



Panel: Citizenship Education for a Divided Nation

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David Kerr, University of Reading / Young Citizens, UK

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Introduction and Moderation: **Michalis Kakos**, Leeds Beckett University, Advisory Board, UK

This is a transcript of the video-recording of the panel, which took place at the NECE Conference in Glasgow, UK, on 25 October 2019.

Michalis Kakos: [...] Citizenship education in a divided nation, I think that I couldn't think of a better time to lead a session like this, but I can think of a better venue, that will be in Zagreb in the Museum of Broken Relationships, because what we are going to discuss today is about broken relationships and whether citizenship education, or education in general, can do anything about it.

I think that this is not the first time that I will say that in a NECE conference. One of my favorite Greek sayings goes like, "Born stupid, die surprised." I think that we are acting surprised at the moment for all the divisions that exist around us. My question is really, have we been very stupid and not seen all these divisions existing there, the rifts existing prior to the elections in the US, prior the results of the referendum in Britain.

Soon do we actually discuss the issues that we were discussing yesterday with Darren. Before we start thinking about how surprised we are with the beast of Brexit stumbling about. I couldn't also think of a better panel to discuss this with. We have three experts on citizenship education and three experts on social inequalities and the relationship to education. What we're going to do is to give about seven minutes to each panelist to give us an overview on a basic question that we're going to discuss.

Then we will open up the discussion to the audience, perhaps after posing one or two questions inviting the panelist to answer to. The basic question that I would like us to think about is, if we accept the social cohesion refers to a shared sense of belonging and trust among members to society, then could, and most importantly for me, should we expect education to contribute to it.

I mean to trust and belonging, and are trust and belonging based on a sense of justice, equal participation and sheer responsibility, are these dependent upon social conditions which formal education and informal education has no control of? How could the education instill trust and support belonging in societies of extreme inequalities and divisions between hegemonic and marginalized groups. Importantly for me is, isn't formal assessment driven and neoliberal litigation part of the problem rather than part of the solution?





In that case, how can we fit citizenship education into the whole mix? What do we expect citizenship education to do, how to operate within that context? I will invite first to reflect on all this and to tell us a bit more about citizenship education, David Kerr. Now if you do research on citizenship education, it's absolutely impossible not to come across David Kerr's references. For me, in the beginning it was a name in the references. He was everywhere until I met David, I realized that actually he's a real person.

David Kerr: [unintelligible]

Michalis Kakos: Not at all actually. Not at all. He worked on citizenship education right from the start. Actually it was two names that we're coming across all the time. One of them, there was a professor Crick, the other one, it was David, he has worked with professor Crick. He has been director of research and at the national foundation of educational research, leading key research on citizenship education in the first years of its implementation.

He has been a consultant director of education on the Citizenship Foundation with now Young Citizens. Currently he's the director of Initial Teacher Training at the University of Reading. He has been a consultant with the Council of Europe, with the European Commission. We're proud, and having David with us, he has been involved in NECE for a lot of years. I wanted to introduce the rest of the panel, if you don't mind, I will introduce just before you take the floor. David, can you give us some background about citizenship education and help us understand the qualities?

David Kerr: Thanks very much for that incredible welcome. [laughs] I'm a bit worried to say anything now.

[laughter]

David Kerr: You never showed me when I met you that you thought of me like that sir, I'm very pleased. I think I owe you a drink. I've got a really tough task in, I think I'm going to take just a couple more minutes than seven. Michalis asked me to set out the context of citizenship education in the UK, now that's really difficult, because as you can probably recognize, I have an English accent.

But I'm here in Scotland. I'm a bit on tricky grounds, but a little bit more about that slightly later. Just to say the UK is actually four countries. I always reminded my Council of Europe colleagues that it's England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. You'll recognize I did those in alphabetical order to make sure I was not missing out anyone. I'm not saying them to favor anyone because we do have very complex history in this nation.

