

Citizenship Education and Political Socialization¹

Dalia Assem, Cairo University, Egypt

Abstract

There are many possible explanations for the impact of education on civic and social engagement. Perhaps it is because education shapes what you know and that the content of education provides knowledge and experience that facilitate civic and social engagement. In addition, education can also help one apply knowledge by developing skills and competencies, which might also foster CSE. Education might also cultivate attitudes, motivations, and values which encourage engagement.

Formal education has a dramatic impact on the ability of individuals to gather information on a variety of subjects, organize facts meaningfully, and efficiently process additional and related knowledge. In short, education enhances cognitive proficiency and analytic ability. This argument is, in fact, one of the main justifications for general education. Becker and economic theorists studying human capital have argued that education is a capital investment essential to increasing earnings and productivity (David Edward, 2017).

In general, research has repeatedly shown that there is a strong relationship between education and civic engagement. Citizens with higher levels of education are more likely to vote, to volunteer, and to support important civic values such as tolerance and respect for democracy. Because educational qualifications are a strong predictor of civic engagement during adulthood, inequalities in education access and outcomes can have lifelong implications for citizens' behaviors, and attitudes and can help to perpetuate social structures and divisions. Schools offer children and young people some of their first opportunities to participate in their communities and to put their citizenship skills into practice (Avril Keating, 2013). These opportunities take many forms, such as:

- Voluntary extra-curricular activities such as simulation Model of United Nations
- Raising money for charities
- Community projects that allow students to resolve local issues, or

¹ If this paper is quoted or referenced, we ask that it be acknowledged as:

Assem, D. (2020). Citizenship Education and Political Socialization. In B. Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz & V. Zorbias (Eds.), *Citizenship at a Crossroads: Rights, Identity, and Education* (pp. 468 - 481). Prague, CZ: Charles University and Children's Identity and Citizenship European Association. ISBN: 978-80-7603-104-3.

- Student councils and other opportunities for students to take part in school decision-making

Political socialization is the process by which we learn our political values, knowledge and behavior. According to Plato's theory of education, citizens should be separated at the age of 11 from their families to begin a journey of intellect and be a part from any loyalties rather than the state. The forming of such citizens can only take place if the students are isolated from parents, family and other private relations, according to Plato, because good citizenship presupposes complete subordination to the higher good of the society and the state. Only when the pupils' familial ties and loyalties have been severed can they become true servants of the "state-theory of education" (Ted Huddleston, David Kerr, 2010).

But in a global interdependent world, like nowadays, it is possible for citizens to become elite, Plato imagined; thus, fulfilling state needs by its citizens. The answer is clearly "No" and not even applicable to this world nor needed. People need education to strengthen political socialization, to think and act and function in their society with their peers and not brainwash them in the name of the state and that the state only knows and always cares as seen by Plato. That is why it is important for schools to play a role in building citizenship and in political socialization.

Political socialization is important in schools. Schools provide opportunities of interactions that extend beyond the individual and the small group and can promote social learning and enlarge it to encompass civic learning. Classroom instruction helps students collect, organize, structure and evaluate impressions from their every day lives and promote the development of appropriate approaches to proceeding, assessing and handling matters of common concern. Also, remoteness of the classroom from everyday life provides the opportunity to use cognitive operations to develop those abstractions and moral generalization that enter into political judgment democracy that should be exercised from early ages and everyday life.

According to the data from the Konstanz longitudinal study conducted in the 1970s and 80s, the development of a political identity during adolescence encompasses the following processes (Avril Keating, 2013):

- Young people cease viewing the political sphere as a natural phenomenon and acquire a sense of responsibility and of the possibility of affecting change. They come to abandon that analogy between private and public harmonizing modes of thinking, awareness of the diversity and conflict of interest.
- As they stop idealizing adults, their simple trust in authority figures declines and is replaced by systematic thinking (i.e., thinking in networks).
- An ability to see through political interdependencies emerges which in turn allows them to assess their own responsibilities of exerting influence on the line of values, to send them simple notions of rules and to give way

to an awareness of democratic processes of negotiation and demands for equality.

