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Cities and Urban Spaces: Chances for Cultural and Citizenship Education

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“Citizenship education in a changing urban environment: opportunities and challenges”

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1. Urban development and citizenship education

Looking at the different possible scenarios envisaged for the cities of the next decades, several questions arise in relation to the opportunities for citizenship education that can derive from the changes in the urban life.

What are the challenges for citizenship education linked to the ongoing changes and developments in European cities? What opportunities these developments will give citizens to actively participate in the “city life” and to contribute to its development? How the new urban environments will increase citizens’ participation?

Simultaneously, it is worthy investigating whether and to what extent citizens will be really able to take the new opportunities urban environments will give them. Or, in other terms, what do they need in order to actually be “more creative local actors”.

Which are the competencies citizens need in order to actively participate in society? What kind of competencies do they need in order to face the conflicts arising from globalization and cultural changes?

From an educational perspective, the question is how citizenship education – at school and out of school, both at a formal and an informal level – can contribute to preparing citizens able to exercise their rights and take their responsibilities, actively engaged in their communities/societies, willing to (and able to) deal with the opportunities and the challenges they face in their daily life.

2. What is meant by “citizenship education”?

2.1 “Education for Democratic Citizenship” programme run by the Council of Europe

As part of the programme on “Education for Democratic Citizenship” launched by the Council of Europe in the mid 1990s¹, education for democratic citizenship²

¹ The programme is currently being merged into the ‘Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights’ Project.

² Objectives can be found in different official documents of the Council of Europe. See the resolution adopted by the Council of Europe Ministers of Education at their 20th session, Cracow, Poland 15-17 October 2000 (*Project on “Education for Democratic Citizenship”*: Resolution adopted by the Council of Europe Ministers of Education at their 20th session, Cracow, Poland, 15-17 October 2000, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 15 November 2000. Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2000) 40) and the Recommendation (2002)12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on education for democratic citizenship, adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 16

- Is based on the fundamental principles of human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law;
- Refers to rights and responsibilities empowerment, participation and belonging, and respect for diversity;
- Aims to prepare young people and adults for active participation in democratic society, thus strengthening democratic culture;
- Is instrumental in the fight against violence, xenophobia, racism, aggressive nationalism and intolerance;
- Contributes to social cohesion, social justice and the common good;
- Strengthens civil society by helping to make its citizens informed and knowledgeable and
- endowing them with democratic skills;
- Gives equal importance to knowledge and values, and attitudes and the capacity for action and participation in a democratic society.

This idea of citizenship education requires an articulated approach capable of taking into account both different dimensions of citizenship (political, legal, cultural, social) and the process of progressive integration under way at an international level. In addition, as citizenship education aims at building and developing competencies, it should be related to the building of attitudes and values consistent with those of a democratic society, i.e. the affective-motivational and value dimensions inherent to competencies.

This conception of citizenship education leads to a series of consequences - and a series of questions - not only about how this area of education is set up and organized, but also how the school as a whole carries out its instruction and education task.

The building of citizenship skills and competencies is not only the result of the acquisition of the curricular contents, but also of all the experiences pupils/students have within the school (and within classes). In order to make it possible for students to effectively exercise their skills in active participation and school decision-making processes this should be actually feasible in terms of quality of school organization as a whole, though very important student participation in school governance is only one facet of participation. The school as a whole should be characterized as a democratic and open learning environment at different levels: relationships within the school, school climate and culture, and classroom climate. International surveys on civics and citizenship education, carried out by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), suggest that there seems to be a direct relationship between a classroom climate open to discussion and students' attitudes and willingness to participate in the life of the

school and between classroom climate and students' sense of self-efficacy (defined as the belief in the effectiveness of their participation in decision making)³.

A further contribution provided by the Council of Europe project consists in the focus on the conditions that can actually make possible an effective development of policies and practices relating to education for democratic citizenship. A specific study on education policies for democratic citizenship in European countries has consistently pinpointed the existence of a gap between policy and practice, thus identifying the risk of a "rhetoric" of education for democratic citizenship, consisting in not ensuring that principle declarations and international commitments are

October 2002 at the 812th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies (Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2002) 38). See also C. Bîrzéa, *Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Lifelong Learning Perspective*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 20 June 2000, Doc. DGIV7EDU7CIT 820009 21.

