

NETWORKING EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Rethinking Citizenship Education in European Migration Societies Political Strategies - Social Changes - Educational Concepts

Report

Workshop 2: How to Become a Good (European) Citizen: Standards, Subjects and Models

Ricardo Cabrita, Portugal

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Session 1: Scientific Inputs – Research Results – European Discourses

Introduction and Moderation: Friedrich Heckmann

Professor of Sociology and director of European Forum for Migration Studies at the University of Bamberg.

This session, which was attended by 29 participants, was moderated by Dr. Friedrich Heckmann, who briefly introduced the theme. Some considerations were made, regarding the introduction of a naturalisation test and citizenship education as part of a process of awareness of Germany as an immigration country.

Dr. Friedrich Heckmann firstly pointed out that there is a strong relation between citizenship education and the future of the nation-state, as citizenship education is very important for the integration of immigrants. Secondly, and still referring to citizenship education, it was pointed out that there should be a consensus of common values, in a broad sense, such as democracy, and a common language. As it is consensual that citizenship education is important, divergent viewpoints often arise regarding the content of citizenship education, what contents should be dealt with and how. Whether, for instance, diversity is considered positive or negative. Assimilation is in no way an obsolete concept.

The German naturalization test focuses on three clusters, or areas of knowledge:

- a) History, geography, civics
- b) Language training
- c) Every day life

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The standards of citizenship education must also be taken into consideration, namely: what is taught, what is evaluated, which model is used, the timeframe (weekly schedule), recognition of students' different education levels.

After this brief introduction, Dr. Friedrich Heckmann introduced the speakers, who carried out their presentations.

Ines Michalowski

Social Science Research Center, Berlin.

Post-doc researcher at the Institute for Political Science, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster.

PRESENTATION: Die Füße des Adlers sind ...? Rot. Gesellschaftskundetests für Zuwanderer

Dr. Ines Michalowski focuses mainly on France, the Netherlands and Germany, on how these three countries have implemented tests to concede national citizenship to immigrants. Parallel to a widespread discussion on the concept of "citizenship" and "citizenship education", the policies of these three countries tend to converge in the sense of generally demanding a greater effort from immigrants to adapt to the host-country, rather than the other way around.

For this purpose, tests have been implemented in these three countries, which should evaluate immigrants' and potential immigrants' knowledge of the host-country's language and customs. The naturalization test aims at teaching of host-country rules and values, and at controlling immigration. These are taken even before immigrating, if possible, and as a requirement to acquire permanent residence. In the Netherlands, the naturalization test was implemented in March 2006. Not always are there courses for students to prepare for these tests, so they must do it by themselves. If applicants fail the test, they must wait for six months before they can apply a second time.

Tests focus on three main areas:

- a) knowledge about daily life (how to greet people)
- b) rights and duties
- c) formal knowledge (history, etc.)

Dr. Ines Michalowski presented several examples of preparation handbooks from the three case-study countries (Germany, the Netherlands and France). Under the category 'knowledge about daily life', in Germany, the applicant must know what s/he may do and may not do when reaching the age of 18. In the Netherlands, one page of a handbook was shown, where a quiz with images was presented. The applicant must choose one of three items (only one is correct) of how to greet people in the Netherlands. In France, this section only lasts six hours, as 66% of the students speak French (immigrants from the ex-colonies).

Under the category 'rights and duties', in the Netherlands, a two-hour long video implicitly shows one's rights and duties. The French approach explores the Declaration of Human Rights, focusing on freedom of speech, which depicts the idealist way the French society sees itself.

Under the category 'formal knowledge', the German handbook focuses on the meaning of symbols, for instance. Applicants are supposed to know the meaning of the German coat of arms. According to an example presented by Dr. Ines Michalowski, next to an image of the German coat of arms is its description and a gap, where the applicant should write the colour of the feet of the eagle.

Generally speaking, in France, many texts are presented, focusing on universal values, whereas the German approach tends to discussion and debate. In the Netherlands, video support and images are widely used as preparation tools, depicting the rules and values of the host-country. Nevertheless, no one is forced to adopt them. However, public rhetoric demands that immigrants assimilate the host-countries values. On the other hand, the formal requirements to pass the naturalization test do not go beyond (basic) language skills.

