is inhabited by a broadly homogenous population, defined culturally by a common language, history and sense of national identity.

The communitarian and civic-republican approach, regards citizenship as a practice of the members of a political community. From such a perspective, to be a full citizen necessarily entails active participation in the political community (Crick 2002, 98). Such a distinction is useful to the extent that the communitarian tradition of citizenship appears to be related to agency and is regarded as a right that a citizen may choose to exercise (or not).

An argument can be made that the communitarian approach presents an eclectic affinity to the concept of active citizenship, which refers not only to the nature of citizenship, but also to a process of learning that leads to the development of a relative competence. Competences refer to "a complex combination of knowledge, skills, understanding, values and attitudes which lead to effective, embodied human action in the world in a particular domain" (Hoskins and Crick 2010, p. 122).

From this perspective, active citizenship is seen as a key-competence that can be developed and learned through specific teaching and learning practices; through the dissemination of specifiable stocks of knowledge, skills and capabilities that an education system should produce to enable citizens to contribute in 'substantive', rather than simply formal, ways of governance, public policy and national debate. The following points remain unclear (a) the exact type of activities that an education system should incorporate in order to assist students to develop civic competence and (b) the types of knowledge, skills and values that promote "active citizenship". Furthermore, significant confusion exists with regards to the relation between "citizenship", "democratic participation" and "volunteerism" and the linkages between them.

Crick (2002), Annette (2003), Nelson and Kerr (2006) define active citizenship in terms of its relationship with political literacy and reject its relation to volunteering. Others however claim a broader understanding of active citizenship, which includes altruistic acts of volunteering and philanthropy alongside more politically based civic engagement (United Nations 2004; Russell 2005). Here one should also note that discussions on active citizenship have drawn on literature on service learning which is rather prominent in the US. A survey of directors of service learning programmes conducted by Hinck and Brandel (2000:874) found a number of

activities to consider as examples of service learning related to active citizenship, including 'experience gained in the non-profit or government sector', 'specialized internship courses' and 'community volunteer placements in an approved site'.

However, it has been pointed out by Everett that "simply "doing" is not sufficient for learning to occur" and that the benefits of such activities depend on the critical examination of social norms and values and the structural causes that seem to facilitate the existence of such services. According to Hoskins and Crick empirical studies suggest that, the quality of dialogue and discourse in the auditorium is essential to citizenship education. Discourse is connected with learning about shared values, human rights and issues of justice and equality. They show that a facilitative, student-centred pedagogy, based on trust and respect and integral values education, is crucial in developing civic competence. Central too are problem-based thinking, and context-based, real life learning. The development of civic competence enhances students' ability to make connections between their personal stories and society; improves their higher order creative and critical thinking skills, their communication skills and their overall academic achievement. (Hoskins and Crick 2012, 132)

The theoretical framework developed by Hoskins and Crick urges us to understand civic competence as a set of individual learning outcomes required for active citizenship. Active citizenship is seen as referring to the social outcomes of civic competence. Therefore the development of civic competence is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for active citizenship and ... "the ideal relationship between learning, civic competence and active citizenship" is one "where the learning develops certain civic competences that drive active citizenship". However in the 'real' (as opposed to an 'ideal') world there may be "barriers that prevent young people who have the capacity for active citizenship from participating" (Hoskins et al. 2006, 13).

Here a major gap may be noted between the "individual outcome" and the "social outcome" of citizenship education. This can be seen as an innate characteristic of the idea of active citizenship, which appears to be extremely individualistic, defined by the tendency to emphasise the ability and willingness of individuals to participate actively in civil society, social and community and political life, rather than to focus on collective action or the responsibilities of the state. This is acknowledged by Hoskins & Mascherini who admit that active citizenship indicates a "shift towards the examination of individual action" (2009, p. 461).

While it is definitely useful to acknowledge the importance of individual participation, the individualisation of citizenship becomes problematic when it is considered as the sole foundation for effective political action. Following Biesta (2009, 150-151) we draw attention to Bauman's (1999) analysis. Bauman argues that our post-modern societies seem to have lost areas, spaces, places



and opportunities where ‘private worries’ can be translated into ‘public issues’; spaces where problems will not be considered ‘private’ but will be resolved through collectively managed levers, powerful enough to lift individuals from their privately suffered misery. (Bauman 1999, p. 2-3). The issue posed by Bauman is whether active citizenship is based on private motivations, a ‘consumerist’ form of citizenship (Bauman 1999, p. 4), or whether it is motivated by a concern for the common good, even if this were to require ‘self-limitation’. In other words, the issue highlighted here is, whether citizenship is understood as a political process, where participation involves the translation of private worries into collective issues, or whether it is understood in consumerist terms, (in which case, collective action can be regarded as solely the aggregation of individual preferences).

We shall argue in the second part of this paper that individualism is extremely prominent in the notion of active citizenship as promoted within the EU policy context and while importance is assigned to representative democracy and democratic values, little is said about the content of such processes. Therefore the responsibility and motivation for democratic participation originates first and foremost with the individual and lacks social context. This relates to a question of the resourcing of civic action. Civic action does not depend solely on what individuals decide to do or not to do; it also depends on the opportunities individuals have for “active” and democratic participation, and this can be seen as dependent on the existence or not of ‘public spaces’ where such action can take place. To return to Bauman’s analysis, the fundamental issue here is whether societies, and in our case the EU, see it as their responsibility to make resources available for active citizenship or whether it is the individual initiative that guides participation. The individualist tendencies within the idea of active citizenship locate “active citizenship” towards the social not towards the political end of the citizenship spectrum. In relation to this, analysts such as Biesta (2009) and Faulks (1998), point to the specific political history of the idea of active citizenship, which emerged in the wake of Thatcherism and Reaganism as the ‘answer’ to the vacuum created when welfare state provisions were curtailed. The active citizen was the person who, through involvement in the local community, would provide ‘services’ no longer available through the state services. Such analyses indicate that active citizenship is not just about the legitimacy of democratic governance, but linked to a neo-liberal view of the society, where individual action provides a ‘solution’ to collective problems.

3 A Lisbon story: policy, active citizenship and the modernisation agenda for the university

The very noticeable concern in the European Union discourse with active citizenship and democratic participation signifies a problem in the political and social

life of the European Union; a problem that appears to be related to the democratic deficit in the European Union, the erosion of the civil society or the lack of democratic participation and governance; this, in turn, can be seen as related to the fact that European Union citizens still frame their perceptions of citizenship and participatory democracy, and the values and attitudes associated with them, in a national context, shaped by local culture.

In the context of Europeanization nation-states are characterized by ethnical, religious and cultural diversity, while increased communication and mobility flows have rendered the notion of borders obsolete. As LoBianco (2006) notes, many countries provide dual and multiple citizenship, even in the formal sense, so that paying taxes, voting and residence are dispersed beyond one state for a growing number of European Union citizens. European integration seems to be intricately related to mobility, as it is a right of all citizens of EU member-states to seek employment, education and residential opportunities across the Union.

The challenges posed by Europeanization have had significant implications for the meaning of citizenship. European citizenship for example has predominantly developed along economic lines, where the influence of the European Union is most strongly experienced. According to Biesta (2009) the influence of the European Union appears to be experienced in relation to employment, economic legislation, the single currency and regional development. In contrast, the social, cultural and political dimensions of European citizenship and the extent to which citizens experience the European Union, as a unit of democratic governance are far less developed. One may discern four types of rights that citizens of EU member-states now claim. These are legal, political, social and participation rights. Europeans expect and demand participatory citizenship practices.

In such a context active citizenship seems to have become a frame of reference to face the challenges posed by Europeanization and to address issues, tensions and imbalances at different levels: citizenship on global/European and local/national scales; the economic and the political, the cultural and the social dimensions of citizenship; democratic participation in view of new forms of local and global governance.

In this context active citizenship is regarded as a lifelong learning process, a competence that can and should be learned. This is the approach that is prominent in the current EU discourse, where active citizenship relates to a particular view of civic learning and political education. The development of civic competence is considered a key-competence, i.e. as widely important. In other words, if students are to become active citizens, education systems must assist them in developing their “civic competence” and provide opportunities for them to learn through participatory activities. In Education for the 21st century, active citizenship is regarded as a competence that has ethical implications and is expressed by individual agents in real life contexts. The



idea of competences emerged in EU policy in the aftermath of the launch of the Lisbon strategy. Subsequently, work produced by various working groups led to the formulation of the European Reference Framework of Key Competences for Lifelong Learning, a version of which was adopted by the European Parliament in 2006 (European Council 2006).

Here one should point to a paradox: although historically the university has existed as a public space, where “private worries” could be expressed as “public issues”, and although it is the par excellence institution that fostered citizenship, in the current EU discourse there is no specific mission for the university in relation to the development of active citizenship. EU policy does not focus on the specificity of university education. Universities, similar to other learning sites, are approached as just another form of educational organisation that has to fulfil a double role:

(a) To promote norms, values, attitudes and (most importantly) behaviours that foster active citizenship and shape a European identity.

(b) To promote civic engagement and participatory democracy through the development of civic competence.

It is true that higher education is rapidly evolving into a social sector that transcends national borders and agendas. The main impetus for the ‘Europeanization’ of higher education, and especially of the university, has come from a series of EU policy initiatives aiming to shape the European Higher Education Area, the European Research Area and the European Area of Lifelong Learning.

The Lisbon agenda has been again a major driver behind these initiatives. The economic imperative was always central in this strategy, and became even more so since 2005, i.e. in the aftermath of the re-launch of the Lisbon strategy with its explicit focus on ‘growth and jobs’. However policy makers were and still are aware that the education system may play a role in relation to questions of social cohesion and European citizenship (Commission of the European Communities, 2003, 2005, 2006).

Still, the particular potential of the higher education sector has been emphasised by academics and representatives from European higher education institutions, who have stressed that their role encompasses more than only the creation of the next generation of workers for the knowledge economy, and that it includes a responsibility for cultural, social and civic development at the national and the European level as well (European University Association 2005). Universities are in a unique position to play a significant role in civic development due to their history, mission, traditional values and the fact that they have not as yet been completely replaced (or eroded one may say) by the values promoted by the modernisation agenda of the European Union.

The ‘idea’ of the European university, exemplified in the discourses on the von Humboldt and Newman, is closely related to the development of the nation state and the consensus between academic and state interests. In the Humboldtian tradition, through cultivation (*Bildung*-liberal education) based on reason and scientific inquiry (*Wissenschaft*) the university was regarded as the clearest articulation of historical self-understanding and as the self-proclaimed gatekeeper of the idea of progress and emancipation. “Through *Bildung*, the nation-state could achieve scientifically the cultural unity that the Greeks once possessed naturally” (Readings 1996, 65). The idea of a unified national and reasonable culture, to be achieved through *Wissenschaft*, legitimised the autonomy of the university and grounded its public role (Simons, 2006, 2007a). Therefore the “public” role of the university is that of an institution that steers society and culture towards progress and emancipation; it claims the authority and autonomy to guide state and society towards cultivation through academic research. Academics are supposed to orient citizens and assume a public role as “intellectuals”. Their academic authority however is grounded on their ability to guide society through knowledge based on scientific research, through the discussion of “matters of fact”.

During the past decades, references to the crisis of the university in an era of globalisation and the need for its modernisation have appeared frequently. But facing the challenges of the knowledge society, the role of the university appears to be continuously shifting, to the point that it is debatable whether it has a “public” role at all anymore. In order to picture the role of the university nowadays, the position of the university in the European knowledge society is taken as a point of departure. The modernisation agenda for the university stresses the importance of the attractiveness and excellence of European universities, and foresees institutional differentiation on the basis of their strengths; new modes of internal governance of universities are promoted based on the development of strategic goals and professional human resource management; increased funding, is dependent on student or research output rather than input (Commission of the European Communities 2006; European University Association, 2005).

However such initiatives are indications of a more radical transformation: namely the birth of the so-called ‘entrepreneurial’ university, which, in the current context of competition appears to be connected with globalisation and regionalization (in this instance Europeanisation) pressures. In contrast to the historical university, the new entrepreneurial university embraces an understanding of itself that frames ‘space’ as ‘environment’ and ‘time’ as ‘opportunities here and now’. It shifts from a concern with orientation towards a concern with positioning; from progress to innovation; from revealing matters of fact to meeting matters of need/performance.



As far as European citizenship and democratic participation are concerned, the role of the university in the formation of “active citizenship” is framed as development of curriculum and of extracurricular activities and participation structures that offer students opportunities to develop civic competencies, while university performance at this level is monitored and controlled through the development of input and output indicators (Hoskins 2006). Taking into account the individualistic approach innate in the notion of “active citizenship”, a critique is developed concerning the restriction of the public role of the university. It is argued that there is a strong tendency to turn the development of citizenship into a ‘private affair’ – that is, an individual appropriation and accumulation of civic competencies that could be ‘employed’ (or not) based on individual preferences and needs.

4 Research: fostering citizenship in times of crisis

This small scale research focuses on the way a taught module on citizenship and education influenced the values and the behaviour of 20 graduates who attended a postgraduate programme of studies on “Citizenship, Migration and Social Discrimination” in a small Greek peripheral university in 2012. Research was carried out between October 2013 and January 2014 and was based on in-depth semi-structured interviews with the 20 graduates and the two tutors of the module.

The tutors informed that it was a collective decision of the faculty of the department to add a module on “Citizenship and Education in times of Globalisation” in the postgraduate programme of studies. The module was added in the winter semester of 2012 with a view to assist students to reflect on the nature of citizenship and compare it with the concept of active citizenship. This decision came as a result of extensive discussions among the faculty during the summer of 2011 regarding the “third mission” of the university (i.e. the social role of the university and its relation to the local community). The intensity of the economic and social problems in the town where the university is located, was the reason why the faculty decided that it would be useful to devise some form of intervention in the local community. Besides the introduction of the module and relevant research on the impact of crisis in the local society the faculty of the department also decided to organise a series of events and lectures on the causes and consequences of the crisis open to the local community. They also played an active part in the organisation of a local “free health centre” for unemployed citizens with no insurance.

Regarding the module, the idea was to see whether it was possible to promote the development of citizenship via dedicated teaching provision, a usual practice in the framework of politics courses. Both tutors were aware of the fact that many modules concentrate on teaching about citizenship, rather than for it, transmitting knowledge about political institutions and constitutional

processes, without necessarily assisting the students to develop the skills and values required for active citizenship. They were also aware that they were reaching students that opted for an explicitly political course. Their teaching strategy was designed to actively engage students in the learning process through critical reflection, and with wider civic/social issues, in a specific context of particular interest to them. They presented to their students a specific “image” of the university ... “as a public sphere that prepares them for their role as responsible citizens; a space where civic and democratic skills are learnt and practiced and where students are introduced into political and civic socialization”. In their view the “public life” in the university is shaped by the teaching and research activities themselves and relates to the empowerment of students to engage with social issues that are framed as social problems.

They have tried to put to practice the view of Simons and Masschelein (2009, 212) that, students are transformed into “a public” when confronted with issues that are not being taken care by the existing institutions and experts. According to this view “a public” is a group of people exposed to an issue that cannot be appropriated by the available expertise and official (governance) agencies. And an issue becomes a matter of public concern when it cannot be dealt within the given societal order. In this way it is possible, to reshape important issues as matters of concern, and create a public of concerned people. Citizenship, is such an example of an issue that can ‘spark a public into being’ through the development of a “strategy of exposure”. Strategies of exposure address students with a view to making them more attached and involved in societal debates and issues. As one of the tutors put it... “being exposed to things means to share or take part in social problems, to question how it is possible to live and act in the face of an issue that is a matter of public concern”.

The tutors designed a curriculum that comprised the following aspects: (a) in depth discussion with the students of the concepts of citizenship and “active” citizenship; (b) encouragement of students to reflect on their personal practice as citizens – via classroom activities and written assignments (including a reflection log); (c) activities designed to aid students to develop particular skills for active citizenship (practicum or research carried out in an organisation, NGO or other appropriate setting of particular interest to the student). As one of the module tutors explained “The first two aims of the module reflect a customary university emphasis on understanding and reflection.... However during discussions we encourage students to reflect on their personal behaviour in matters other than voting ... their tolerance towards wholly unacceptable things that are going on in universities and the Greek society at large and their readiness to actually do something about them, especially now, in a time of intense crisis, when social solidarity is needed more than ever. We also encourage them to reflect upon the ways the current crisis has



affected their lives and eroded rights that they were in the past years taken for granted”.

Semi structured interviews were conducted with the 20 graduates that attended the module in 2012. Of the twenty graduates 14 had participated and carried out research in NGOs that focused on community action (environmental protection for example) and actions of “philanthropic character” (organisations that provide health care for single mothers, “aid at home” for the elderly etc.) and 6 students have been involved with NGO’s were action centred on more political issues (Amnesty International, women’s rights organisations and organisations that defend migrants’ rights in Greece).

All graduates (20/20) stated that their experience in the programme was interesting and valuable. Regarding the modification of their political behaviour results were mixed. A good part of the graduates (15/20) consider themselves more ready to protest and express their views on political issues. However the majority of the graduates (17/20) acknowledge that they are not as ‘active’ citizens as they could be and that occasional participation in strikes and demonstrations were they only forms of political activity in which they were involved during the past year. They all declared their intention to vote in the upcoming elections (municipal elections and elections for the European Parliament).

Only four graduates exhibit a definite change of behaviour, through participation in volunteer organisations and political activism. One volunteers in a local “social supermarket” that coordinates collection and distribution of food supplies for families in need. A teacher participates in a volunteer organisation that offers educational support to children with special educational needs. Two other graduates are still in contact with the organisations in which they carried out research during their studies. One works for Amnesty International and the other volunteers at an “Aid at Home” project that offers help to elderly citizens in need. All four of them acknowledge explicitly that participation in the module has altered their perspective. However two of them have also remarked that it was the perceived impact of the crisis on the Greek society that motivated them to “act as truly active citizens”.

Almost all graduates (18/20) admitted that their ‘value system’ has changed, that they are now more sensitive to social problems and have stronger personal opinions on social issues. It was clear that reflection and discussions in the classroom have made them consider the effects of the crisis on their lives and on the lives of others. In this respect the role of the tutors appears to have been extremely significant in presenting social issues, initiating discussions, engaging the students and guiding research.

All graduates admitted that they are very aware of the rights that are now “at risk” and of the way the crisis has affected their personal lives. They are especially aware of (and concerned for) the risks regarding employment and

the risk regarding their rights to health insurance and social security benefits (20/20). One of them stated: “Upon graduation, I had to accept a variety of low paid jobs not directly related to my field of studies. Presently I am temporarily employed a 5-month stage and I “consider myself lucky” because that type of employment offers at least social security benefits”. Three more graduates have temporary part-time jobs in stages. Not all of them cover social insurance. As a part-time not tenured teacher pointed out, although she is employed she has to cover in full the cost of social insurance herself out of a meager salary. Another graduate is a lawyer that has just begun her practice. Professionally she experiences uncertainty and insecurity in her working conditions. Clients that request her legal advice rarely follow suit, either because they cannot afford the cost of a legal procedures or because they do not believe in the effectiveness of the judicial system. She is self-employed and therefore not afraid that she will be fired but she has noticed that an increasing number of clients ask for legal advice concerning their working rights and complaining that they are harassed at work, forced to work overtime without remuneration and threatened that they will be fired.

All employed graduates (even the ones that are employed in the relatively secure public sector) state that they experience anxiety, expect further pay cuts and consider their “jobs at risk”. They feel uncertain, ambivalent and pessimistic about the future. One of them, a civil servant, commented: “one of the worst effects of the crisis was the fact that the policies employed turned the Greeks against each other. Suddenly I felt that I was ashamed to be a civil servant. People employed in the private sector, the ones that were hit most from the economic crisis and lost their jobs, started considering us civil servants ‘lazy’. Those employed in the private sector turned against those employed in public sector”

However only one of the graduates of the programme admitted that she was ready and willing to migrate to another European country to escape the consequences of the crisis. Most of them consider that they have to “stick with their families” or that they have to “support as best they can their elderly parents”. Many of the unemployed graduates state that migration is neither desirable nor an option and that they have returned to their parental homes in order to survive the crisis.