Over time, particularly at the current time, if you look at how Brexit went, Scotland may have had a different view than parts of England. We have a love-hate relationship. The Scots love the Welsh, the Welsh love the Scots, Northern Ireland loves the Scots and the Welsh, and vice versa, and everyone hates the English.

[laughter]





David Kerr: That's just how it is. That's going to make it particularly tricky if tomorrow I want to try and catch the result of the England All Blacks game, because you could see a lot of All Black shirts on the streets of Glasgow. We're divided politically, but we have lots of complex links beneath the surface. I was born in England, but I wasn't actually bred in England – I presume I was because my father is actually Scottish. He comes from Aberdeen.

Maybe that's turned half the audience my way now, but he thought this was the Lowlands whereas he comes from the Highlands, whereas my mother comes from the Republic of Ireland. I've got lots of Celtic blood and influence flowing through me, but it puts me in a difficult position at the moment. I've taken my British passport with me. I'll carry it everywhere now because you never know what's going to happen the next day.

It could be caught somewhere, a British passport. I could technically now apply for an Irish passport. There's lots of people who have done, and in a couple of years who knows, I could be applying for a Scottish passport depending on how things go. We live in very complicated times. Complex history and traditions. The first thing to say is, the good news is that citizenship education is in all the education systems of the UK countries. It's got common aims and goals.

Where it differs is because of the emphasis on influences of time, place, values and the changing political situation. If you're not aware of it, something called devolution has had a major impact over the last 10 years. That's basically where Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales have their own political national assemblies, and therefore they have control over certain policies or policy areas. One of them is education.

Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales normally say we're not following England. You've got it wrong. We're doing our own thing, which is much, much better. We, in England, are still controlled by parliament, which has representatives from all parts of the UK. The irony is the big educational reforms that came in with this current conservative government were actually led by someone called Michael Gove, who was actually born and educated in Scotland.

He's done his bit to destroy the English education system. Put briefly, what does citizenship education look like in each of these countries? I'll be very brief on Scotland because there are lots of you in the audience who can tell people about it, but you've been working on a curriculum for excellence for the last, I don't know how many years. I don't know whether it's reached excellence yet. You can tell me about that, but it's got eight broad curriculum areas. The ambition is for young Scots to become successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens, and effective contributors.

It's cross-curricular and there's a strong emphasis currently on education for sustainable development and global citizenship. Then you've had the long-standing modern studies, which is often tagged with delivering citizenship. Northern Ireland, anyone from Northern Ireland in the audience? Okay, one of you, that's good. You can pin me afterwards when I get this wrong.





You've got particular history of the troubles over many years, but you've also now gone for broad areas of learning, six in primary, nine in secondary. In primary, there's a strong emphasis on the strand called personal development and mutual understanding. It was education for mutual understanding. In secondary, it's learning for life and work within something called local and global citizenship.

You'll see there's no mention of national citizenship in Northern Ireland, because of the context. They have a GCSE called learning for life and work. In Wales, anyone from Wales in the audience? Good, I think I'm safe now, unless you report me to the Welsh. It's not a standalone subject. It's part of three areas of learning, personal social education, which has active citizenship within it, and something called education for sustainable development and global citizenship.

You can see quite clear similarities between Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Then something called the Welsh baccalaureate, which has a qualification which has things like community work, and an emphasis on Wales, Europe and the world. No mention of the UK there. In England, it's part of an overarching aims of the national curriculum, about creating responsible effective citizens who are effective in public and democratic life.

It's non-statutory strand in primary school, alongside personal social health education. It's a statutory subject for 11 to 16-year-olds in secondary schools, as promoted by the work of Bernard Crick. The citizenship curriculum was revised by the government in 2013, and it's much more now about a canon of knowledge, about conforming, learning about government and legal institutions, precious liberties not human rights, because our government doesn't like human rights, volunteering and financial literacy, and there's also a GCSE.

Just to wrap up very quickly, that's a 14 to 16-year-old study. It's fair to say that diversity in the UK means that if we were having this conference 10 or 15 years ago, we'd have a very, very positive story to tell. Citizenship education was really on the rise, but since we've had a new government in 2010, it's fair to say not only in the UK, but possibly across many parts of Europe and the world, citizenship education has dropped down the political and educational agenda.