These measures have been established, partly because of the "welfare state crisis", which is a Europe-wide phenomenon. European values are given considerable emphasis since they play a role in political security, especially against Muslim fanaticism and potential terrorist acts. Furthermore, this test aims at

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teaching host-country rules and values and serves as an immigration control tool. Moreover, the test has also symbolic value since it gives the impression of at last forcing immigrants to learn their rights and duties as well as the customs and values of the host-country, as though that had not been done before. Within the liberal nation-state logic, nation-states cannot avoid multiculturalism, as they are obliged to concede religious freedom, etc.

In short, the measures of these three countries regarding immigration tend to converge, restricting the regulations concerning immigrants' entrance and residence in the host-countries.

Discussion

There was room for discussion after this presentation. Dr. Ditta Vogel commented on the de-Europeanization of Germany, referring to the point that immigrants come to Germany and not to Europe. Dr. Ines Michalowski explained that 'Europe' has little significance in these courses.

Dr. Viola Georgi commented that some of the examples are insulting to immigrants (knowing the colour of the eagle's feet of the German coat of arms) and have little connection with citizenship education. Furthermore, the sense of belonging was not mentioned at all, without which no course can accomplish its objectives. She explained the difference between civic education, which presupposes political literacy, and citizenship education, which focuses on skills, knowledge and values. Thus, she questioned the validity and efficiency of these courses.

Taking up the discussion, Dr. Friedrich Heckmann commented that these tests, in order to be insulting for immigrants, presuppose that immigrants arrive with a high degree of knowledge. However, knowing the colour of the eagle's feet, for instance, was deemed irrelevant for Germans and non-Germans by other participants of the workshop. One other participant pointed out that the mechanical nature of this kind of knowledge leaves out critical analysis. Furthermore, she failed to see the relation between this sort of knowledge and becoming an active citizen. One other participant noted that there was great debate in the Netherlands about the quality of these tests. In order to verify their quality, tests were also written by Dutch people and most of them failed.

As time was short, the discussion was postponed until later on and the next presentation took place.

Fiorella Dell'Olio

Affiliated Lecturer in the Politics Department at the University of Cambridge

PRESENTATION: Citizenship: Superceding a Claustrophobic Concept

Dr. Fiorella Dell'Olio firstly stated that the concept "citizenship" is obsolete in a multicultural supranational global society, since "Any effort to make a good (national) citizen will inevitably reinforce the distinctiveness of any national civic tradition and therefore contradict the attempt to create a multicultural, supranational and global framework in which individuals can identify themselves." (Dell'Olio, abstract). However, at the national level in the U.K., the "citizenship" is closely related to the political and social context, as "domestic policies define who WE are" (Dell'Olio, abstract). Newly implemented policies seem to foster a common notion of "Britishness", a set of British identity and values. Gordon Brown, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed that on a specific day, citizens should put a U.K. flag in the yard to promote national values.

Furthermore, "those desiring to apply for citizenship must pass the 'Life in the UK' test. From 2 April 2007, this applies also to all applicants for indefinite leave to remain (permanent residence)." This test focuses on history, law, society and manners in the U.K.. U.K. Policies aim "to ensure that the immigrant develops strong, loyal ties to his/her new country.", as they define which citizen immigrants need to become if they want to be a part of the U.K.. This test is deemed confusing and would certainly be hard for native U.K. citizens and raises a series of problems: "What does Britishness mean?" This sort of policy seems to point out that "nationalist features are much more important than multicultural aspects." (Dell'Olio, abstract).

According to Dr. Fiorella Dell'Olio, citizenship is hard to define as a concept. When limited to traditionalist

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nationalist features it is insufficient in “present-day societies which are becoming increasingly more ethnically, nationally and racially heterogeneous, more regionally fragmented and strongly linked with global affairs” (Dell’Olio, abstract).

So, if citizenship education is a means to provide a “sense of purpose, solidarity and guidance, it should promote global (rather than just European) awareness” (Dell’Olio, abstract) and the awareness that the personal milieu is affected by transnational resolutions and events, citizenship education should develop knowledge, self-understanding and capacities of young citizens.

In this sense, young people “should learn about the range of civic rights and duties.” Self-understanding is directly related to attitudes and values, which involves notions of identity. It is fostered that students develop a sense of national and European identity at the same time. Moreover, pupils should respect others and abstract values. Regarding skills to develop, these should include: “intellect, and concern ‘the ability to detect partiality and make judgments concerning alternative course of action’; communication, in that citizens must be able to communicate orally, in writing and through action. Heater goes on to say that pupils must understand the complexity of citizenship (1992:64)”.

