

Beyond Depoliticized Citizenship Education

Conceptualizing Political Citizenship Education in
Citizenship Education Theory



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Student: Susan Curvers

Student number: 1004492

Primary supervisor: dr. Isolde de Groot

Secondary supervisor: prof. dr. Wiel Veugelers

'Anyone who says they are not interested in politics is like a drowning man who insists he is not interested in water'

– Mahatma Gandhi

Preface

Why do we seem unable to solve some of the largest issues of our time, like climate change or economic disparity? This question has been on my mind ever since I started my studies in political science in 2008. Maybe it was just the question of a young, idealist student, but in some shape or form these kind of 'big questions' stuck with me when I started my masters in Humanistic Studies. Through the years I have looked at different possible answers, which have led me to writing this thesis.

First I wondered if there was something wrong with democracy, maybe it just wasn't the best form of government. But political theory throughout the ages has presented an overload of arguments in favour of democracy as a system of rule. So then, I thought, something must be wrong with citizens. They are just not capable of engaging rationally in politics and they are not motivated to participate in meaningful collective actions. So I started looking into citizenship education to find way to foster democratic engagement. During my first year of studies, the financial crisis shook the world and more than ever, creative citizens started to come together to demand change. They weren't always successful, but they showed they were well informed, capable and motivated to act. So then, I started wondering whether more structural explanations could be formulated to answer my question. I studied neoliberal thought and how it affected nearly every mode of society after gaining a dominant position in western business and politics during the 80s. I became more and more convinced that this hegemonic ideology had hollowed out political and democratic processes.

Only recently have I discovered the extent to which this way of thinking has affected the way we understand politics. In my wish to contribute to the transformative power of the democratic citizenry, I have dedicated this thesis to gain more insight in the aspect of politics in citizenship education. Writing this thesis has helped me to understand the complexity of the relationship between democracy, citizenship and education better and it has inspired me to dedicate more time engaging in politics, in the proper sense of the term.

Writing this thesis would not have been possible without the support and patience of dr. Isolde de Groot, who has been an inspiration throughout the process of doing this study. My gratitude goes out to prof. dr. Wiel Veugelers, dr. Wander van der Vaart and prof. dr. Gert Biesta for their feedback and input during the process of writing this thesis. These last few months of an eight year period of studying were brightened by the love and support of many friends and my family, for which I feel truly grateful.

Content

Abstract.....	6
1. Introduction.....	7
1.1 Background.....	7
1.1.1 Citizenship.....	7
1.1.2 Citizenship education theory.....	8
1.1.3 Depoliticization and 'the political'.....	9
1.2 Purpose of the study.....	11
1.3 Research questions.....	12
2. Methods.....	13
2.1 Sampling.....	13
2.2 Data collection.....	14
2.3 Data analysis.....	15
2.4 Outline of the thesis.....	16
3. Theoretical framework.....	17
3.1 Political theory.....	17
3.2 Politics through dissensus: Jacques Rancière.....	19
3.3 Agonistic politics: Chantal Mouffe.....	20
3.4 Politics as project of autonomy: Cornelius Castoriadis.....	22
3.5 Counter conceptions of politics.....	23
4. Subgroup 1: Identification and subjectification.....	25
4.1 Identification and subjectification: Notions of politics and citizenship.....	25
4.2 Identification and subjectification: Conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education.....	32
4.3 Identification and subjectification: Key characteristics of political citizenship education.....	39
5. Subgroep 2: Institutions and political creation.....	41
5.1 Institutions and political creation: Notions of politics and citizenship.....	41
5.2 Institutions and political creation: Conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education?.....	45
5.3 Institutions and political creation: Key characteristics of political citizenship education.....	48
6. Subgroup 3: Social justice.....	50
6.1 Social justice: Notions of politics and citizenship.....	50
6.2 Social justice: Conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education.....	51
6.3 Social justice: Key characteristics of political citizenship education.....	55
7. Conclusion & Discussion.....	57
8. References.....	64

Abstract

This study aims to contribute to the development of a comprehensive conception of political citizenship education. Through a conceptual review the work of scholars who have written extensively about the dangers of apolitical citizenship education and/or the need for political citizenship education are examined. In particular, it analyzed notions of politics and citizenship and conceptions of depoliticized and political citizenship education from which key characteristics of political citizenship education are derived. The political theories of Rancière, Mouffe and Castoriadis were taken into account, for they have influenced several of the authors' conceptions of political citizenship education. Analysis of the literature led to the distinction of three subgroups in the data based similar underlying theoretical notions: subjectification, political creation and social justice. Based on the analysis the following key characteristics of political citizenship education have been discerned. Political citizenship education fosters citizens who understand citizenship as a contested concept; are inclined to question relations of power; are sensitive to possibilities for (political) change; can identify with collectives or with issues of a common concern; are capable of engaging in conflict; see themselves as (equal) political subjects; understand that institutions are created by people and can thus be reimagined and recreated; and are oriented toward social justice.

1. Introduction

'It has become something of a standard complaint by educationalists and political theorists that citizenship education is consistently depoliticized' (Frazer, 2007, p. 257)

'We argue the need to repoliticize schools' (Llewellyn, Cook & Molina, 2010, p. 792)

From the fields of educational research and political theory a growing body of literature is sending out signals of warning about the dominance of *apolitical* or *depoliticized* conceptions of citizenship and the impact of those conceptions on civic education (Bazzul, 2015; Biesta, 2011a; Frazer, 2007; Llewellyn et al., 2010; McCowan, 2006; Nabavi, 2007; Perez Exposito, 2014; Ruitenbergh, 2010; Straume, 2016; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Politics is a fundamental aspect of citizenship that cannot be avoided or ignored, is the general message. Since both politics and citizenship are essentially contested concepts, there is no consensus or a widely accepted definition of what political citizenship education is and when citizenship education is apolitical or depoliticized. According to the authors, talking with students about existing democratic administrations and different political institutions with their respective functions doesn't make education political. *'School, with its playground and its classroom representatives and its citizenship days, can be an object lesson in how awful and petty and useless politics is'* (Frazer, 2007, p. 260). So what does make citizenship education political and why is it so important to prevent citizenship education from depoliticizing? This study aims to contribute to the development of a comprehensive concept of political citizenship and political citizenship education.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Citizenship

