Chapter 1

Teacher education and the development of democratic citizenship in Europe

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Introduction

> The words *democracy, socialism, freedom, patriotic, realistic, justice*, have each of them several different meanings which cannot be reconciled with one another. In the case of a word like *democracy*, not only is there no agreed definition, but the attempt to make one is resisted from all sides.
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> <div align="right">Orwell (1946:9)</div>

George Orwell's assertion, published nearly seventy five years ago in the last year of the second World War, has relevance today. It raises the fundamental question investigated by this book: if democracy, and hence democratic citizenship, cannot be defined, how can it be taught? There is no doubt that throughout Europe, countries consider themselves to be democratic but what does this mean, ideologically and practically? And how do these countries pass on their conceptions of democracy through education so that their young people can act as democratic citizens?

The rationale for this book is based on the editors' perceptions, based on working with academics on international European projects, that democratic citizenship is under threat. Research in the United Kingdom over the last two decades (Kimberlee 2002; Sloam 2016) has demonstrated that 18-24 year olds are the age group least likely to vote in elections. This finding is European wide (Fieldhouse, Tranmer and Russell, 2007). If young people continue to be disinterested in taking part in the democratic process today- the same young people who will provide the leaders of tomorrow- the outcome may be disenfranchisement which could affect citizens' wellbeing and future national and international progress.

The European Union (EU) stresses education for democracy as a basis for the well-being of Europe (e.g. EU, 2013). Indeed, a fundamental principle underlying the Council of Europe's (CoE, 2017) approach to education is that it should not only prepare young people for employment, but also to be active citizens in democratic societies. However, European democratic ideals are currently seen as being under attack from the growth of populism. Populism can be defined as disenchantment with and scepticism of experts and elites, particularly those related to and/or engaged in politics. It attempts to reclaim democracy from elites and pluralists that they perceive to be deliberately undermining the ability of people to engage effectively with democratic practice. At the heart of the populism movements are issues arising uncertainties caused by the 2008 recession and terrorism, and from instabilities in other countries resulting in migration, causing anxiety in the receiving countries over the impact on jobs, social housing and the welfare state. Populism can arise in right wing politics as can be seen in Finland and the United Kingdom (UK), or in left wing politics, for example, as in Italy. It can be argued that the problems emanating from these issues could best be solved by Europe coming together in increased cooperation, but as the UK's 2016 referendum on whether or not to leave the EU has demonstrated, citizens are seeing

membership of overarching communities such as the EU as disenfranchising for individuals and disempowering for nations.

The Council of Europe's (CoE, 2017) approach is to consider, not what a definition of democracy might be, but how understanding the relationship between citizens and their culture will result in the development of democratic citizenship. As well as acknowledging that young people should be educated for employment, the CoE maintains that they should also be prepared to be active citizens in democratic societies. In other words, education should support young people in developing their democratic citizenship. As part of disseminating its vision, the CoE has launched a new *Reference Framework Competences for democratic culture* (RFCDC, 2017). This systematic approach aims to equip educators throughout Europe with a conceptual model of 20 competences categorised as *Values, Attitudes, Skills*, and *Knowledge and critical understanding*, to help teach pupils how to live peacefully and progressively together as democratic citizens in social diversity.

This raises several questions. Why might the CoE have decided to approach educating for democracy, not through defining democracy, but through considering democratic culture? Is there, as Orwell maintained, no agreed definition of democracy so that elements cannot be embedded in curricula for teacher education, and therefore be disseminated in schools? If this is the case, to what extent can democratic citizenship as a cultural conception as visualised by the CoE be reduced to a set of taught competences that have cross-cultural relevance and application? In this book academics across Europe analyse and evaluate teacher education and the development of democratic citizenship in their countries with reference to the CoE's competences. As an introduction, we present an initial discussion on Orwell's observation through consideration of the meanings of education, democracy, citizenship and education for democratic citizenship.