Since “social altruism, community responsibility, political loyalty cannot flourish in an identity vacuum” (Heater, 1992: 64), the question arises: “Does one needs to be feel fully German to be beneficial to Germany or to be a true German citizen?” Taking this into consideration, Dr. Fiorella Dell’Olio argues that citizenship education should be “replaced by teaching of ‘universal’ civic values and at the same time the teaching of history should not only be based on national, European and Western history but also on world history and leave space for adaptability depending on contexts and circumstances” (Dell’Olio, abstract). A good citizen should be able to adapt to any group s/he chooses to be part of, without dissolving her/his identity.

Discussion

In the discussion that followed this presentation, Dr. Steve Loyal asked how many people do these tests and what do they feel. He comments that knowledge, according to many philosophers is practical, empirical, and that is in direct opposition with the government’s bureaucratic measures. He asked if the naturalization tests have symbolic value.

Dr. Fiorella Dell’Olio argued that the tests are meant to be practical. Even though there was a high rate of failure, applicants can always do the test again.

Dr. Viola Georgi commented that citizenship is closely related to every day life. She added that, judging from her students, people are living this ‘dual identity’, since they are used to move around the European space. It is only a matter of time until one can theorize about it. Regarding the item: ‘citizenship replaced by universal values’, Dr. Viola Georgi argues that citizenship is a space of negation of universal values.

Dr. Fiorella Dell’Olio stressed that one should not confuse nationality with citizenship, as these are interchangeable concepts. European citizenship education is meant to make people feel like European. She argues that there should be a detachment from citizenship, because it does not work in a multicultural society: it is and conflicting and claustrophobic.

The discussion was brought to an end and the next presentation was held.

Per Mouritsen

Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Centre for University Studies in Journalism at the University of Aarhus.

PRESENTATION: The Normative Ambivalence of Citizenship Integration: A Danish Perspective

This presentation focused on ‘new civiness’ or ‘civic integrationism’, which is a European trend and implies a normative ambivalence. Such ambivalence is present in Denmark. Dr. Per Mouritsen said that a development of ‘citizenship’ could be traced in Denmark, when related to migration. Thus, for the peaceful integration of immigrants it is necessary to fortify the “inculcation of a set of civic values” (Mouritsen, abstract).

Immigrants applying to permanent residence must sign a declaration of one’s virtues, which consists of

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16 points, among which are the following: one should be able to pay taxes, speak the language (Danish), respect children's rights, not hit spouses, not circumcise and not be a terrorist.

Danish people are regarded as peaceful, homogeneous and democratic, considering that democracy is part of the culture.

The country has evolved from old-style *kulturnationalismus*, which is now associated to right fringe ideologies, to a more modern approach. Nevertheless, there is a general concern about national culture. Some defend that there should be a *Leitkultur*, much of which consists of Danish civic values, when facing a "too diverse society". The notion of constitutional patriotism as understood by Habermas, not only refers to shared European universal values, but is also "embedded in political cultures and national histories" (Mouritsen, abstract). However, it may be observed that the stress lies more on 'patriotism' than on 'constitutional'; that assimilation of immigrants is promoted and that the new civics is a "tightening of society", in the sense that "cultural diversity is seen as a threat" (Mouritsen, abstract).

This is no more than the reflection of a "shift of historical trajectories, problem diagnoses and protagonists" (Mouritsen, abstract). There is a great concern about the future of functioning welfare states, the challenges of immigration and how cultural difference is regarded (for instance, Islam is often linked by many to fanaticism and terrorism). Thus, "Europe seems to be sleepwalking into segregation". Multiculturalism is often seen as a problem, also in countries which have not experienced it at the policy level or "had strong groups advocating it" (Mouritsen, abstract). Multiculturalism as a political direction, however, is not against liberal rights or against national loyalty. The crisis of multiculturalism (living apart together) is not only a problematic of culture, but mainly of a lack of civic participation, "lack of skills, social capital and networks, lack of participation in labour markets, segregated housing and schools (Mouritsen, abstract)".

Underlying all this processes there is a hierarchy between the 'good' culture and the 'bad' culture (*their* culture). *Their* religion (particularly Islam) is seen as dangerously uncivic and needs to be securitised. Muslims need to give up their culture to adopt the developed secularized Danish culture. Thus, the naturalization policies based on *jus soli* have led to administrative and social suspicion of terrorist sympathies among immigrants.

Dr. Per Mouritsen pointed out that the offered political solutions are culturalized, depicting a series of fallacies.