³ Torney-Purta J., Lehmann R., Oswald H. and Schulz W. (2001). *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries*, Amsterdam, IEA and Schulz W., Ainley J., Fraillon J., Losito B. (2010). *Initial Findings from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study*, IEA : Amsterdam..

followed up by relevant and suitable measures for commitment implementation⁴. This gap is visible at many levels: between policies and implementation strategies at a macro-level, and between declared policy and actually developed practice, at a micro level. The gap is evident not only in school curricula but also in democratic school governance, in the quality of the teaching-learning processes and in the lifelong learning perspective.

2.2 The Eurydice study on citizenship education at school

The term “active citizenship” has been adopted within the European Union, with the declared intention of drawing attention to an essential component for democracy, namely that of citizen participation also known as “responsible citizenship”. In a study conducted by Eurydice on citizenship education at school, the term “responsible citizenship” is defined as follows:

Arguably, therefore, ‘responsible citizenship’ as a rule embodies issues relating to the **knowledge and exercise of civic rights and responsibilities**. All countries also link the concept to certain values closely associated with the role of a responsible citizen. They include democracy, human dignity, freedom, respect for human rights, tolerance, equality, respect for law, social justice, solidarity, responsibility, loyalty, cooperation, participation, and spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development.⁵

Based on the curricula adopted by European school systems, the objectives for citizenship education may be grouped in the three categories of: the acquisition of knowledge about institutions and political processes, the conditions within which social cohesion and inclusion take place, as well as respect for cultural, linguistic, political, social and economic differences (political literacy); the development of critical thinking and attitudes and values consistent with the fundamental principles of democratic societies; the development of the skills needed to participate in social and political life, which springs from the participation in decision making in the school and in the local community.

2.3 “Active Citizenship for Democracy” project

“Active Citizenship for Democracy” project was launched jointly by the European Commission and the Council of Europe and had as main objective the identification and definition of indicators for active citizenship and active citizenship education, within the Lisbon Process on education. In this project “active citizenship” was defined as

Participation in civil society, community and/or political life, characterised by mutual respect and non-violence and in accordance with human rights and democracy.⁶

From the point of view of the definition of indicators to monitor progress at a European level towards the achievement of the objectives within the Lisbon process, the project focused on the recognition of knowledge, skills and attitudes considered essential to the exercise of citizenship rights and responsibilities, and corresponding objectives of education for active citizenship. These objectives are organized into the five domains of knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and sense of identity.

⁴ On these particular issues see Harrison C., Baumgartl B., *Stocktaking Research on Policies on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Management of Diversity in South-East Europe*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 8 February 2002, Doc. DGIV/EDU/CIT (2001) 45 Final; Council of Europe (2004). *All-European Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies*, Council of Europe: Strasbourg.

⁵ Eurydice (2005). *Citizenship Education at School in Europe*, Eurydice: Brussels, p. 13

⁶ European Commission - Centre for Research on Lifelong Learning - Council of Europe, *Active Citizenship for Democracy. Report of the second research network meeting*, Strasbourg, 4-5 May, 2006. The definition was proposed by the project expert group

The implicit idea behind the organization into domains is that the “active citizen” needs such knowledge and skills, which in turn contribute - together with attitudes and values - to the developing and strengthening of a sense of personal multiple identity in relation to the multiplicity of contexts in which every citizen participates.

Skills refer to some “principle factors”: creativity, the ability to support individual points of view, research skills (including information collection and selection), critical thinking, communication and effective listening skills, problem solving, the ability to work effectively with others to effect change through collaboration and consensus, the ability to resolve conflicts, the ability to participate autonomously and consciously in decision-making, “intercultural competence”.⁷ One of the most interesting outcomes of this study is the attempt to combine competence building (and thus knowledge and skills), with attitude and value development, with the gradual acquisition of a sense of personal and collective identity. In the perspective put forward by this project - as well as in the perspective of education for democratic citizenship fostered by the Council of Europe - none of these various dimensions can be isolated from the others. While it may seem obvious, the consequences acquire a significant role in making choices about teaching and education.

3. Key competencies and citizenship competencies

The competencies identified as citizenship competencies are often characterized by a “transversal status” due to the fact that they are not directly referable to any specific curricular area. They may be developed within different curricular areas. To a large extent they overlap with the competencies identified as “key competencies” within the international projects promoted by OECD and the European Commission⁸.