Education and democracy

Since the 1789 French revolution, democracy has been at the heart of the history of Europe. Ideologies of socialism and liberalism developed in the 1800s to form an emerging tradition, but represented very different views of democracy, although they both strongly supported freedom and equality. One fundamental difference between liberalists and socialists was the perception of the nature of man. According to Darwin's theory of evolution, survival of the fittest is the leading force in evolution. Thus, competition between and inside species is an elementary element of all organic life as well as life for human beings. Darwinists, such as Herbert Spencer, held that the life of humans in their societies were struggles for existence resulting in 'survival of the fittest'. However, Spencer was a liberalist who wrote:

> Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, providing he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man.
>
> (Spencer, 1954:95)

Intellectuals such as Pjotr Kropotkin, who was one of the leading thinkers in the socialist movement in Europe representing anarchism, were against the 'survival of the fittest' ideology. Kropotkin wrote in his famous book *Mutual aid – A factor of Evolution* (1902) that mutualism is the leading force in the history of man, not competition. Like Marx, Kropotkin wrote the history of man from the viewpoint of how a small minority destroyed the idea of mutualism over time. He and other social ideologists thought man should be regarded as a friend towards other men, not a rival. Thus, according to Kropotkin, societies should be based

on this principle, not on belief in competition. In the 20th century, these theories caused reality to be viewed in different forms, and most of them were mixtures of traditions of liberalism and socialism. Depending on the emphasis placed on perceptions of competition and mutualism within a particular society result in differing conceptions of what education should be, and how learning is taught.

For example, Finland is a typical country where socialism as well as liberalism have had important roles in determining its social and political history, and the education of its people. The Social Democrats have established one the largest parties since the first Finnish parliamentary elections in 1906. The party had a strong impact on the introduction of comprehensive school education in the 1960s and 1970s lasting 9 years for all pupils at a time when education became the core of welfare state construction. The Social Democrat party also demanded equality as a fundamental principle for the development of education. In addition, the Social Democrats demanded a particular democratic culture in schools, which raised tensions between them the central and conservative parties, who were apprehensive of left wing revolutionary objectives. The result was consensus, which is a typical feature in Finnish society as well as in politics. Not only did schools not became seedbeds for democracy; also interaction with businesses for the future employment of students became minimal. As a result of consensus, activities in schools focused on learning objectives in school subjects and became more or less isolated from society. The same happened to Finnish teacher education. However, during the present century there has been change. Many stakeholders, for example the Finnish National Agency for Education, are now promoting participatory and democratic agency in schools, and schools are also opening themselves and their students to business life. One outcome of the latter has been that entrepreneurial education has gained greater prominence in both schools and in teacher education.

The democratic state of a society defines and frames the education for democracy; however, education not only reacts to the wishes of politicians, but also to those of proactive agents in society. Teachers are experts in pedagogy, and their professional identity and thinking are based on concepts of learning, being human and members of society. Different pedagogical approaches usually dominate in particular schools, and they can be viewed as being radically different in comparison with each other. For example, Freinet schools, based on the work of Célestin Freinet (1896-1966), are committed to observing and acting upon democratic principles. Freinet emphasized the importance of democracy as a way of living in school in co-operation with other societal stakeholders. Differences between schools based on alternative pedagogies are visible; teachers in various school can be seen to be not following similar processes or approaches. In their classrooms, teachers have pedagogical freedom, more or less, and they can implement their own pedagogical thinking in their work. Teacher education is traditionally offering basic concepts and knowledge based on contemporary scientific knowledge and paradigms especially in psychology, but also presenting alternative pedagogies and experiments implemented in history.

All pedagogical practices have connections to conceptions of what it is to be human, and its relation to society. Because different commitments lead to different results, we ask how well relationships between democracy and education resonate with teacher education in various countries in Europe and how this impacts on the development of democratic citizenship. To provide insight, we consider the origins of democracy and citizenship, their development over centuries and the growing need for education to develop democratic citizenship.