- a) cultural fallacy (Danish society is already democratic)
- b) chauvinist fallacy (democratic human rights are Danish, French, German...)
- c) ethnification fallacy (these values are rooted in the Danish history, one must live in Denmark to understand and learn them)
- d) sacralization fallacy (freedom of speech is one of the basic values)

Even though Danes as a whole are not racists, "there is a widespread scepticism and pessimism of multicultural diversity, low acceptance of Muslim religion in public space" (Mouritsen, abstract). Hence the cartoon crisis. The supporters of the cartoons and many Danes believe that Muslims should learn "to take their religion less seriously, become more autonomous, reflective and anti-authoritarian." "Religious mockery is conceptualized as a Danish civic virtue." (Mouritsen, abstract) The presentation ended with a quote from the Danish Prime Minister, commenting on the cartoon crisis, where he welcomes all religions, as long as these adapt to the easy-going Danish life style.

Discussion

There was room for discussion after this presentation. One participant commented that citizenship education alone does not create good citizens. It is a first step of a reflective process, which may be crucial. In this sense, immigrant tests are symbolic and likewise the first step of the reflective process to become a good citizen. Then, there is space for negotiation between the individual and ethnic groups.

Dr. Per Mouritsen responded by pointing out that the naturalization tests are indeed symbolic, and often against a specific group at a specific time in a specific context. At present time, they reflect a right wing government versus Muslims, which has been regarded as insulting.

One participant commented that nationals should also sign the declaration mentioned by Dr. Per Mouritsen. Another participant asked if the cartoon crisis was just a clash between two groups and if all Muslims felt outraged the same way. He also asked if it was only about freedom of speech. Dr. Per Mouritsen reacted by saying that the cartoons were intended to teach Muslims to be more easy-going

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and that it was positive to see that not all Muslims were alike, as some did not feel offended. Nevertheless, most of them did.

Another participant pointed out that national values and rules are negotiable. Dr. Fiorella Dell'Olio replied that 'citizenship' is a normative concept and that European immigrants in Europe are not immigrants.

Dr. Friedrich Heckmann brought this session to an end by commenting that immigration is a challenge for both sides.

Session 2: Didactic Approaches – Practical Experience – Educational Projects

Introduction and Moderation: Fiorella Dell'Olio

Affiliated Lecturer in the Politics Department at the University of Cambridge.

This session, which was attended by approximately 13 participants, was moderated by Dr. Fiorella Dell'Olio, who briefly introduced the speakers.

Alicja T. Pacewicz,

Co-director of the Center for Citizenship Education in Warsaw, responsible for programs and educational resources.

PRESENTATION: Good European Citizen in Times of Migration. Standards, Challenges and Models (Polish Perspective)

Dr. Alicja T. Pacewicz began her presentation by stating that there are historical reasons why Poland should and has welcomed immigrants heartily: Poland itself has a long history of emigration and has always welcomed immigrants (until the last six years). The current government is promoting patriotism, Polish values, Poland for the Poles.

The Center for Citizenship Education produces schoolbooks and offers in-service teacher education. It has realized that in order to 'bring out' good citizens, better schools are necessary, which empower students. They should be able to prepare students to adapt to newcomers. Regarding immigrants, Dr. Alicja T. Pacewicz dished out some pointers on how to get a good European citizen:

- a) real life experience
- b) education
- c) communication
- d) acceptance of fundamental rules of democracy and human rights
- e) multiple identities (which support and complement each other)

Poland is a nation of emigrants. Before the Second World War, Poland was a culturally diverse country, but after the war, it is no longer so. Poland's population has become homogeneous. The general reaction to immigrants differs according to the immigrants' origin: Western immigrants are welcomed and Eastern immigrants are not.

Dr. Alicja T. Pacewicz presented several models which aim at arising awareness of others and Europe. "Digging out the past" was one of the models, where students do some research on history and discover that their roots are often linked to other cultures. Another model, which was presented, was "Let's do something", where pupils are encouraged to be active and fight for a cause. As an illustration, Dr. Alicja T. Pacewicz mentioned one group of students who were fighting for public street lights near the school. Another example was the model: "Diverse Warsaw: Opening Conversation, Opening minds". It was a public debate, at which immigrant children described how they were treated (by nationals) and how they felt. The "storyteller hunter" technique was described as being a very effective method to promote awareness of cultural diversity.