Almost all graduates express their deep mistrust for politics, political parties and the European Union (16/20). They do not consider involvement with political parties (as party members) and they held politicians responsible for the present situation in Greece. As one of them stated, “...upon graduation I realised that my dreams are crushed mostly due to the “political games” in which the politicians of our country are involved”. One of them interestingly stated: “as an active citizen, I have made up my mind to never resort to clientelism in order to find a suitable job or solve a problem. I will not enable



politicians to play games anymore". Three graduates explicitly stated that their mistrust of the political system leads them towards political disengagement and inactivity and one of them specifically mentioned that, in his view, political behaviour would not change if trust in the political system were not restored. Another one commented: "I recognise the merits of being an active citizen. However this crisis has shattered whatever trust I had in political action. How can I find the courage to act when politicians only care to secure their positions of power? Nobody cares for our problems really, it is "everybody for himself" and all we care is to survive this crisis".

4 Discussion

So, in conclusion, are universities in a position to play a special role regarding the formation of the "active citizens"? If we consider the learning outcomes of a the module we examined the answer has to be positive. Certainly universities are very well placed to develop critical thinking and reflection, drawing on traditions of academic freedom and independent thought. Higher education study is a means of gaining essential knowledge relating to politics, political ideas and institutions. Instruction may foster citizenship competences to be employed elsewhere at a later point in time. In the case study presented here, there was apparent success in encouraging reflection, critical thinking, and consideration of different viewpoints. In this respect the role of the tutors appears to be significant.

Does instruction in citizenship issues leads to a modification of the behaviour of students? Are there practices that seem to be better suited to this end? Here one should point out that only those students that were involved in some form of research activity demonstrated altered behaviour. It could be argued students who combined that active engagement in research, practicums or in service-learning (of a political rather than a charity-based nature) and participated in all classroom activities (lectures and discussions) were sensitised to citizenship issues and modified their behaviour significantly. In such cases one could claim that participation in the module actually fostered active citizenship competences. Therefore it may well be that practicums and research, i.e. practices that involve "learning by doing" seem to relate to the development of citizenship competences.

However, one should not forget that the tutors also experienced significant challenges in enabling active citizenship. As many of the interviewees repeatedly stated, to act in a certain way one has to believe that change is possible and that protests are taken into account. Therefore the trust in democratic institutions and the effectiveness of political action seems to be paramount for the formation of an active citizen.

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Michaël Merrigan

Education in Responsibility in Order to Secure Human Rights in Times of Crisis

Education in and awareness about human rights is generally seen as one of the less contentious elements of citizenship education. However, it would seem that, for the concept of human rights to have a real impact in today's world, theoretical knowledge of human rights standards should be complemented by an understanding of the ethical concept of individual responsibility. This concept could, moreover, prove to be a valuable tool in conceiving creative answers to some of the consequences of the crisis Europe has been facing. This crisis has affected especially the protection and realisation of socio-economic rights, as many States were left with increasingly less budgetary space to meet increasingly urgent societal demands. Over the last few decades, and already prior to the current crisis, many have called for a greater stress on 'duties and responsibilities', as it was perceived that 'rights-talk' alone did not provide all the answers. From a legal perspective, as well as from the side of human rights advocacy groups, however, these appeals were often met with scepticism and hostility. In answer to the often justified criticism, it is essential to make a distinction between the 'legal', the 'moral' and the 'ethical' realms. While an unnuanced greater focus on moral duties is potentially dangerous, education based on the proposed notion of ethical 'responsibility' would seem, on the contrary, essential for the survival of human rights and, hence, of the democratic society.

Keywords:

human rights, duties and responsibilities, law, morality and ethics, citizenship education, crisis

1 Introduction: Europe and human rights in crisis

The financial crisis which has gripped almost the entire world in the past few years has had measurable consequences on the lives of individuals, especially in the field of the protection of socio-economic rights, but also in the field of civil and political rights. Especially the young have been hit hard. In countries such as Greece, Spain and Croatia, youth unemployment rates were close to or even significantly over 50% in early 2014 (Eurostat 2014). The Council of Europe has warned that austerity measures have had 'drastic and lasting' consequences in the field of, *inter alia*, the rights to decent work, to an adequate standard of living, to social security, to housing, to food, to water, to education and to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health (CoE Commissioner for Human Rights 2013). The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has called the fact that the young generation is disproportionately hit by the crisis 'nothing less than a tragedy in the making' and warned that "if no tangible improvements are made, Europe risks not only producing a "lost generation" of disillusioned young people, but also undermining its political stability and social cohesion, justice and peace, as well as its long-term competitiveness and development prospects in the global context" (CoE Parliamentary Assembly, Resolution 1885(2012)). If anything, the crisis has shown how hollow rights claims can sound when there is a breakdown on

the 'supply-side' of rights and the corresponding duties and responsibilities to effectuate those rights are not or no longer fulfilled.

Traditionally, the State has been seen as the main guarantor of human rights and, especially, of socio-economic rights. Even if the traditional dichotomy between 'negative obligations', traditionally associated with civil and political (or 'first generation') rights, and 'positive obligations', generally associated with socio-economic (or 'second generation') rights, has been abandoned in recent years, it is clear that positive State action still remains an essential tool for the effective realisation of virtually all rights. However, the financial crisis has placed a heavy financial burden on many States, leading many governments to resort to austerity measures. Sharp reductions in government spending and a lack of economic possibilities, in turn, have gravely affected individuals' opportunities and quality of life. It has become increasingly clear that contemporary democracies do no longer always have ready answers to the consequences of these kinds of structural crises. This in turn has fuelled distrust in the democratic model (see, for example, CoE Parliamentary Assembly, Resolution 1888 (2012)). When human rights demands remain unanswered, the risk exists that the human rights framework itself will eventually be questioned as merely idealistic and, hence, politically irrelevant.

One possible answer to the current threat posed to the human rights framework could perhaps be found in the notion of 'individual duties and responsibilities'. This notion, however, is not uncontested and any discussion on this topic comes together with potential pitfalls which could, in fact, further undermine human rights. Nevertheless, an increasing focus on individual 'duties

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and responsibilities' can apparently be discerned. Its proponents come from different philosophical and political strands, and include a number of leading political and religious figures from around the world. The main rationale underlying this appeal is the belief that such 'duties and responsibilities' are necessary in order to counterbalance a perceived disproportionate stress on individual rights and a corollary atomised conception of the individual. These appeals have, as I shall illustrate below, been met with either scepticism or outright criticism from NGOs and other human rights advocates and scholars, who claim that a stronger focus on individual 'duties and responsibilities' risks putting into jeopardy the last sixty-or-so years of the human rights *acquis*. These criticisms must be taken very seriously. However, while the call for 'duties and responsibilities' certainly predates the current crisis, I believe the challenges faced by many Europeans today also present an opportunity to re-visit this ongoing discussion, and to find a catalyst for change in it.

In this article I will argue that one possible middle ground between both proponents and critics of the 'duties and responsibilities' movement can be found in the need for *education in individual responsibility*, in which 'responsibility' has a deeper, ethical meaning than is generally applied to it. This educational focus on responsibility, as distinguished from a lecturing on or imposition of well-defined 'legal obligations' or 'moral behaviour' will, I believe, provide a valuable tool in bringing together a concept of a universally shared dignity and locally embedded commitments, nurturing (political) participation and aiding the conceptualisation of new answers to the ongoing socio-economic crisis.

While much debate exists (see, for instance, the contributions in Print, Lange 2013) regarding the usefulness or even desirability of including education in 'civic competences' (among which knowledge of and certain skills in human rights and responsibilities are often mentioned) into the school curriculum, I would argue that individual responsibility *in the context of human rights*—regardless of its value for the broader project of citizenship education—is essential for realising human rights and, also in the light of the current crisis, even for guaranteeing the survival and further development of the human rights framework as we know it today. In other words: I will limit myself to arguing that education in individual responsibility is essential for the effective realisation of human rights, although a logical consequence of this position is that I believe it should receive a place within the broader debate on citizenship education.

2 Terminological and conceptual clarification

2.1 Introducing the distinction

The discussion regarding 'duties and responsibilities' and their relationship to human rights is marred with confusion and the use of vague language. While the notion 'duties and responsibilities' at first glance sounds sufficiently familiar, a closer look reveals that it is often used without much further qualification, referring simply to 'things one is expected to do'. More often than not, the words 'duty' and 'responsibility', together with the term 'obligation', are used interchangeably. Other times these terms are assigned specific meanings, but even then significant conceptual differences can be found depending on the author. This vagueness poses a real threat, not only because misunderstandings inevitably arise, but also because non-legal realms and the legal sphere run the risk of being conflated, potentially leading to a weakening of the human rights legal framework. After all, if we agree that every human being has inalienable and universal rights, which are moreover legally protected, internationally as well as locally, we cannot simply place moral duties at the same level as these legal rights, potentially making the latter dependent on the fulfilment of what one or another authority feels is 'moral' behaviour at any given moment. It is for this reason that the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), for example, has always held that the (legal) right of freedom of expression also entails the right to issue opinions which 'offend, shock or disturb' (ECtHR, *Handyside case*, 1976), i.e. opinions which for some or even a majority of people are deemed morally offensive. These opinions can be legally prohibited or sanctioned only when a number of strict conditions, including a clear and foreseeable legal basis and a well-described legal aim, are met and the expression is a direct threat to the democratic society.¹ In other words: legal restrictions can only be imposed when there is a specific kind of pressing societal danger and when certain well-established procedures are followed, not when certain standards of morality have simply not been met.

Exactly because human rights are both a legal concept and a (not uncontested) moral idea, it is of paramount importance to separate legal prohibitions from moral judgments. I would therefore like to start by making a crucial distinction between three separate concepts, and by attaching a specific term to each of these concepts. I will base myself on the terminology as explained by authors such as Ost and Van Drooghenbroeck (2005) and Foqué (2015; forthcoming), which also finds a basis in the insights of Ricoeur (1990). Based on these authors, we can make a distinction between (a) an *obligation*, which is legal; (b) a *duty*, which is moral and (c) *responsibility*, which is ethical.²



2.2 The moral and the ethical

Duty

While the concept of a legal obligation can be presumed to be sufficiently clear, the distinction between the moral and the ethical realm begs some further explanation. I follow the aforementioned authors when they make this distinction and subsequently attribute to 'duty' (French: 'devoir') a moral meaning, and regard such a moral duty to have, in reference to the work of German philosopher Immanuel Kant, in essence a deontological character. A 'duty' is the action which is required by a moral law which one chooses and feels compelled to follow (prescribes for oneself). In human rights terms, a 'human duty'³ could therefore be considered the action one should undertake because it is required by (moral) human rights standards (the requirements of human dignity). In the case of Kant, the universal law which ought to be followed can be discerned by applying the categorical imperative in its three formulations. The first and main formulation is "Act only in accordance with that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it become a universal law". In a second formulation, it is formulated as follows: "So act that you use humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, always at the same time as an end, never merely as a means". The third practical principle is "the idea of the will of every rational being as a will giving universal law" (Kant 2008). The similarities between Kant's moral law – conceived long before the contemporary human rights framework was developed – and universal human rights are evident. If we regard (moral) human rights as being grounded in – and serving and protecting – human dignity⁴, then the moral duties each one of us has to respect the (moral) rights of the other can be regarded, in fact, as a subset of these Kantian duties (although in Kantian terms we would certainly not have these duties *because* others have rights). In other words, we have human rights because they protect elements of our human dignity. And because all of us, humans, have this inalienable and shared dignity, we must also respect each other's dignity – and, hence, each other's human rights. We have a *duty* to do so.

Once aware of this need to strive towards respect for (and, in some cases, perhaps even the protection and effectuation of) this human dignity, it is necessary that the individual acts accordingly. In our behaviour we can surely choose not to fulfil these duties (i.e. not to respect another person's life or privacy), but most of us agree that we should, regardless of whether there is any legal sanctioning forcing us to do so, or whether at the time we feel like it. These moral 'human duties' thus exist – and should be complied with – regardless of our own urges. Just as in Kant's theory on the morality of duty, compliance with such 'human duties' therefore requires a strong concept of personal autonomy. This kind of autonomy consists of more than merely a superficial capacity to decide which step to take next, and has been aptly described by Harry Frankfurt (1971) as the capacity

to formulate 'second order volitions' or by Gerald Dworkin (1988) as "a second-order capacity of persons to reflect critically upon their first-order preferences, desires, wishes, and so forth and the capacity to accept or attempt to change these in light of higher-order preferences and values". In the case of human rights, and assuming human rights as their main task set out to protect human dignity, we can for the sake of argument accept that these higher-order values ought to refer to (at least) the respect for (and protection of) human dignity. In other words: an individual can be aware of his 'human duties' by reasoning which behaviour is required in the light of the requirements of (the human rights theory based on) human dignity. He then has to use his autonomous capacity to act in this way, according to human rights principles, rather than simply allow himself to be driven by his urges, desires and feelings – all of which, perhaps, may well tempt him to behave in quite the opposite way.

We could say that *everyone*, at the very least, has a fundamental duty to *respect* another person's dignity,⁵ and this respect translates into further human duties to respect individual rights. In the case of civil and political rights, a number of duties are obvious from the outset: we can (at minimum) find such universal individual human duties as the 'duty to respect another person's life', a 'duty to respect another person's freedom of expression' or a 'duty to respect one's private life'. In the case of socio-economic rights (as well as certain aspects of civil and political rights), the duty-bearers are, however, more difficult to identify. Perhaps people can have a 'duty' to respect one's right to work, housing, food or education, but what really matters is who *provides* this work, housing, food and education (see, in this regard, O'Neill 2005). Here it becomes clear that not everybody can be expected to have the same kind of 'duty' to provide. Legally speaking, States, through human rights conventions, have often taken upon them the obligation to take (progressive) action. However, this is 'merely' the law. If we believe human dignity is a paramount value worth protecting and furthering, we cannot be satisfied with such legal limitations, especially not when, in the face of crisis, many States have lost much of their capacity to undertake meaningful action. At the same time, however, not every individual can be expected to have the same *responsibility* to act, either.

Responsibility

We have hereby arrived at the third notion of the triad, namely that of 'responsibility'. This notion fills a gap which was left by the aforementioned concept of moral duty. After all, there would seem to be some problems with these rational, abstract and universal higher-order values, *in casu* with human rights as moral principles. First of all, abstract human rights standards do not really say very much about the precise *content* of one's actions. Secondly, the possibilities for individuals everywhere in the world to guarantee human rights are much broader than the ultimately quite restrictive legal obligations laid



down in human rights conventions, which, after all, are focused on States.

First, let us have a look at the problem of the content of required behaviour. It is clear, for example, that I and everyone else have a right not be treated in an inhuman and degrading way (a right which is embodied in article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights) and therefore I can know that I also have a moral duty (and even a legal obligation) not to treat others this way. But what exactly constitutes degrading treatment and what does not? This can vary from one culture to another and from time to time. For instance, the abuse of religious symbols in interrogations can constitute a profound mental stress on an adherent to the religion in question, while, say, a non-believer may be less than impressed by the same actions. In other words: we know it is not 'right' to treat someone inhumanely, but without a context and a historically embedded understanding we don't necessarily know what constitutes this behaviour and what is 'good' to do (instead). In order to determine the content of our required actions, we need to take into account those sensitivities, cultural, temporal and local elements which give meaning to our existence. They, and not abstract rules, will ultimately determine what is 'good' behaviour in a given situation. This is where a 'deeper' and more ethical (and, one could say, Aristotelian) concept of responsibility could prove its value, a concept aptly and in *extenso* contextualised by Foqué (2015; forthcoming). 'Responsibility' is, in fact, a word of fairly recent vintage, having entered francophone and Anglo-Saxon vocabulary only in the second half of the 18th century (Genard 1999). With its etymology in the Latin figure of the '*sponsio*'⁶ and its meaning of 'answerability', responsibility can be said to point not only at the human capacity to be aware of and reflect on one's actions, to steer them in the desired direction and to accept the consequences, but also to the capacity to 'answer' the appeals by others, the capacity to be 'called upon' and answer those calls by others (see Foqué, 2015). With regard, specifically, to human rights, this 'human' or 'fundamental' responsibility then refers to the capacity to be held accountable for both one's active violations and for the neglect to protect or effectuate human dignity where required. The 'answerability' points to the capacity to be sensitive to and open towards - and subsequently ready to answer - the human dignity needs (often translated somewhat simplistically as 'rights') of those whom one encounters in life. Responsibility therefore, unlike a specific legal 'obligation' or moral 'duty', refers not so much to a concrete action to be taken, but to an attitude of concern for the needs of others (and oneself). One could therefore say that, unlike a legal obligation or a moral duty, responsibility refers not so much to an outcome as to a *process*, a reflective attitude. The scope of this individual responsibility depends on both the capacity of the individual and the situation he finds himself in (i.e. the actual '*response-ability*' he or she has). This ability can change over time (for instance, because of old age or

illness) and can be influenced by external circumstances. It can logically never be deemed so burdensome that it can no longer be borne by an individual.

Towards a shared responsibility

Secondly, then, there is the question of *who* is responsible to whom and for what. As individuals can only be expected to act in accordance with their actual abilities, there is a somewhat 'fluid' situation on the 'supply' side of human rights. As a consequence, in general, the responsibility to respect, protect and effectuate human dignity should be considered as a *shared* responsibility between individuals, corporations, institutions, and the State. Moreover, in different societies and different cultures the precise division of labour between these actors can vary. A stronger responsibility can exist, for example, in the case of specific relationships, such as those between parents and children (and vice versa) or even between other family members, or within specific communities. It is an important role for public debate to identify which distribution of responsibility, on a societal level, fits best in any given time and place. When a State, for example, is strong enough to guarantee basic human rights in the form of care for the elderly, social housing or food distribution for the poor, this will inevitably diminish the need for other individuals to step in and 'take responsibility' (although, of course, these individuals will then indirectly take responsibility through the payment of taxes to the State in order to finance these services). However, whenever such strong institutions are lacking, as is often the case in times of crisis, other relationships and ways of taking responsibility should be conceived, unless human rights claims are to become no more than hollow and ultimately unanswerable calls for help.

3 Advantages of (re-)introducing responsibility

Let us now briefly (and in a non-exhaustive way) look at a few advantages of (re-) introducing the notion of 'responsibility'.⁷

A first very important advantage about focusing more on responsibility is that it moves the human rights debate away from abstract moral principles of 'what we want to protect' and in the direction of questions of (practical) implementation, asking such questions as 'what do we need to do in order to protect' and 'who needs to do what'. Nickel gives the example of the right to education in the case of Brazil. If rich people, he explains, send their children to (expensive) public schools, and the State does not have the money to invest in decent public education, this leaves the question how the right to education can be implemented if nobody considers to be bearing the corresponding duty or responsibility towards it (Nickel, 1993). The same, as a matter of principle, would seem to apply to any human rights question.

Secondly, questions regarding the priority of rights will come into the spotlight (Nickel, 1993). Most rights are not absolute (save, e.g., the prohibition of torture or slavery), which means conflicts of rights can arise and



must be solved by a balancing of individual and societal interests. Especially in the case of positive obligations by both the State and private actors, this means the outcome of this balancing act will depend also on the available resources and the allocation of these scarce resources. When framed merely in terms of 'rights', everyone whose human rights claim is not fully met can feel as if he or she has had to make a 'concession' or has had to face a (however slight) 'violation' of rights. However, when a debate is framed in terms of responsibility, focus is placed on the question of *who* is responsible – i.e. who has the ability to react - and *with which (scarce) resources*.