Citizenship is a term that generally refers to a relationship between persons and the state and between all the persons of a state. The notion of citizenship has a long history, going back to ancient Greece. Kymlicka and Norman (1994) distinguish between two conceptions of citizenship. One refers to citizenship as a legal status, which refers to legal rights and duties that define the relationship between the citizen and the state, the other sees citizenship as a desirable activity, looking at responsibilities and virtues of citizens towards their community. These two conceptions each have their own independent debates, relatively on what it is to be a citizen and what it means to be a 'good' citizen. This last notion of citizenship is essentially contested, because our conceptions of the good citizen imply conceptions of 'the good society'. *'Citizenship is a 'contested' concept in the sense that the criteria governing its proper use are constantly challenged and disputed; such disputes are 'essential' in the sense that arguments about these criteria turn on fundamental political issues for which a final rational solution is not available'* (Carr, 1991, p. 374). Some would add that it's the very point of

essentially contested concepts that their meaning remains object of discussion. So what 'good citizenship' means differs in time and space and will always be a matter of contestation.

Western academia have seen a rising interest in the notion of citizenship since the 90s. A number of trends that occurred in that era can explain this new found interest according to Kymlicka and Norman: *'Increasing voter apathy and long-term welfare dependency in the United States, the resurgence of nationalist movements in Eastern Europe, the stresses created by an increasingly multicultural and multiracial population in Western Europe, the backlash against the welfare state in Thatcher's England, the failure of environmental policies that rely on voluntary cooperation, and so forth'* (1994, p. 352). These challenges were a reminder, according to Kymlicka and Norman, that the health of a democracy is dependent, at least to some extent¹, on the quality and attitudes of its citizens.

This challenge for modern democratic societies has also reached and awakened governments. In their effort to find a way to stimulate citizens' motivation and sense of responsibility to contribute to the democratic order, governments turned to formal education. Education has always played a significant role in preparing youth for their roles as citizens in society. However the challenges as described by Kymlicka and Norman seem to have rekindled a sense of responsibility for government funded schools to teach democratic knowledge, skills and attitudes. The European Union started a project on education for democratic citizenship in 1997 with the aim to: *'Find out which values and skills individuals require in order to become participating citizens, how they can acquire these skills and how they can learn to pass them on to others'* (Birzea, 2000). Several European countries have passed legislation in the last decade to make citizenship education a mandatory part of school curricula.

1.1.2 Citizenship education theory

If the health of a democracy depends on – amongst others- citizens participating in the political arena and them exercising their civil and political rights, than what kind of education can contribute to a more thriving democracy? Citizenship education theory has focussed its research in the past decades on how to foster democratic citizenship in an education context. Within this field of study people have been struggling with the notion of citizenship. In its traditional understanding citizenship refers to a formal and a political relationship with the state. Citizenship education, therefore, was traditionally concerned with fostering knowledge about democracy and the rule of law and motivating students to participate in formal political practices like voting and party politics. This narrow definition of citizenship education has been

¹ Creating and recreating a healthy democracy is of course a burden that lies with citizens as well as political institutions and practices.

challenged with expanded notions of citizenship that increasingly refer to a way of being in the world. Consequently, citizenship education is often written about these days in relation to identity development and moral development. Veugelers (2011) refers to this process in education as the deepening of the traditional understanding of citizenship, from a political to a sociocultural level. He also mentions a process of broadening the meaning of citizenship, which happens when citizenship is not only a formal relation to a state, but also a more moral relationship to the globalized world.

An interesting example of this process of expanding the definition of citizenship is seen in the work of Helen Haste and the New Civics approach to citizenship education that she initiated. New Civics according to Haste aims to expand the definition of participation and, quoting McAllister-Grande, sees actors as *'multidimensional, meaning-making subjects, rather than strictly political or social beings'* (Haste, 'Our story so far', 2015, para. 2). The New civics approach was developed during a transition from more traditional models of civic education (Carretero, Haste & Bermudez, 2015). Traditional models, on the one hand, emphasize a 'top-down' pedagogy focussed on the knowledge transfer between teacher and student. Their main goal is the acquisition of knowledge on national political institutions and its history. New Civics, on the other hand, is built on a more 'bottom-up' model that emphasizes students' interaction with tools, objects, experiences and people in order to develop understanding, skills, agency and motivation. New Civics theory, thus presents a broad vision of civic education, that encompasses notions that challenge *'the conventional emphasis on civic action as primarily voting behaviour, and also disrupts the assumption that its antecedents are largely in the formal school environment'* (Haste, 2015).

So, among others, Wiel Veugelers and Helen Haste, with the New Civics agenda, challenge narrow approaches to citizenship education. However, the development of democratic citizenship doesn't necessarily benefit from all approaches that challenge the traditional narrow understanding of citizenship. Westheimer and Kahne (2004a) have argued that citizenship education that emphasizes the individual responsibility of citizens to contribute to society, through service learning for instance, is an apolitical approach to citizenship education that has little value for the development of democratic citizenship. So expanding the concept of citizenship, although important for the development of citizenship education, can also lead to apolitical approaches to citizenship education.

1.1.3 Depoliticization and 'the political'

This study focusses on conceptions of apolitical citizenship education in order to come to a comprehensive conception of political citizenship education. But first, a few remarks will be made about the concept of depoliticization and the distinction that has been made in political theory between 'politics' and 'the political'. These remarks will be only preliminary, because

more attention will be given to different conceptualisations throughout the remainder of this thesis.