Democracy and citizenship

The originators of democracy and citizenship were the ancient Greek city-states and in particular Athens. Athenians conceived and practiced responsibilities where the people, *demos*, decided the destiny of their city state through their rule, *kratia*. This involved certain entitlements, such as the equal right of individuals to freedom of speech and to vote at assemblies and in courts where justice was administered. The underlying concept was to ensure that the people had equal opportunity to express and gain support for their opinions (Sinclair, 1988). Democracy, the rule of the people, was embodied in the *Ekklesia*, the monthly assembly where the people could participate directly in current political and legal debate, and vote on decisions determined by the majority by a show of hands, hence the emergence of the term 'direct democracy'. The people also voted for those who became members of the *Vouli*, the presiding executive. Apart from a handful of leaders, judges and officials who were brought in because of their particular and necessary skills, members of the *Vouli* were chosen by a drawing of lots. The Athenians established the fundamental doctrine underpinning democratic practice that all citizens have the right and the duty to undertake the responsibilities of authority through voting (Beck, 2013).

However both principles, embodied in the *Ekklesia* and the *Vouli*, were grounded on a fundamental right which was not based on the 'people', that is, all living in the Athenian city state. The right to engage in direct democracy necessitated being born in the city state and being an adult male who had completed military training. This training began when adolescents were 18 and ended when they were 20. So women, young people of less than 20 years old, slaves and foreigners resident in Athens were not entitled to join the *Ekklesia* and therefore could not participate, vote or be chosen to become members of the *Vouli*. Athenian democracy was predicated on men who were deemed to be capable of communicating and acting for the common good. In the fifth century BC, 18 youths being inducted into military training swore the following:

> I will never bring reproach upon my hallowed arms, nor will I desert the comrade at whose side I stand, but I will defend our altars and our hearths, single-handed or supported by many. My native land I will not leave a diminished heritage, but greater and better than when I received it. I will obey whoever is in authority, and submit to the established laws and all others that the people shall harmoniously enact. If anyone tries to overthrow the constitution or disobeys it, I will not permit him, but will come to its defence single-handed or with the support of all. I will honour the religion of my fathers. Let the gods be my witness: Agraulus, Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone.
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> (Taylor, 1918:499)

So not only were the responsibilities of being male and a member of the *Ekklesia* and potentially of the *Vouli* to do with voicing and voting on concepts and ideas of the common good: they were based on having experienced commitment to act individually and communally in the defence of their homes, laws and direct democratic practice of the Athenian city state.

The European countries whose academics are contributing to this book, are all democracies but not simply direct democracies; they have experienced, as has Greece, historic socio-economic and political pasts that have resulted in their unique development of their current form of democratic practice. As John Dewey points out (2008) the conception of democracy has to be renewed regularly as societies change. In the fifth century, the Athenian city state

had a population in the region of 40,000 of which approximately 20 per cent were citizens (Morris, 2005) , that is, could be members of the *Ekkesia*. Although the term 'citizen' can still be applied to a person who lives in a particular town or city, it is generally given to a person who is a member of a certain country and who has rights because s/he was born there, or has a acquired rights through meeting the country's legal requirements. Nowadays societies are not city states with populations numbered in tens of thousands as in ancient Greece; they are nations with populations that consist of millions. The development of representative democracies was a necessary pragmatic solution to enable citizens in defined areas within a country to continue their contribution to ruling their nation by delegating their authoritative responsibilities to their elected members of government. As Runciman (2018) observes, since their inauguration regular elections have become fundamental to democratic politics. He argues that the purpose of democratic policy and practice is to ensure long term social benefits, in other words for the common good from which individuals also benefit, by providing citizens with voice through voting. So, although the organisation and administration of democratic policy and practice has changed, the initial concept of its purpose has not.

A significant difference in many European countries from Athenian democracy lies in the change of those deemed eligible to vote, though this took centuries to happen. For example, in the United Kingdom (UK) the end of the First World War in 1918 and the women's suffrage movement promoted an extension of voting rights from 58 per cent to virtually all men over 21, with or without property, and to women from no per cent to those aged over 30 who met a property criterion. It was not until the 1969 *Equal Franchise Act* (Parliament UK, 1928) that women achieved the same voting rights as men. Foreigners in the UK can now become citizens and have voting rights equal to those born there , though the legal process can be lengthy and arduous. Since the 1969 *Representation of the People Act* (Parliament UK, 1969), young people aged 18 and over became entitled to vote; before the *Act* the age was 21.