Third, as responsibility is by definition 'decentralized' (i.e. the precise action which follows from it depends from person to person, from institution to institution, state to state, and from place to place and time to time) it allows for tailor-made and locally-embedded solutions to be conceived. People 'trained' in responsibility have learned to be sensitive to the world they see around them and which (only) they know best. Nurturing responsibility therefore is nurturing the capacity for people to effectuate change in their own environment. Together with a policy of empowering them to realize their ideas, human rights needs can be more easily detected and answered.

Fourth, this bridge between universal moral values (the concept of dignity, and abstract rights) and locally-embedded answers would also seem to ease the task of establishing a balance between a national (or regional, local) identity on the one hand and the idea of European space of shared values. European cooperation since World War II, after all, has been based, especially within the Council of Europe, on the more or less abstract principles of human rights, rule of law and political democracy. However, especially in recent years, we have seen a rise in discourse which can be linked to a search for a national identity, which has come to the forefront again in the form of several nationalist parties across Europe. The ethical concept of responsibility, shared between different actors, can therefore function as a bridge between these European shared moral values and their locally, community-based implementations.

Fifth, a focus on responsibility inevitably also brings into sight the inadequacies of the current international political and economic order (Nickel 1993). Focusing on rights would seem insufficient without also focusing on structural ways how to respect, protect and fulfil them. Focusing on responsibility may reveal domains where actors are employing rights language and are nominally committing to human rights standards, without effectively contributing to the protection of those same rights at the same time. Certainly in light of the current crisis, the question can be raised whether governments as well as powerful individuals and other non-state actors are living up to their own rhetoric.

Sixth, talking about responsibility focuses on a concept of citizenship which actively engages citizens, rather than make them merely the receivers of government actions.

It provides a language through which citizens can be made aware of their role in society, provided, of course, that the balance with individual rights is at all times preserved and the individual citizen's capacity is not (legally) overburdened.

Seventh, balancing rights and responsibility can help overcome the antagonistic divide between State and individual. Legal rights were originally conceived to provide security against arbitrary state interference. While this is still an important function of rights today, the question can be raised whether in a democratic society where the government ought to be representing the people this antagonistic division between citizen and authorities should at all times maintain the same character. Of course, even in a democratic society, rights will always have a function in protecting individuals against (in the worst case) arbitrary state action and (in the best case) well-intended but nevertheless intrusive majority rule. Moreover, rights also fulfil a very important role by allowing the individual the individual to 'rebel' against prevailing moral norms, i.e. "*the freedom to oppose and challenge the values of society and its institutions*" (Martelli 1998). But by focusing solely on rights as providing the citizen with a space separated from the government, without also talking about the participation which the individual can and should enjoy in that government (and society at large), it would seem that the antagonism which once protected the individual is now potentially harmful to both the community and the individual.

4 Integrating the legal, the moral and the ethical

4.1 Responsibility in human rights texts

The traditional human rights texts provide no clear reference to 'responsibility' in the ethical sense described above. Nevertheless, some references to 'duties' and/or 'responsibilities' which reveal a similar concern can be found. Article 29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for example, states that "*Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.*" However, the extent of these duties is not fully clear. The next paragraph, after all, states very clearly that individual rights can only be limited in very specific cases.⁸ A reference to 'duties' can also be found in the pre-ambles of the two UN Covenants on human rights and in paragraph 2 of article 10 (freedom of expression) of the European Convention on Human Rights, which speaks of 'duties and responsibilities'. Outside of Europe, notable examples in which duties and responsibilities did receive attention include the American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. However, these references seem insufficient to restore the balance between rights and responsibility envisaged.

4.2 Special declarations

In the past few decades, there have also been a number of initiatives to draft 'declarations' explicitly



focused on 'duties and responsibilities'. However, while the ethical focus is clearly present, most initiatives suffer from a vagueness and conceptual blurring of the legal, moral and ethical domain, rendering the initiatives vulnerable to (often justified) criticism (see further below). A notable initiative in the first half of the '90 was the 'Declaration toward a global ethic' by the Parliament of the World's religions (1993), a project headed by Swiss theologian Hans Küng. It was followed by an initiative by the InterAction Council which is made up of former heads of state and government. The InterAction Council presented the 'Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities' (1997) at the occasion of the 50th birthday of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Another significant initiative was the 'Valencia Declaration of Human Duties and Responsibilities' (2002), which was drafted around the same time by a high-level group set up by the Valencia Third Millennium Foundation and chaired by Richard J. Goldstone. Further initiatives include the 'Trieste Declaration of Human Duties' (1993), drafted by the International Council of Human Duties, and the 'Declaration of the Responsibilities of the Present Generations towards Future Generations' (1997). A final document worth noting is the rather controversial UN Report on Human Rights and Responsibilities, with attached to it the 'Pre-draft Declaration on Human Social Responsibilities' (2003).

4.3 Critique: redundancy and threat

The aforementioned initiatives have been met with a great deal of hostility and scepticism. Some sceptics simply do not see the need for an explicit reference to 'duties and responsibilities', arguing that such a concept is already gaining terrain without too much specific attention being devoted to it. Sunstein, for example, argued in the mid-nineties already that in several areas 'social and legal responsibilities' had in fact gained terrain. The areas he refers to would, moreover, seem to have only been more regulated since: "cigarette smoking; corporate misconduct; air and water pollution; sexual harassment; and racist and sexist speech". Sunstein noted that

"In all of these areas, people who were formerly autonomous, and free to act in accordance with their own claims of right, are now subject to socially and sometimes legally enforced responsibilities. We have seen, in the last few decades, a redefinition of responsibility. I do not intend to celebrate these definitions, but only to suggest that purely as a matter of description, there has been no general shift from responsibility to rights." (Sunstein, 1995)

Most of the criticism, however, has focused on the way in which 'duties and responsibilities' have been introduced. When the InterAction Council presented its 'Draft Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities',

Amnesty International reacted with sharp criticism, stating that the initiative

"introduces vague and ill-defined notions which can only create confusion and uncertainty. Moreover, the draft declaration undermines the UDHR by describing some rights in a weaker and less precise language than the 1948 Declaration. The draft declaration fails to build on the historical, practical and symbolic importance of the UDHR and contributes little, if anything, to the provisions of existing declarations, world conference documents and international treaties. In short, the draft declaration makes no meaningful contribution to the important discussions that must take place in the UN during 1998" (Amnesty International, 1998).

The main problem with such initiatives, according to Amnesty International, is therefore not that these duties and responsibilities would not exist, or their existence is not useful or not necessary, but that they can and should be treated at the same fundamental (and legally enforceable) level as rights. The fear exists that, by putting certain conceptions of 'decent behaviour' at the same level as legal rights, the protection of individual rights could be made contingent upon the fulfilment of certain duties. This would effectively be the end of human rights protection, as governments could impose duties and deny citizens their rights whenever it seems fit. This fear was shared by Valentino Martelli, who, as a rapporteur for the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, wrote that

"If a state were to dictate rules for all human behaviour, this would represent a negation of freedom and of human rights, since everyone should be responsible for his or her own moral and ethical behaviour. The result would be a totalitarian state, incompatible with the principles and values of the Council of Europe. Moral attitudes should remain in the realm of an individual's free choice."

Martelli continued by holding that

"This is why human rights and moral and ethical obligations should not be juxtaposed, since they belong to two different areas, the legal domain and the moral and ethical domain. Placing rights and moral obligations on the same level entails the risk of reducing the effectiveness of these rights, by ignoring their legal force, which is stronger than a question of morality." (Martelli, 1998)

In other words, moral and ethical considerations have no place in (quasi-)legal texts. Whenever such lists of 'duties and responsibilities' are drafted, and certainly when they are subsequently submitted to an official forum such as, for instance, the United Nations, they run



the risk of being abused, even if the original intention underpinning them was merely to focus on the (often widely shared) moral and ethical dimensions of life. As for declarations of legal obligations, these would seem to be redundant, as States already have sufficient tools to make them binding upon citizens through legislation and State enforcement mechanisms. Therefore, in short, a declaration consisting of moral and ethical guidelines is dangerous, and a declaration consisting of legal obligations superfluous. Such a declaration invariably runs the risk of being juxtaposed to the traditional human rights instruments in the course of which the protection or effectuation of certain rights may be arbitrarily made dependent on compliance with moral or ethical principles.

4.4 The legally elusive character of the ethical

In the triad 'obligation' (legal), 'duty' (moral) and 'responsibility' (ethical), the ethical level of individual responsibility is clearly the most comprehensive one. It could also be thought of as the 'glue' necessary for keeping a society together. The problem is, however, that, aside from the aforementioned dangers involved in codifying certain ideas into (binding) texts, the essence of individual responsibility cannot be translated into legal obligations or even into clear moral duties. As ethical responsibility is in essence an attitude which requires that a person look for adequate answers in concrete situations (a process, rather than an outcome), determining in advance exactly which behaviour is necessary in each situation is impossible. And whenever such an attempt were to be made, it would surely (and justifiably so) be met with criticism. 'Declarations' therefore do not seem like the appropriate way to stimulate this individual 'responsibility'. However, if this ethical responsibility is in the first place about an attitude, an attitude of care and concern which places human dignity at the forefront of one's decisions, then it is clear that awareness about it should be stimulated as much as possible, and from an early age onwards. How can this 'hidden face'⁹ of human rights be uncovered?

5 Education in responsibility

It would seem that, as the ethical dimension of human rights cannot be 'captured' in legal rights or declarations, we have to look at a fundamentally different avenue. Education then seems, without doubt, to hold the most promising prospects. While this ethical attitude of care and concern as such has rarely been explicitly identified in the human rights framework, the 'duties and responsibilities' discourse of the last decades does contain a number of elements which intuitively make an attempt at integrating this notion of 'responsibility' into the education system and the school curricula across Europe. Especially within the Council of Europe, stress has been placed on an education in responsibility which is broader than just conveying which 'civic competences' a person must possess, or which behavioural codes individuals must comply with. Already in 1981, the

Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe decided "to promote an awareness of the requirements of human rights and the ensuing responsibilities in a democratic society, and to this end, in addition to human rights education, to encourage the creation in schools, from the primary level upwards, of a climate of active understanding of and respect for the qualities and culture of others" (CoE Committee of Ministers 1981). Other initiatives include the 'Resolution on Education for Democracy, Human rights and Tolerance' by the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education (1994), 'Recommendation 1401' of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (1998), the 'Declaration and Programme on Education for Democratic Citizenship based on the rights and responsibilities of citizens' by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (1999), the 'Resolution on Responsible Citizenship and Participation in Public Life' by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities (2000) and the 'Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education' (2010).

As Cernilogar and Coertjens argue, in the framework of the Council of Europe's 'draft European Charter on shared social responsibility', and regarding a conception of a shared responsibility which, although not fully the same, is certainly relevant to the one defended in this article, such a shared responsibility will not be established automatically, but rather requires "a structural effort to spread this concept throughout society and to ensure that everyone can participate in it" (Cernilogar, Coertjens 2011). It is important that 'everyone' is indeed everyone, and not some 'democratic elite'. For this reason, the authors argue that therefore "[e]veryone needs to be empowered and enabled to understand and take part in these new deliberative processes; therefore, they need to also become an intrinsic part of the educational system" (Cernilogar, Coertjens 2011). The authors also stress the need for intergenerational responsibility, as today's decisions will have long-lasting consequences for the young and also future generations. They note that education has the added advantage of already integrating this intergenerational element. This process of empowerment should start as early as elementary school so that, from a young age onwards, "they too can be recognised as actors" (Cernilogar, Coertjens 2011). Actors, who are autonomous and confident in their capacity (following the insights of Frankfurt and Dworkin) to formulate 'higher-order preferences' which take into account the need to bring about the realisation of human rights (human dignity); actors, moreover, who have learned to be sensitive to the needs of the people they encounter in life, both within a close circle of influence and beyond.

Which techniques can be employed to train this reflexive process in (young) individuals? This question would seem open to further research and different approaches can likely be conceived, depending on the cultural context. As stated at the outset, the argument advanced in this article is that of the necessity of



education in individual responsibility as a necessary complement to knowledge and skills *regarding the human rights framework*. Naturally, however, such education would be closely connected to what is often referred to as the not uncontested (and much broader) notions of 'citizenship education' and 'civic competences'. How this individual responsibility described in this article relates to the broader question of such citizenship education, is a matter for further analysis. It would not seem illogical that, as Cernilogar and Coertjens hold, elements such as 'active participation', 'dialogue', 'distribution of responsibility', 'the ability to take on a different perspective' and 'the ability to argue one's own standpoint' would be very relevant in such an educational project. Both authors would also *prima facie* seem to have a point that 'shared social responsibility' must be learned "through examples, games and stories, and can progressively take on more complex forms, in line with a child's age" However, they also note that "the real change of mindset comes through practice and for this reason starting with engaging children is crucial" (Cernilogar & Coertjens, 2011). The authors rightly stress the importance of both formal and informal education in acquiring this practice, noting that the idea of shared social responsibility in the first place should be a practice experienced by the students, not a theoretical concept.

As responsibility as described in this article is in the first place an attitude of care towards the others and society which must be actively created and maintained, it must become a reflex based on a person's own experience. Education should therefore not in its turn and in its own way duplicate the mistakes made by the 'declarations movement', where often well-intentioned initiatives collided with stark rejection by trying to 'tell people what to do', and where legal, moral and ethical requirements were simply brought together. Undoubtedly, part of a good education does involve telling children and youngsters about certain well-defined duties and obligations they have in life and within society, but it is not here that the focus of the education in the concept of responsibility as a necessary complement to the human rights framework must lie.

6 Conclusion

Education in individual responsibility (in the ethical sense set out in this article) is not the same as informing individuals about their and other people's human rights but it is also very different from telling people exactly 'what to do'. It involves the creation and nurturing of reflexes which put sensitivity and concern for the (human dignity and human rights) needs of other people and the community at large, first. As such, education in individual responsibility is also the missing factor or the 'hidden face' in the contemporary human rights framework, and pivotal to this framework's survival in the (near) future.

The need for education in individual responsibility does not detract from the important responsibility of the State to respect, protect and fulfil human rights. Ultimately,

States are in many ways still the most powerful actors, and their share of the 'shared responsibility' is therefore substantial. Moreover, through various conventions virtually all States to a greater or lesser extent have committed themselves to – often legally enforceable – human rights standards. These State obligations remain untouched and human rights institutions, such as the European Court of Human Rights, will continue to monitor compliance and can sanction where necessary. However, the top-down approach of the State, as necessary as it is, cannot guarantee human dignity for all, everywhere and at all times. To make even an attempt at this, all individuals and actors within society need to be mobilized, so that the gaps inevitably left by the top-down approach are filled.

One question which remains is how education in individual responsibility relates to freedom of thought and conscience, and freedom of education. The fact that education in individual responsibility focuses on reflective processes rather than on well-defined 'things to do' or 'norms to comply with' also means that it is not only radically different from indoctrination, but also should protect people against exactly this. Education in individual responsibility focuses on making people reflect on themselves and their own environment and situation, and on challenging them to formulate answers according to their own beliefs and convictions. It is not about telling people what to do, but about teaching them to identify the situations they are faced with, and subsequently asking them what they believe is the necessary and appropriate response in those situations. In as far as certain values inherent to the democratic society, such as, for instance, 'tolerance', 'pluralism' and 'broadmindedness' (ECtHR, *Handyside* case, 1976) are actively promoted through such reflective processes, this would seem to be a *conditio sine qua non* for the survival of the democratic society. In as far as education can never be completely value-free, it is therefore not illogical for it to promote the basic attitudes underpinning a democratic society which allow all individuals within society to form their opinions and cherish their own beliefs. Whereas this framework can sustain a certain degree of indifference (or even rejection) of the democratic values on the individual level, on a structural level these values must be defended. If not, the democratic society runs the risk of destroying itself. This principle can also be found clearly in, for instance, the German Basic Law and the principle of the '*streitbare Demokratie*', or in article 17 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which prohibits reliance on the Convention with the aim of destroying the rights and freedoms listed therein. Education in individual responsibility thus does not aim at supplanting individual convictions and imposing values; the societal values it pre-supposes merely form the glue between the myriad of individual and collective convictions already present and developing within society.

With the consequences of the financial crisis still looming large over the European continent, individual



responsibility can also be the key in the search for new answers and creative distributions of labour in a society which strives, in the first place, for the respect and protection of the human dignity of all. The impotence of the State to guarantee in several cases even the most basic of rights of its citizens, especially the young and the vulnerable, can easily lead to disillusionment with the democratic society as a project, and even lead to the questioning of the relevance of the human rights framework all together. Merely teaching young people about which rights they have, and how a democratic society should ideally function, would seem to be insufficient when claims for respect for basic aspects of human dignity remain unanswered. Rather, as a complement to State obligations, abstract human rights standards and related duties, individuals, from an early age onwards, need to learn to discern the human dignity needs of the people around them and to formulate new and creative answers based on their own experience. To this end, education in individual responsibility would seem to be indispensable.

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Endnotes

¹ According to art. 10 §2 ECHR, any restriction or limitation requires a legal basis and one of several given legitimate aims, and must also be necessary in a democratic society.

² As I choose to follow the aforementioned authors in assigning a different term to the legal, moral and ethical realm respectively, the references to 'legal obligation', 'moral duty' and 'ethical responsibility' are in fact pleonasm. However, for the clarity of the article and for readers who are not familiar with this distinction, I choose to retain these indications.

³ I speak of 'human duty' to make clear that I see this kind of duty as the logical corollary of a human right, and both of them as tools to, ultimately, protect human dignity.

⁴ The ultimate philosophical foundations of human rights have deliberately always been left more or less vague in the most important international texts, exactly with a view to bridging cultural and philosophical differences. However, 'human dignity' (with all the conceptual lack of clarity it entails) is generally accepted as the central value which is protected by human rights.

⁵ In some cases (but this is beyond the scope of this paper) we may also have a duty to protect another person's dignity where this person does not necessarily have a corollary right (as is, for example, the case when I am faced with a duty to save someone's life with little or no cost to myself).

⁶ In this figure, a debtor or *sponsor* would commit to a certain action. A *re-sponsor* would guarantee, in his own name and with his own fortune, towards the primary beneficiary, in case the sponsor would be unable to fulfil his obligation.

⁷ The sources I refer to speak of 'duties (and responsibilities)', however, I believe the notion of responsibility as set out above would aptly describe also what was intended by the respective authors.

⁸ "In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society."

⁹ This term (in French: 'face cachée') was coined at a conference organized in 2004 in Brussels on the topic of responsibility in human rights law (Dumont et al, 2005).



Olga Bombardelli

Project Report ECLIPSE: European Citizenship Learning Program for Secondary Education

This paper reports on a European project, the Comenius ECLIPSE project (European Citizenship Learning in a Programme for Secondary Education) developed by six European partners coordinated by the University of Trento in the years 2011-2014. ECLIPSE (co-financed by the EACEA - Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency) aims at developing, testing, and implementing a Programme of European Citizenship, in order to improve citizenship competence and responsibility and to strengthen the sense of belonging and European identity of 8th grade pupils. These goals are reachable thanks to a number of measures in formal, non-formal and informal fields. The project partners created teaching and monitoring tools for pupils: seven ECMs (European Citizenship Modules), knowledge tests, pupils' portfolio, and suggestions for teachers, especially a portfolio for ECLIPSE educators. The ECLIPSE teaching/ testing materials were implemented in several schools of the partner's countries in order to make sure that it is useful for European pupils of different school systems. It can be used in a flexible way keeping in mind different learning needs in each school system, with a view to improving transversal competencies like learning to learn, as well as initiative and active involvement in improving the chances for young people in citizenship and work worlds.

Dieses Papier beschreibt ein europäisches Projekt: das Comenius Projekt ECLIPSE (European Citizenship Learning in einem Programm für Secondary Education), das von sechs europäischen Partnern entwickelt und von der Universität Trient in den Jahren 2011-2014 koordiniert wurde.