Now we're all about citizenship education, we're great about talking to each other, but I think we seriously need to ask ourselves why? Why did that happen? Was there anything we could have done? I think it's an impact of lots of different things. As Alicia said yesterday, "It's the economy, stupid." The economic recession did not help. There's a sense that says education is a luxury for good times, but when times get tough, we need to go back to maths, English, languages, those skills that are going to get you jobs.

We need to have an argument that says that citizenship education develops those competencies that you need for life in the 21st century, because you might know maths and languages inside out, but you do it within the context of society. We have a new Conservative government, which has a different view on citizenship. It's more about conformity. It's not about questioning. It's not about reforming.





It's not about getting kids to transform life, it's about knowing their place and having the knowledge to be good citizens. That meant changing educational policies, which Bryony will talk a bit more about. Then we have wider political things like the threats of violent extremism, which meant that- was that necessary citizenship education, we had new elements added, like fundamental British values. I can talk to you afterwards about these.

They're neither fundamental, nor are they British, nor are they values, nor was there any consultation on them, but schools have to deal with it. Now we've got Brexit added on top of that, plus in this part of the world, Scottish independence, and therefore, you got tensions and divisions across society, and a recognition that citizenship is dropped down the agenda.

Now what we see is, we still see pockets of very good practice in each of the countries. There are very good things going on in a number of schools in each of those countries, but there are also many pockets where lots of young people are not getting their statutory entitlement to citizenship education. You got inequalities there and you have to ask the reason why.

I'd just like to finish by posing this thought that we all promoted citizenship education in the late 20th century and we promoted it in a way I think that was about consolidating democracy, was about getting young people to learn about it, to understand about it, to recognize the need to participate in it. But since the turn of the century, we've moved into the 21st century and there's a lot more now about forces trying to deconsolidate or pull down democracy.

Those forces are things like globalization, populism, fundamentalism, negative use of social media, advances in technology in society, sustainability and the stewardship of our planet and our resources and therefore, the question I'm posing myself now is whether we need to reframe citizenship education to fit the context we see in the 21st century. Citizenship education might have worked in the late 1990s, the 2000s, but we live in a very different time now.

As you can imagine, in this UK now we've reached almost the point of the erosion or exhaustion of democracy. We're all Brexit-ed out, and we were many months ago. That creates some kind of crisis and therefore my final question is, as currently conceived, can citizenship education across the UK cope with these challenges going forward, and what might need to change? Because for me, quite simply, citizenship education is about learning and living.

We had a strong emphasis on learning about citizenship education, but I think there's a clear recognition now that how citizenship education is lived, how democracy is lived has very much changed for young people now. Therefore, they've got to work out how to tackle these big challenges, these big threats. It's not enough about just giving them knowledge, promoting them as active citizens now, we've got to really help them deal with some big moral and ethical issues in terms of how they lead their lives, the choices they actually make.

We need to add, I think, a strong element of criticality to how we deal with citizenship education, to make them really critical about dealing with that massive information





they get on a daily basis, how they can properly use social media, how we talked yesterday about the differences between generations. They need to understand how to handle volatility, how to promote and understand controversial issues in ways that mean you don't shout at each other, but you actually have meaningful dialogue.

That can start in their schools and classrooms, and then echo out into their communities so they can take on the racists, the bigots, the extremists in ways that come through reason dialogue based on facts and information, so I've realized I've gone over my seven minutes. I've said my point now. I hope that presents a useful canvas for the UK, but also a broader canvas for this conference. Thank you very much.

[applause]

Michalis Kakos: Thank you. As we let these thoughts and questions from David sink in, I would like to invite Bryony to take the floor. I'm holding her baby in my hands. Bryony Hoskins, Professor Hoskins has a huge experience on citizenship education. She's currently professor of comparative associated science, at Roehampton University, but I know Bryony since she was- you were doing the research in the European Commission for the development of educators and active citizenship.