But citizens' entitlement to vote in the UK and throughout Europe still does not depend on their experiences gained through military training. They do not have to combine their thoughts and beliefs on democratic policy and practice with swearing an oath to commit themselves to act individually and communally in the defence of their homes, laws and direct democratic practice. In European countries, citizens acquire their ability and commitment to vote through schooling and lived experience in and outside their culture. This can mean that they do not vote at all. Also their lived experience as adults where work, family, health, relationships, leisure etc. dominate their individual lives, does not allow time for most citizens to study political and social issues in depth so that they have justifiable views with which to engage their elected representatives. However, organisations such as trade unions, professional associations, environmentalists, and particularly businesses and financial groups, can and do. Dahl, as early as the 1950s, conceived such democratic practice as being pluralist (Baldwin and Huggard, 2015), and deduced that in pluralist democracies, as only a small number of citizens were involved in this process, most citizens were in fact bystanders. To pluralists, encouraging the majority of citizens to be passive in politics is appropriate because they maintain that most citizens do not have the knowledge and intelligence to engage effectively and efficiently in a representative democracy.

Relating pluralist democracy to democratic elitism is not difficult. There are particular groups in society who, because of their perceived nature and conduct, dominate representative democracies. The UK class system provides an example. Until 2016, when Theresa May was

voted by her Conservative Party to replace David Cameron following his resignation after the Referendum on exiting the EU, at least half of the Cabinet (the real power executive of government consisting of 20 senior ministers) attended private schools; only seven per cent of the British population such schools (Sutton Trust, 2018). In David Cameron's 2015 Cabinet, 50 per cent of members attended either Oxford or Cambridge universities, institutions that are considered to be elitist. As Pareto (1984) argued, democracy is an idealist conception and not a practical possibility; some countries that proclaimed themselves to be democracies were actually oligarchies.

So democracy in a European country be viewed as direct if they hold referenda, representative *via* voting for parliaments, pluralist because of the lobbying of members of parliament by influential, committed and knowledgeable groups, and elitist because of the heritage of a government grounded in aristocracy and wealth. As European countries contributing to this book will demonstrate, the concept of democracy is clearly complex and multifaceted. The defining of democracy, and consequently democratic citizenship, appears to be impossible. It is understandable why the present-day usage of the term 'democracy' has been simplified, referring to the political system- which may be left, centre or right-wing - and focusing on a wide-ranging electorate, free elections and a free press (Moyn, 2006). However, this is considering only the practical aspects of democratic practice and not the conception, the philosophy, that underpins it. As has been stated above, John Dewey argued that the concept of democracy had to be renewed regularly as societies change; he also maintained that education was the mediator (Dewey, 2008) and that schools were micro societies whose communicative actions were underpinned by democratic ideals (Dewey, 1966). He stated that education was not 'schooling', in other words, a prescribed curriculum delivered by institutionally trained teachers. Education should reflect life, not simply be a preparation for it because democracy is a form of living and being, not merely an organised and administered process. Dewey's conception of democracy was not specifically defined, but grounded in a philosophic perspective on the nature of human existence that can be described as existential:

> …faith in the capacity of human beings for intelligent judgment and action…so that they can fully take part in democratic life…to respond with common sense to the free play of facts and ideas which are secured by effective guarantees of free inquiry, free assembly and free communication.
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> (Dewey, 1966:3)