ECLIPSE wurde von der EACEA (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency) kofinanziert; es zielt auf die Entwicklung, Überprüfung und Implementierung eines Programms zur Entwicklung eines europäischen Bürgersinns, um Kompetenzen als Staatsbürger und zugleich einer europäischen Identität und Verantwortung bei Schülerinnen und Schülern der 8. Klasse. Diese Ziele werden durch eine Reihe von Maßnahmen im formalen, nicht formalen und informellen Bereich angestrebt. Die Projektpartner entwickelten Lehr- und Monitoring Materialien für SchülerInnen, sieben ECM (European Citizenship Modules), Wissenstests, Portfolio für Schüler und Hinweise für Lehrer und speziell ein Portfolio für den Lehrkörper. Die ECLIPSE Lehr / Testmaterialien wurden in mehreren Schulen und Schultypen der Partnerländer getestet. Es kann in flexibler Weise verwendet werden unter Berücksichtigung unterschiedlicher Lernbedürfnisse in jedem Schulsystem, um auch Querschnittskompetenzen wie Lernkompetenz und Eigeninitiative und aktive Mitarbeit zu fördern um die Chancen junger Menschen auf politische Partizipation und auf dem Arbeitsmarkt zu verbessern.

Keywords:

European dimension, citizenship learning, teacher training

1 Introduction

The following paper reports a European project: the Comenius ECLIPSE project (European Citizenship Learning in a Programme for Secondary Education) developed by six European partners coordinated by the University of Trento in the years 2011-2014. ECLIPSE was selected and co-financed by the EACEA (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency); it aims at developing, testing, and implementing a Programme of European Citizenship, in order to improve citizenship competence and to develop the sense of belonging, the European identity and responsibility for pupils of the 8th (or 7th or 9th) grades.

ECLIPSE implies deepening the research and, at the same time, designing and implementing teaching/

learning activities and monitoring tools so as to develop competent citizenship in pupils, while fostering their active involvement. The main tangible output of the project is the European publication of the shared teaching/ learning materials for the schools, including the description of appropriate teaching methods based on three key points: *competence*, *responsibility*, *European dimension*, by improving the *awareness* of one's own improvements.

The six Project Consortium partners: Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Romania, and the United Kingdom¹ worked hard together to exchange their experience and put in common the best practices of the represented school systems; interesting were looking and finding answers to the challenges of Citizenship Education in Europe today (Georgi 2008, Eurydice 2012).

ECLIPSE promotes a new paradigm in citizenship education, that is European-oriented and not only nationally-inspired. It is centred around the growing of

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active and competent citizens, who critically engage with, and seek both to respect citizenship rules and to affect the social/ political life by democratically interacting in social/ economic groups.

The Maastricht Treaty formally introduced EU citizenship (Treaty on European Union 1992) as a legal concept. All nationals of a member state also become EU citizens who on one hand shall enjoy the rights guaranteed by this Treaty and on the other shall be subject to the duties imposed thereby.

Anyway, young people need to learn more in this field; as the Survey ICCS-IEA 2009 shows (Kerr, Sturman, Schulz, Burge 2010), information about the functioning of the EU cooperation is greatly to be improved.

Young people should learn and acquire awareness towards ethic, economic, social, political, cultural aspects of the citizenship, and about the close interdependence of the European countries. ECLIPSE underlines the importance of being aware of one's own level of expertise and commitment.

Learning about citizenship and the EU includes, beside information, the challenge of developing transversal skills, like learning to learn and entrepreneurship, responsibility, being aware of the problems, looking for solutions, and being engaged in improving the actual situations.

2 The project: aims and expected output

ECLIPSE puts its focus on fostering citizenship learning, developing knowledge and attitudes of youngsters in view of their becoming active European citizens, and it starts from understanding their perceptions, attitudes and behaviors in this field, that are, along with information, the awareness of the levels of trust in national and European democratic institutions.

In fact, the trust in national political institutions continues to decrease; the proportion of Europeans who tend to not trust national governments (72%) and national parliaments (69%) are high, and even the number of respondents who do not trust the European Union (58%) (Eurobarometer, 2013) is enough reason for concern.

The ECLIPSE aims at the early development of key competences (EU 2006) reached through measures such as active learning and self-planning by the students (portfolio), and through supporting awareness in the choice of the upper secondary school or vocational training.

Young people should acquire the basic life skills and competences necessary both for their personal development and for planning their future employment and for an active European citizenship. The focus is on self-knowledge, on interests in local, national, European and world issues.

Thanks to mutual exchanges at European level, and thanks to innovative pedagogical approaches in daily activity in the European schools, ECLIPSE intends both to contribute to the quality lifelong learning and to promote

high performance and innovation in European citizenship, based on mutual understanding and respect for human rights and democracy, while encouraging tolerance and respect for other peoples' views and cultures. The produced working materials are devoted to the work with the pupils and should help teachers in their daily practice.

ECLIPSE aims at promoting an awareness of the importance of cultural and linguistic diversity within Europe, as well as of the need to combat racism, prejudice and xenophobia: working together, the partners got to know each other and their different Institutions and countries, their peculiar working ways, while practicing intercultural cooperation.

The pupils become active learners, and think about what they can develop under the guide of the European curriculum by starting to understand the possible routes for their personal, cultural and professional future life, being still in time to choose the best *iter* for their further education and training.

At the beginning of the project lifetime, ECLIPSE partners organized testing of students and monitoring work with teachers in order to get to know the actual situation in the different countries by developing materials and by selecting the best strategies to reach the key competences, especially citizenship, learning to learn, entrepreneurship and initiative. In fact, the project addresses this objectives both looking at the state of art and cooperating among countries and motivating teachers and pupils for quality work done together.

The analysis of the different countries approaches, allowed to compare and to choose the most valuable approaches in view of quality learning, planning and implementing strategies to link the school with the daily life of the pupils with awareness of their future, and of the challenges of the strategy Europe 2020.

The six partners organized their work into Working Packages caring for a good distribution of the common work. Each partner had its own focus: project management, implementation, dissemination/exploitation. All of them worked both in work planning and in-service teacher training; all partners used the developed materials within the context of school practices in order to check their practical use of materials, while collecting advice for improvement from the different systems of the involved schools.

3 Shared concepts

European citizenship is a concept with a bewildering variety of interpretations as well as interpreters. In spite of a long list of European networks (Oonk, Maslowsky, van der Werf 2011), the barriers remain high in many fields.

Through a comparison among the different National concepts, and having a constant look to the European documentation (Eurydice 2012), the partners reached a consensus on what "European citizenship" actually means for them, and how citizenship education should



be structured in order to develop responsible national citizenship and responsible European citizenship.

This project started from the premise that citizens of a democratic society should have a civic competence in order to defend their rights and perform their duties. The Consortium agreed upon the main aspects of citizenship education in ECLIPSE after analyzing the proposals of the Council of Europe, OCSE, UE 2006, IEA- ICCS, Eurydice, National Ministries etc. The concept of citizenship was linked to the knowledge of social, cultural, economic and political dimensions and intended to promote individual and social responsibility.

Consortium partners decided to adopt the civic competence as defined by the EU institutions: "Civic competence is the complex mix of the sum of the different learning outcomes which are necessary for an individual to become an active citizen. It is a combination of the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values which enable people to act successfully in civil society, representative democracy and everyday life based on democratic values" (EU 2006). The partners added some new items, like understanding, dispositions, and behavior, focusing on competent active citizenship. In fact, competence, responsibility in active involvement, European dimension are considered the main traits of the ECLIPSE concept of citizenship, and they are the focus of the ECLIPSE teaching/ learning materials.

In the interdependent society of the EU, where member states share part of their sovereignty, citizenship is decoupled from its dependence on their national identity. The concept and the practice of citizenship expands from a membership status in a local community to a central membership in the territorial nation-state, and it is transferred from the level of the nation-state to that of supranational communities as well.

'Competent active European citizenship' goes way beyond a definition of citizenship that focuses only on rights and obligations. Citizenship in the competent and active mode means participating in the activities and willingness of people to take on responsibility for their community at different social and geographical levels, opening their horizons to Europe and the world. Instead of paying lip service to European diversities and similarities, the ECLIPSE teaching and learning materials make creative use of different viewpoints and experiences. ECLIPSE partners agree that education for competent active citizenship in local, national, European and global dimensions needs to become an internalized and accepted habit of the European youngsters.

4 ECLIPSE Teaching and monitoring tools

The image of the European Union is not perceived in a clear way by all its citizens. A relative majority of Europeans have a neutral image of the EU (39%, unchanged since spring 2013). However, the proportion of respondents for whom the EU conjures up a positive image is only 31%, while there has been a slight decrease

in the number of Europeans with a negative image of the EU (28%, -1) (Eurobarometer 2013).

ECLIPSE partners developed a framework for a European Citizenship Learning Programme, and for constructing examples of teaching lessons and materials, intended both to be used by the pupils and to train and coach teachers.

The proposed material involved a combination of aims and purposes, a framework of tightly-defined learning outcomes. Teachers of different disciplines were invited to use the ECLIPSE materials, especially for Native and Foreign Languages, History, Geography, Visual Education, Citizenship education in its different names in the EU countries, Law, Economics, Visual Education, etc. Teachers were intended to adopt an interdisciplinary and collaborative approach (Bombardelli 2012).

The first step in the project was to analyse the local situation and the country syllabuses, in order to assure that the ECLIPSE teaching activities were in accordance with the National curricula (Eurydice 2012).

In order to reach these objectives, the ECLIPSE partners worked in a flexible way, taking into consideration the fact that curriculum work varies considerably from school to school, from country to country and that the new ECLIPSE materials should be suitable for teachers and pupils all over Europe. The work at school begins by testing students about their civic knowledge in the planned teaching fields, in order to motivate them to learn and to compare the previous level to the results reached after the ECLIPSE teaching activity in the different countries. Planning, development and implementation of the working materials were carried out according to the different country situations by using the best strategies to reach citizenship goals and the key competences, especially learning to learn, citizenship and initiative.

Citizenship education involves all pupils, including teenagers from different social groups and pupils with disability or/and learning difficulties, who are often discriminated in the school with consequent loss of human capital and difficulties for the work. The learning tools facilitate them in achieving good chances, in getting motivated to cooperate, in doing things together across the borders, thus becoming active European citizens. To help teachers in differentiating the learning proposals, the ECLIPSE working materials include many optional parts, and links for a better knowledge of topics.

This specific Programme for Secondary Education has seven Modules focused on key European topics: human rights and responsibility, social identity (at local, national, European and global levels), and cultural diversity; what is the EU, the EU in daily life; European Citizenship; History of European Cooperation process, the work of the main European Institutions, and Learning to start up.

Special attention is given to transversal skills, i.e. looking up information (Where do you discover EU regulations in the everyday life of European Citizens?),



real opportunities of participation, learning to learn, entrepreneurship and transition to work.

Creating the teaching/ learning materials, the partners not only made all possible efforts to produce useful tools for the practice (Tilman 2004), but also viewed intercultural aspects, paid attention to gender questions, aiming at preventing the risk of stereotypes in the contents and in the use of terminology, especially in the knowledge test, while being aware of complex debates in this field (Turner 2014).

The teaching/ learning materials can be used in a flexible way; teachers are invited to include a European Citizenship Learning approach in their subjects, and in school life for the entire school year. What is asked for is about 10 to 30 hours from each participating school timetable. Teachers decide how they integrate the ECLIPSE contents and processes into their subjects.

For evaluation of the learning results ECLIPSE used a qualitative and quantitative approach; partners reflected on and evaluated teaching and learning processes according to clear criteria. ECLIPSE developed a portfolio for pupils and for teachers in the field of civic and citizenship education.

The lack of trust in the institutions should be overcome both by more responsibility at all levels, especially at governmental level, and through bottom up participation.

Quantitative and qualitative data were collected through monitoring materials: a Student's Knowledge (pre and post-test), the Students' attitudes questionnaires, and the teachers' qualitative evaluation (port-folio).

The students' portfolio is very useful in making explicit what kind of a student's competences should be developed in the European Citizenship Learning Programme, according to the UNESCO proposal (1996) that includes learning to know, to do, to be, to live together. This helps students to think about their own civic and European identity (EU 1983), that should build up on common values, traditions and cultures, and especially on the awareness of a common destiny of the European peoples in the global scenario.

In the portfolio, students write down their ideas about their own learning process linked to citizenship, to communication, to engagement to improve their reflexive abilities. Their development is to be linked to the ethos of their schools and of their social environment. Also they should have the opportunity to reflect about strengths and weaknesses of their situation and about possible ways of improvement. The awareness of their situation and of their own improvement is one of the main tasks in ECLIPSE.

The Students' knowledge test asks questions about basic information on the European Union (How many EU countries are in the EU? How many countries use the common currency as their official currency? How many inhabitants do live in the EU?), and on the current problems (What percentage of immigrants is there in your country?).

The Knowledge test aims at linking the attention/ awareness of the pupils to their European and local region and to the current situation, by asking the names of their local/regional representatives in the European Parliament. The historical development of the EU is also taken into consideration (When did the European Community start?).

The most important questions are directly linked to European Citizenship, and to European 'freedoms' (What do "free circulation of goods" and the "movement of citizens" mean?). Focused on the purpose and the situation of the EU are the questions: What about the European Union in the global context? What has been the mission and core values of the European cooperation process? Some contents are quite difficult, i.e. 'sovereignty', and they need a good explanation.

Besides acquiring information on the Institutions (Who is the President of the European Commission), and Treaties (The Lisbon Treaty), students are urged to think about controversial topics such as: Which of the following constitutes "discrimination"? and What does "having prejudice" mean?

The Teacher's Portfolio, developed by the Portuguese team, intends to encourage teachers to reflect on essential and specific knowledge, skills and values able to promote European citizenship learning and to help assess didactic and teaching competence, while linking theory to teaching practice. The awareness of the pupils can be strengthened by the clear awareness of their teachers concerning the own tasks and the common responsibilities. Teachers and pupils portfolios have some parallel items in order to facilitate connections and good results.

5 Final remarks

The project deals with the important topic of how to strengthen European citizenship with the focus on competence, responsibility, European dimension and on the awareness of the learning work in progress. To achieve this goal, the European consortium investigated European students' understanding, attitudes and behavior regarding citizenship and they developed teaching instruments to help students develop the necessary skills to perform as active citizens.

This project aims at offering an effective approach to citizenship education. It gives the opportunity for exchanging ideas and practices, among European teachers and educators. It should develop resilience in being good European citizens. Finally, it should be a guidance for pupils to learn how to make well-documented and motivated choices and to develop coherent competences for their own life plans.

ECLIPSE partners shared concepts, methods and approaches for citizenship education in Europe, in close mutual cooperation aiming at providing a common ground for shared school work. It is expected to contribute positive effects for teachers and students, by means of information, critical reflection, and focussing



on active involvement of learners, in order to reach citizenship competences. The best strategies to reach the key competences were found in a greater commitment and in the assumption of responsibility at all levels, of both teachers and students.

Two-thirds of Europeans consider that their voice does not count in the EU (Eurobarometer 2013). Students should be empowered to go over a declarative knowledge about the EU and to understand the effects of the common decision that the country representatives take at EU level in all fields for everyday life in Europe. The current emphasis on 'competent and active European citizenship' should help citizens to understand what Europe they want to develop, and promote. Schools should be committed to innovatory practices and to keeping in touch with ECLIPSE in the future.

ECLIPSE partners worked together in order to implement education for European citizenship by giving it the status of a daily and officially recognized activity in the European school curricula/syllabus. The overall impact of ECLIPSE includes hopes of influencing students' educational policies (Bombardelli 2009) as well as the general design of teachers' education along with stimulating further research and practice in the area.

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Endnotes

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Hans Bickes, Tina Otten, Laura Chelsea Weymann

The Greek Financial Crisis: Discourses of Difference or Solidarity?

The so-called Greek Financial Crisis, which has been the object of close attention in the German media since the end of 2009, has caused a public debate on who should be held responsible for the decline of crisis-hit Greece, the common currency and the Eurozone. The media's enduring and controversial public discussion has lately been referred to as the *Greek bashing*. When the crisis had spread much further in 2012 and also other countries suffered from high debt, economic stagnation and unemployment, the news coverage became more moderate. This project report highlights the role of medial discourses of difference and solidarity during the crisis. Therefore, we rely on an exemplary data-set that does not only take the development of the German media's tenor on the *Greek Crisis* into consideration, but also adds an international perspective in order to compare the medial treatment of different countries involved. The study methodologically focuses on the analysis of (metaphorical) language and grammatical structures in the news coverage of the German daily newspaper *BILD*, the German magazine *SPIEGEL* as well as the international news magazines *Economist* (Great Britain) and *TIME* (USA). Therefore, the interdisciplinary approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used in order to produce insights into public discourses in sociopolitical contexts.

Deutsche Medien haben der sogenannten Griechischen Finanzkrise erhebliche Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Im Hinblick auf die Verantwortlichkeiten für den Niedergang Griechenlands, für die Krise des Euros und der Eurozone war die öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland gespalten. Damit einher ging eine anhaltende und kontroverse mediale Diskussion, die aufgrund des teils rüden Stils alsbald als *Greek bashing* bezeichnet wurde. Nachdem sich die Krise 2012 auf andere Mitgliedsstaaten ausdehnte und dort zu hoher Staatsverschuldung, ökonomischer Stagnation und Arbeitslosigkeit führte, nahmen Mediendiskurse (auch zu Griechenland) etwas moderatere Züge an. In unserem Projektbericht rekonstruieren wir die Rolle, die Mediendiskurse der Differenz und der Solidarität im Verlauf der Krise gespielt haben. Beispielhaft zeichnen wir diesen Prozess an Daten aus deutschen Medien nach, ergänzen diesen Blickwinkel jedoch durch eine zusätzliche, internationale Perspektive, indem wir die Ergebnisse einer vergleichenden Analyse ausgewählter Medien aus drei Ländern präsentieren. Methodologisch stützen wir uns auf Analysen (metaphorischen) Sprachgebrauchs und grammatischer Strukturen in den Berichterstattungen des deutschen Boulevardblattes *BILD* sowie der Nachrichtenmagazine *SPIEGEL* (Deutschland), *Economist* (Großbritannien) und *TIME* (USA). Wir bedienen uns des interdisziplinären Ansatzes der Kritischen Diskursanalyse (KDA), um Einsichten in öffentliche Diskurse in soziopolitischen Kontexten zu fördern.

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1 Introduction

The Greek Prime Minister Papandreou marked the beginning of what is referred to as the *Greek Financial Crisis* or *Greek Debt Crisis* today by publicly revising Greece's government deficit at the end of 2009. Although it quickly became obvious that the severe crisis the Greek economy had to face was the result of both internal and external factors, the German media's news coverage was surprisingly one-sided. Many newspapers and magazines aggressively targeted the small economy of Greece, which needed to be bailed out more than once by the Eurozone countries. Slowly, the harsh tone of the media has softened to a certain extent since it is not only Greece, but also many other European countries



that are suffering from the crisis. Although Greece is still assigned a special position in terms of being responsible for triggering the crisis in the first place, it is not blamed for all of the financial turbulences anymore. Since 2012, after the crisis had spread much further, and not only Greece, but also Ireland, Portugal, Spain and Italy were deeply involved in the financial turmoil, it has been politically accepted that Europe is dealing with a global and systemic crisis and that there is a variety of interconnecting causes and effects that can all be made responsible for the crisis.