She then did so much so many things, she led youth research on the Council of Europe. Once she was in University of Southampton, she was doing research on effects of economic crisis on active citizenship in EU, she led an ESIC funded project on inequalities, educational systems and civic attitudes. She is currently leading a UNICEF project, don't you? The Middle East and North Africa, inequalities, political engagement, volunteering, and volunteer work. Her book says everything about the relevance of your work to our conference. Please.

Bryony Hoskins: Thank you very much. It makes me also feel very old since I managed to—I've done a lot of things in a number of years, but for me today, it's a chance to talk a little bit about this 10 years of research which I've been doing on this topic of inequalities and political engagement, and it's finally that other people are starting to talk about this topic as well, and this is fantastic and great.

Because we should have known, we should have been able to see many years ago, because inequalities in political engagement is something which is not new, very long-standing, that at least in the UK context is getting much worse with each election, with each new forms of political engagement. The socioeconomic inequalities and political engagement is something which is bad and getting worse, Anja [Neundorf] spoke yesterday about how terrible this is for democracy because the institutions stop listening and responding.

Also that this enables a group of people who feel completely alienated and very open to populist messages. One of the examples of this is that in our last election in the UK, it was about only 35% of young people between 18 to 35, from the most disadvantaged group actually turned out to vote. This is really no numbers at all. We already have a problem with young people's political engagement, but it's





disadvantaged young people who are the ones who are really missing out on having their voices heard.

What we heard from Anja yesterday, which is what we found in the English data when we followed young people from the age of 11 to 23, through their education system and through their experiences of citizenship education, what we found is that with inequalities in terms of political engagement and intentions to political engagement were already there at 10 and 11, that get wider throughout the education system.

What we wanted to do within this research, which I've done for the- if you want to find out what's going on in the education system, why is it doing this? How is it doing this? We find that education is one of the main contributors to the social reproduction of inequalities in political engagement, but we also find that there are methods that can reduce this. What we looked at, two particular forms of citizenship learning.

One is participatory form, which we haven't spoken about so much yet, that youth councils, mock elections, simulations, this way of learning is particularly important for the development of skills like self-advocacy and values and attitudes and interest in political engagement. The intentions are the actual engagement, actual participation. We then also look at knowledge acquisition, because you need both sides. You need to feel that you can engage, have the skills to debate and the confidence that you need the knowledge too.

We looked at these two different processes to find out what was going on within the school in order to generate these inequalities. What we found actually that is the real key and the real difficulty is that it's the participatory forms where the inequalities in access are. This is really where the problems are happening. This means that when you have a student council, youth parliament, debates in the school, it's the middle class, the more advantaged kids who take over these opportunities.

This is usually because they develop these skills in their home environment and feel at ease in these, and feel confident and able to articulate themselves. Whereas if you don't have those learning opportunities, when you're in your home environment, then you feel unfamiliar with it and somehow these people seem to be better at it and good at articulating what they want to say, and you feel pushed to the edge and then you say, "Oh, no, that's not for me."

What is happening is that when you get a mixed intake of students in a school, it's the middle-class kids who are taking the opportunities. What we also find is that schools that have more middle-class students in that school, they have lots of these participatory activities. What we find that those schools which are from a disadvantaged background, the students come from more deprived families, these schools are focusing on hard discipline and making sure that they focus on the basics, reading, writing, arithmetic, passing tests.

What we found is that actually, it's the lack of access to these participatory forms, which are causing the increase of inequalities during the time and that period at school. By finding this out, it's something concrete which can be made a change to. Alternatively, we find- similarly to research in Belgium, which was from yesterday,





and England, we also find that citizenship education as it was run when David was talking about, when it was at its height from 2002 onwards, what we find is that there is no inequalities in access to compulsory citizenship education, as it was back then.

We find that this had a mitigating effect. Reduce the inequalities in political engagement. The reduction is not huge, but it is significant. We found this for intentions to vote, intentions to demonstrate, intentions to be part of a political party. Again, very rigorous scientific research found that citizenship education can have that positive effect. What we found is that there are ways that we can change the system in order to reduce the inequality.