The American Heritage Dictionary of English Language (2011) defines depoliticization² as follows: *'To remove the political aspect from; remove from political influence or control'*. Social scientist Ulf Himmelstrand (1962) has suggested to understand the depoliticization of politics as *'a transformation of political ideologies into a set of more or less distinct administrative technologies based on a widespread consensus as to what kind of goals one should try to attain'* (p. 83). The emphasis on ideological differences within a political community is diminished and political debate focusses on factual, technical and economic issues instead of values, according to Himmelstrand. This definition mainly focusses on depoliticization of politics in itself. This study, however, focusses on depoliticization of citizenship education. When dealing with such a use of the term depoliticization, as Flinders (2010) rightly emphasises, we have to keep in mind that *'from a conceptual position the application and value of depoliticization depends heavily on an individual's understanding of 'the political''* (2005, p. 19).

'The political', just like citizenship is an essentially contested concept. *'The political'* has been distinguished from *'politics'* in the political theories of Hannah Arendt, Cornelius Castoriadis, Claude Lefort, Chantal Mouffe, and Jacques Rancière among others. Several of these theories will be presented in the theoretical framework of this study. The general contention is that *'politics'* refers to a daily practice within the political arena, whereas *'the political'* signifies that which is most political in politics. This distinction was introduced by Claude Lefort and has led to a philosophical search for *'the political'* as the essence of politics. Depoliticization from this point of view is equal to taking the political essence out of politics. However, because conceptions of politics and *'the political'* are highly contested, it is important to address the way these specific concepts are understood by scholars who write about depoliticized citizenship education, in order to develop a comprehensive concept of political citizenship education.

Even though the term politics is used often in citizenship education theory, including New Civics theory and the work of Veugelers, it is not often made explicit what politics is or what the political element of citizenship education entails. Consequently, the way politics and political education are understood varies. The aim of this study is to systematically analyse conceptions of political citizenship education. In order to gain insight into the importance of political citizenship education, this study will examine contributions from authors who have

² *Apolitical* is seen as a result of depoliticization or a lacking or avoidance of a notion of the political, making something seemingly neutral.

also critiqued the opposing trend, which is depoliticization of citizenship education. As indicated before, several scholars have warned for depoliticization of the notion of citizenship in education and plead for a repoliticization of citizenship education. What does depoliticization of citizenship mean, according to these critics, what are underlying notions of politics and citizenship, why is depoliticization a problem, and what would proper political citizenship look like in an education context? These are the themes that are explored in this study.

1.2 Purpose of the study

The aim of this study is to contribute to the development of a comprehensive conception of political citizenship and political citizenship education. Several scholars have attempted to conceptualise or define political citizenship education in the light of a perception of depoliticized citizenship education, but these conceptualisations differ in their theoretical focus and depth. This study can contribute to citizenship education theory by mapping, analysing and comparing the use of the concepts of depoliticized citizenship education and political citizenship education in contemporary scientific literature, to contribute to the development of a comprehensive conception of political citizenship education.

While based around an ideal of political citizenship, this study does not put forward an argument for a specific conception of citizenship. It is, however, important to constitute a solid conceptual framework for citizenship education research. A framework of key characteristics has not been developed as of yet, which is why this study maps, analyses and compares conceptions of depoliticized and political citizenship education in order to come to such a framework of key characteristics. The resulting comprehensive framework represents a certain view of political citizenship which is built on certain theoretical perspectives derived from the work of predecessors. Because there are many views of depoliticized and political citizenship, with different levels of theory and conceptualisation, this study cannot and does not desire to present a closing concept in which all views are represented. Because of a lack of theoretical support in some of the data, certain views are excluded, some aspects remain unanswered and some aspects remain contested. By naming some of these frictions justice can be done to the multiplicity of the concepts at hand. Despite its limitations this study is believed to be able to contribute to citizenship education theory.

This study also aims to contribute to the democratic citizenship framework which has been developed by De Groot & Veugelers (2015) as a foundation for research on education within Humanistic Studies. These studies focus on identity development, carrying both autonomy and social engagement as essential Humanist values ('Educatie', n.d.). Identity development, in this field of study, is connected to a critical democratic perspective on citizenship based on a thick conception of democratic engagement. While their work often mentions the political

aspect of citizenship education, both of them haven't extensively theorized on this topic. They do mention that politics is about addressing inequities, that it is not confined to the political domain but part and parcel of everyday life (Veugelers, 2011; De Groot, 2013). Their work is more in line with pedagogical theories of citizenship education. In this study, however, political theories are given a more prominent place. By gaining insight in the meaning of the political aspect of citizenship education this thesis can contribute to a better understanding of what a critical democratic perspective on citizenship encompasses and thereby help the development of the democratic citizenship framework within Humanistic Studies.

In addition, the resulting framework can be used to assess citizenship education lesson plans with regard to their explicit goals and can be used to generate more specific and adequate teaching goals for the future. In this way the study can hopefully contribute to a better understanding within the civic educational field of how different conceptions of citizenship give direction to the teaching goals that are set and the educational outcomes that follow. Moreover, theoretical insights in the distinction between political citizenship education from depoliticized citizenship education may inspire educators towards more theoretically underpinned educational activities.

1.3 Research questions

What key characteristics of political citizenship education can be derived from contemporary notions of politics and citizenship and conceptions of depoliticized and political citizenship education as deployed by Political theorists and Educational researchers, and what do these key characteristics mean for theorizing about education for political citizenship?

The following sub-questions guide the way to answering the research question:

What conceptions of politics and/or 'the political' have been deployed by Political theorists and Education researchers and how do they relate to each other?

What conceptions of citizenship have been deployed by Political theorists and Educational researchers and how do they relate to each other?

What conceptions of apolitical or depoliticized citizenship education have been deployed by Political theorists and Educational researchers and how do they relate to each other?

What conceptions of political citizenship education have been deployed by Political theorists and Education researchers and how do they relate to each other?