Political identity is not a maturing process that takes place by itself and automatically as long as physical survival is guaranteed. It requires interactions with people and state of affairs. The active engagement of all participants is necessary for a development of this kind to take place. It does not result simply from young people being molded by their environment as they absorb its traditions and bodies of knowledge. Socialization is the process of the formation and development of a personality interacting with the social and material environment as mediated by society. Political socialization is the acquisition of political direction, behaviors, values, norms and attitudes interactions with the social environment (Citizenship foundation, www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk).

For all the previously discussed points, civic role was granted to schools in the 18th and 19th centuries, when newly emerging nation-states realized that they could use schools to imbue the younger generations with a sense of a common identity and shared future while providing training for civic life and economic productivity (Ellen Quintlier, 2010). Since then, citizenship and schooling have been closely intertwined and schools have been viewed as a vehicle for fixing the problems that have been identified in the local community or society as a whole.

Since citizens are made (not merely born), citizenship is like any other norm that needs to be introduced, exercised, discussed and experienced in order for it to be acquired as it should. Otherwise, the consequences affect the state with serious implications for the globalized world we live in. The educated citizen is attentive, knowledgeable, and participatory while the uneducated citizen is not (Ellen Quintelier, 2010).

Citizenship

A citizen is a member of a political community or state. How you became a citizen depends on different factors (e.g., place of birth, family ties or period of residence in a country). The term *citizenship* has several different meanings: first, legal and political status; second, involvement in public life and affairs and third, an educational activity (Heba Raouf & others, 2003).

Concerning the legal and political status in its simplest meaning, citizenship is used to refer to the status of being a citizen (i.e., being a member of a particular political community or state). Citizenship in this sense brings with it certain rights and responsibilities that are defined in law such as: The right to vote, the responsibility to pay tax etc... It is sometimes referred to as *nationality* and is what is meant when someone talks about applying for or being refused a citizenship (Avril Keating, 2013)

Regarding the second meaning “involvement in public life and affairs,” the term *citizenship* is also used to refer to involvement in public life and affairs (i.e., the

behavior and actions of a citizen). It is sometimes known as *active citizenship*. Citizenship in this sense is applied to a wide range of activities from voting in elections and standing for political office, to taking an interest in politics and current affairs. It refers not only to rights and responsibilities laid down in the law but also to general form of social and moral behavior which societies expect of their citizens. What these rights, responsibilities and forms of behavior should be is an area of ongoing public debate with people holding a range of use.

With respect to the third meaning as *educational activity*, citizenship is used to refer to an educational activity (i.e., the process of helping people learn and how to become active, informed and responsible citizens). Citizenship in this sense is also known as education or education for citizenship. It encompasses all forms of education from informal education in the home or through youth work to more formal types of education provided in schools, colleges, universities, training organizations and work place (Avril Keating, 2013).

While developing countries are still using the simplest meaning of citizenship (the first meaning), most of developed countries are in the advanced level, that of citizenship creating competitive models of education. But still have challenges because the concept of citizenship is evolving from the simplest form where an individual in the past time can identify himself according to his tribe which is the same as his family and nationality and citizenship to a more regional form of citizenship diverse family and diverse loyalty to the emerge concept of international citizenship; the global citizen with more diverse loyalties and different spheres. Also if we will consider if you know of citizens and individuals from place to another like refugee crisis this creates a more going challenges for developed countries and more importance of citizenship education.

Citizenship Education

Citizenship education is as much a reactive response to societal change as a progressive means to accomplish envisioned societal changes.

Whenever it occurs, citizenship education has the same basic aims and purposes. It is education for citizenship but with very different vision about what to educate and what constitutes an educated citizen throughout history. It is a kind of education which aims to help people learn how to become active, informed and responsible citizens. More specifically, it aims to prepare them for life as citizens of a democracy. Different characteristics are required by citizens in different types of political systems. The characteristics required for people living as free and equal citizens in a democratic society differs significantly from those of people living under Totalitarian regimes. Democracies depend upon citizens who among other things are the following:

aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens, informed about the social and political word, concerned about the welfare of others articulate in their opinions

and arguments, capable of having an influence on the world, active in their communities, responsible in how they act as citizens (Ted Huddleston, David Kerr, 2010).