Specifically, the Definition and Selection of Key Competencies (DeSeCo) project led to the recognition of three broad categories: using tools interactively, interacting in heterogeneous groups, acting autonomously. These three categories, each with its specific focus, are interrelated and collectively form a basis for identifying and mapping key competencies. The first key competence, i.e. using tools interactively, refers to the ability to use language, symbols and different texts as well to the ability to use technology, knowledge and information. The second key competence, i.e. interacting in heterogeneous groups, concerns the ability to relate well to others, to cooperate, to address and resolve conflicts. The ability to work within a broad and differentiated context, the ability to build and implement individual projects and the ability to assert one’s own rights, interests, needs and limits are the third category of basic competencies.

The key competencies identified within the DeSeCo project share definite characteristics: they are interrelated, they need to be supported and developed to avoid progressive decline, they are intended to enable individuals to participate actively in society. By doing this, individuals will be able on the one hand to meet complex challenges in order to build a personal, relational and occupational life project, and on the other hand to contribute to the dynamic transformation of the social context within which individuals live. Hence, key competencies can be regarded, to all intents and purposes, as citizenship competencies. Undeedy they are central to every citizen’s ability to participate effectively and consciously in the development of society, to exercise rights and take responsibilities, to defend and assert personal rights, needs, interests and limits.

⁷ European Commission - Centre for Research on Lifelong Learning - Council of Europe, *Working towards Indicators for Active Citizenship*, p. 22. It is the preparatory document for the international conference held by the European Commission at Joint Research Centre, 20-21 September 2006. See also H. J. Abs and R. Veldhuis, *Indicators on Active Citizenship for Democracy. The social, cultural and economic domain*, Paper by order of the Council of Europe for the CRELL-Network on Active Citizenship for Democracy at the European Commission’s Joint Research Center in Ispra, Italy, August 2006.

⁸ See *Definition and Selection of Key Competencies* at http://www.oecd.org/document/17/0,2340,en_2649_201185_2669073_1_1_1_1,00.html. A synthesis of results can also be found at <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/47/61/35070367.pdf>. In addition, see Eurydice (2002). *Key Competencies*, Eurydice: Brussels.

The DeSeCo project is intertwined with the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) project developed to assess 15-year-old students' knowledge, skills, and competencies in reading, mathematics and science. PISA uses the term literacy to indicate the basic competencies in the three areas of reading, mathematics and science. The competencies identified in these projects, although not defined as citizenship competencies, represent an indispensable positive feature for every citizen. A low level of competence is not only a limit to individual development, it is also a limit to the success of an open and democratic society as a whole, with all the risks that this may entail.

Following this line of reasoning, either a citizen will effectively be "competent", or he will not be able to exercise his citizenship rights. In this perspective, the set of basic competencies are the competencies required to be an active and responsible citizen. In fact, according to the Council of Europe and the European Commission projects, certain competencies acquire a specific value when the ability to use knowledge and skills relevant to the active and responsible participation in cultural, social and political life is involved. The idea that citizenship competencies form part of basic competencies is supported by the Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council, 18 December 2006, on key competences for lifelong learning⁹. In the annex to this Recommendation, "social and civic competences" are included among the key competencies.

4. The gap between theory and practice. Results from international surveys

Regardless of these studies and policy declarations, results from international studies show that citizenship education is still far from achieving a well-established position/status and a well-recognized role within school education. The same is true for adult education. Adult education at a European level is still largely limited to the priority of language education for foreigners.

Regarding the gap between theory and practice within the policies for citizenship education emerging in the Council of Europe study, the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) carried out by IEA¹⁰ showed that principals and teachers consider the most important aims of citizenship education to be those related to the cognitive area i.e. the knowledge of social, political, and civil institutions; the promotion of citizens' rights and responsibilities). Aims such as promoting students' participation in the local community or in school life are not considered to be among the most important. At the same time, students' participation in activities carried out by the school in the local community is very often limited to cultural and sport events. "Participation" and the building of the competences needed in order to actively participate in the school, in the community and in society seem not to be at the top of principals and teachers priorities (see attached tables). Furthermore, students' participation in the running of the school and in school decision-making processes still needs to be developed.

More in general, studies such as PISA showed that in several countries (Italy, for examples) the level of performance in some key competences (reading literacy, mathematical literacy, science literacy) is not satisfactory for large percentages of students. Surveys on adult literacy (such as OCSE ALL - Adult Literacy and Life skills) showed similar results for adult population.

⁹ Recommendations of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning (2006/962/EC). *Official Journal of the European Union*, 30.12.2006.

¹⁰ See Schulz W., Ainley J., Fraillon J., Losito B. (2010). *Initial Findings from the IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study*, IEA: Amsterdam.

How can citizens with a low level of basic skills and competences actually participate in their community/society life? What are the risks of social exclusion for those citizens? How can they deal with the diversities and challenges of our future cities/societies? How can they develop their cultural identity and dealing with their multiple identities?