2. Methods

This study uses a comprehensive literature review to answer the research questions. Jesson et al. (2011) describe four types of a traditional review, one of which is the conceptual review which '*aims to synthesise areas of conceptual knowledge that contribute to a better understanding of the issues*' (p. 15). This method is suitable for reaching the aim set for this study. The method can be used to 're-view' conceptualisations of political citizenship education from different authors in order to create new conceptual insights. In order to gain those insights it has to be made sure that the underlying understandings of politics and citizenship are similar so that conceptions of political citizenship education can be compared. '*Conceptual reviews are able to compare and contrast the different ways in which authors have used a specific word or concept*' (p. 79). Furthermore, the literature search is focussed on mentions of depoliticized citizenship education, based on the presumption that this literature offers more insights in the concepts under study. After all, as mentioned in the introduction, every conception of depoliticization is based on a notion of politics. By studying conceptions of depoliticized citizenship education and underlying notions of politics and citizenship, more insight can be gained in the meaning of political citizenship education.

2.1 Sampling

This study analyses literature on depoliticized citizenship education and political citizenship education. The literature has been assembled through searches in Google Scholar and Web of Science. Search terms that were used are *political citizenship*, *apolitical citizenship*, *depoliticized citizenship* and *depoliticization of citizenship* in combination with *education*. Based on this search a first selection of articles was made. By focussing the literature search on mentions of depoliticized citizenship education, conceptual insights can be gained in the political aspect of citizenship education. All articles are selected based on the following inclusion criteria.

- The articles must be published in peer reviewed journals.
- Each article must explicitly mention either 'apolitical' or 'depoliticized' citizenship or citizenship 'devoid of politics' and the key words 'political', 'citizenship' and 'education'.
- The articles must be published in English.
- The articles must be published after the year 2000.
- The articles must be accessible.
- Articles with theoretical, qualitative and quantitative methodology are included.

Next, based on the first selection, other relevant literature by the same authors was collected in order to get a richer representation of their suggested conceptualizations.

2.2 Data collection

The literature search has led to a first selection of ten authors. Eight of the authors represent the field of education research (Bazzul, 2015; Biesta, 2011a; Llewellyn et al., 2010; McCowan, 2006; Nabavi, 2010; Pérez Expósito, 2014; Ruitenberg, 2010; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) and two represent the field of political theory (Frazer, 2007; Straume, 2016). These ten authors were the only ones with publications that met the selection criteria. It may seem that in this selection of literature an unequal weight is given to the field of education research. However all articles have education practices as object of research and a majority of the authors use political theory to build up their arguments. Some articles are more theoretical and pay more attention to explicit conceptualisations. Other authors use the conceptions under study with less extensive theoretical foundation and are more focussed on pedagogical theories. In this study more weight is given to the conceptual side of the story to gain insight into the meaning of political citizenship education.

Primary sources on which the authors build their political theory are presented in the theoretical framework when mentioned in more than one of the articles. The works of Jacques Rancière, Chantal Mouffe and Cornelis Castoriadis are presented in the theoretical framework. These sources are considered additional data for this study.

In the table below an overview of the literature under study is presented. In this table the authors with the relevant publications and respective fields of study, central themes of study and types of research are introduced.

Table 1: Overview of the literature under study

Author/publications	Field of study	Type of research	Central theme of study
Westheimer & Kahne: -Educating the 'good' citizen: political choices and pedagogical goals (2004a) -What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy (2004b)	Educational research	Empirical	Conceptions of the 'good' citizen in democratic citizenship education
McCowan: -Approaching the political in citizenship education: the perspectives of Paulo Freire and Bernard Crick (2006) -Rethinking citizenship education: a curriculum for participatory democracy (2009)	Educational research	Theoretical and empirical	Education for participatory democracy
Frazer: -Citizenship education: anti-political culture and political education in Britain (2000) -Depoliticising citizenship (2007)	Political theory	Theoretical	Depoliticization of citizenship education

Llewellyn, Cook & Molina: -Civic learning: moving from the apolitical to the socially just (2010)	Educational research	Empirical	Social justice in civic education
Nabavi: -Constructing the 'citizen' in citizenship education (2010)	Educational research	Theoretical	Global citizenship education and multicultural education
Ruitenberg: -What if democracy really matters? (2008) -Educating political adversaries: Chantal Mouffe and radical democratic citizenship education(2009) -Conflict, affect and the political: on disagreement as democratic capacity (2010) -The practice of equality: a critical understanding of democratic citizenship education (2015)	Educational research	Theoretical	Radical democratic citizenship education
Biesta: -Education and the democratic person: towards a political conception of democratic education (2007) -The ignorant citizen: Mouffe, Rancière and the subject of democratic education (2011a) -Learning democracy in school and society: education, lifelong learning, and the politics of citizenship (2011b)	Philosophy of education	Theoretical	Tension between education, citizenship and democracy
Bazzul: Towards a politicized notion of citizenship for science education: engaging the social through dissensus (2012)	Educational research	Theoretical	Teaching citizenship in science education
Pérez Expósito: -Rethinking political participation: a pedagogical approach for citizenship education (2014) -Citizenship education in Mexico: the depoliticisation of adolescence through secondary school (2015)	Educational research	Theoretical and empirical	Education for political participation
Straume: -The survival of politics (2012a) -Education in a crumbling democracy (2014) -Democracy, education and the need for politics (2016)	Political theory and theory of education	Theoretical	Depoliticization and education

2.3 Data analysis

All articles are analysed on explicit and implicit key characteristics of political citizenship education, which are also derived from conceptions of depoliticized citizenship education.

Underlying the key characteristics are notions of politics and citizenship. Analysis of these notions led to the distinction of three subgroups in the data based on similarity in underlying theoretical notions (e.g. subjectification, political creation and social justice). *Subgroup 1* has notions of politics and citizenship based on a theoretical notion of identification and subjectification. *Subgroup 2* has notions of politics and citizenship based on a theoretical notion of institutions or political creation. *Subgroup 3* contains the authors with the least explicit conceptualisations of politics and citizenship. There is a similarity though in implicit and explicit notions of politics and citizenship based on a theoretical notion of social justice. Furthermore, these three categories based on notions of politics and citizenship are not mutually exclusive. There is a lot of overlap in key characteristics of political citizenship education that emanate from these different notions. In this conceptual review the focus will be mainly on the conceptions under study.