After a quick overview of the definition of *citizenship* and the emergence of the definition of *citizenship education*, the next section focuses on the function of citizenship. Why do different states use and invest in Citizenship Education?

1. Nation Building Theory & CE

In theory, the ‘nation-building’ exercise, is to let institutions make up the ‘pillars of integrity’. Institutions provide integrative norms and sanctions that affect the ways in which individuals and groups become activated within and outside established rules of appropriate behavior including the level of trust among citizens and leaders, the common aspirations of a political community, the shared language, understanding, and norms of the community, and the meaning of concepts like democracy, justice, liberty, and equality.

Hence, a ‘weakening of one pillar will result in an increased load being shifted on to the others. The success or failure of the overall structure will thus depend on the ability of each element (pillar) to support the loads expected of it; but if several pillars weaken collectively, or if any one pillar weakens to an extent that cannot be compensated for by the others, the entire structure (system) will fail’ .

The more crucial point to note is that there are no ‘failed states’, but instead what we have are ‘failed institutions’. The state is a nominal abstraction used to describe a specific geopolitical boundary, but in order to sustain and make the boundary viable, we need functional institutions to do so. The place where the institutions have collapsed or become essentially non-existent need to be the major focus of post-conflict reconstruction activities rather than the ‘state’ itself which is essentially a reified abstraction. States do not fail, but the institutions that undergird their public purpose do (Kalu, 2011).

What this indicates is the need of citizenship education to ensure the awareness and existence of pillars in an educational institution. What post-conflict and/or ‘traumatized’ states need most are functional institutions. In turbulent times, institutions help people to manage their anxieties and disagreements and to channel their individual emotions and resistance in such a way that it does not fundamentally undermine the socially established order for achieving deliberative consensus (Kalu, 2011).

Education in citizenship may not make much impact unless it coincides with other structural reforms, because there is an obvious problem with it (namely, that the people who most need it are the people least likely to be interested in it). Many children and teachers enter school with a ready-made set of beliefs emanating from their upbringing in their particular communities, so it should be imposed by institutions and not kept as a choice.

Germany

In the early 1950s, then, there was still a continuing residual effort to support and encourage democratic thinking in educational contexts in Germany. Its endurance went beyond the end of the war. As an indication of its importance, the British supported it as well. The work in education had started with the beginning of the Occupation, and 'Education Branch of the Control Commission for Germany, British Element', as it was called, had been able to recruit well-equipped staff to set the task of educational reconstruction in motion (David Philips, 2012).

Later on, citizenship education became firmly integrated in Germany's education system. The opportunities can be separated into curricular and extra-curricular activities. Citizenship education in schools falls under the cultural authority of the German land (which means it is important) and as a subject it varies from federal state to federal state. Nearly every school now provides less than the ideal of two hours of citizenship education every week. Alongside school related activities, another important aspect of citizenship education is engaging both younger and older students outside the classroom in a variety of pursuit sponsored by state and social authorities. State sponsored activities include civil and army service, working in adult education centers, at Memorial sites, or in the federal, or state agencies for civic education. There are also some important areas of non-formal citizenship education such as white wing extremism/racism, learning democracy, migration and integration. Such extracurricular citizenship education activities are supported or have been financed by political parties, unions, trade associations, foundations, religious and spiritual communities and other non-state groups which proves its increasing importance.

2. Citizenship Education and social cohesion

Some states used citizenship education to strengthen its social cohesion like: Sri Lanka, Lebanon and Ireland. Social cohesion is in a way a subtle form of nationalistic agenda primary concerned with the state's stability. Social cohesion deals with promoting trust, solidarity and help in creating "imaginative community". This is what CE focuses on as examined in the research. And also it is the top priority of every state after big conflicts or internal instability. Still the definition of social cohesion is vague and difficult (Shuayb, 2012).

Writer John Stuart Mill argued that for democracy to be stable, a country has to be homogenous. However, the nature of states nowadays are not homogenous, but are rather transforming into global cosmopolitan states. Some writers like Easterly see that ethnic fractionalization is a major aspect of social dislocation and thus succinctly elucidates the connection between fractionalization and low social cohesion.