What this means is that if we focused on disadvantaged schools, on getting more participatory forms of political engagement available in more disadvantaged schools, making these opportunities open for all young people to participate.

From the Audience: Yes, yes, yes.

[laughter]

Bryony Hoskins: Someone's rapping. Okay, in case you weren't listening, you are now.

[laughter]

Bryony Hoskins: We have the one for making a difference and that's introducing just participatory formative learning into disadvantaged schools. We also have the opportunity within vocational education and training to develop citizenship education within this era. I know what citizenship education as making people good to participate as good citizens in the workforce and to not make any complaints, but to be critical, active citizens and to have their voice heard and to teach citizenship education to disadvantaged young people in this way.

I also think that citizenship, the teacher training for all teachers across the school has to go back to how it used to be, again, about developing understandings of different communities for, say, different socio-economic backgrounds and understanding what that means in terms of the different ways that young people behave in the classroom and understand how to bring in the different voices.

Kids who shout and seem aggressive, maybe they have something important to say. It's about working out how to bring out those voices and to keep everybody together in the classroom. Two final points, because I realize I'm coming to the seven minutes as well, is that that well, the political situation is not good in terms in the UK in terms of citizenship education.

We now have a system where more than half of the secondary schools can decide what goes in their curriculum. They no longer have to follow the national curriculum, which means that citizenship education is no longer compulsory in more than half of schools, which means that actually- there is a big focus with disadvantaged schools, with disadvantaged intake. Again, focusing on the needs to make these schools to





be very disciplined and very test orientated. Just to get them through to take that test is that these processes are taking us backwards.

This long history of social-economic inequalities in political engagement is not going to be reversed by the policies that we've been undertaking, but we have very practical solutions in the book from the research. We know now how to change the situation so now it's about working together with practitioners, like yourself, and lobbying towards policy and government in order to try to make the changes that we know need to be made. Thank you.

Michalis Kakos: Thank you. Thank you so much.

[applause]

Michalis Kakos: It's getting more and more depressing. Daniela. We'll invite now Daniela to take the podium. Daniela, effectively is our citizenship education host, because she's a reader at the University of Strathclyde and she's the leader of Children, Young People and Families research cluster. Her research has been funded by the ESRC, British Academy, Save the Children, Scottish Government. Her recent research was on experiences of Eastern European migrant students in Scotland.

Her current research is on ethnic minority families' access to health services in Scotland. While she's working that, while disseminating findings from a previous study on Roma families experiences of access to services in the city of Glasgow. We will discuss about-- I hope that you will give us a view of-- For goodness sake, more pessimism. Okay. Go ahead. Thank you.

Daniela Sime: Thank you, Michalis. Hello, everyone, and really welcome to Glasgow and Scotland. I feel like I should welcome you. I know you've been welcomed by the organizers as well as the local and I really feel like I've discovered a new family, really. There's a group out there who studies citizenship and so on. How did I not know about this before? I'll become a devoted follower.

I'm really pleased to be here and share with you my actual findings from a project I did with Central Eastern European migrants, young people. I take this as a case study of why citizenship education is so important, more important than ever, we could say. The project that Michalis mentioned was supposed to be about young Eastern Europeans who move to the UK as children. We wanted to see how well integrated and settled and how well they're doing in the UK.

That was really three months before the EU referendum happened in June 2016. You'll see how an event like this one, the EU referendum, can challenge issues around citizenship, identity, and belonging in relation to young people. I'm just circulating some cards to basically promote the website that has loads of materials that maybe you can find useful in relation to the findings from the research I'll present today, but also some materials that can be used for teacher education in teaching as well as work with young people, some videos and so on, some policy briefings.





Brexit, you can't avoid the B word and be more optimistic, I'm afraid. I take Brexit as a rupture, as an event that many people have said is not exceptional in many ways. Things are happening around the world. It is exceptional for the young people that I've been working with because Brexit came – today there are 600,000 EU nationals who are children – at the key moment in their identity formation.