2.4 Outline of the thesis

In the following a theoretical framework is presented containing influential contemporary political theories that are relevant to the notions of politics and citizenship that have emerged from the literature under study. Each of the subsequent three chapters presents the notions of politics and citizenship and the conceptions of depoliticized and political citizenship education within one of the subgroups. Remarkable commonalities and discrepancies are summed up and made clear in a table's in each of the three chapters. These chapters conclude by presenting the key characteristics of that specific subgroup. After this, all that remains is the conclusion to the research question and a discussion of the implications of this study.

3. Theoretical framework

This section elaborates on the theoretical context of this study. Conceptions of political citizenship typically build on influential political theories and philosophies. This chapter presents several influential political theories which are mentioned more than once by the authors of the selected articles. The majority of the authors under scrutiny (Bazzul, 2015; Biesta, 2011a; Ruitenberg, 2010; Frazer, 2007; Pérez Expósito, 2014; Straume, 2016; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) have developed their political theories in mention of or in relation to liberal democratic thought. A common denominator among the authors is the formulation of counter conceptions of politics against a dominant liberal conception of politics, most importantly against Rawls' influential political liberalism. Jacques Rancière's anarchist notion of politics is referred to most extensively (Bazzul, 2015; Biesta, 2011a; Ruitenberg, 2010; Pérez Expósito, 2014; Straume, 2016). Another influential opposition to liberalism comes from the political theory of Chantal Mouffe. Her ideas have been influential for several of the selected authors (Bazzul, 2015; Biesta, 2011a; Ruitenberg, 2010; Pérez Expósito, 2014; Straume, 2016). The political theory of Cornelius Castoriadis is also mentioned in several of the articles (Straume, 2016; Ruitenberg, 2010). All these alternative political theories have in some way differentiated between 'politics' and 'the political', following Claude Lefort's example.

After making a few general remarks about political theory and liberal thought, the political theories of the three thinkers are elaborated on. There are both similarities and differences in the political theoretical positions of the authors of the selected articles, but it is not within the scope of this study to systematically investigate these positions. Overall, most attention is paid to aspects of these political theories that are important to understand the notions of politics and citizenship that are presented in the following chapters.

3.1 Political theory

Political theory is described in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory* (Dryzek, Honig & Phillips, 2006) as an interdisciplinary discipline closely linked to political science. *'Its traditions, approaches, and styles vary, but the field is united by a commitment to theorize, critique, and diagnose the norms, practices, and organization of political action in the past and present, in our own places and elsewhere'* (2006, p. 4). Important topics of study are justice, democracy and public goods. Political theory most often has a normative component and knows no dominant methodology or approach (p. 5).

As will become clear, theorizing about politics and citizenship can hardly be done without mentioning democracy. Democracy has been an important topic of study within political theory and has been defined endless number of ways. Some of these notions of democracy will be

presented in this chapter and the chapters to come. Democracy generally refers to a system of collective self-rule in which citizens enjoy certain rights and obligations (p. 382). For now it will suffice to refer to democracy in its relation to politics, which is a main object of study in this thesis. Democracy, in this sense, can be understood as a 'response to politics', according to Warren (2006, p. 384). Politics, in this view, is an inherent aspect of society and democracy '*is one way among many that collectivities can organize conflict and make political decisions*' (p. 384). The sort of citizenship that is of interest to this study is citizenship of a democratic state or system of rule, as it is the political reality of Western societies. The way citizenship is constructed is intimately tight to the sort of society that is idealized and strived for. This becomes clear in the way certain political theories look at democracy and citizenship.

Contemporary political theory can best be framed within the debate between liberal theory on the one hand, and its critics or alternative theories on the other hand (Dryzek, Honig & Phillips, 2006, p. 14). Liberalism has achieved a dominant position in political thought and political practice during the last three decades (p. 14). *Classical liberalism* is characterized by its focus on rational, self-interested individuals who enjoy a great deal of autonomy in judging what is in their best interest. Liberalism, in its most intense variant, sees market economy as the system that best realizes the satisfaction of material interests. Only when interests are not mutually beneficial, the need for politics arises. Classical liberalism holds an aggregative conception of politics, which focusses on the sum of all individual interests within the frame of a set of supposedly neutral constitutional rules (p. 15). Within this model constitutional rights and checks and balances must protect individuals against other powerful individuals and against the state. Rights, however, come with the responsibility and obligation to respect the rights of others and to fulfil duties to the government that upholds these rights (p. 15). This definition of Liberalism allows for a range of differing theories that diverge in their demands for equality and individualism for instance, ranging from egalitarian to ultra-individualistic dispositions of Liberalism.

Liberalism has been challenged throughout the decades by alternative political theories, yet liberalism has been able to maintain its dominant position in political theory. The aggregative model of Liberalism was challenged in the early 1990s by a deliberative democratic turn within liberal thought (p. 21). Individual interests needed to be reflected on during public deliberations, was the deliberative democrats claim. This critique did, however, not substantially change liberal institutions, but rather gave the existing institutions a more deliberative flavour. This more *deliberative liberalism* has gained a dominant position in political thought and practice. A second challenge to liberalism came from the angle of Marxist and socialist political theory. These theories criticized liberalism's individualist outlook and its focus on market mechanisms which was said to exacerbate inequality and oppression. It now

seems the distinctively liberal and socialist takes on equality have been converted into a new liberalism (pp. 16-17). This *liberal egalitarianism*, however, focusses on individual responsibilities and opportunities rather than on structural inequality. Moreover, Dryzek, Honig and Phillips suggest that '*much of the literature on equality is now resolutely individualist in form*' (p. 13). This gives to show the dominance of liberal theory within political theory. So liberal theory has overcome challenges by alternative political theories and maintains its dominant position, according to Dryzek, Honig and Phillips.