This resonates with Runciman's (2018) conception of democracy, outlined above, as being the establishment of long-term institutions to deliver social benefits while providing individuals with voice. However, he then proceeds to argue that governments pay 'lip-service' to peoples' voice and gradually undermine democratic practices using modern technology, particularly through social media, and fake news. This generates confusion and conspiracy theory. The people allow their governments to do this because they take democracy in their countries for granted. In general their lives are comfortable, so they become passive, in other words, they become bystanders. This reflects aspects of pluralist democracy that are outlined above. The philosopher, Kwame Anthony Appiah (2013) is more positive, stressing the need, both in schools and at home, for young people to acquire knowledge and the ability to think critically so that they can comprehend the value of democratic citizenship. His conception of democracy focuses on peoples' engagement with shared national identity, which creates individual honour or shame, depending on commitment to actions that generate the respect of others. Appiah emphasises the need for

people to vote because that means those who rule can be changed. However, in order for voters to do so in a justifiable manner, there has to be reliable sources of information which can then be reflected upon, analysed and evaluated to direct their actions as democratic citizens. Like Runciman, Appiah stresses the need for communication, in his context by journalists, that respects truth. Otherwise voters cannot choose through realism and reason; they have to choose through emotions and prejudice. Unlike Runciman, he does not relate this to the growth of populism and its aim to sever democracy from elitism.

Education and democratic citizenship

So whilst Dewey supports the intelligence of individuals and uses the words 'common sense' and 'free' as fundamentals of democratic life, Runciman and Appiah, who are current theorists, include the necessity for those who disseminate information to be truthful, and information is largely disseminated through language. This is where the importance of education becomes evident. A significant agreement between Dewey, Runciman and Appiah is the way education impacts on the maintenance of democracy as summarised by Dewey:

> …the aim of education is to unite individual citizens and their society through an approach based on democratic values and practices. The purpose of education is the achievement of progress through giving voice to all sectors of the community.

(Dewey 1939:3)

Giving voice means using language. Appiah, following Socrates, underlines the importance of debate, *i.e.* the controlled, focused and understood use of language, in leading to shared comprehension of the views and experiences of others. But as has been argued above, education can divide as well as unite and this can impact on how people vote and for whom they vote. So, because of the difficulties in defining democracy and articulating its national and international application by governments through institutions and laws to produce proficient democratic citizens, it is understandable why the CoE promotes democratic culture through education. The overwhelming majority of citizens attend, or have attended, schools. Through the teaching of essential values, attitudes and practices, learners are supported and encouraged to assimilate them into their individual moral and ethical perspectives and manifest them in their social communications and actions.

The etymological root of the term 'education' is the Latin verb *educare*, which means to nurture and encourage growth, in other words, learning development. The act of nurturing, moulding or training comes from the term *educatum*, which leads to the English term of 'educator'. So school teachers and university lecturers develop the potential of children and students. However, there is another aspect to teaching and learning as well as the systematic instruction provided in formal educational institutions. Raiker and Rautiainen's (2017) research, based on the principles and culture underpinning democracy in England and Finland, demonstrates that learning objectives and teaching practices in the two countries reflects their differing historical, political and socio-economic factors. This supports the CoE's emphasis on associating democracy with culture. Their findings also showed similarity in their cultures, for example, that politicians and educators in both countries were focused on preparing their young people to have the knowledge, skills and understanding to be active citizens in their communities, be they local, national or international.

However, all are being orientated by the current international political climate that is tending towards neo-liberalism. The aim of neo-liberalism in education is not, as Dewey (1939) maintained, to unite individual citizens and their societies through an approach based on democratic values and practices, with progress achieved through the process of giving voice to all communities. The phrase 'knowledge as a commodity' (Boden and Epstein, 2006:224), *i.e.* a product, defines neo-liberalism as a global ideology aiming to combine liberal politics with economic growth and profit. Neo-liberalist nations regard education as a product, and aim to control its consummation in increasingly competitive educational institutions. This determination of teacher and school education as knowledge production to be consumed by citizens as a 'value-for-money' commodity, controlled through the bio-power of the neo-liberalist state (Foucault, 1984) does not resonate with Dewey's conceptions of the democratising power of education or of faith in the capacity of human beings for intelligent judgment and action' (Dewey, 1939:3). This has revealed itself in decreasing control of educator professionalism as governments are becoming more concerned about economic growth, and in some cases, survival. If the trend continues, there are implications for teacher education and classroom practice in nation states. It could be argued that educators, whose own democracy in the seminar room and classroom has been undermined, will become increasingly ineffectual in creating democratically minded citizens. The impact of this could be that national education systems will create future citizens who have no concept of democratic citizenship. An underlying concept of this book is that it is the responsibility of nations, that praise themselves as being democratic, to establish environments where citizens' abilities to engage effectively with democracy and its processes could be developed. Schools are key environments for this.