Mill's opinion was so much criticized. Logically, one can not make all states homogenous but can instate social cohesion and equality. In fact, this is the main

reason for democracy where all people should enjoy their right and share responsibility and resources of their state with no primitive loyalties. Most developing countries lack the preconditions for the emergence of good governance, largely because these countries have artificial borders where ethnic and cultural diversity act as hindrances to sound political and economic governance due to the many social frictions that arise from diversity. In many ethnically divided countries today, politicians often exploit ethnic animosities to build a coalition that seeks to redistribute income to us from them (Indra de Soysa, 2011).

Political corruption which is one of the main problems in most of the developing world is also pointed out as another affliction of ethnic diversity (Indra de Soysa, 2011). According to Easterly (2006), "corrupt politics merge with ethnic politics as parties compete to win resources for their own ethnic groups" (p. 114). High diversity also apparently inhibits trust, and low-trust societies supposedly suffer from a corrupt government due to collective action problems. This is another social cohesion problem. If politics are not played out in a competitive way and are not based on ethnicity, it will create corruption and will bring about severe financial consequences. And this is not the way to have a good democratic society with a liberal economy based on free hand, supply and demand only. But it will be a racial economy based on ethnicity and not quality. Of course, this economy will not be effective or efficient. And so it is a fact that people are different and that there are no homogenous societies anymore. So the importance of social cohesion becomes very important for states to survive not only politically but also economically. All state fields are highly connected and affect each other. This encourages the CE role in state education system to encourage social cohesion and avoid fractionalising citizens based on any primitive loyalty. Bad governance and economic mismanagement is also a product of the lack of social cohesion.

What does this have to do with CE? There is a reason and a cause since citizenship is both an individual and collective identity. In politically conflicting societies, the aim of citizenship education is to transform discourses around 'us' and 'them' into a more inclusive 'we'.

Community cohesion defined as a cohesive community with the following characteristics:

- A shared sense of contribution from different individuals and groups toward a future local or national vision a strong sense of an individual's local rights and responsibilities.
- A strong sense that people from different backgrounds should experience similar life opportunities and access to services and treatment.
- A strong sense of trust in local institutions and trust that they will act fairly when arbitrating between different interests and be subject to public scrutiny.
- A strong recognition of the contribution of the newly arrived and of those who have deep attachments to a particular place – focusing on what people have in common.

- Positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, schools. If citizens are raised with this in mind, they will be able to supervise the act of governing and use all available resources from all sectors. This goes back to Easterly sayings.

A fractionalized society can never be cohesive and vice versa. If common concern and understanding basically exist, then the future of society will differ in the long run. Social cohesion is step one for any stability and cannot be created unless it was more understood. CE opens sensitive issues as we discussed before, trying to let out the unspoken tensions (one of the main difficulties in CE), clear visions and find ways to harmonize it so that it does not hide the problem nor force outside solutions that do not fit and appeal to the target group. *Social cohesion*, on the other hand, encompasses the complex nature of the social and political factors which can affect the level of cohesion in a society (Shuyab, 2012). The various available definitions for the term emphasize equality and equity, shared values, civic participation, well-being, trust and sense of belonging. The terms also do not have the cultural sensitivity of social cohesion.

3. Reforming Historical crisis

CE is important to reform some political and historical outcomes, like in the case of Northern Ireland .

Northern Ireland

The history of Northern Ireland conflict has, since 1969, claimed over 3700 lives. From 1996, 165 people have been murdered (PSNI Statistics, 2006). There have been 2270 shooting incidents and 1185 bombing incidents. Many children have also been directly affected by the conflict. During 1967–97, 257 children aged 17 and under died as a result of political conflict in Northern Ireland. Many children have also been caught up in rioting and have personally witnessed someone either being shot or injured. Children also perceive feeling endangered when straying into what they perceive to be the ‘wrong area’ (Leonard, 2007).