In terms of citizenship, classical liberalism only holds a 'thin' conception referring to expectations and demands (Saward, 2006, p. 403). According to Saward liberalism '*sees citizens' obligations in terms of obeying the law and playing a political role by voting in elections*' (p. 412). Where classical liberals see citizens mainly as '*calculators and choosers*', deliberative democrats need citizens to be '*talkers and reasoners*' (p. 410). The more egalitarian liberal theory mainly focusses on individual responsibility and self-reliance. Overall these liberal theories present citizen identities that are '*individual, persistent and universal*' (p. 411). All these dispositions within liberal theory, the more classical, the deliberative and egalitarian, have been opposed in political theory by innovative political theories with more radical notions of citizenship. In the following, more attention is paid to these radical and innovative political theories.

3.2 Politics through dissensus: Jacques Rancière

The French philosopher Jacques Rancière (1940) proposes an anarchic theory of politics. In his work on democratic politics he has made a distinction between *police* (or police order) and *politics* (Rancière, 1999). 'Police' is defined as '*an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying, and that sees that those bodies are assigned by name to a particular place and task*' (p. 29). It is an all-encompassing order in which everyone is included, everyone has a role or identity, but only some are seen and heard, because within the police order '*this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise*' (p. 29). The structures of control and the discourses within this 'domain of the sensible' reproduce the existing order (what can be thought, seen, heard) and silence political actors by not understanding what they say, by not recognizing their words as discourse. There is however a worst and better police order, but even a police order that is most preferable must be understood as the opposite of politics.

Rancière refers to 'politics' as the mode of action which disrupts the order of things (*police*) in the name of *equality* (p. 30). Politics is the redrawing of what is possible, visible and audible in the existing order, through the process of dissensus. '*A dissensus is not a conflict of interests, opinions or values; it is a division inserted in 'common sense': a dispute over what*

is given and the frame within which we see something as given' (Rancière & Concoran, 2010, p. 69). Politics occurs when people who are not recognised as equals within the police order, act on a presupposition of equality and thereby demonstrate their equality.

Equality, in this sense, should not be understood as a goal or status that can be achieved. Equality is assumed in the political act, making politics all about the moment of emancipation. Contesting the commonsensical by acting on the presupposition of equality reshapes the existing order for those whose voices were 'uncounted' now count. When a new common sense is reached and things return to a normal state, when consensus is reached, that is the 'end of politics' or the 'non-existence of politics', according to Rancière (Rancière & Concoran, 2010, pp. 42-43). He does not say that consensus is not useful, but just that politics is not about achieving consensus. It is about challenging the constitution of a consensus, about challenging the common sense that is constitutive of the police order. For Rancière a thing is political when it gives rise to the confrontation of the police order with the egalitarian order. Politics, in this sense, doesn't concern disagreement over an issue about equal salary, for example. It concerns who has a voice, who is capable of making real demands. Rancière emphasizes that politics is not made up of power relationships. Politics occurs when a conflict arises between those who act in the name of equality and the social order in which their inequality is presupposed. The parties in this kind of conflict do not exist prior to the articulation of the conflict in which they demand to be counted as a party. The conflict is not about the interests of established parties but about the counting of the uncounted.

Rancière equals politics with democracy, which in this sense is a sporadic democracy, for politics only occurs rarely. Democracy in this sense is never part of the police order. Rancière's notion of politics, therefore, does not recognize a relationship between citizens and the state, *'it only recognizes the mechanisms and singular manifestations by which a certain citizenship occurs but never belongs to individuals as such'* (p. 31). Citizenship occurs in the act of politics but is not a status or relationship that individuals can claim. Subjectification for Rancière is disidentification (p. 36). Identities are part of the common sense in the police order. They are existing, known identities, while politics or dissensus, creates subjects with identities that weren't known, could not be seen or heard, prior to the act of politics. Political subjects are generated through the political act itself (p. 35). Subjectification is the counting of the 'uncounted' (p. 38). Political subjects therefore need a capacity to organize dissensus.

3.3 Agonistic politics: Chantal Mouffe

Chantal Mouffe (1943) is a contemporary Belgian political theorist. She makes a distinction between 'politics' and 'the political'. 'The political' for Mouffe (2005) refers to *'the dimension of antagonism which [is] constitutive of human societies'* (p. 9). By this antagonistic dimension

Mouffe means that real political questions cannot be answered without making a choice between conflicting alternatives (p. 10). The nature of political identity is that, as with every kind of identity, it implies the establishment of difference and hierarchy (p. 15). Establishing a collective identity therefore always consists of the creation of a 'we', which necessarily establishes the demarcation of a 'they', with the ever present possibility of this 'we/they' relation turning into a 'friend/enemy' relation (pp. 15-16). This possible emergence of antagonism can never be eliminated, according to Mouffe (p. 16). She argues against a 'post-political' or 'anti-political' vision, which '*refuses to acknowledge the antagonistic dimension constitutive of 'the political'*" (pp. 3-4). This criticism is mainly directed at the consensual approach of the 'third way' politics, which is associated with Anthony Giddens, the political liberalism of Johan Rawls, and Jurgen Habermas' notion of deliberative democracy.

She refers to 'politics' as '*the set of practices and institutions through which an order is created, organizing human coexistence in the context of conflictuality provided by the political*' (p. 9). Politics is then the endeavour of creating stability or order, whilst acknowledging the natural tendency for conflict and the contingency of society. Mouffe recommends a '*consensus on the ethico-political values of liberty and equality for all, dissent about their interpretation*', which she calls conflictual consensus. Since this consensus on the ethico-political values shape the borders of the political order, which always include some and exclude others, the interpretation of these values should always remain contested, making the border of the political order part of politics (p. 21). So, even though she criticizes the consensual approach of avoiding the political, she doesn't deny that consensus is necessary, but it must be accompanied by dissent in her view. After all there is no consensus without exclusion (p. 73).