Our study is based on the tradition of *Critical Discourse Analysis* in terms of Foucault, the way it has been used and developed by Wodak, Van Dijk, Fairclough and Chilton amongst others. We want to determine whether the German media stick to their depiction of Greece and additionally contrast the German presentation of Greece and the crisis to the news coverage of other international media on that topic. Moreover, the media seem to take different positions regarding the countries (Greece, Spain, Italy) involved. The focus was mainly on online-articles which offer a great variety of easily accessible texts.¹

We would like to frame our article with two citations by Philippe Rochat, a specialist in developmental psychology from Emory University, Atlanta:

The main idea [...] is that human psychic life is predominantly determined by what we imagine others perceive of us. We exist and gauge the worth of our existence primarily through the eyes of others. More importantly, others also determine whether I am right to feel safe, in particular, safe of not being rejected by them. Feeling safe is part of the 'good life' and it is inseparable from the feeling of being affiliated. The argument I propose is that it all depends on the recognition and acknowledgment of self by others.²

If this is true for individuals it should be true for societies and members of the European community as well. Suffice it to say that the comfortable feeling of being affiliated has heavily been shaken during the financial crisis that spread over Europe since 2008. Instead of standing up for solidarity among the European countries, the German media immediately began to heavily attack small economies like Greece; the country which was confronted first with imminent insolvency.

FOCUS for example, an influential political German magazine, mounted a long-lasting media campaign in February 2010 that was characterized by strongly one-sided views and rather rash judgments, thereby prompting Greek newspapers and magazines to react (Bickes et. al. 2012). The issue's cover presented its readers with a digitally manipulated photo of the Greek goddess Aphrodite, giving everyone the finger, accompanied by the front-page headline "Betrüger in der Euro-Familie" (*Betrayers in the Euro-family*) and the associated article "2000 Jahre Niedergang. Von der

Wiege Europas zum Hinterhof Europas: Griechenlands Abstieg ist beispiellos" (*2000 years of decline. From Europe's cradle to Europe's slum area: Greece's descent is unparalleled*). On the basis of an arbitrary comparison of random characteristics of ancient and contemporary Greece, i.e. arts, architecture, education systems, politics and gastronomy, *FOCUS* concluded that the contemporary Greek culture distinctly falls behind the quality level of the antiquity in all matters and had its heyday long ago.³ In addition to the derogatory modification of Aphrodite, an important cultural symbol to the Greeks, the author's references to Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer's ideology⁴, to Oswald Spengler⁵, as well as to Islamic prophet Muhammad were especially provocative. Using metaphors of blooming and withering, the author illustrates Greece's cultural history and suggests that the supposed decline of the Greek culture is the main reason for Greece's disastrous role within the European financial system. Economic considerations of Greece's situation in a wider context of the global financial crisis as well as differentiating analyses of Greece's history before and after World War II are almost completely omitted. Instead, *FOCUS* offers basically monocausal explanations for the European financial crisis.

2 The so-called *Greek bashing* in phase I

Following this first article about Greece's supposed cultural decline, *FOCUS* published numerous issues and articles that also revealed strongly one-sided tendencies, increasingly partisan analyses and a discriminatory, to some extent even racist, use of language. One may believe that, with such an approach to the topic, the magazine was ploughing a lone furrow. However, since the beginning of 2010, the German press in general has been involved in a heated and controversial public discussion of the *Greek Financial Crisis* that often went along with a hostile and offensive media coverage. This phase of the so-called *Greek bashing* lasted for about two years.

In our analysis of this phase we rely on data published on the websites of the high-circulation tabloid newspaper *BILD* (over 182 million visits of the website each month (IVW 2014)) and draw on exemplary reactions of the left-wing newspaper *taz*. In order to elicit discourse positions during the period of the *Greek bashing* (phase I), different quantitative and qualitative lexical approaches as well as van Leeuwen's *Social Actor Theory* (2002) served as instruments for our analysis. The lexical approach focused on the categories of nouns (esp. compound words and neologisms), verbs and adjectives in order to reveal how the media used a certain language to represent the social actors in the crisis. In addition, grammatical structures were taken into consideration by drawing on the *Social Actor Theory*. Semantic roles and causal relations that play an important role in the (ideologically coloured?) construction of social reality can be created with the use of grammar: "[Grammar] enables human beings to build a mental picture of



reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them.” (Halliday, cit.van Leeuwen 2009, p. 279). These methods of discourse analysis that were developed in the context of Critical Discourse Analysis were applied to a corpus of 242 newspaper articles.⁶ The aim was to reveal linguistic strategies for the construction of ‘Self’ and ‘Other’. Some of the results shall be covered below.⁷

2.1 The construction of ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ in *BILD*

The *BILD* in particular, Europe’s largest daily newspaper, published numerous reports that implicitly and explicitly promoted the stereotype of the lazy Greeks in comparison to the hard-working Germans and tended to construct a lasting negative image of Greece in such a way as to set their German readers against financial aids for debt-laden Greece. The analyses revealed that *BILD.de* tended to use more negative connotative words to refer to the social actor Greece (13% of 846 items within the category) than *taz.de* (1% of 711 items). Newly invented words such as “Defizit-Sünder” (*deficit-sinners*) or “Euro-Betrüger” (*Euro-deceivers*) play an important role in the construction of difference. As an example, the neologism “Pleite-Griechen” (*bankrupt-Greeks*) was highly frequently used for many months and quickly became a regular name for the Greek population within *BILD.de*’s news coverage. In consequence, other newspapers began to use this new term and ultimately, it could be read and heard in user comments, public letters and everyday conversation (as it is indicated by almost 4 million entries when searching for “Pleite-Griechen” using *Google* in June 2012). With lexemes such as “Schulden-Europameister” (*European champion of debts*) as well as “Europas schwarzes Schaf” (*Europe’s black sheep*), *BILD.de* evoked connotations of Greece being an aberration within the Eurozone that compromises the European community and its currency (*What is coming up for us? Are the bankrupt-Greeks tearing down all of Europe?*). Such (metaphorical) language within *BILD.de*’s media coverage negatively represents Greece as the ‘cheater’ who abuses the system and causes danger for the other EU-members, whereas the other Eurozone countries are most often positively represented, e.g. as a family-like unit.

By contrast, 260 items used by *BILD.de* to refer to Germany and its citizens connoted either a neutral or a positive image. The lexemes, e.g. “das Mutterland der Stabilität” (*country of stability’s origin*), often refer to the wealth, economic power and industrial strength of Germany. However, Germany’s strong economic position is interpreted as a disadvantage: *BILD.de* was early to compose an image of Germany as the ‘Melkesel Europas’ (*European cow for milking*) and the “Zahlmeister Europas” (*paymaster of Europe*), thereby criticizing the fact that Germany has to carry a proportionally larger share of the rescue package (*Once again, we are Europe’s idiots! It is unbelievable!*⁸). The tendency to contrast ‘us Germans’ to ‘the Greeks’ also becomes

obvious in the so-called “biggest cheque of all times”, uploaded by *BILD.de* on their website: “wir Steuerzahler-Deppen” (*we taxpayer-idiots*) have to account for “die Schuldenhallodris in Athen” (*the debt-rogues in Athens*). Phrases including personal pronouns like “wir Deutsche” (*we Germans*) could be found twice as often in texts taken from *BILD.de* (32% of 260 items) as in those taken from *taz.de* (11% of 218 items). Such so-called collectivisations serve to express unity and affinity within the collective. In consequence, readers of *BILD.de* will gain the impression of being addressed personally. In terms of grammatical structures, these examples reveal *BILD.de*’s tendency to assimilate social actors, i.e. represent them as groups (cf. van Leeuwen 2002, p. 282). Such generic references promote the development and stabilisation of cultural stereotypes, which is why the number of collectivising structures within the articles of *BILD.de* must be considered as alarming. The representation of social actors as unspecific and anonymous groups evokes the impression that ‘they’ are all the same so that distance to the individual is created.

We want to draw on one further example in order to illustrate the strategies of constructing ‘Self’ and ‘Other’. On the occasion of the Greek Prime Minister’s visit to Germany, *BILD.de* published a public letter that dealt with the topic of Germany being *completely different* from Greece:

“Dear Mr. Prime Minister, when you read these lines you have entered a country that is completely different from yours. You are in Germany. [...] Here, the people work until the age of 67. [...] Nobody has to pay thousands of Euros to bribe. [...] Germany is in debt, too – but we are able to pay up. Because we get up very early in the morning and work all day [...]”⁹

Following the argumentation of *BILD.de*, the German population is characterized by being hardworking, honest, economical, correct with bureaucratic issues and successful in trade as well as economy. By contrast, the Greeks are described as invariably corrupt and dishonest. Numerous national stereotypes are explicitly and implicitly revived and cast a poor light on the Greeks in comparison to the Germans. With such an argumentation, an unfavourable attitude of the readers towards financial aids for Greece is promoted. With increasing frequency, *BILD.de* brings up the contrast between Germany, the ideal country with its honest and hard-working citizens, and Greece, the country characterized by *coterie, corruption and family ties*¹⁰, a land where seemingly no one has to work, but is able to live an decadent life at the cost of the other European states. As a consequence, *BILD.de* promotes a feeling of injustice in the German readers: *Why do we have to pay the Greek’s luxurious pensions? [...] And many ask themselves: Why should we pay for the opulent pension system of the Greeks?*¹¹



2.2 Consequences of *BILD*'s campaign-like media coverage

BILD.de's news coverage was – all positive and neutral exceptions left aside – like a campaign. Taking account of further qualitative and quantitative analyses, the following argumentative tendencies could be determined within *BILD.de*'s news coverage: Supported by the use of explicit statements, but also implicit metaphorical language, lexical semantics and grammatical structures, *BILD* follows principles of sensationalism and populism that lay emphasis on the construction of difference. Superlatives and catchy word constructions (such as "Pleite-Griechen" (*bankrupt-Greeks*), "Schummel-Haushalt" (*fudged budget*)) serve to entertain the readership more than to inform them. The negative image of the so-called *bankrupt-Greeks* is furthered by *BILD.de*'s use of adjectives, i.e. "dreist" (*impudent*) and "meilenweit über ihre Verhältnisse lebend" (*living far beyond their means*). Moreover, *BILD.de* tends to explain the insubstantial financial sector to be a specifically Greek problem: *Since the beginning of the Athens debt crisis we know one thing: In Greece, corruption and bribery belong to the daily routine like gyros and souvlaki*¹². Accordingly, with words such as "Europas schwarzes Schaf" (*Europe's black sheep*), *BILD.de* evokes connotations of Greece being an aberration within the Eurozone. Due to so-called aggregations such as *Germans against help for Greece. The majority of the German population rejects bail-out of Greece*¹³, which follow the principle "the majority rules" (cf. van Leeuwen 2002, p. 318), members of a society tend to rely on the majority's opinion and hence to join in, which is why publishing surveys and polls is of great importance when it comes to the formation of opinion and consensus.

As a consequence of this frequent negative attribution, the exclusion of Greece seemed justified for many Germans: Why should they – the ones living under moderate and modest circumstances – have to pay for a self-induced crisis in Greece? While newspapers such as *taz* tried to prove from a pluralistic point of view that Greece is being made a scapegoat for global problems, systemic aspects of the crisis (as a global phenomenon) remained unsaid in *BILD.de*'s largely one-sided news coverage. *BILD.de* argues that Greece and its population do not want to endure the pressure to save money and initiate the accompanying cost-cutting measures, but pass it on to their partners in the Eurozone: *The bankrupt-Greeks simply refuse to take responsibility for their debt! [...] Due to that the rest of the world has to step into the breach – maybe for the next ten years!*¹⁴ Historic entanglements between Greece and Germany were largely neglected by *BILD.de*.¹⁵ Instead, several services were demanded in return for the German share of the rescue package: *Sell your islands, bankrupt-Greeks... as well as the Acropolis!*¹⁶ This suggestion prompted the Berlin newspaper *taz* to react harshly and point out the seriousness of such demands with regards

to the history of Greece and Germany during World War II:

- The current aggression of many Germans against the Greeks stands in the good old tradition of the Nazis. They also wanted to have the Acropolis.¹⁷
- The Greeks do not deserve their antiquity; Hitler was of the same opinion and declared the Germans to be the actual Greeks. This is why *BILD* also proposed the idea of Athens selling the Acropolis to the Germans. This proposal also involved some of the Greek islands. *BILD* poetized: Money for you, we get Corfu. The Greek public reaction was proportionally harsh. After all, Corfu and Greece had already experienced the charity of the German occupation.¹⁸

Historically approaching the connection between Greece and Germany, *taz.de* emphasizes the demand for more solidarity and criticizes the public spreading of prejudices: *Prejudices demand an equalization of the enemy. In the past, it was "the Russian", now Bild talks about the "bankrupt-Greeks". Social and cultural differences are neglected. It is "the Greek" who is able to afford "anything" on our expense and who burns "our beautiful Euros"*.¹⁹ Therefore, *taz.de* laid emphasis on the Greeks' trouble due to governmental failures and publicly doubted that Greece, producing the same gross domestic product as one of Germany's 16 federal states, might seriously threaten the Eurozone.

To sum up, unpromising inferences and conclusions were supported by *BILD.de* insofar as they constructed the Germans as 'Europas Deppen' (*Europe's idiots*), who were plunged into the Eurozone-crisis by the Greeks, and who have to face the impending decline of the Euro as the collaborative currency and were nevertheless asked to use their tax money to foot the bills in Greece. *BILD.de* worked with programmatically arranged catchwords and generalising headlines which bring forward and stabilize cultural stereotypes. Comparisons used to emphasize the differences between Germany and Greece suggested that life in Greece is so much better and that the Greeks are simply undiscerning. All this evoked anger towards the Greek citizens and a strong feeling of injustice for the reader, who could not understand why he is supposed to financially support a population that obviously completely lacks discernment and remorse for many years of "Schlendrian" (*casualness, jogtrot*). Therefore, *BILD.de* revived resentments that remind of National Socialist times in order to depict the Greeks as corrupt and work-shy crooks, who aim at the German taxpayers' money, so they do not have to save money themselves. All Greeks became inseparably associated with financial problems. The combination of constructing prototypes and prototypical thinking together with using historically coined terms on the one hand and emphasizing difference and otherness of the Greek population in contrast to the German one on the other hand, served the appellative function of *BILD.de*'s news coverage. How language as a social practice works can be seen in many user feedbacks



on *BILD.de*—not only in those being extremely hostile towards the Greek population, but also in those being addressed to the authors of the aforementioned articles:

“Dear Bild,

Always adding fuel to the fire, and always stirring up the hate between the Germans and the Greeks. You would think they were joking if they said that they couldn’t manage to chase the first Greeks through German cities soon. Maybe then those in the Bild headquarters would wake up!” (*Bild.de*, referring to the article “For the Greeks there is money, when will I get some?” from 19.06.2011)²⁰

3 A new tune? The media coverage on Greece, Spain and Italy in *SPIEGEL*, *TIME* and *Economist* in 2012

Further studies are directed at the more recent period of news coverage on the European financial crisis. In the meantime, the so-called *Greek crisis* has developed into a systemic European crisis, which results from structural mistakes of the single currency and is additionally intensified by market influences, speculators, the banking crisis and the global financial and economic crisis. Beside Greece, countries like Ireland, Portugal, Cyprus, Spain and Italy were strongly affected. The crisis of large economies like Spain and Italy is much more dangerous for the Eurozone than the debt burden of little Greece. The European bailout money cannot save the two big countries in case of a national bankruptcy. The focus is on the news coverage of the months May, June and July in 2012 since important events, such as the troublesome Greek election, the bailout for Cyprus and for Spanish banks, the increasing unemployment in Europe or the downgrade of many European countries by rating agency Moody’s took place during this time. In phase II we compared the news coverage of a German, a British and an American news magazine (*SPIEGEL*, *Economist* and *TIME*). The three countries are likely to present the European crisis from different angles since the degree of the respective countries’ involvement in the crisis differs. Germany shares the single currency and is one of the more powerful European countries when it comes to crisis management. In other words, Germany is directly involved in the Euro-crisis. We analysed whether the German news magazine *SPIEGEL*, which portrayed the crisis during the early period in a similar fashion as *BILD*, changed its negative tone after it became obvious that Europe and the monetary union suffer from systemic problems rather than a single country’s mismanagement. We expected a more critical and sceptical perspective from the British magazine *Economist*. Even though Great Britain is part of the European Union, it has not joined the monetary union. Moreover, the American magazine *TIME* might take on a more distant stance on the European crisis since it is not directly involved.

Therefore, we extended the *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) by Charteris-Black’s pragmatic approach to metaphor analysis (2004) as the

method for the analysis. The well-known theory supposes that human thought is formed, structured and influenced by metaphorical concepts. The structure of an easily accessible *source domain* is transferred to an abstract *target domain*. In other words, the structure of the concrete *source domain* is used to shape the vague *target domain*. It hence simplifies its understanding, highlights or hides certain aspects of the *target domain* and has a big impact on how the abstract concept is conceived. Different *source domains* suggest different perspectives on a concept.²¹ The study presented in the following only considers metaphorical concepts that could be identified at least 30 times in the corpus.

3.1 What remains the same? Continuous metaphorical structures in the media coverage

The analysis reveals that all magazines frequently use metaphors with disruptive *source domains* to describe the financial crisis. The excessive use of such metaphors indicates that the financial crisis is considered to be a serious threat to the survival of the monetary union. This has not even changed after the crisis has been going on for more than two years. Especially negative developments such as the failure of the first Greek election in May 2012 or the official statement that Spain’s banks needed to be bailed out are accompanied by the intensive use of destructive *source domains* (*fire*, *tidal waves*, *earth quakes*, *disease*, *downward movement*, etc.) which visualise the disruptive power of the crisis and the ultimate danger for Europe. See the following examples:

“And José Manuel García-Margallo, the foreign minister, has said that the European Union risks becoming like the *Titanic*, with most classes of passengers *drowning*.” (*Economist* (5.5.12): Spain’s woes - Those sinking feelings)

“Now that both Brussels and Berlin agree that — without assistance — Spain faces the possibility not only of default, but of *pulling* the entire Eurozone *down* with it, a certain openness to changing the rules appears to be emerging.” (*TIME* – 8.6.12 - Spain - Euro Crisis: Spain Inches Closer to a Bank Bailout)

The continuous expansion of the crisis seems to be most frightening. Many metaphors can be identified that imply the danger of a constantly spreading crisis: *The Financial Crisis is a Spreading Substance/ a Tidal Wave/ Fire/ a Disease*.

“Last week they broke 6%, leading many to wonder once again if Italy might be the next *domino* in the euro-zone crisis.” (*TIME* (21.6.12): Italy’s Mario Monti)

“But so far the Greek crisis has had plenty of noisy *knock-on effects*.” (*Economist* (16.6.12): Economic epidemiology)



These metaphors emphasise that not only the highly indebted nations but all European countries are endangered since the future of the monetary union is at risk. The usage of the *destruction metaphors* spreads fear which might cause the reader to quickly agree to the determined rescue measures of the government.

A closer look at the metaphor *The Financial Crisis is a Disease* reveals that even in 2012 Greece is often presented as the origin of the financial crisis. The media describes a metaphorical *virus* which originated in Greece and is now *infecting* the rest of Europe and spreading the *disease*. It is feared that a *Grexit* might trigger a series of knock-on effects which makes Greece not only the origin of Europe's financial crisis but also of the possible collapse of the single currency.

“The danger was in the possible *contagion effect* Greece might present if it outright defaulted or bolted from the union.” (*TIME* (1.5.12): Why We Should Worry About Spain's Economic Pain)

The metaphors presented above are continuously identifiable over the years and thus shape the fiscal discourse of the European crisis (Bickes et al. 2012; Weymann 2012; Schendel 2012).

3.2 A new tune? Changes in the media coverage on Greece, Spain and Italy in *SPIEGEL*, *TIME* and *Economist* in 2012 (phase II).

The comparison of the news coverage on Europe's financial crisis in 2012 (for detailed results cf. Weymann 2013) and in the early period in 2010 (cf. Schendel 2012; Bickes et al. 2011) shows that certain changes can clearly be identified. The media's tone is generally much more differentiated, less attacking and more moderate. In 2012, the populations of the indebted nations receive lots of sympathy and the articles are full of individual stories about poverty, unemployment, job search and desperation. The audience's attention is drawn to the suffering of the population after their countries have been hit by the banking crisis and economic stagnation. The citizens are thus not accused of wasting the European taxpayer's money any more but are portrayed as victims of the politicians' mistakes.