Many young people grow up in Northern Ireland in areas that are overwhelmingly Catholic or Protestant. They also attend school on the basis of religious identity, with only 5% of children attending religiously integrated schools. While adults also live in such segregated communities, they often cross boundaries to go to work or engage in social and leisure pursuits. Because of their general exclusion from the labour market and economic dependency on parents, which restricts and localizes their social and leisure movements, children are more constrained by boundaries. Moreover, children growing up in divisive societies are not immune from their parents’ religious, ethnic and cultural prejudices and there is always the danger that bigotry may cross generations, (McMurray & Niens, 2012).

A research that was carried in 2002 suggests that it is far from accidental that there is an increase in the proportion of young children beginning to identify themselves as either Catholic or Protestant around the age when they start school. So schools adopted for CE gradually, in three phases. In the first phase, during the 1970s, schools were regarded as 'oases of peace' and the troubles were seen as something that happened outside the classroom. In the second phase, which characterized the 1980s, schools began to tentatively work towards enhancing better community relations. In the third phase, which characterized the 1990s, schools were required to make statutory provision for developing community relations. Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) was made a compulsory part of the education curriculum in 1992. Its main aim was to increase cultural awareness, reduce prejudice and challenge stereotypes held by each respective ethnic group. EMU was gradually replaced by education for citizenship. As of September 2007, the programme known as Local and Global Citizenship became a statutory requirement for all post-primary schools, (McEvoy, 2007).

The main aim of the programme is to promote an educational process which will enable pupils to articulate and debate differences within and between groups. The Local and Global Citizenship programme could enhance understanding between the two main ethnic groups by challenging and dispelling stereotypes and taken-for-granted assumptions.

4. Citizenship and Globalization

Globalization increased the challenge for world citizens since the mobility of individuals from one place to another was frequent. With the overflow of information and easy access to knowledge, citizens are no more isolated by what their country addresses and how it addresses them. Critical and analytical skills are needed for every citizen. Otherwise, a loss of identity or dogmatism for not facing real facts might occur. This increases the importance and challenges of citizenship education in schools. In an era of increased globalization, it is almost a common phrase that we are all global citizens now. Developments in communication technologies, the transformation of trade and increased migration have all altered our sense of the world we live in and have opened up new challenges to the way we live our lives. The challenges to the state/citizen relationship that emanate from fears about multiculturalism and violent extremism certainly gain greater prominence as a result of shifting global interconnectedness (Wood, 2009).

There are international actors contributing to or benefiting from global interconnectedness. International financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), international political entities (the World Court), organizations of regional integration (the European Union), and multinational and transnational organizations (corporations and non-governmental organizations) are more powerful than many nation-states. Civil society organizations (CSOs), trade unions, faith-based

organizations, indigenous peoples movements, environmental organization work to improve forest conservation, health care, micro-credit, and Internet development (World bank, web.worldbank.org).

Students need to recognize and understand the effects of global connections in their lives. As part of their citizenship education, they can research how people and organizations across the planet affect their own community and other communities across the world and then identify ways in which their actions and those of people in their region affect others and the planet. Students also need to develop expertise in working with others to address felt needs, problems, or challenges that are outcomes of global inter-connectedness (Arthur et al., 2012).

Today many of the most affluent and connected young people on the planet participate in shared aspects of a global popular culture from films (e.g., Hollywood, Bollywood, Hong Kong), sports stars (e.g., Beckham), music (e.g., reggae, salsa), games (e.g., Sudoku), television (e.g., Pokemon is viewed in over 60 countries), fashion, and modes of entertainment (e.g., Karaoke). The British talent series 'Pop Idol' has led to Idol shows in over 30 countries, and websites with social networking (e.g., YouTube, ArabSpace) have millions of participants. Teenagers in many countries share the twenty-first century affinity for mobile phones and text-messaging. Yet these shared experiences do not necessarily contradict the deep culture of beliefs, values, and norms of behavior taught at home and school that are at the heart of local and national cultures. The long-term effects of global "pop music" culture are hotly contested (Rothkopf, 1997; Stromquist, 2002). There are other cultural outcomes of globalization. In a global age people with culturally complicated backgrounds are more likely to have the cosmopolitan mindsets and cross-cultural skills that make it easier to interact on the world stage (Arthur et al., 2012).