Furthermore Mouffe suggests keeping separate the political from the social (2005, p. 17). When the antagonistic nature of society is accepted, one must also accept the dimension of undecidability that is characteristic of this order. There will never be a final ground which will preclude the end of antagonism. Instead we must recognize '*the hegemonic nature of every kind of social order and the fact that every society is the product of a series of practices attempting to establish order in a context of contingency*' (p. 17). In this regard, Mouffe makes a distinction between the political, which is linked to the acts of hegemonic institution, and the social, as the realm of sedimented practices in which the prior acts of political institution have embedded into common sense thinking. The political is constitutive of the social, because things could always be different. Every hegemonic order can be challenged by counter-hegemonic practices. Power is the capacity to challenge the existing order and install a new hegemony.

In order to make possible a democratic pluralism while at the same time acknowledging that antagonism cannot be eradicated, Mouffe proposes the transformation of antagonism into 'agonism': '*a we/they relation where the conflicting parties, although acknowledging that there is no rational solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents*' (pp. 19-20). This we/they relation is not one of enemies, but one of 'adversaries', who do not wish to annihilate one another. The agonistic struggle takes place between opposing hegemonic projects for which no rational reconciliation is possible (p. 21). Moreover, this struggle between adversaries, between we and they, should not be formulated in terms of moral categories of *good* versus *evil*, but rather in political terms, in the sense of different interest groups pursuing different political agendas (right vs. left). Mouffe warns for the moralization of politics, because it makes it impossible for antagonism to take an agonistic form, to see the political opponent as an 'adversary' instead of an 'enemy' (pp. 75-76).

Mouffe advocates a radical democratic conception of citizenship. '*By that I understand a collective identification with a radical democratic interpretation of the principles of the liberal-democratic regime: liberty and equality*' (1992, p. 80). She advocates passion as a challenge to the dominant rational view, because passion is capable of underlining conflict and confrontation between collective identities, according to Mouffe. The task of democratic politics is to offer '*channels through which collective passions will be given ways to express themselves over issues, which, while allowing enough possibility for identification, will not construct the opponent as an enemy but as an adversary*' (Mouffe, 2000, p. 16).

3.4 Politics as project of autonomy: Cornelius Castoriadis

Cornelius Castoriadis (1922-1997) was a Greek-French philosopher and social critic. Castoriadis, just like Mouffe, makes a distinction between 'the political' and politics. He however, makes the distinction differently than mainstream political theory is used to. The political, for Castoriadis, refers to the political arrangements instituted in society. Politics refers to '*the explicit putting into question of the established institution of society*' (1991, p. 159). For Castoriadis the objective of politics is freedom. Politics, in his view, is a project of autonomy. If we want to be free, we have to create our own laws. Every society creates itself, creates its own institutions (i.e. language, tools, religion, values, the imposition and legitimation of authority etc.). However, most societies are heteronomous, in the sense that people are alienated from the laws that they themselves created, because they don't realize that they themselves created these laws. An autonomous society, according to Castoriadis, is based on the explicit and conscious self-rule of its members, who construct the laws and institutions fitting to their unique society. The project of autonomy is therefore a project of collective and individual autonomy. '*The moment of democracy's birth, and that of politics, is not the reign of law or of right, nor that of the 'rights of man', nor even the equality of citizens as such, but*

rather the emergence of the questioning of the law in and through the actual activity of the community (p. 164). The question that needs to be asked is: *'Which are the laws we ought to make?'* (p. 164). With the birth of politics, freedom is also born. Political creation refers to the activity that aims at making political institutions. *'Society, as always already instituted, is self-creation and capacity for self-alteration'* (pp. 144-145).

3.5 Counter conceptions of politics

The overview presented above indicates that these political theorists and philosophers, whose work serves as a foundation for the conceptions of political citizenship in the literature reviewed in this study, developed different counter conceptions of politics. Rancière introduced an anarchist notion of politics that only sporadically takes place when new subjectivities arise in the political act of dissensus. Mouffe developed the notion of agonistic politics in which she distinguishes between the political, as a dimension of antagonism which is constitutive of human relations, and politics, as the complex of practices that bring order to the necessarily conflictual human societies. Castoriadis developed a notion of politics as autonomy in which the established institutions of society are created and recreated on the basis of ever evolving social imaginaries.

There are similarities and differences between these theories. Although it is not within the scope of this study to extensively and systematically compare the theories, a few general remarks can be made. The theories of Mouffe and Castoriadis distinguish the aspect of order and that of conflict which, according to them are constitutive aspects of politics. Rancière, however, reserves the term politics to only refer to the aspect of conflict or dissensus which stands in opposition to (the police) order. The theories present the political order (practices, discourses and institutions) as a contingent order, created by people, which allows people to change it, again and again. This makes politics an open and never-ending process. The foundational principles of political change are *equality* (Rancière and Mouffe) and *liberty* (Mouffe and Castoriadis). Conflict for Mouffe refers to antagonism or the human need to identify with others, which inevitably creates a *we/they*-relationship. Rancière refers to conflict as the moment of collision between the police logic and the egalitarian logic. With Mouffe and Rancière the object of conflict is identity or identification (*we/they*-relationship or the demand to be counted on the basis of equality), whereas for Castoriadis conflict is about questioning and (re)creating institutions. Mouffe, like Castoriadis, counts institutions as part of politics, whereas Rancière sees any institutionalization or consensus as the end of politics. While these theories extensively conceptualize politics, they are less extensive in terms of conceptualizing citizenship.