Throughout the analysis different metaphors could be found that highlight the internal dynamics of the crisis: *source domains* like a natural disaster, a virus, a downward movement, a spreading substance, a tidal wave or fire imply that the crisis has become independent. If the crisis is referred to as a *natural disaster* it seems beyond individual responsibility.

“They're treating it as if it were a *hurricane* — a *natural disaster* that no one could control and for which no one is responsible.” (*TIME* (29.5.12): The Pain in Spain: A Banking Scandal Makes the Crisis No Joke)

In line of these metaphors the crisis seems like a natural development and hence nobody, not even Greece, can be blamed for its evolvement. Consequently, the responsibility of banks, financial markets, speculators, politicians and governments is denied. The metaphor also implies a certain powerlessness of Europe's politicians and makes all political attempts to stop the crisis seem to be of minor importance.

Furthermore, new metaphorical concepts can be identified in the news coverage of 2012. The frequent usage of the *mechanism metaphor*, which could hardly be identified in 2010, marks a change in the news report. This clearly shows that the financial crisis is by now officially understood as a systemic crisis. The media metaphorically creates a reality in which the errors of the system (single currency/European Union) have to be identified and repaired.

“But after a brief rally in response to the loan package, investors are starting to question the *mechanics* of the loan—which will be *monitored* by the so-called troika *team of inspectors* from the E.U., the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund—and whether it can really solve Spain's *systemic problems*, like its shocking 24% unemployment rate and its slumping housing market.” (*TIME* (25.6.12): World)

The *mechanism metaphor* obviously indicates that not the financial troubles of a single country but the structure of the monetary union is depicted as the cause of the crisis. The *house metaphor* which describes the European Union as a *house* that is endangered to *collapse* also determines the structure of the Eurozone to be the main problem. The metaphor identifies both the *stability* of single national budgets and the *construction* of the European Union as causes of the crisis. Both metaphors are solution-oriented and suggest a long-term restructuring or the renewal of the system as a solution.

Metaphors like the *teacher/learner metaphor* intensify the formation of a hierarchically divided Europe. The financially well-off countries are metaphorically presented as *teachers* and are thus clearly superior to the indebted countries which are portrayed as *students*. The *teachers* do not only serve as a role model but also discipline the *debtor countries* that have to follow the indoctrination, accept the control of their national budgets and thus give up sovereignty to a certain extent.

“Ireland, often pointed to as a *model pupil*, has to do more because its primary deficit of 6.7% of GDP last year was considerably higher than Greece's and Portugal's.” (*Economist* (12.5.12): The threat of a Greek exit)

“I'm against this way of dealing with Greece, [which consists] in provoking the Greek public opinion and *giving advice and indications* to the Greek sovereign.



We don't have to *lecture* Greece.” (*Economist* (15.5.12): Groping towards Grexit)

This metaphorical language use establishes the picture of a divided Europe and might cause the reader to develop a condescending attitude towards the financially troubled nations (see for instance user-feedbacks in numerous online media).

Moreover, the intense usage of *war metaphors* to describe politics in Europe indicates that the European countries' interaction is bellicose, militant and rather aggressive and clearly not that of a solidly united community. While the financially stronger European countries are usually in the position to *attack*, for instance with agonising austerity measures, the highly indebted countries need to *defend* themselves. In the course of this metaphor the large economies Italy and Spain are taken more serious as they are presented as stronger *opponents* than Greece. Especially *Economist* and *TIME* emphasise that the crisis can only be beaten if Europe *combines its powers*. This is a critical hint towards Angela Merkel's refusal of mutual liability.

“Mit seinem Verbündeten möchte er eine Strategie aushecken, Druck auf Kanzlerin Merkel ausüben: Süd gegen Nord.” (*SPIEGEL* (30.7.12): Brandstifter Nr. 1)²²

“*Unite or die*. Ultimately, as we have argued, a solution requires the currency's members to draw on their *combined strength* by mutualising some debt and standing behind their big banks.” (*Economist* (28.7.12): The flight from Spain)

3.3 The debtor countries in comparison

We additionally investigated whether the representation of the three indebted countries Greece, Spain and Italy in the media radically differs. The analysis shows that Spain and Italy are presented in a better light than Greece. While Spain and Italy are rather depicted as victims of the crisis whose situation is threatening the survival of the single currency, Greece is often portrayed as the origin of the crisis and a burden to the European nations. Despite of the fact that Greece's financial situation is the most severe, Greece receives less sympathy and solidarity than Spain. This might be an effect of the so-called *Greek bashing*, a period when the majority of the German media presented the *Greek Crisis* in a harsh and aggressive manner as being self-inflicted. It becomes obvious that even though the tone of the news coverage is generally more moderate than in 2010, the media have not completely stopped their accusations towards Greece. While the media highlight that the Spanish people cannot be blamed for their banking and housing crisis, none of the news magazines explicitly reports that the Greek population cannot be blamed for the mismanagement of their politicians either. However, Spain is perceived as a great danger for the Eurozone since Europe's financial means are not sufficient to help out a large economy like Spain in case of a bankruptcy. This is also reflected in the metaphor use of the media. Spain's

banking crisis is just as often metaphorically presented with some sort of *destructive metaphor* as the Greek plight. Italy, on the other hand, as a country that has not needed any financial help yet, is perceived less menacing. While *Economist* and *TIME* highlight the critical developments of Spain's or Greece's crisis, they do not regularly use metaphors with threatening or destructive *source domains* to describe Italy's situation. *TIME* only publishes six articles that deal with Italy's crisis in a time period of three months. This clearly shows that the editorial staff prioritises other topics. *SPIEGEL*, on the contrary, presents Italy's economic and financial problems as ultimate danger for the single currency. The German news magazine focuses on possible future scenarios: What would happen if Italy was insolvent? *SPIEGEL*'s strategy to provoke fear in the reader might be linked to Germany's role in the crisis: Due to the country's economical strength, Germany has to contribute the largest financial share out of all European countries to assist the indebted nations. To save Italy much more of the German taxpayers' money will be needed. The German worry about the crisis development in Italy is hence based on national self-interest rather than on solidarity. Moreover, Germany's economy clearly benefits from the existence of the single currency. Italy's bankruptcy would ultimately lead to the breakdown of the Eurozone since the economic size of the country is too large to be bailed out.

3.4 The discourse positions of the magazines

It is not possible to determine a certain discourse position for each news magazine as all of them cover the news on a broader scale. However, the metaphor analysis revealed some characteristic tendencies for each magazine. In general, *SPIEGEL*'s news coverage in 2012 is clearly more moderate and less provocative than in spring 2010. However, the demands for solidarity are addressing Spain much more than Greece. Although the news coverage of the German magazine transmits lots of sympathy for the Spanish population's fate, there seems to be little or no solidarity for Greece. This result shows how the period of *Greek bashing* has worsened the relationship between Greece and Germany over the years. But *SPIEGEL* also plays with the readers' fears of a looming end of the Eurozone and thus makes the crisis seem quite threatening. This might be a strategy to justify all political actions that the German government takes to solve the financial crisis. Ironically, *SPIEGEL* presents Germany and not Greece as the victim of the crisis. The German taxpayers are 'suffering' from the high cost of the rescue packages and the government around Angela Merkel is under much pressure when it comes to European crisis policies. *SPIEGEL* is eager to shift the blame for the crisis away from Germany and makes the country and its political leaders appear in a good light by assigning them heroic-like attributes. In contrast to the economically weaker countries, Germany is portrayed as a strong and flourishing nation. In consequence, the



magazine's readers might develop a priggish self-perception and a dismissive attitude towards the financially weak periphery.

The overall analysis proves that the *Economist* portrays a more negative, critical and sceptic attitude towards the single currency by frequently using threatening metaphors that make the crisis seem to be a dire hazard for Europe. The earth quake metaphor stresses the instability of the single currency and the danger of a possible disintegration of the Eurozone: *Tremors* are *splitting* and *disuniting* the European nations. The future of the common currency is portrayed with great scepticism. The magazine highlights the weaknesses and the volatility of the monetary union rather than its strength.

"*Tremors and rumbles - Earthquakes*, political and geological, have disoriented Italy" (*Economist* (23.7.12): Tremors and rumbles)

"Some contagion may be caused by markets waking up to the possibility that the Eurozone could indeed *fall apart*." (*Economist* (16.6.12): Economic epidemiology)

In consequence, the attention is primarily focused on the risks, negative aspects, disadvantages, dangers and burdens of being a member of the monetary union. The *Economist's* sceptical attitude towards the single currency conveys the view that the basic principles of the European Union have to be questioned and not the financial troubles of one single country. Moreover, the *Economist* criticizes the European Union as well as the crisis management of the respective European politicians. Out of all the analysed magazines the *Economist* shows the most solidarity for the indebted countries and sympathy for the suffering population. The magazine highlights that the time frame to implement the austerity measures is way too small. Moreover, the *Economist* criticises the dominant, patronising and dismissive behaviour of Europe's leading politicians towards the Greek government. It critically questions the ongoing public *Grexit* debate and argues that the crisis managers only want to threaten Greece in order to enforce their personal political interests.

As pre-supposed, the metaphor usage of the magazine *TIME* suggests a more distanced perspective. This can exemplarily be shown by looking at the *game metaphor*. Presenting the crisis metaphorically as a *game* indicates that the danger of the spreading crisis is not taken seriously. The use of the metaphor makes the tone seem sneering and amused as it is making fun of the never-ending summits, the insufficient reforms, the political power *games* and the ongoing debate about who is going to pay the bill. The use of this metaphor shows the distanced American perspective on European debates. The news magazine takes the crisis less serious and makes fun about the European strategies of 'solving' the crisis.

"But that means the banks would have to take a big loss on what they've already lent Greece, and, just like

everyone else in this *game*, they're not that willing to pay." (*TIME* (12.7.11): Will Italy Bring Down the Eurozone?)

Furthermore, *TIME* is less emotional about the question whether Europe is a community that should stick together and show solidarity. The *family metaphor*, used by *SPIEGEL* and *Economist*, stresses the fact that the European nations are a *family*, which should support each other and show solidarity, and that the euro is their *child* which needs to be protected and taken care of. The style of *TIME* is often neutral or even distanced, whereas the German and the British magazines show more emotion on the topic. Generally speaking, *TIME* lives up to the expectations: When it comes to the European community, the magazine is more distanced, neutral and less emotional. No *family metaphors* can be identified in the articles of the American magazine. Interestingly, *TIME* uses the *war metaphor* more often than the other magazines. The frequent use of *war metaphors* indicates American processes of political interaction are rather confrontational and warlike than collaborative. The *source domain war* seems to be easily accessible for the Americans and is thus used frequently in order to describe international relations and foreign affairs.

3 Conclusion

We promised to end our article with another citation by Philippe Rochat. In his book *Others in Mind* Rochat summarizes:

Modern freedom entails modern anxieties. There is pressure on individuals to define their own moral space, their own individual responsibilities, while struggling to maximize resources for self and promote themselves to others. Associated with this dynamic is a modern panic syndrome, the panic syndrome of failing. There is a generalized fear of failure, the fear of not earning enough, of not achieving goals we are compelled to assign to ourselves, not meeting expectations on the basis of what is represented to other's views on the self and other's valuation of the self. This valuation of the self to meet other's fantasized (represented) expectations is the core drama of individuals entangled in contemporary industrial life. (Rochat 2009, p. 232)

Young Europeans are confronted with a tremendous load of challenges, with the threat of financial distress, massive unemployment and unmanageable environmental problems without being responsible for any of these issues. Future generations need a strong sense of affiliation and collaboration on the European level to cope with this complex situation. Instead, influential media have created a *discourse of difference* over the last years. There seems to be an urgent need for European discourses of solidarity and not for discourses of mutual vilification and disdain. Greece became the centre of focus in the search for the cause of the crisis,



although a noteworthy percentage of these reasons should have been searched for on a global level and in an economist thinking that is established worldwide. However, recent research data on the current medial treatment of the debtor countries stirs up hope that the European media will realize a more critical, differentiating and less accusing news coverage.

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Endnotes

¹ Some ideas developed in this paper are presented with additional methodological rigor in Bickes/Otten/Weymann 2014.

² Philippe Rochat on his book *Others in Mind: Social Origins to Self-Consciousness*.

http://rorotoko.com/interview/20091125_philippe_rochat_on_others_mind_social_origins_self-consciousnes/

³ In consequence, the Greek newspaper *Eleftheros Typos* published a digitally manipulated photo of the statue of Victoria on the Berlin Victory Column which shows Victoria raising a swastika as it had been adopted as a symbol of the Nazi Party of Germany in 1920. Moreover, the Greek magazine *Focus* (not to be confused with the German magazine *FOCUS*) described contemporary German culture as still being under the influence of Adolf Hitler's spirit.

⁴ A Austrian publicist known for his controversial theories concerning the racial origins of the Greeks

⁵ A German historian who published "Der Untergang des Abendlandes" (*The decline of the West*), proposing a theory according to which civilizations have a limited lifespan and ultimately decay

⁶ 112 taken from the web page of *BILD.de*, 130 taken from the web page of the left-wing and liberal *taz*, which was chosen for the contrastive analyses due to its dissenting opinions from those being held by *BILD.de*.

⁷ For further analyses and results cf. Bickes/Butulussi/Otten/Schendel/Sdroulia/Steinhof 2012.

⁸ "Wir sind mal wieder Europas Deppen! Es ist unfassbar!" (*BILD.de*)

⁹ "Lieber Herr Ministerpräsident, wenn Sie diese Zeilen lesen, haben Sie ein Land betreten, das ganz anders ist als das Ihre. Sie sind in Deutschland. [...] Hier arbeiten die Menschen, bis sie 67 Jahre alt sind. [...] Hier muss niemand tausend Euro Schmiergeld zahlen. [...] Deutschland hat zwar auch hohe Schulen – aber wir können sie auch begleichen. Weil wir morgens ziemlich früh aufstehen und den ganzen Tag arbeiten. [...]" (*BILD.de*)

¹⁰ "Klüngel, Korruption, Familienbande. So funktioniert das System Griechenland." (*BILD.de*)

¹¹ "Warum zahlen wir den Griechen ihre Luxus-Renten? [...] Und viele fragen sich, warum sollen wir z.B. für das üppige Renten- und Pensionssystem der Griechen zahlen?" (*BILD.de*)

¹² "Seit Beginn der Athener Schuldenkrise wissen wir: In Griechenland gehören Korruption und Bestechung zum Alltag wie Gyros und Souvlaki." (*BILD.de*)

¹³ "Deutsche gegen Griechenland-Hilfe. Die Mehrheit der Deutschen lehnt die Griechen-Hilfe ab." (*BILD.de*)

¹⁴ "Die Pleite-Griechen wollen einfach nicht für ihre Schulden gerade stehen! [...] Dafür muss der Rest der Welt in die Bresche springen – und das vielleicht für die nächsten zehn Jahre!" (*BILD.de*)

¹⁵ For further details see the works on Greece's history by author Hagen Fleischer, who pays attention to aspects such as occupation, collaboration, resistance, World War II as well as transnational history of the past (published in the years 1986, 1991, 1999, 2006).



¹⁶ „Verkauft doch eure Inseln, ihr Pleite-Griechen... und die Akropolis gleich mit!“ (*BILD.de*)

¹⁷ „Die aktuelle Aggression vieler Deutscher gegen die Griechen steht in guter alter Nazitradition. Die wollten auch schon die Akropolis haben.“ (*taz.de*)

¹⁸ „Die Griechen verdienen ihre Antike gar nicht, was im Übrigen auch Hitlers Meinung war, der die Germanen als die eigentlichen Griechen proklamierte. Weshalb *Bild* auch vorschlug, die Akropolis Athens an die Deutschen zu verkaufen. Dieser Vorschlag zur Güte sollte auch einige der griechischen Inseln betreffen. *Bild* dichtete „Ihr kriegt Kohle, wir kriegen Korfu“. Entsprechend scharf war die Reaktion der griechischen Öffentlichkeit. Schließlich hatte Korfu wie ganz Griechenland schon mal die Wohltaten der deutschen Besatzung erlebt.“ (*taz.de*)

¹⁹ „Das Vorurteil benötigt die Gleichmachung des Feindes. Früher war es „der Russe“, bei *Bild* sind es jetzt die „Pleite-Griechen“. Soziale und kulturelle Unterschiede beim Vorurteilsobjekt werden getilgt. Es sind „die Griechen“, die sich auf unsere Kosten „alles“ leisten, die „unsere schönen Euros“ verbrennen.“ (*taz.de*)

²⁰ „Liebe *Bild*. Immer schön Benzin ins Feuer kippen und immer schön den Hass zwischen Deutschen und Griechen schüren. Wäre doch gelacht, wenn man [...] es nicht fertig brächte, das bald die ersten Griechen durch deutsche Städte gejagt werden. Vielleicht wird man dann in der *Bild* Zentrale aufwachen!“ (*BILD.de*, zum Artikel „Für die Griechen ist Geld da, wann gibt's was für mich?“ vom 19.06.11)

²¹ For further details: Lakoff/Johnson (1980).

²² *He [Rajoy] wants to concoct a strategy with his ally [Monti] to put pressure on chancellor Merkel: south against north.*



Sebastian Fischer, Florian Fischer, Malte Kleinschmidt, Dirk Lange*

Ways of Thinking Globalisation – Insights Into a Currently Running Investigation of Students' Ideas of Globalisation

The investigation is about which ideas ninth form students at grammar schools and secondary modern schools have about globalisation. It shall be investigated if the perception of and judgement on globalisation-connected contexts happens along social structure-specific patterns. At first, by way of a questionnaire, the field of ideas is supposed to be broadly recorded, a selection of interview partners based on the results of the questionnaire aims at a deeper analysis of the students' ideas. Knowledge of these subjective preconditions for learning, as far as the topic of globalisation is concerned, is supposed to provide empirically-grounded hints for what curricula in the political-economic field of learning might look like. Apart from the education-political background, also the methodical outline of the investigation is described. This is followed by a presentation of the results of the analysis of the questionnaire.

Keywords:

globalisation, students' ideas, political and economic didactics, triangulative method, qualitative social research, topical analysis, logographic analysis, learning, climate change

1 Introduction: Scientific context

Concerning citizenship education and social-scientific teaching, the field of economic learning has increasingly become more significant in the past few years. However, this readjustment has not been sufficiently prepared when it comes to subject-related didactics. Due to their topical foci, often those educational offers as being provided by business enterprises, foundations, interest groups and initiatives do not meet the controversy demands of citizenship education (see Hedtke 2008). Our "Ways of Thinking Globalisation" study is supposed to close this gap; it is meant to provide an empirical foundation for preventing one-sidedness. Recording the subjective ideas of students about globalisation provides the basis for the further development of curricula which will connect to the students' preconditions for learning.

From a didactic point of view, the topic of globalisation is well suited for bringing together different economic

and political fields of learning. It serves as a focus for essential topics, such as the change of the world of work with its multi-faceted lifeworld implications, the change of ways of communication, ecological issues, as far as to general questions of the possibilities to participate in society.

In this context it is assumed that young people are affected by globalisation to different degrees and in different ways, according to the class they respectively belong to. For some of them, globalisation means an extension of possibilities. For others, there are rather the threatening and restrictive aspects of globalisation. We assume that the perception of and judgement on globalisation are closely connected to individual possibilities to participate within a globalised world. A comparison of the ideas of grammar school and secondary modern school students' ideas of globalisation may be called an adequate operationalization of the groups under comparison: "privileged with far-reaching participation expectations" vs. "uneducated with limited participation expectations" (see Adamy 2009, p. 11; Giering et al. 2005, p. 5; PISA Konsortium Deutschland 2004; Harring et al. 2007, p. 376; Deutsche Shell 2006, p. 71ff). To support the original hypothesis of a socio-economically differing perception of globalisation by way of the analysis structure, a neighbourhood analysis had been conducted beforehand by help of data from "Strukturdaten der Stadtteile und Stadtbezirke 2011" (FB Steuerung, personal u. zentrale Dienste, Bereich Wahlen und Statistik der Landeshauptstadt Hannover). They were meant to guide our search for schools, with the goal of identifying secondary modern schools from socially weaker neighbourhoods and grammar schools from socially stronger ones.