It was experienced by them as a rupture to that process of identity formation. These are one group who are clearly voiceless in the Brexit debate, in the referendum, yet the referendum was about them, was about their future in the UK. Yesterday we heard about the emotional aspects of being involved in political activity and engagement. Now this is how Brexit was experienced by many as the kicking in their teeth, so they had an emotional reaction to this political event.

I want to add two new dimensions to what we talked about in relation to citizenship education's value. One is around issues of identity formation, and identity recognition. The process for identity formation for these young people and for all young people, is in constant flux, is experienced of them as a process that's ongoing, negotiable, and containing of multiple identities that they have to negotiate.

If you think of them as in transitioning between childhood and adulthood, you see how young people, in this case who are migrants, have other identities to grapple with. In that context, we hear about young people who are feeling disengaged, are being disengaged, are partly at risk. This is a group in the UK who've experienced ongoing-- They grew up in austere Britain.

They grow up with Brexit centered discourses on migration which are likely to impact, as you will see, on their sense of identity and belonging, and their position and how they see themselves in relation to their position in society. For them, this process is obviously shaped not just by Brexit and the debates around Brexit, but also the neoliberal policies that they've experienced in terms of the labor market and certain career pathways, reduced options for stable employment.

We have more and more young people who get ready to work in insecure jobs or no jobs. Going back to Giddens, the reminder that modernity produces difference, exclusion and marginalization. You'll see in the case of these young people how they've been marginalized and excluded through the referendum, and to add to this citizenship-- I want us to think of citizenship as an embodied category.

So citizenship as experienced, linked issues of identity and belonging, and how individuals situate themselves in relation to issues such as class, gender, migrant, non-migrant status, age, ethnicity, sexuality, and so on. The homogenizing, this idea of the liberal notion of citizenship in a nation state. Citizenship as lived experience that was mentioned before, how do young people experience citizenship?

What does that mean to them? Also, what does that mean to us as educators? Also, who are the citizen? Who are citizens who are allowed, who of us are allowed to be citizens? The implication in a lot of the rhetoric in the UK, at least, is that citizens are nationals, so taxpayers are citizens. So you can see how separate groups, we heard from Darren [McGarvey] yesterday, how separate groups can feel excluded because of class strategies, because of anti-immigration attitudes and so on.





When we come to politics then, we heard yesterday from Anja in terms of young people engagement in politics. I want to offer a contrast to what we heard about young people as being apathetic and disengaged. We had 85% of the 16 to 18-year-olds who voted in the Scottish independence referendum and that might seem as a surprising figure, so Scotland has extended the right to vote to 16-year-olds? We see then a clean, clear interest from young people to be involved and engage in politics.

While we know that very young children are actually keen to talk about politics, discuss politics was not happening as them being encouraged to discuss politics in the classroom, as you'll see in a minute in my sample as well. My study had over 1,000 young people who took an online survey, these are all Central and Eastern European young people. Now the survey was very long and all of you who work with young people know how difficult it is to get young people to complete surveys online.

Now, this came at a time when nobody wanted to talk about Brexit with them, but they wanted to talk about Brexit and how Brexit is going to impact their lives. That's how we show the relevance of having the spaces in a school, in the classrooms for them to discuss issues that matter to them. How did they feel about Brexit? Well, it won't surprise you that they felt uncertain, worried, scared, angry, some said hopeful.

In terms of belonging, we asked them where do they feel they belong? This is a big part of what schools can do in relation to citizenship education, creating the spaces for young people to feel that they belong. 92% of them said-- One surprise you felt that they feel European. The European identity is what mattered to them. Again, some might be surprised that a lot of them had a strong sense of belonging to the UK as well, so most of the time, definitely a little, "I feel I belong to the UK."

You see there though how Brexit has unsettled this sense of belonging. So what they are experiencing is a process of unbelonging, so feeling that they belonged in the UK but that feeling of settlement has been challenged by Brexit. Then the most shocking part of the study was that 77% of them said they have experienced racism and xenophobia, most of these incidents happening in schools. You can see examples on the board what they said that happened to them.