In their recent publication, *Educating for Democracy in England and Finland: Principles and Culture* (2017), Raiker and Rautiainen demonstrated that the philosophical and ideological principles arising from an individual country's culture were fundamental to developing democratic practices through appropriate pedagogies. Furthermore, the process of developing effective processes and practices in democratic education was more complex than their national policy documents suggested. Each author contributing to *Educating for Democracy in England and Finland: Principles and Culture* clearly demonstrated the importance of teachers in what and how they taught democracy. So it can be argued that the role of teacher educators, what and how they teach is crucial in developing teachers who understand the conceptions of democracy, citizenship and the function of education in this process of developing young people who are active citizens. An outcome of Raiker and Rautiainen's work was the question: are teacher educators adequately prepared to deliver courses in democratic citizenship with appropriate pedagogies to their students?

Teacher education and the development of democratic citizenship

According to Arthur, Davies and Hahn, 'Democracy, citizenship and citizenship education are complex, dynamic and controversial' (2008:1). *Teacher education and the development of democratic citizenship in Europe* will contribute to this debate by investigating in a range of European countries the effectiveness of teacher education, and the role of teacher educators as stipulated in past and current educational policies and practice, in developing their students' knowledge and understanding of democratic citizenship. Our discussion in this introduction has shown that the CoE's approach to educating for democracy, not through defining democracy, but through considering democratic culture, is justifiable. As Orwell intimated, producing an agreed definition of democracy which has to be expressed simply and concisely so that elements can be taught, understood and applied in school and university

curricula throughout Europe, and indeed the world, is fraught with difficulty. This book seeks to ascertain the extent to which the CoE's competences are already embedded into educational policy and practices in Europe, and whether greater engagement will require more than their further addition to curricula. For example, should policymakers and educators have, or gain access to, greater knowledge and understanding of the interplay between the historical, economic, political and social factors that have resulted in their country's current educational system, policies and practices? Can it be argued that teacher education curricula should include philosophical content as the CoE's descriptions of *Values* and *Attitudes* appear to be predicated on ethical positions gained through reflection on the *Knowledge and critical understanding* gained through the application of *Skills*? Identifying the moral and ethical key elements that enable young people to take part effectively in a cross-cultural conception of values, attitudes and practices leading to individual, social and environmental benefit, may underpin the 20 competences, not simply be an aspect of them. The outcome of these discussions, and others in the book, will enable policymakers and teacher educators throughout Europe to support learners, both in university Departments of Education and schools, in acquiring the individual perspectives and social skills necessary for responsible and rational contribution rationally to political debate and communal action locally, nationally and globally. The degree to which these are already integrated into the development of democratic citizenship, in both school and teacher education, will be revealed in the chapters of this book, and will be analysed and evaluated in relation to the CoE's competences in the concluding chapter.

To provide insight into the Council of Europe's *Reference Framework Competences for Democratic Culture* (RFCDC) Claudia Lenz introduces the educational philosophy and conceptualization on which it is based. Professor Lenz has had active role in the process of CoE's work concerning 20 compentences and now she is leading the teaching and learning – group in EPAN (Education Policy Advisors Network) network, which is promoting the implementation of CoE's competences in each member state of CoE. The chapter considers the development of its fundamentals since the turn of the century, their integration into the CoE's work in education and the influence of the specific context of Islamist terror and CoE's responses to that around 2015. Furthermore, as the author states '…the chapter presents different strains of the implementation of the Reference Framework in the CoE member states in a "top down" and "bottom up" perspective.'