It is investigated if the ideas of globalisation-connected contexts are running along social structure-specific patterns. The theoretical background is provided, among

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others, by the concept of “social representation” (see Moscovici 1973; 1988) and of thinking being influenced by neighbourhoods in the sense of Karl Mannheim (1952), also by Bourdieu’s (2001) explanations on the connection between social structure and its incorporation by the individual, in the context of which we follow Vester (2001) when assuming a variable, flexible connection between class and idea.

2 Methodical structure and goal of the investigation

The subject of the research project is a comparison of ideas of the globalisation process as developed by students from secondary modern schools and grammar schools. To get a most comprehensive picture of existing ideas, the data survey happens by way of a two-levelled combination method, consisting of an open questionnaire (100 secondary modern students, 100 grammar school students) and of a partly standardised interview (20 secondary modern students, 20 grammar school students).

By the first step of the survey, by way of the questionnaire, we got an overview of the topical range of the field of ideas and of how essential elements of students’ ideas were distributed. The collected data material was made subject to a topical-analytical evaluation which allows for condensing an identified idea into types of ideas. This method is based on adapting the method of logographical analysis developed by Laucken and Mees (1987), which way the collected material can be explicated according to categories and overarching patterns of the construction of meaning can be identified (see Laucken/Mees 1987; Schmitt 1996; Schmitt et al. 2001). Based on these results, there happened the interview sampling according to the principle of internal representation. Both the centre and the fringes of the field were supposed to be taken into consideration (Merkens 2003). Now the partly standardised, problem-focused interviews themselves allowed for a more thorough discussion of the students’ ideas (Flick 1995; Witzel 2000). The collected data material again is topical-analytically evaluated, allowing for a condensation of existing statements on idea patterns (Mayring 1997; Gropengießer 2008). The recording of identified patterns of ideas provides the basis for perfecting the curricula

and adjusting them to the students’ preconditions for learning – from textbooks as far as to curricula.

3 Conducting the investigation

3.1 Structure of the questionnaire analysis and way of conducting it

The questionnaire was structured by three levels. The questions aimed at grasping the basic way of understanding the term “globalisation”, at depicting the assumed causes of the globalisation process, as well as at the students’ subjective judgements on globalisation.

A total of 200 questionnaires was distributed among ninth-formers at three secondary modern schools and three grammar schools. The teachers had been instructed beforehand not to give any topically relevant information to their classes, so that we could expect that the students’ ideas would be depicted as purely as possible. The students were addressed as experts, and they were explicitly told to give their own personal ideas. The information that the students’ explanations were supposed to help with designing future teaching aids proved to be motivation-supporting. Furthermore it was emphasized that this was not a kind of test, and the students were assured that this was an anonymous survey.

3.2 Evaluation of the data from the questionnaire analysis

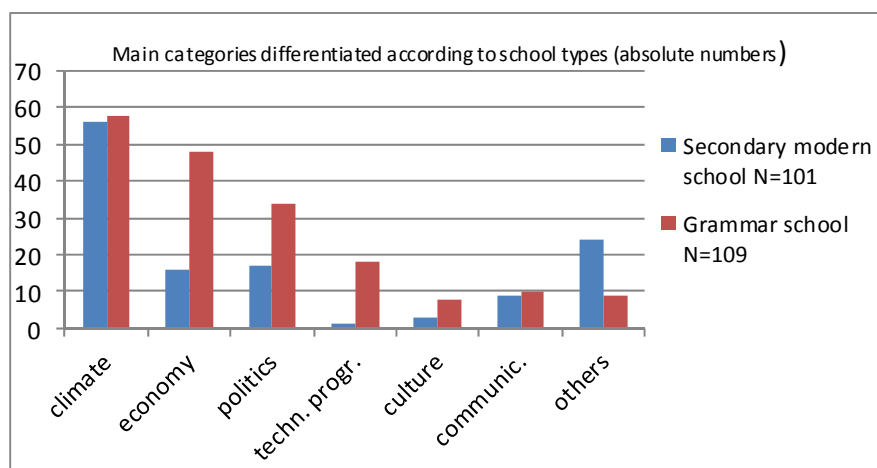
3.2.1 The category system – main categories and distribution according to kinds of schools

The existing data material covered all expected fields of the everyday discourse on globalisation. Many ideas referred to climate- and environment-related topics, many answers referred to the economic realm, to the realms of politics, culture, communication, or they made the aspect of technological development or of progress the focus of their written explanations. The “others” category included statements explicitly expressing ignorance of the topic or those not showing any contents going beyond being loosely connected to terms such as the World, the Earth.

The scope of these main categories was defined, provided with an anchor example and clearly contoured by way of appropriate coding rules. The evaluation

showed the following distribution of the main categories (see figure 1, on the left).

It becomes obvious at first sight that more than half of the students from both types of school consider globalisation to be connected to climate/environment (secondary modern school (SM): 55.5%; grammar school (GS): 53.2%). It is also conspicuous that at grammar schools the total number of references to category-



clearly higher than at secondary modern schools. In tendency, multi-topical ideas are rather found at grammar schools, at secondary modern schools the probability of mono-topical ideas is on the whole higher. Also, the “others” category is clearly more often referred to at secondary modern schools. Only one single secondary modern student gives technology, technological development or modernisation as a typical feature, at grammar schools it was 18 students. The category of communication, which in the Internet age is subjectively experienced as a part of the lifeworld, is basically equally distributed among the two types of school, however on the whole it is weakly occupied. Only the category of culture is even more weakly occupied.

In the following the main categories and their sub-categories will be presented in more detail.

3.2.2 Climate-environment-nature

Respectively more than one half (SM: 55.5%; GS: 53.2%) of the interviewed students connected “globalisation” to an environment- or climate-related topic. In this context there were statements which a) stated a connection between globalisation and ecological topics in a value-neutral way, b) connected them to a clear idea of threat, c) connected the causes of an ecological problem to societal factors (traffic, industry, exhaust gases, rubbish, wasting resources), and c) connected statements on ecological problems to the demand that these problems must be tackled.

On the whole, 20 out of 56 secondary modern students were satisfied with referring to the categories of environment or climate, without elaborating on them in the sense of the above mentioned sub-differentiation. At grammar schools this held for 7 out of 58 students.

Some students of this category equated globalisation with global warming and, like secondary modern student Code-No. 34 (SM34), for example, gave non-societal processes as the cause: “*That the sun melts away the glaciers*”, or SM54 who identifies a declining distance of the sun to the earth as the cause global warming. Although most students showed rather a negative attitude towards the consequences of global warming, there were some exceptions from this rule: “*globalisation has got to do with global warming. A variety of climate changes.*” – “*I like it that it’s varying.*” (SM40). Slightly less positive, however also referring to personal thermal advantages, is the judgement by SM50: “*On the one hand I think it a good thing because there will be more warmth. However, on the other hand this makes the water level rise because the polar caps are melting, so I have a neutral attitude towards the topic.*”

Among the grammar school students, references to the category of climate/environment were isolated only in two out of seven cases, without embedding the statement into further topical contexts (in the sense of the other main categories).

30 out of 56 secondary modern students and 44 out of 58 grammar school students gave societal causes for the

topic of climate or environment. Typically these students referred, among others, to exhaust gases (greenhouse gases) without giving societal causes (GS: 6; SM: 3). Others pointed out to societal causes, in particular to industry, transport or traffic behaviour (GS: 27; SM: 17). Two grammar school students and one secondary modern student gave things like cars, aeroplanes, factories, nuclear power stations, industry as causes for the environment or climate issue, without referring to the problem of exhaust gases. Eight grammar school students and seven secondary modern students mentioned the topic of rubbish and recycling. Five grammar school students and two secondary modern students referred to the consumption of resources. Smokers or “smoking” was given by three grammar school students and two secondary modern students, and finally two students respectively of the two types of school mentioned cows or factory farming.

16 secondary modern students and 39 grammar school students explicitly expressed a feeling of being afraid or threatened by the problems they referred to. For example, grammar school student No. 24 (GS24) warns against “*globalisation perhaps resulting in the melting of the Arctic and Antarctic and several animals losing their habitats*”. Furthermore, he/she stated, “*in continents such as Africa the climate will rise to such an extent that the continent is no longer habitable*”. In this context, GS45 believes not only the future of Africa to be threatened but that of all mankind: “*It is bad, as this way our future is damaged ever more. At some time the ozone layer will be broken, and soon life on Earth will be impossible.*”

Nine secondary modern students and 18 grammar school students connected their statements to an appeal in favour of more environmental protection, prevention of further damage to the environment or of ecological innovation and information.

3.2.3 Economy

1st Level: relevance of the statements

In the field of references to economy, at first the material was different concerning the relevance of the statements. Statements not going beyond the level of associating the category of economy with globalisation (secondary modern school: 8 out of 16; grammar school: 11 out of 47) were distinguished from more far-reaching statements (secondary modern school: 8 out of 16; grammar school: 36 out of 47). The latter group of statements, referring to international trade, wider distribution of products, labels or economic or economy-political principles, were made subject to further analysis in the following.

2nd Level: judgements within the group of complex statements

A more thorough analysis of that group of statements doing justice to the demanding definition at first referred to judgements found with them, in the context of which



there was a distinction between clear supporters (the described development is judged on positively without any relevant reservation), critics (the described development is judged on negatively without any relevant reservation), weighing-controversial (both advantages and disadvantages are expressed as influencing the statement), and those not judging at all (no judging aspect is found in the description of the development). The strongest group was that of supporters, with 16 out of 36 grammar school students and 5 out of 8 secondary modern students. The second-strongest group was those weighing the facts, with 14 out of 36 grammar school students and 2 out of 8 secondary modern students, clearly ahead of the group of critics which, with 3 grammar school students and one secondary modern student, was comparably weak. Four statements by grammar school students did not show any judging comments referring to the economic development.

3rd Level: topical references of the statements

At another analysis level the topical references were considered. What was described as positive effects of economic globalisation, and what was described as being negative?

The grammar school students give as positive features of globalisation the improvement of understanding among nations (the described development is said to result in a better understanding among nations or in less conflicts), progress (the described development is said to result in progress), reasonable international cooperation (the usefulness of the development is emphasized), national advantages (the described development is said to be advantageous for one's own country, global economic acting is congruent with the national interest) and consumption advantages (advantages at the level of consumption are emphasized). Three secondary modern students give consumption advantages, in one case the national advantage is mentioned.

As negative aspects of economic globalisation, six grammar school students mention the disadvantaging of single countries, five mention damaging consequences for man and nature, three criticize excess production while partly mentioning the development of a culture of neglecting the value of things. Only 2 grammar school students mention negative consequences for employees. This aspect is also given by only one out of 8 secondary modern students who consider globalisation a complex economic problem. Given their imminent joining the world of work, the lacking relevance of this aspect is surprisingly indeed.

In the following we intend to give an idea of the students' actual statements on selected topical aspects of economic globalisation.

Consumption advantages

SM78 writes: "Globalisation is that no longer countries make markets but big companies such as VW [VW, the

authors]. And as you may sell your goods in this case cars everywhere in the country or the world." (...) "That has got to do that once in a while we like to also eat bananas and it must come from somewhere, after all, that is why globalisation so that everybody has something." (...) "I find globalisation perfect that e. g. people in France can eat the same as what we have over here. With the EU it is still all right that you don't have to pay customs aso."

National advantages

To this sub-category there belong all statements connecting the described economic development to advantages for one's own country or expressing the identification of national interests and global economic acting. In this sense, for example grammar school student No. 25 writes: "It is important that e. g. labels are globalised so that they have a good name in the world. By way of globalised labels the export can be increased." (...) "Those companies as producing products or labels are looking for new markets all over the world." (...) "In my opinion it is beautiful if you go abroad (possibly even visiting another continent) and that there everybody likes these labels from my home country and that thus I can identify with this product."

Disadvantaged countries

By their statements, half of the here represented grammar school students refer to countries and regions in Africa. For example grammar school student No. 69 remarks that cross-cultural knowledge is increasing and new alliances between countries are developing but that "the rapid development is much to the disadvantage of Third World countries which, given such a development, have hardly any chance to build up a stable economy." Grammar school student No. 82 has it somewhat more generally: "I think that this way some countries benefit more than others and I don't like that", and against this background she demands: "there should be more national trade." According to her, a return to more intensive trade at the national level is an option to work against such a kind of injustice.

Excess production

Grammar school student No. 68 gives the advantages of the exchange of goods: "Globalisation makes it possible that we in Germany can eat bananas". At the same time, however, he criticizes the attitude of society which wants "to have everything available at any time", emphasizing on the other hand that "much is simply unnecessary. We don't really need all that what is made possible these days".

Student GS70 identifies as the cause of the "ever faster and ever more extensive networking of the world market and the countries the ever growing consumption of First World countries" and generally the "demand for ever faster and better (more convenient?) goods and services". He writes: "I have acritical attitude towards it, because as a consequence humans forget how to



appreciate things, as everything is supposed to be always available."

3.2.4 Politics

To which sub-field of the political realm do students refer when being confronted with globalisation? Among the grammar school students, ideas of international cooperation as far as to international unity made the biggest group of ideas (16 out of a total of 49 references by grammar school students in the "politics" category). Among them, elements of power politics or of political equality together with elements of economy-politics made the two second-strongest sub-categories (10 out of 49). It was followed by ideas of elements of development policy (6 out of 49). Both among grammar school students and among secondary modern students the point of view of employees played a very insignificant role (see sub-category of economy). If students think about globalisation and imagine it in the political realm, it seems as if their own socio-economic role as future employees plays only a minor role with their imagination. At the secondary modern schools, demographic elements together with those belonging to the sub-category of international cooperation/unity seem to be most widespread (respectively 5 out of 21 references by secondary modern students in the field of politics), followed by elements belonging to the power-/democracy-political perspective.

International unity/cooperation

To the sub-category of international unity/cooperation there belong all statements referring to international alliances or describing increasing international cooperation. GS30, for example, understands by globalisation that *"the world starts 'uniting' like e. g. Europe"*. *"in the best case"* he foresees the *"unification of all continents"*. GS97 is the only one who seems to associate globalisation with international meetings. He seems to understand globalisation in the sense that *"different countries cooperate more strongly or have more trade with each other or meet for discussions more often"*. On the whole, 17 out of 21 students referring to international unity or cooperation also refer to economic

aspects. Accordingly, GS70 understands globalisation as the *"ever faster and more comprehensive networking of the world market and the countries"*. GS64 thinks that the *"community of states"* contributes to being able to exchange raw materials among the countries in a way that *"one mutually benefits"*.

Economy-political perspective

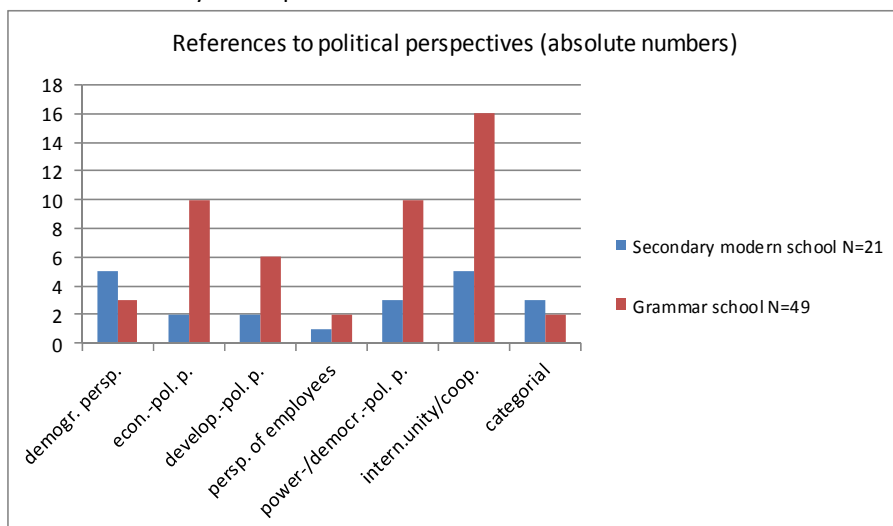
Four grammar school students make the current economic crisis a topic. E. g. GS15 understands globalisation this way: that not only *"countries like those in Africa need help to survive"* but *"just the same poorer countries such as Greece"*. Apart from *"unemployment"* he identifies one aspect of globalisation by *"the state's incapability to handle the economic crisis"*. On the whole, 7 students referring to this category believe that an extension of international trade is a worthwhile political goal. GS81, for example, states that by globalisation she understands *"similar economies/policies in every country – improvement of trade across the world"*. This, she says, would result in a *"better market economy"*.

Power- or democracy-political aspect

To the sub-category of the power- or democracy-political aspect there belong both statements referring to a political-economic imbalance in power and those being based on ideas of political equality and/or participation. GS77, for example, understands by globalisation the *"networking of trade partners"*. As the cause of globalisation he identifies *"too much injustice or differences in the world"* and the *"desire for something better, for a better world"*. GS4 believes that the process of globalisation may contribute to reducing global inequalities. By *"taking African villages living like hundreds of years ago into the 'now'"* it shall be achieved that *"each person living on earth is at the same level and has the same references"*. He thinks it is *"good that everybody can have a better future and that their lives are not disadvantaged by their place of residence"*.

Perspective of employees

To this there belong all statements on situations and developments making the situation of employees a topic. GS108 writes that globalisation has *"many advantages and disadvantages"*. She identifies advantages by *"less expenses for goods, as the production costs are low"*. As a disadvantage she gives the *"the exploitation of jobs"*. She takes an entrepreneur's the point of view and finds: *"Many think: 'Why producing goods in Germany if there are also other jobs for this, where I have to pay less'"*. This way, she states, there develops



“e. g. child labour”, which is “not really great”. SM98 makes the international division of labour the focus of his way of understanding globalisation: “That e. g. shrimps are caught in the North Sea and go e. g. to Korea for podding, an open world market”. He identifies the following aspects as causes: “The worldwide networking of data by the Internet due to an open world market due to low-wage countries due to multi-cultures”. His evaluation is very critical: “I am not very fond of globalisation because over ours jobs are lost and globalisation supports child labour and it is difficult to find out from which countries the goods are.”

3.2.4 Technology-progress-modernisation

The statements belonging to this category were characterised by a tendency of normative judgements. The majority gave expression to a definitely positive attitude towards progress and modernisation (9 out of 18 grammar school students). However some, among them the only secondary modern student stating on this category, express reservations when it comes to this basically positive attitude, in most cases by referring to negative ecological consequences (5 out of 18 grammar school students, one secondary modern student). Only a small share of the students expresses a clear rejection of technological development or sees it explicitly as a risk or danger (3 out of 18 grammar school students).

Also on this point we would like to provide some insight into the students' ideas.

Group of those showing a definitely positive attitude

The strongest group are those students who perceived the described technological development, progress, as something definitely positive. It is conspicuous with this group, just like the group giving a “positive with reservations” mark, that there is a semantic chain according to the globalisation = technological progress = positive pattern. Development and progress are given as something which is positive per se. Accordingly, GS46 understands by globalisation *“that the technologies of the various countries are spread all over the world”,* he believes this to be caused by *“ever more developing technology”* itself. (...) *“Globalisation is a good thing, as the further development of technology is an important thing. After all, these days the world depends on technology.”*

For the group of those commenting basically positive in the field of technology-progress-modernisation while expressing reservations we may state that most students give damage for man and nature as the reason for their reservations. In her judgement, for example GS88 contrasts the destruction of nature and the advantage of *“communication with other countries all over the world”* becoming easier, GS66 contrasts the suffering of humans and animal to an unreflected advantage: *“on the one hand a good thing, for things develop further”*. The ideas of GS55 show a similar pattern, she emphasizes the

damage for nature, however at the same time also that globalisation is a good thing *“because people need modernisation”*.