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Dita Vogel

International coordinator of a European research project on active civic participation of immigrants (POLITIS) at the Interdisciplinary Centre for Education and Communication in Migration Processes (IBKM) of the University of Oldenburg

PRESENTATION: European Citizenship Education – Insights from the Perspective of a Research Project about High Intensity Participation of First Generation Immigrants

Dr. Ditta Vogel gave account of how immigrants may be active citizens through voluntary work at several institutions. The research project POLITIS, via PhD students from different parts of the world, conducted 176 interviews regarding this matter. Students were motivated and the success of intercultural communication and training is confirmed by the low-rate of dropouts and the high quality of the interviews.

This project may provide generalisations but no quantitative results. Bearing this in mind, it was verified that most interviewees are highly educated and consider education to be very important not only for acquiring practical skills but also for improving self-esteem. “Many interviewees discuss legal and institutional restrictions to participation in receiving countries, particularly in the political arena” (Ditta Vogel, abstract), which keeps them away not from active participation, but from participation in these areas. Discrimination is seen as a motivation source in becoming active, although discrimination behaviour of actors in organizations and legal restraints push them to be active citizens in immigrant organizations. Actors are often not aware of the impact of misunderstandings in meeting possible future immigrant members of their organizations and of the potential loss of rejecting them.

Facing this, “European citizenship education should take notice of international students” (Ditta Vogel, abstract), who can be a link between immigrant and native communities. Furthermore, “European citizenship education may promote learning about inadvertent neglect and failed communication in order to avoid barriers to civic participation.” (Ditta Vogel, abstract).

After the presentations, the participants gathered in small groups so that they could discuss more easily. Four items of discussion were given beforehand:

- 1) Do nationality tests lead to assimilation or create opportunities for migrants to engage as citizens?
- 2) Trends for conversion of national integration policies
- 3) What kind of joint model of European citizenship can be achieved in which migrants can participate?
- 4) What is the role of citizenship education?

After some discussion, groups presented their main conclusions. Regarding topic n°1, one group came to the conclusion that the nationality tests probably lead to exclusion, as it is a barrier for immigrants. On the other hand, they may be useful to help immigrants to integrate. One other group saw the language issue as preceding the test problems, since the test is done in the host-country language. The feeling of having to deserve the right to citizenship (legal perspective) is humiliating to migrants.

Focusing on topic n°2, it was said that it is very problematic to have European standards. It is easier at the social level. Another group pointed out that there is a general trend to implement control policies and tightening measures. Integration needs economic investment.

The third topic was a hot issue, since European citizenship is very hard to define. From the legal point of view, it is very difficult for migrants to take an active role in society, since they have very little knowledge of how procedures are. It was recommended that more information would be available and easy to understand, but migrants also have to show some personal involvement. From the educational point of view, it was mentioned that it is necessary to promote awareness for students of multiple identities and perceive culture diversity not as a threat. In order to accomplish that, further teacher education in that sense is required. In the Netherlands, there is a project, currently at its piloting stage, which aims at meeting these objectives, by fostering a more efficient interaction between schools and schools-communities. A network connecting several schools has been established.

Regarding the fourth topic, it was stated that citizenship education should not be confined only to schools. One must be aware that the media play an important role in forming and moulding opinions.

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Laboratory

On the third day of the conference, participants could move and discuss freely in the several workshops. Workshop 2 fulfilled its purpose of fostering exchange of experiences and networking, as several projects were presented.

The first presentation stressed that citizenship is a very broad dynamic concept, which encompasses many different aspects. According to this thesis, in the Netherlands, it focuses mainly on three domains: a) political domain (political awareness); b) social domain (environmental awareness, helping the elderly, etc.); c) vital citizenship (taking care of oneself, critical consumer).

Another presentation briefly described the Irish migration policies, which are a copy of the U.K.'s migration policies. Naturalization is conceded according to *jus soli* and *jus sanguis*. There has been a immigration boom since 1995, which has caused suspicion among the general population. According to the referendum of 2004, 80% of the Irish population feels that Irish citizenship should be more restricted, conceded only to those born in Ireland (*jus soli*).

TISSA, The International 'Social Work & Society' Academy was presented. It consists of a PhD network, which provides a forum for involving professionals and academics in discussion on theory and practice at the cutting edge of the social professions.

The next presentation focused on the integration strategy of Estonian society. In order to acquire Estonian citizenship, immigrants must pass a test, which focuses on language skills and knowledge of the Estonian constitution. There are free preparation courses, which last 25 hours. Even though the courses have not been evaluated, students seem happy with it, for they usually succeed at it.