These are the questions to keep in mind in relation to the new opportunities offered by urban environments in the upcoming decades: facing cultural diversity, new spaces for social relations, greater access to information, media and cultural activities, better opportunities for direct participation in decision-making processes concerning the local community.

These are “just” opportunities and people can actually seize them if they have the knowledge and skills essential for full participation in society.

This is a challenge not only for citizenship education but also for education in general.

Teachers' ratings of the most important aims of civic and citizenship education (in national percentages of teachers)

Percentages of teachers considering the following to be an important aim of civic and citizenship education:

Country	Promoting knowledge of social, political and civic institutions	Promoting respect and tolerance of other cultures	Promoting responsibility towards one's own country	Developing awareness of and competence in conflict resolution	Promoting awareness of and responsibility for the environment	Promoting awareness and participation in local community	Promoting awareness of civil and human rights	Promoting awareness and participation in schools	Supporting development of decision-making and problem-solving skills	Promoting awareness of civic participation
Bulgaria	28 (2,0)	43 (1,6)	36 (1,7)	30 (1,8)	61 (1,4)	11 (1,4)	55 (1,2)	28 (1,6)	4 (0,8)	3 (0,5)
Cyprus	41 (1,8)	34 (1,8)	34 (1,8)	23 (1,5)	45 (1,7)	12 (1,2)	63 (1,5)	18 (1,3)	22 (1,4)	8 (0,9)
Czech Republic ^r	36 (1,7)	37 (1,3)	36 (1,3)	44 (1,7)	57 (1,3)	19 (1,0)	45 (1,6)	9 (0,2)	12 (0,2)	2 (0,4)
Estonia	46 (1,6)	30 (1,6)	23 (1,2)	30 (1,5)	71 (1,3)	12 (1,0)	66 (1,3)	13 (0,2)	1 (0,3)	7 (0,8)
Finland	27 (1,1)	61 (1,0)	14 (0,7)	44 (1,1)	37 (1,0)	7 (0,6)	81 (0,2)	18 (0,8)	9 (0,7)	1 (0,3)
France ^z	42 (1,5)	30 (1,4)	13 (0,9)	22 (1,1)	56 (1,3)	40 (1,3)	40 (1,6)	19 (1,0)	12 (1,0)	7 (0,7)
Italy	50 (1,1)	38 (1,1)	12 (0,7)	21 (1,0)	78 (1,0)	8 (0,6)	58 (1,2)	11 (0,7)	21 (1,0)	2 (0,3)
Latvia	27 (2,0)	35 (2,0)	38 (1,7)	27 (1,7)	52 (1,7)	9 (1,1)	61 (1,3)	20 (1,8)	1 (0,3)	13 (1,5)
Ukraine	31 (4,6)	35 (5,5)	20 (4,1)	58 (5,3)	19 (3,8)	3 (1,5)	74 (3,8)	11 (2,4)	30 (4,2)	19 (4,3)
Lithuania	17 (1,1)	40 (1,5)	25 (1,2)	34 (1,4)	54 (1,4)	24 (1,3)	57 (1,4)	35 (1,4)	2 (0,5)	2 (0,4)
Malta	20 (1,6)	58 (1,8)	18 (1,6)	32 (1,8)	60 (1,8)	18 (1,5)	60 (1,2)	21 (1,6)	10 (1,0)	3 (0,6)
Poland	24 (1,3)	29 (1,1)	22 (1,0)	36 (1,4)	53 (1,3)	38 (1,3)	44 (1,5)	35 (1,3)	7 (0,6)	10 (0,9)
Russian Federation	16 (1,1)	52 (1,4)	33 (1,4)	34 (1,2)	76 (0,2)	18 (0,2)	39 (1,2)	19 (1,6)	3 (0,6)	9 (0,7)
Slovak Republic	38 (1,4)	50 (1,5)	18 (1,0)	43 (1,4)	63 (1,5)	12 (1,0)	41 (1,6)	15 (1,5)	16 (1,5)	1 (0,3)
Slovenia	24 (1,0)	55 (1,0)	31 (0,9)	40 (1,0)	40 (1,1)	5 (0,5)	64 (1,0)	17 (1,0)	13 (0,7)	1 (0,2)
Spain	17 (1,0)	32 (1,3)	22 (1,1)	57 (1,5)	61 (1,3)	3 (0,4)	67 (1,4)	13 (0,2)	23 (1,2)	3 (0,5)
Sweden ^r	16 (1,1)	37 (1,3)	24 (1,2)	30 (1,2)	62 (1,6)	2 (0,4)	84 (0,2)	10 (0,8)	31 (1,3)	2 (0,4)
European countries average	29 (0,3)	42 (0,3)	25 (0,2)	36 (0,3)	56 (0,2)	14 (0,2)	59 (0,3)	19 (0,2)	13 (0,2)	6 (0,2)
ICCS average	33 (0,4)	41 (0,4)	20 (0,3)	41 (0,4)	60 (0,3)	16 (0,2)	52 (0,3)	19 (0,3)	10 (0,3)	7 (0,2)
Countries not meeting sampling requirements										
Austria	25 (2,0)	27 (1,5)	38 (1,5)	46 (1,2)	17 (1,2)	3 (0,5)	65 (1,5)	2 (0,5)	21 (1,7)	16 (2,3)
Belgium (Flemish)	17 (1,1)	58 (1,4)	46 (1,5)	59 (1,2)	25 (1,2)	11 (0,2)	58 (1,4)	14 (0,2)	11 (1,0)	1 (0,2)
Denmark	48 (1,6)	22 (1,7)	20 (1,7)	51 (1,7)	32 (1,2)	7 (1,1)	89 (1,2)	4 (0,2)	9 (1,4)	16 (1,1)
England	27 (1,3)	36 (1,5)	13 (0,2)	31 (1,5)	50 (1,4)	27 (1,5)	64 (1,3)	22 (1,3)	23 (1,2)	6 (0,6)
Luxembourg	46 (4,1)	33 (3,5)	22 (2,8)	36 (3,8)	57 (4,0)	6 (1,5)	64 (3,3)	14 (2,6)	15 (2,7)	5 (1,5)
Switzerland	33 (1,8)	43 (2,2)	28 (1,8)	48 (1,6)	32 (1,2)	5 (0,7)	70 (1,7)	10 (0,2)	15 (1,4)	16 (1,4)

