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Teacher education for citizenship in Europe, a common module

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The process of European integration often seems to advance inexorably without any real participation from the European *demos* and appears a distant project to most European citizens (Chrysochoou 1998:70). The process of this predominantly elite-driven and exclusive project was subject to severe scrutiny and opposition during the national debates surrounding the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty. Even though the treaty introduced for the first time a category of European citizen (Article 8), for most Europeans it meant and continues to mean very little. As Osler and Starkey note:

...the inhabitants of Europe, living their local realities sometimes based in poverty and unemployment, and subject to racism, inadequate housing and high levels of crime, may not recognise that the European project is, in its intention, inclusive, since an inclusive society is far removed from their actual experience (Osler and Starkey 1999:1)

Education for citizenship is seen then as an important way of trying to create a greater sense of belonging for European citizens. It is proposed that one way to facilitate the realisation of this project may start from developing courses on citizenship.

Furthermore, it has been recognised that in order to overcome the democratic deficit it is not just a question of democratising the institutions of Europe. In addition, there must also be the development of a 'self-conscious, civic-minded and politically active transnational *demos*' (Chrysochoou 1998:71). The way to do this is through more active participation by the 'constituent *demoi*' in local and regional participative processes, which may then be seen by citizens as a way of bringing some influence to bear on the EU supranational institutions. Citizens may need to be made aware of the possibilities of this kind of participation.

Citizenship education, therefore, has a key role to play in this process. The focus here is predominantly on the kind of education about citizenship that young people receive in their various schools. Another important aspect of citizenship education concerns the way in which all students in Higher Education, whether trainee teachers or not, find out about citizenship on their courses.

At present there is an ongoing discussion as to whether the module discussed here will be offered as a European Module (3 universities), or an Intensive Course Programme (4 universities). So far one meeting has been held, in April 2000 in Montpellier, between staff from the University of North London (UNL) and Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier III (UPV). Discussions are also ongoing with colleagues from Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB).

The module/course would be offered to students at the same level - MA, Bac+5/DEA, Diplomatura - taught at the same time in all three universities using a common text, and be delivered initially in English, French and Spanish at the respective universities (Catalan is not at present recognised as an official language of the EU). The common text would be one of Jürgen Habermas' recent works on European citizenship. There would be about 40 hours tuition, which would include a week of intensive seminars for all students

about half way through the course, held on a rotating basis at each of the participating universities.

The module will examine the concept of citizenship as it has been understood and articulated in Europe since the 18th century. It will aim to provide a critical and comparative understanding of the new 'European citizen', as defined in the Maastricht and Amsterdam treaties. In particular, it will problematise the way in which the new concept of European citizen reinforces the link between nationality and citizenship. The citizen-national link will be examined in light of debates about the need for citizenship to be based on universal notions of human rights and democracy, which promote inclusion rather than exclusion.

In the process of developing the module, we were concerned from the outset to follow certain principles about citizenship education outlined by Osler and Starkey (1999:200). For them, citizenship education requires both a cognitive element and an affective dimension concerned with personal development. Many courses cover information and knowledge, but few prioritise affective and experiential aspects of learning. Mere knowledge of rights per se, as the authors note, will not be sufficient to achieve rights. Education for citizenship must go beyond the usual fare in 'civics' courses, and engage with the students' own 'previous social experience' in order to empower them to become active citizens.

To promote this kind of experiential learning and maximise participation, it is proposed to collaborate with students on some of the later design of the course. In particular, the structure of the intensive week would be jointly negotiated by staff and students. During that week the students would be expected to participate fully in all aspects of course delivery. It is our intention that joint projects are developed between the three groups of students.

Given the location and method of delivery of the course, substantial use would be made of the Internet, and CiCe's 'Livelihood' website. The development of modules on-line is also being considered.

Provisional course outline

1. The Republican and Anglo-Saxon models of citizenship

The work of Habermas (1992) has been important in recent years for analysing the development of citizenship in Europe and the different forms it has taken. The two models are based generally on the individualistic and instrumentalist role of the citizen in the liberal tradition of John Locke, contrasted with the more communitarian model common to Republican systems.

2. Citizenship and identity

The link between citizenship and national identity has been clearly outlined in the recent works of Delgado-Moreira (1997) and Colley (1999). Colley proposes trying to separate out this link to consider more universal forms of citizenship. The main question concerns the possibility for some kind of sense of belonging to be established on the basis of 'political and functional' norms rather than on the more 'ancestral and visceral' modes of national identity. (See also Edye and Copp 2000, forthcoming, for further discussion on this issue.)

3. *Nations and nationalism*

The debate between Smith (1991) and Gellner (1983) on the origins and strength of nationalism laid the basis for an analysis of this divisive force within Europe. As micro-nationalisms tear apart the fabric of some nation states, is it possible to consider a formation of states beyond the nation state in an inclusive manner, which does not become prey to the repetitive and destructive syndrome of 'old men kissing old flags'?

4. *The crisis of the nation state*

The rise of supranational institutions and the developing forces of regionalism within the EU have posed fundamental questions about the future role of the nation state in Western Europe. This also raises issues concerning identity and belonging, whereby hybrid and multiple identities seem possible beyond the formerly homogenous and mono-cultural expression of national statehood.

5. *The new European citizen - Maastricht and Amsterdam*

Article 8 of the Maastricht Treaty, as amended by Articles 17-22 of the Amsterdam Treaty, creates a new category of European citizen. However, the link between citizen and nationality is reinforced, in a regressive way. Habermas' (1992) and Meehan's (1993) optimistic prognosis on the development of a European polity will be contrasted with Grimm's (1997) critique.

6. *Immigrants and citizens - inclusion and exclusion*

The link between nationality and citizenship continues to exclude the nearly 12 million residents in the EU who do not enjoy the nationality of a member state. The need to develop an inclusive notion of citizenship will be explored in this section.

7. *Gender and citizenship*

Recent work by, among others, Lister (1997), Walby (1994) and Yuval-Davis (1998) problematises the whole concept of citizenship by questioning its inclusive nature in relation to the role and participation of women.

Intensive seminar week

In suggesting these two themes, the purpose is to provide a context within which students can undertake some kind of comparative and collaborative research work.

1. *Citizenship and democracy - nation state curricula*

The early parts of the course will aim to highlight some of the different kinds of thinking about citizenship over the past two hundred years, and this theme will take up those ideas and analyse the approaches. It will be necessary to compare like with like, but this may prove difficult. However, even the process of becoming aware of those differences is important, and may explain the nature of citizenship education in the respective countries.

2. *Citizenship and the city*

In focusing on the city or district in a city, students can consider some kind of qualitative research project on selected groups' concepts of citizenship using, for example, interviews or questionnaires. There would also be the possibility of quantitative research, for example an analysis of voting patterns and participation rates in the various areas.

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