These incidents range from people joking about them. Some mocking them for their accents, their clothes. The way that they spoke to- sorry, exclusionary practices, some that came from teachers themselves. Teachers saying, "People like you shouldn't be here." Expressing openly anti-immigration views in the classroom. Teachers as perpetrators. Hearing racist incidents and doing nothing about said incidents.

50% of them said that they've seen more racism and xenophobia since the Brexit referendum. You can see how this key political moment has increased the social divisions that these young people were experiencing already. In fact, today if you follow the news, you'll see that over 50, over half of the populations think the violence against politicians is a price worth paying for Brexit.

Again, more and more negative attitudes towards politicians that we see an increasing support for violence in this case. When it came to interest in politics, we asked them what political parties they'd be voting for, if they could vote. This is





obviously young people who cannot vote. You can see over half or close to half in Scotland and one in three in England, said that they were undecided. This is clearly a group that doesn't feel confident to express political views in relation to political parties.

Young people in Scotland though felt- when we asked them about issues of national identity, they expressed the view of being more feeling Scottish than young people in England. Going back to some values and talking about national identity, and so on. Those in Scotland seem to talk a lot more about what it means to be Scottish, than those in England. I just want to finish with some example of what we did in terms of expanding the idea of citizenship and citizenship education to informal spaces, and what it means for us to do citizenship education.

What we see on the board is examples, photographs from an art exhibition. When we talk to young people about what culture and identity means to them. What belonging means to them. What citizenship means to them. We present this in an art exhibition. Really engaging the general public with ideas of migration, identity and belonging. What does it all mean for citizenship education? I just want to emphasize the importance of creating a sense of belonging for young people in schools. Which you see in this case they didn't have.

To be able to engage in discussions about citizenship in general. For many young people that we spoke to, citizenship education didn't cover the issues that they wanted to talk about, which were around Brexit, and political parties, and what they stand for. Citizenship education could have addressed some of the social divisions that I've highlighted. The fact that they encounter so many barriers in relation to their political views, or lack of voting rights, lack of information on political parties.

Uncertainty over voting rights, uncertainty over their status in the UK nobody wants to talk to them about. Clearly shows that citizenship education needs to reshape, to be reshaped for the 21st century, as David was saying, and the challenges that young people are encountering on an everyday basis. What do we need? Timeout. Okay, we need recognition of citizenship education as essential to allowing young people to raise decisions. To talk about the issues that matter to them.

The Scottish curriculum for instance, does a bit of this, so allows teacher the flexibility to do it, but it also dilutes the responsibilities. Who does it? Is everyone doing it? Is anyone doing it? In this case people said no, nobody was talking about Brexit to them. We need confident teachers who are willing and supported obviously to approach these controversial issues in the classroom. This should be part of ongoing teacher education.

I understand things are challenging for teachers, because obviously the next question from young people would be, "Where do you stand?" "What's your political affiliation?" So on. It's not an easy task, but at the same time, and people said this is what they wanted to happen, and this is what was missing in the curriculum. Parents were mentioned yesterday, but working with parents as citizens.

I think it's really important for us as we look forward to citizenship education and this new shape, and how to create this school environments when acts of citizenship are





valued and acknowledged. That goes from genuine participation in decisions, calling out racism and bullying that we're seeing in this case, and other forms of activism engagement that young people are keen to be involved in. That's me. Thank you.

Michalis Kakos: Thank you so much. Thank you.

[applause]

Michalis Kakos: I guess the question really that comes out from all that, is back to the question that you posed, David. It's about reframing citizenship education. For me is not only what, is also whether citizenship education could do and should do anything about all the social divisions until the issues that we have discussed. There is some suggestion coming from Daniela about teacher training and confident teachers, perhaps I would like to add.

Also teachers thinking as citizens and confident citizens to teach and to challenge young people's views, but I'm not going to take any time- any longer of the time of this panel. I would like to open for discussions from the audience.

[END OF RECORDING]