^r Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.
^z Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.
National Desired Population does not cover all of International Desired Population.
Source: IEA ICCS.
Teachers were asked to select the three most important aims of citizenship education.

Principals' ratings of the most important aims of civic and citizenship education (in national percentages of principals)

Percentages of principals considering the following to be an important aim of civic and citizenship education:

Country	Promoting knowledge about political institutions	Promoting respect and solidarity in the classroom	Promoting the capacity to influence one's own participation	Developing students' skills and competences in working together	Promoting knowledge of citizens' rights and responsibilities	Promoting students' participation in the local community	Promoting students' critical and independent thinking	Promoting students' participation in schools	Supporting the development of effective strategies for higher education and workplaces	Preparing students for future political engagement
Austria	30 (5.1)	12 (3.8)	25 (4.7)	42 (4.8)	10 (3.2)	3 (1.9)	51 (5.4)	5 (2.2)	12 (3.5)	14 (3.7)
Belgium (Flemish)	26 (5.0)	42 (4.5)	40 (4.7)	59 (4.8)	19 (4.8)	10 (2.9)	61 (5.0)	30 (4.1)	9 (2.4)	4 (3.2)
Bulgaria	43 (6.0)	27 (4.0)	28 (5.8)	27 (4.3)	72 (4.8)	19 (4.8)	45 (4.5)	31 (5.0)	1 (0.6)	5 (1.6)
Cyprus	55 (7.2)	21 (4.8)	22 (6.2)	22 (6.2)	66 (6.8)	10 (3.5)	60 (6.3)	21 (5.5)	14 (4.8)	9 (3.9)
Czech Republic	46 (4.9)	32 (4.2)	36 (4.2)	31 (4.2)	73 (3.7)	16 (3.3)	45 (3.9)	13 (2.8)	6 (2.2)	2 (1.3)
Denmark	54 (5.0)	15 (3.7)	7 (2.3)	46 (4.5)	43 (4.8)	13 (2.5)	81 (3.8)	4 (1.4)	15 (4.0)	23 (3.4)
England	38 (6.4)	24 (5.7)	3 (1.3)	19 (4.9)	70 (4.8)	45 (5.8)	45 (6.4)	32 (5.8)	10 (2.9)	13 (3.0)
Estonia	72 (4.0)	11 (3.2)	19 (4.8)	13 (2.9)	87 (3.8)	9 (3.8)	75 (5.0)	8 (2.0)	0 (0.0)	5 (1.9)
Finland	47 (4.5)	49 (4.7)	9 (3.8)	36 (3.8)	44 (4.0)	10 (2.4)	84 (2.8)	10 (2.7)	6 (2.6)	4 (1.7)
Greece	57 (7.1)	12 (3.2)	23 (5.8)	21 (6.1)	69 (5.7)	6 (2.5)	47 (6.3)	10 (3.9)	4 (1.9)	53 (7.0)
Ireland	72 (4.9)	41 (4.5)	3 (2.0)	12 (2.9)	75 (4.4)	30 (5.7)	41 (5.5)	9 (2.7)	4 (1.9)	9 (3.2)