Chapter 3 presents an interesting and complex situation in England with regards to teacher education and democratic citizenship in relation to other European contexts. These challenges can be encapsulated in the current issue of re-establishing a national identity within a highly diverse society in the midst of Brexit and heightened concerns over security. The Department for Education introduced the concept of 'Fundamental British Values' into state schools and colleges in November 2014. These values consisted of: democracy, individual liberty, the rule of law, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs. This chapter explores how and if 'Fundamental British Values accord' with the Council of Europe's conceptual model of 20 competences for citizenship and democracy. This author adopts a systematic literature approach, analysing recent government policy alongside key interventions from academics within the field to draw out the conceptual aspects of citizenship, democracy and teacher education.

Civic and citizenship education in Estonia with a focus on the civic aspects of teacher education are considered in Chapter 4. Since regaining independence in 1990s the post-soviet Estonia has been known for its neoliberal policies. In education the influence of neoliberalism

has been more subtle and mixed with other aspects of their culture. There are long humanist and pedagogical traditions in Estonia, but due to the limited democracy and nation state processes and procedures, the civic aspect has not been particularly emphasised. The theoretical framework of the paper will derive on the model of competences for democratic culture of the Council of Europe but will complement, or at times, juxtapose with the more instrumental values, attitudes, skills and knowledge of the neoliberal citizen, including self-efficacy as legal actors, citizen-consumers, entrepreneurs etc. This will be related to the role that teacher and teacher educators play in educating for democratic citizenship through considering their civic dispositions, curricula and pedagogy.

Finland, the country whose teacher education and development of citizenship is explored in Chapter 5 is considered to be among the most democratic countries according to many international surveys. Nevertheless, the level of student participation in Finnish school practices is below average compared to other European Union countries. In this context, teacher education is seen to be one of the key factors in the process of developing democracy, necessitating that democracy and participation should be made more visible and better incorporated into its curricula. To support the professional development of teacher educators, the Finns' Ministry of Education and Culture funded projects whereby networks of teacher educators promoted democracy in their departments *via* different experiments (interventions). In this chapter an overview of these interventions is given followed by an analysis of the nature of democracy embedded in these interventions. Research data gathered from educational policy documents, documented experiments and interviews is analysed in relation to the Council of Europe's competences of Knowledge and critical understanding (CoE, 2016). Specific research questions to be investigated are: Does teacher education in Finland promote students' critical understanding of critical citizenship, and does TE practice reflect the aims of policy? Critical citizenship in this context contains competences listed in the CoE's Competences for Democratic Culture.

The complex interplay of factors that influence how democracy and citizenship are understood and taught in teacher education and in schools in the Republic of Ireland is explored in Chapter 6. A key area of focus is the historical circumstances leading to the birth of the Irish Republic, and Northern Ireland, which ensures that discussions around citizenship and around democracy on the island of Ireland are tied into culture (particularly language), history, and religion, resulting in continuing tension and conflict. The role of the Catholic religion in the foundation of the state, and its influence on education policy, on teacher training, and on schools is discussed in detail, as is its influence and impact on political beliefs and perspectives on democratic citizenship. The citizenship syllabus within the Irish national curriculum is explored, at primary level within the subject "social, personal and health education" and at secondary level within the subject "civic, social and political education" . There is a focus on content, teaching, and training within these curriculum areas with a particular focus on Irish and European democratic citizenship, given the importance that EU membership has had for the Republic of Ireland as a modern European nation. Finally, in the post-Celtic tiger era, the effect of neoliberalism on Irish education policy is evaluated, together with the extent to which current education policy supports the democratic rights of all children in the Republic of Ireland.

Chapter 7 investigates Italian citizenship, which is based on a system of rules and behaviours that makes civil coexistence possible in a specific social and political reality. But it also means a sense of roots and a knowledge of one's own land, of his/her culture and history has to be developed: this makes possible a responsible participation in the development of one's

community and territory in a perspective of sustainability and attention to the future of the entire world. In Italy the need to educate new generations for global and planetary citizenship, as recommended by the Council of Europe (2016) and the European Parliament to all member states, has been accepted in various national school regulations. The chapter aims to analyze the challenges faced by Italian educational institutions in forming citizens who can recognize their national identity and at the same time are able to meet and interpret far more extensive forms of citizenship, not only transnational, but also global: a citizenship, therefore, that includes not only territorial and spatial dimensions, but also relates to the dimensions of temporality, to the new virtual worlds, to techno-scientific contexts. The results of a survey, aimed at secondary school teachers, on knowledge related to migration, global citizenship and co-development, on training needs and teaching related to participatory and collaborative methodologies, are analysed. The findings suggest that, in this context of international crisis it is even more urgent to increase social and civic competences to promote the eradication of poverty, the expansion of justice and social equity and human rights. Migration and co-development represent a social issue to be transformed into an educational object, with the contribution of knowledge and scholastic disciplines.