Information is critical to citizenship in a democracy. In an interconnected world, citizens need to be informed not only about their own nation-state, but they also need to understand the ideas, voices, knowledge, and experiences of people across their region and the planet. In many countries today, people have access to different points of view and information that was unheard of in previous generations. The emergence of new actors like multinational corporations has a great impact on states. For instance, the flow of workers, state agreements, flow of money and sometimes under the table with serious implications on the whole world - like some medical pharmaceutical corporations that can lobby for certain medicine - all affect the normal citizen in one way or another.

A very popular example is the great financial crisis that took place in 2008 (Sander & Scheunpflug, 2011) that impacted the real estate markets in many nations. Nevertheless, the exchange currency is tightened by the US dollar not gold as before. So the international trade acted by the Mncs affects the economy of countries. What has this to do with citizenship? Students should be aware that there are non-state actors that affect their state and lifestyle. Also if we tackle the non-economic factors, like the two phenomena of terrorism : ISIS or ISIL, they caused dramatic change to politics and state allies. Some states, like Iran for

example, were accused of funding terrorist groups, and that resulted in forcing sanctions on them that are still affecting their economy until now. Therefore, the citizen is not living in his state bubble. On the contrary, he/she is connected to the international sphere and external actors due to globalisation.

Imagine a citizen in a globalised world who is not aware of an international organisation like the United Nations for instance. Is this the citizen a state is aiming for? Absolutely not. That citizen will not be able to effectively access the available global resources. Globalisation is a challenge. Still it is an opportunity for the awareness of citizens. Moreover, multiculturalism is a very big challenge that redefines one's local identity. Yet, globalization produced other dimensions of identity due to the culture flow and legacy of colonialism and immigration. If CE can not contain the challenges of globalisation, how can a state be built through a citizen who has an identity crisis? Or a citizen who is unable to deal with different cultures? Citizenship Education is necessary in the globalised era we live in.

5. Citizenship education and Technology "Digital citizenship"

Another aspect of globalization is the flow of information technology and the emergence of the virtual world. Technology creates a more complex definition of citizenship and more world phenomena and behaviours. If one measures the participation of youth in some countries, one might find it below expectation although its youth are very engaged online in a new form of citizenship concept known as *digital citizenship*.

Digital citizenship provides new opportunities for civic and political engagement, particularly through social media and other interactive technologies. However, these developments also create new risks, particularly about privacy and security. Children and young people often adapt to these technologies more rapidly than their parents or their teachers, but schools can help their students to critically assess issues such as the implications of privacy in an online world or the norms of behavior in online debates and forums (Keating, 2012).

New technologies have led to interactive web-based networks for citizen action. Regional and global organizations have developed to strengthen programs giving small loans to women, improve AIDS education, counter totalitarian propaganda, or create new political movements. From protests against the WTO to global conferences on the rights of women and indigenous peoples, people are connecting across borders in new civil societies and seeking cosmopolitan justice. There are problems, of course, with the information explosion. Much information that is available promotes hate, propaganda, or sexual content. Pornography flourishes in many new formats. Being in print, on the web or on the airways is no guarantee of truth or taste. Money and education often determine access, which multiplies the advantages of the privileged within and across regions in a digital divide.

As the trend towards globally accepted mainstream academic knowledge grows, the world's information will likely become more global and less nation-centric.

Cultures and nations with less global power are likely to suffer a new digital divide as their knowledge and information may be valued less as people feel compelled to gain mainstream global knowledge that becomes the currency of the knowledge economy in a global age. Changes in the generation and outflow of knowledge and information affect civil society and citizenship education. The information age, knowledge economy and digital technologies have added new layers of inequities within and across communities, nation-states, and regions. Not only on the flow of information between and within the boundaries of countries but also, technology has ability of changing truth like fake videos or pictures. This may create problems or be an advantage for any group in the state, facilitating the brain wash techniques. Also the emergence of social media has a great impact not only on the culture but it puts all people in an argumenting atmosphere as well. Nevertheless, the Arab spring and all its impact were events organized on social media. The expansion of the World Wide Web is one of many factors leading to the demise of less commonly spoken languages and the dominance of English as the language of business and finance. Technological innovation and technology transfer, whether in health, agriculture, education, or business, most often benefit those who have the capital to exploit and market them.

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