Italy	61 (4.2)	20 (3.2)	5 (2.2)	25 (4.5)	85 (3.5)	25 (4.8)	64 (4.9)	6 (1.4)	8 (3.1)	1 (0.4)
Latvia	32 (4.7)	10 (2.6)	34 (5.7)	15 (4.3)	76 (5.0)	17 (4.1)	66 (5.8)	31 (5.8)	1 (0.8)	17 (4.8)
Liechtenstein	22 (15.9)	44 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	44 (16.3)	44 (20.0)	0 (0.0)	78 (15.9)	11 (11.2)	22 (2.2)	33 (19.5)
Lithuania	22 (3.5)	49 (6.4)	10 (2.7)	11 (2.3)	63 (5.8)	31 (5.5)	68 (5.8)	44 (6.9)	3 (2.8)	1 (0.3)
Luxembourg	68 (12.0)	18 (9.1)	5 (4.6)	23 (10.2)	59 (7.9)	9 (6.4)	59 (10.2)	23 (4.8)	18 (6.4)	18 (9.1)
Malta	13 (5.0)	53 (6.8)	11 (3.8)	32 (5.5)	70 (5.2)	25 (5.0)	66 (5.8)	21 (5.6)	6 (3.3)	0 (0.0)
Norway	54 (7.8)	21 (5.9)	8 (2.8)	34 (7.7)	35 (6.4)	22 (3.8)	64 (6.7)	22 (4.1)	31 (8.5)	9 (3.9)
Poland	36 (5.9)	21 (4.7)	11 (2.9)	32 (5.3)	66 (6.0)	44 (5.2)	33 (4.7)	34 (5.6)	2 (1.0)	20 (5.5)
Russian Federation	22 (3.5)	23 (4.8)	37 (4.5)	25 (4.0)	76 (3.9)	17 (3.9)	43 (4.7)	27 (3.9)	3 (2.2)	25 (4.4)
Slovak Republic	40 (4.9)	35 (5.0)	12 (3.8)	44 (5.2)	70 (5.5)	15 (4.2)	58 (5.0)	11 (3.1)	12 (3.6)	3 (1.8)
Slovenia	30 (4.4)	49 (3.9)	29 (5.4)	26 (3.8)	63 (4.3)	5 (1.9)	72 (4.8)	21 (5.0)	4 (1.5)	3 (1.4)
Spain	24 (4.2)	26 (4.6)	6 (2.0)	52 (5.2)	77 (4.2)	5 (2.1)	73 (4.7)	15 (3.5)	18 (4.5)	3 (1.8)
Sweden	21 (3.7)	24 (4.7)	16 (3.8)	23 (4.5)	79 (5.0)	1 (0.7)	89 (3.8)	13 (4.3)	31 (6.0)	3 (2.4)
Switzerland	48 (6.5)	28 (5.2)	23 (6.0)	44 (6.0)	36 (5.0)	13 (4.8)	64 (5.8)	8 (2.2)	5 (1.8)	32 (4.9)
European countries average	41 (6.3)	28 (6.3)	17 (6.6)	36 (6.8)	61 (6.9)	16 (6.6)	61 (6.9)	18 (6.8)	16 (6.5)	12 (6.7)
ICCS average	42 (1.6)	31 (1.6)	15 (6.7)	33 (1.6)	66 (1.6)	18 (6.7)	55 (1.6)	18 (6.8)	8 (6.5)	12 (6.8)
Countries not meeting sampling requirements										
Netherlands	40 (8.0)	22 (6.5)	28 (8.8)	64 (7.3)	22 (7.8)	13 (6.8)	69 (8.4)	15 (4.8)	12 (6.8)	13 (5.7)
† Met guidelines for sampling participation rates only after replacement schools were included.										
‡ Nearly satisfied guidelines for sample participation only after replacement schools were included.										
Source: IEA ICCS.										
Principals were asked to select the three most important aims of citizenship education.										