Developing capacities of teachers for teaching democratic citizenship has been one of the core aims of teacher education reform efforts in the last two decades in Kosovo. Chapter 8 focuses on a country that declared its independence in 2008 following a period of decades of hardship. Kosovo emerged from the dissolution of the former communist Yugoslavia, and its path to independence was associated with numerous challenges involving tragic conflict. Within the efforts to reform its education system, Kosovo embarked on curriculum reform which advanced the concept of outcomes-based education. The new curriculum (endorsed in 2011) adopted the competence-based approach, emphasizing the following competences: effective communicator, creative thinker, successful learner, productive contributor, healthy individual and responsible citizen. The 'responsible citizenship' competence links with the idea of developing democratic citizenship and resonates with the Council of Europe's Competences for Democratic Culture (2016). Teacher education reform in last two decades has followed the approach to raising qualification requirements for all teachers with the latest trend of introducing Masters' level qualification requirements. This chapter will examine two important areas in this regard: how is the teacher education curricula addressing the needs for developing a democratic citizenship competence; and what is teacher understanding of developing democratic citizenship in terms of practice at school level? The chapter provides an historic overview of the development of the concept of democracy in the Kosovar society. There is a parallel analysis of how education developed and the role it played in the transformation of Kosovo into a democratic and independent state. The data for this evaluation includes a critical analysis of all policy documents such as legislation and curricula documents, and teacher education curricula. Qualitative data on how democracy is perceived and addressed at practice level has been collected from two teacher educators who deliver civics education modules for prospective teachers, and also from 15 teachers from two schools. The chapter concludes by addressing questions on the role education and the school context can play in enhancing Kosovo's democratic culture during its transition to being a post-conflict society.

Chapter 9 dissects the concept and practices of citizenship education in initial teacher education in Europe with a focus on Portugal and positioning using critical, post-critical, and decolonial perspectives. The authors endeavour to identify how to create alternatives in teacher education to challenge curriculum epistemicides in teacher and school education. An example of a teacher education project developed in the context of the practicum is provided.

The pedagogical intervention in the project focused on the development of citizenship education and intercultural competence in foreign language learning at the primary level. It is an example that shows how transformative citizenship and intercultural education can be implemented in initial teacher education, in a way that challenges subtractive curriculum forms in school education whilst advancing the struggle for social and cognitive justice. Free speech has been a cornerstone in Western society and is deeply associated with democracy as a form of government based on "the people".

Chapter 10 starts with the idea of the professional teacher which influences teacher education programmes in Sweden and places the idea of the professional teacher in relation to ideas about free speech, teachers' democratic assignment to combat violence, and far right movements mobilizing people. It provides an understanding of how teacher educators within teacher education institutions in Sweden are expected to teach about teacher professionalism. What is particularly highlighted are the tensions between this idea of teacher professionalism in relation to free speech, radical rights movements' stress upon political correctness, and the teachers' mission to socialise young people to become democratic citizens capable of opposing various forms of violence. The authors argue that freedom of speech should be related to basic values regarding how the teacher intends to educate student for democratic citizenship. By relating their discussion to the Council of Europe's conceptual model of 20 competences (2016) the authors also attempt to contextualise student teachers notions of freedom of speech to these competences and value dimensions.

The key findings from this and preceding chapters are concluded in the final chapter, Chapter 11, leading to an analysis and evaluation of the insights gained on the questions posed in Chapter 1, and an assessment of the relevance and impact of these insights for practice leading to enhancing teacher education for the development of democratic citizenship, leading to future research.

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