Criticism of progress/technology

Another category is formed by statements frequently expressing a critical attitude towards technological development or modernisation, as well as all statements showing clear rejection. With three students, their number was small if compared to the group of positive or positive with reservations statements. For example, GS65 understands by globalisation essentially climate change and believes the latter to be caused by *“too rapid technological development (perhaps we should also develop towards a different direction)”*. In her judgement, she speaks out in favour of steps against climate change and in favour of ecological technological innovation: *“I think that one must fight climate change purposefully. One could e. g. design mobile phones and other electronic devices in a more climate-friendly way (solar cells, making the materials more environment-friendly).”*

3.2.6 Communication

In the field of communication, on the one hand we could distinguish ideas connecting globalisation to communications technologies and their development. Ideas of an increasing exchange of information and knowledge among people formed another identified group.

Whereas the secondary modern students rather referred to communications-technological aspects (6 out of a total of 9 references by secondary modern students vs. 4 out of 10 references by grammar school students), the grammar school students were stronger represented in the field of being informed (6 out of 10 references by grammar school students vs. 3 out of 9 references by secondary modern students).

Communications technology

SM74 understands by globalisation a *“networked world, that is that everything is connected”*. Concretely, by this she means that *“you may phone everywhere”* and *“you can write to each other also by e-mail or indeed generally on the Internet”*. She much appreciates globalisation, for *“this way one can be contacted much better and faster”*. SM77 makes further references to communications technology. She thinks globalisation to be *“great”* because *“these days e. g. by way of the computer you may chat with people between here and America or you make a video call, so you can see each other”*.

Being informed

SM75 *“likes”* globalisation because *“this way you get to know [...] what's going on in the world”*. Also SM44 understands globalisation in this sense and *“likes”* it because *“the people get to know what's happening”*. However, he believes privacy to be endangered and illustrates this by giving the example *“if at this moment*



[...] *Obama is betraying his wife*". GS67 thinks that the media are obliged to report about things such as *"climate change, weather phenomena as far as to natural disasters"*. Those *"cities/countries"* as being concerned must be *"helped or they must be built up again"*. For *"some countries"*, which are e. g. *"threatened by earthquakes"*, it might be *"essential that one reports on them in time and thus may be able to perhaps evacuate the country"*. Three grammar school students contextualise being informed with the right to have a say. GS01 believes globalisation to be *"important"*, for *"the whole world should be informed about important issues and be able to discuss them"*. Furthermore she says that *"our globe"* is everybody's concern and that accordingly *"all of us [should] have the possibility to have our say"*.

3.2.7 Culture

8 grammar school students and three secondary modern students connected their ideas of globalisation to elements from the field of culture. 4 out of 8 grammar school students believed globalisation to be a danger or threat for cultural identity, 2 identified enrichment due to mutual influences, and 2 expressed both positive and negative culture-related aspects. One secondary modern student considered globalisation a cultural enrichment, 2 secondary modern students mentioned culture in passing, without further category-relevant explanations.

Cultural identities being threatened by globalisation

GS43 is the only one to explicitly characterise globalisation as *"western globalisation"*. By this he means *"that the world becomes oriented towards the western world (North America, Europe aso.)"*. As a cause of globalisation he identifies the will *"of the people to modernise"*. This way, on the one hand he refers to *"technology, lifestyle"* and, *"after all, living standard"*. However, he also believes *"recognition"* to be *"very important"*. As a conclusion he writes that *"the people in the 'East' want to adjust to the western world"*. His judgement on this process is negative:

"I think this is not such a good thing because one does no longer live into the direction where one has been grown up. By this I mean that no longer there are different cultures but lives almost just one culture, and I don't really like that. Anybody should live like he/she wants and also one should not feel to be threatened by globalisation just because one is not capable of adjusting to the western world."

GS70, on the other hand, argues first of all in terms of economy and fears that economic change might also come along with cultural change. Accordingly, *"ever growing consumption in the First World countries"* is said to be the reason why *"the people [...] increasingly forget how to value and appreciate things, as everything is/shall always be available"*.

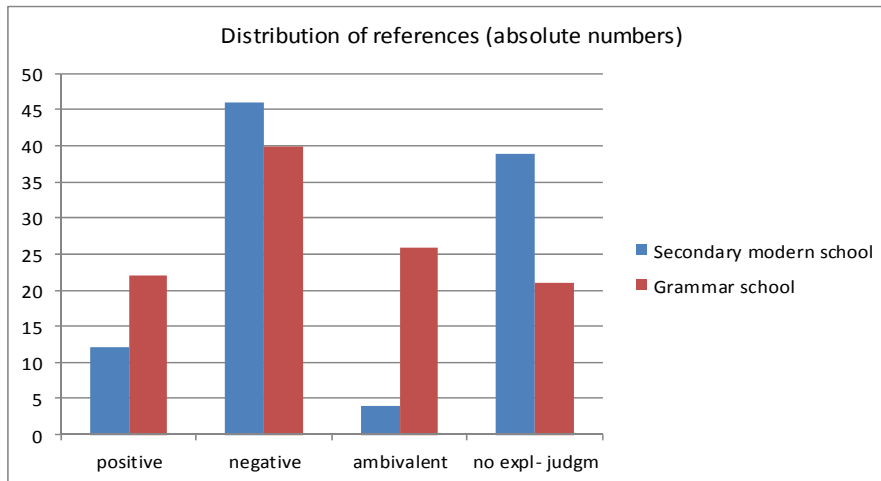
Enrichment due to globalisation

Although GS69 considers globalisation first of all from an economic point of view, he/she *"likes"* globalisation most of all because this way *"information about different cultures and countries has improved"*. SM79 understands by globalisation that *"something is spread all over the world"*. In particular, by this she means *"cultures from other countries, the Internet, music, people or friends from other countries"*. She *"dislikes [...]"* nothing of it because without this spread *"that what we have today or what I want"* would *"not be"*. On the whole she states: *"Also you learn much about other cultures."*

Opportunities and risks resulting from globalisation

To the category of opportunities and risks there belong all statements expressing both positive and negative culture-related aspects. In this context, the two grammar students' arguments differ clearly from each other. GS61 understands by globalisation that *"certain developments in the world are adopted by all countries"* and *"likes"* globalisation because it *"supports solidarity among the people"*. However, at once he expresses reservations when stating that on the other hand globalisation *"is certainly harmful for individual people [...] as it restricts their cultural development"*. GS101 is an exception in the field of culture. By globalisation he basically means colonialism. In case of *"a globalisation"* people *"leave their home countries to 'globalise' the world"*. *People like Columbus, who discovered America, provided the basis for the USA*". This way, he says, *"many different cultures and nations"* had been brought together and live *"there, indeed mostly in peace"*. However, as a result of this process there had also been a *"spread of culture/religion"* and also *"learning about new places, customs etc."*. However, his positive judgement on globalisation is qualified in one respect. *"As a colonialist you"* change the environment in so far as *"there they will be able to live like in their home countries"*. This way *"people who have perhaps been living there before"* are dispossessed. Against the background of this way of arguing he comes to this weighing conclusion: *"Although I support globalisation, to live with these countries and get to know them, but (in most cases) at the expense of the natives, and their ancient customs and traditions."*





3.2.8 Judgements

Which judgements can be found by the here presented statements of students on globalisation? Independently of the specific contents of their statements, how many identify positive aspects of globalisation, and how many identify negative aspects, and how many express both positive and negative aspects?

The group of students judging frequently negatively was by far the biggest one at both types of school. About double as many grammar school students as secondary modern students consider globalisation something frequently positive. At the grammar schools ambivalent statements were found significantly more often than at the secondary modern schools. At the secondary modern schools the group of students whose statements did not express any judgement was about double as big as at the grammar schools. Concerning the secondary modern schools one may state that ideas connected to frequently negative judgements were clearly more frequent than those connected to frequently positive statements, that there were hardly any ambivalent statements (the tendency of taking clear positions was higher than at the grammar schools), and that statements without judgement were found double as often as at the grammar schools. The high number of negative judgements must be interpreted as being clearly connected to the widespread idea that globalisation is connected to

the aspect of climate/environment. Further-more, the high number of students not making any judgement indicates that for many of the interviewed students globalisation seems to be a phenomenon not touching them personally.

3.2.9 Gender-specific distribution among the main categories

Female students show a conspicuously higher share in the field of climate-nature-environment.

The share of male students is bigger in the fields of economy and politics, at secondary modern schools this gender-specific difference is less clear in the field of economy than in the field of politics. In the field of technology-progress-modernisation the female grammar school students are ahead of their male fellow students, whereas the field of culture is almost exclusively occupied by male grammar school students. Concerning the main category of communication there is no gender-specific difference worth mentioning, the same holds for the "others" category.

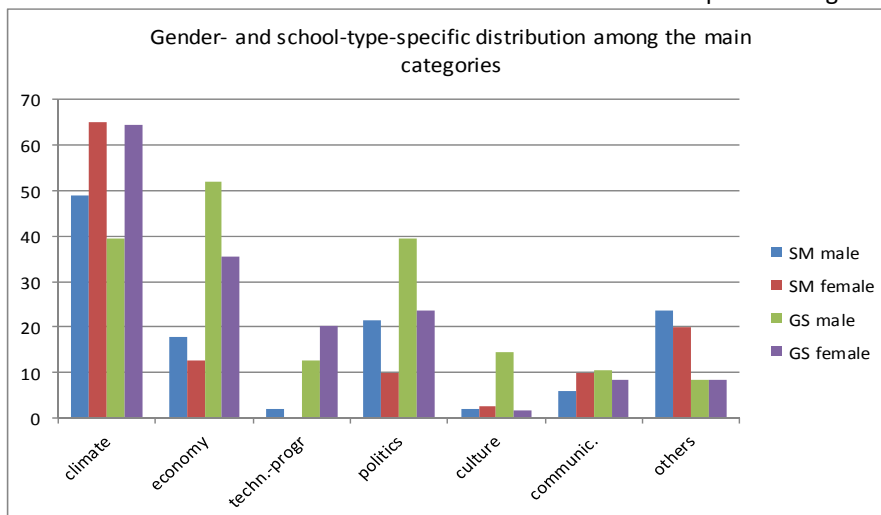
4 The interview sampling

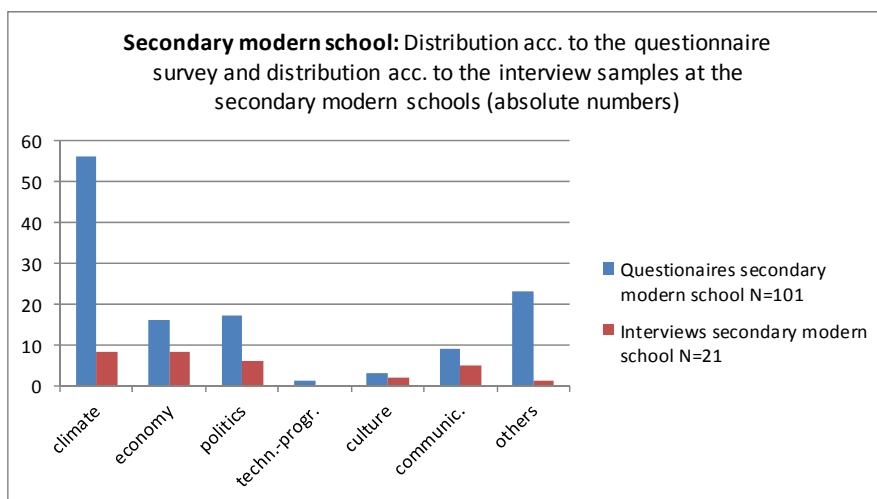
It was the goal of the interview sampling to provide an adequate picture of distributions among the main categories as found in the questionnaire survey, according to the principle of internal representation. Apart from that, also our socio-economic research interest played a major role. The fields of economy, politics and culture had thus comparably more weight for the sample, due to this criterion the field of climate-environment-nature is less represented.

4.2 Outlook: First impressions from the interviews

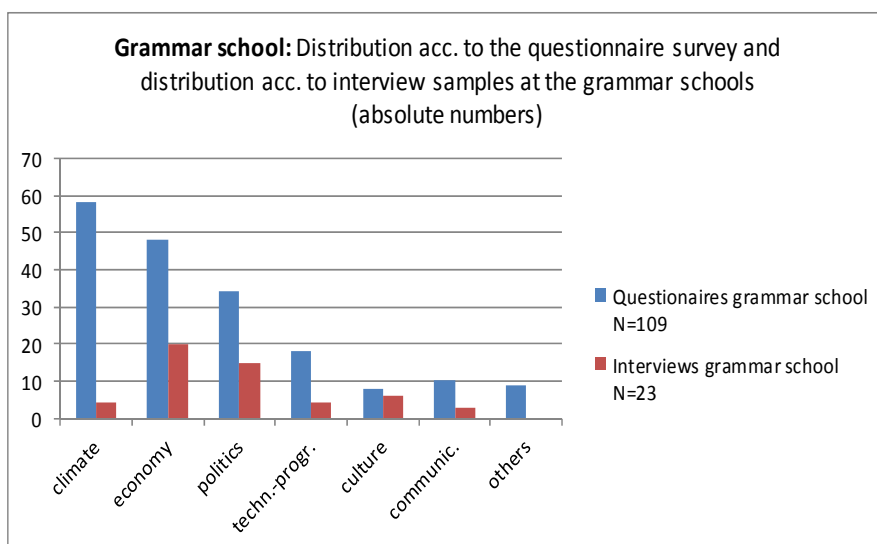
Against the background of the results of the questionnaire analysis it was possible to develop an interview sample allowing for systematically analysing the ways of

thinking as found among the population under analysis. As the evaluation has not been completed yet, here we may just give first expressions and an outlook. The interviews lasted between 15 and 70 minutes. In almost all cases the students referred to a broad range of topics. The evaluation is structured according to the following eight-fields category system. In the field of work the statements are discussed within the tension area of the points of view of employees and enterprises. The field of





politics/economy asks about the understanding of market, market regulation, state and economic crisis. The section on participation is about which possibilities of political participation the students identify. There, apart from the predominant consumer's point of view, also ideas of trade union, civil society and non-parliamentary ways of participation are addressed. Then, in the section on international division of labour, the material is differentiated according to the question if the students employ rather development- or modernisation-theoretical or dependence-theoretical explanation patterns to identify global inequalities. The field of migration presents the material within the tension area of a migration-political support of isolation and a cosmopolitan attitude of open-mindedness. This field views at the students' concepts of culture. Here the analysis will organise the material within a tension area of an essentialist and a hybrid concept of culture. The section on the sources of ideas depicts which sources of their knowledge are given by the students. The field of personal points of view views at the students' self-positioning, in so far as they include conclusions on the perception of globalisation as an extension of one's personal possibility space or rather as an anxiety-provoking process of limiting one's own possibilities. In



the following, the latter dimension of the study shall be shortly illustrated.

In the course of the interview all students gave an answer to the question if they could imagine to do a work placement in a foreign country or to take part in a foreign exchange programme or to work in a foreign country. Whereas 19 grammar school students considered this an opportunity, only 10 secondary modern students did so. 8 secondary modern students in contrast to one grammar school

student ruled this out explicitly. 3 each had a weighing attitude and could not decide. Of those students who could imagine a foreign stay, 11 grammar school students and only 4 secondary modern students had concrete plans. In this context, also the kind of plans indicates the different possibility spaces of students from the two types of school. The concrete plans of the 4 secondary moderns students reached from the wish to be transferred "to America" as Bundeswehr Privates via a possible career as a trained hotel clerk with the destination Dubai as far as to opening a cocktail bar in Miami or Los Angeles. The grammar school students, on the other hand, spoke of already planned exchange programmes, international studies, work and travel plans after their graduation, as well as of working in a foreign country for one year in the context of German development aid. Whereas Luka (GS02), for example, intended to go to Argentina in the context of a three-months student exchange programme two days after the interview, Jannik (GS01) can also imagine to work in a foreign country. Jannik "definitely" wants to go to a foreign country for one year after school – either to New Zealand, Australia, France or Great Britain. After all, "in other places you may expect more" and may hope for "adventures and challenges". Indeed, he said, today

"everything has become much more open". Secondary modern student Lennart "cannot really imagine" going to a foreign country. As a reason he gives that his "foreign language skills are not really good". Obviously this has not been a topic for him.

Already this short insight into the analysis field of personal points of view illustrates that the perception of mobility as an expression of extending the possibility space in the course of the globalisation process depends much on the socio-economic position of students. Thus, one of



the starting hypotheses of the investigation is proven to be true: The interviewed young people are class-specifically differently concerned by globalisation, and accordingly they have different perceptions of this dimension of the globalisation process.

Currently, in the above mentioned eight different analysis fields the different ways of thinking of secondary modern students and grammar school students are being worked out. Against the background of this analysis design, the results to be achieved cannot claim to be statistically representative. However, they allow for a certain generalisation of the results, which may be a valuable contribution to the question of what up-to-date citizenship and economic education might look like.

5 Summary

The students explained their ideas of globalisation under a questionnaire. The questionnaire survey collected the students' ideas at an associative level.

Globalisation as a climate phenomenon

It is striking that students at secondary modern schools as well as grammar school students most frequently think of globalisation as a climate or environmental phenomenon. Relatively few students mention the political or economical dimension of globalisation, whereas for 58 out of 109 grammar school students and 56 out of 101 secondary modern school students' globalisation is linked to aspects of climate and environment. 48 students at grammar schools address aspects of economy, in contrast to 16 secondary modern school students. The category "politics" is mentioned by 34 grammar school students, while only 17 secondary modern school students address political aspects of globalisation.

Politics

Here grammar schools students particularly think about enhanced international cooperation of national political stakeholders. Secondly, ideas about economic policy are to be found. Developmental notions are mentioned by a few of the students as well.

At secondary modern schools comments on population policy and international cooperation were most frequent. Comments by male students are to be found noticeably more often in the category "politics" than by female students (secondary modern school: 21% male students compared with 10% female students, grammar school: 39.6% male students, 23.6% female students).

Economic conceptions about globalisation

Whereas perception and assessment of globalisation were different according to the type of schools in some study areas, we were able to observe a far-reaching uniformity in the way of thinking in other fields. The questionnaire survey showed that a majority of those students who associate economic aspects with the concept "globalisation" assess the developments

described by them in a positive way. They think of individual or collective consumption benefits or they believe that enhanced international cooperation would lead to an improved international understanding or to general progress. Significantly fewer students however mention negative aspects of economic globalisation, for example damage for human beings and nature in the course of ever increasing production or the situation of disadvantaged countries in global competition. It is remarkable however, that only three out of 210 students think of negative consequences for employees and workers.

Assessment of globalisation

With regard to an assessment of globalisation comparatively more secondary modern school students than grammar school students mention negative aspects of globalisation. Positive assessments are more frequently to be found at grammar schools. 22 students of grammar schools regard globalisation as a good thing in contrast to only ten students at secondary modern schools. Certainly the high number of negative comments should be seen in context with the widespread understanding of globalisation as a climate or environmental phenomenon. Globalisation is perceived as something negative because numerous students think of environmental degradation or climate change in this context.

Technology, Modernisation, Progress

The statements in this area are characterized by a normative or an evaluative tendency. A majority expresses a positive attitude without any restrictions as far as "technology" or "modernisation" are concerned. Some of the students however, restrict their basically positive attitude with a reference to negative consequences for the environment. Only a small proportion of students definitely rejects technological progress or explicitly considers it a risk or danger.

Interview study

The questionnaire collected the students' ideas primarily at an associative level. The interview study will provide more appropriate data in order to give answers to the problem of developing didactically suitable ways of learning regarding the topic "Globalisation" which take the students' preconceptions into account. Relevant results will be available by the end of 2014.

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Endnote

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