What has been learned so far, based on the political theories presented in this theoretical framework, is that politics is a highly contested concept. This means the criteria for the proper use of the term politics are constantly challenged and disputed and that arguments about these criteria are political in themselves, which means there will never be a final rational solution. The liberal conception of politics has become common sense, but there are always those who oppose its dominant position. And it seems to be precisely this radical questioning of the institutions of social life, including our common sense understanding of how it all works, that is seen as political in the political theories presented here. These contested, and thus political, conceptions of politics underlie notions of citizenship, which are thereby also contested and political. A question that underlies this thesis is how citizenship education can do justice to the contested nature of the concepts that are at the basis of its practice.

It will become clear in this thesis that the political theories of Rancière, Mouffe and Castoriadis have influenced education researchers and political theorists in their thinking about the political aspect of citizenship education. It will become clear how these theories are interpreted and utilized in conceptualizations of political citizenship education. It is especially interesting to see how the political theories from this section are combined and translated into notions of citizenship and political citizenship education, which were not conceptualized extensively in this theoretical framework.

4. Subgroup 1: Identification and subjectification

In this chapter the analysis of the work of Biesta, Ruitenberg, Pérez Expósito, Bazzul and Nabavi are presented. These authors all developed notions of politics and citizenship in relation to their theoretical work on identification and subjectification. In this chapter these notions of politics and citizenship will be outlined, followed by their understanding of depoliticized and political citizenship education. This chapter will conclude with an overview of the explicit key characteristics of political citizenship education mentioned within this subgroup and the implicit characteristics that can be derived from their work.

4.1 Identification and subjectification: Notions of politics and citizenship

The work of educational philosopher **Gert Biesta** focusses on the relation and tension between concepts of education, citizenship and democracy. Democracy is often understood as a political order. However, Biesta asks whether it is right to understand democratic politics as a particular order. This question is important for civic education, according to Biesta, because only if politics can be understood as a particular order, citizenship can be seen as a positive identity which can be (re)produced through education. To shed light on the meaning of this statement, first his notion of politics is presented, followed by his notion of citizenship.

Biesta looks at four dimensions of democratic politics: *'the political community, the borders of such communities, the processes that occur within such communities and the status of those who engage in such processes'* (2011a, p. 142). He looks into each of these dimension with extensive reference to liberal thought and the works of Mouffe and Rancière. Biesta is critical of views that focus on order (liberal theory) and shows admiration for views that question the need to understand democratic politics in terms of order (Mouffe and Rancière). He agrees with Mouffe that a political order always has an 'inside' and an 'outside' and that this division, or the moment of inclusion or exclusion from the political order, is itself *the most fundamental political event* (p. 151). With Rancière he agrees that the re-drawing of the borders of the political order are most significant when new political identities and subjectivities are generated. *'The formation and ongoing transformation of political subjectivities [...] is what democratic politics is about'* (p. 151). So, for Biesta, politics is an event that takes place beyond order or at the border of the political order in the formation and transformation of political subjectivities. It doesn't become clear whether Biesta follow's Mouffe's contention that politics not only takes place at the border of the political order, but also in the political practice of transforming antagonism in to agonism once a particular democratic hegemony is established, or favours Rancière's radical notion that politics ends once the process of subjectification has established a new police order.

In his work, Biesta concludes that when the political dimension of democratic politics can't be captured by a particular order, but primarily takes place at the border of that order, then citizenship cannot be understood as a positive identity (rights and responsibilities). This means there cannot be a stable citizenship identity, because there is no natural, deterministic form or order with which citizens can identify. At the borders of the political order identities still have to be developed and claimed in the political process. '*The democratic citizen is not a pre-defined identity that can simply be taught and learned, but emerges again and again in new ways from engagement with the experiment of democratic politics*' (p. 152). For this reason, Biesta refers to citizenship not so much as a status, but according to him

'[I]t should primarily be understood as something that people continuously do: citizenship as practice [...]. Citizenship is [...] not an identity that someone can 'have', but first and foremost a practice of identification [...] with public issues that are of a common concern' (2011b, p. 13).

In short, for Biesta politics is a process of subjectification that takes place at the borders of the political order and citizenship is not a positive identity or status but a practice of identification. Even though Biesta doesn't explicitly favour Mouffe's or Rancière's theory, in his emphasis on politics as a process of subjectification and citizenship as a practice of identification, he seems to be more influenced by Rancière, than by Mouffe. The following author shows the opposite inclination.

Claudia Ruitenberg, in her work, writes about radical democratic citizenship education. She does not explicitly offer her own definition of politics, but builds up a conception of politics and citizenship referring extensively to both Mouffe (2009, 2010) and Rancière (2008, 2010, 2015). According to Ruitenberg, these two thinkers are similar in that their critique is aimed at dominant deliberative conceptions of democracy and politics (2008, p. 5). The agonistic or disagreement-oriented conception of the political as presented by these thinkers is uncommon in most current types of citizenship education, which, as Ruitenberg claims, is also strongly influenced by deliberative conceptions of politics. First, her notion of politics is presented, followed by her notion of citizenship.

From Rancière's work Ruitenberg borrows the notion of the *presupposition of equality*.

'Taking equality as presupposition means we don't ask how we may help people achieve the equality of consciousness that would allow them to reflect on their situation intelligently; rather, we ask what new possibilities emerge when people are treated as if they already have equality of consciousness and already reflect intelligently upon their situation' (Ruitenberg, 2015, p. 2).

Equality in this sense is not something to strive for but it is assumed in every political act. By acting on the presupposition of equality the subject breaks with the status quo. The aspect of equality makes Ruitenberg's conception of politics *disagreement-oriented* because an act on the presupposition of equality is inevitably an act in disagreement with the way things are.

From Mouffe's conception of politics, Ruitenberg takes the inevitability of conflict in human societies and the importance of *agonism* (which means seeing the political opponent as an adversary instead of an enemy). Moreover, Ruitenberg speaks extensively of the importance of making the distinction between moral and political disagreement as presented by Mouffe, which comes down to the difference between reasoning from a universal ethical framework ('good and bad') and reasoning from a political ideology ('left and right') (2009). When political opponents speak in moral terms about one another, the political dimension is negated.

Overall, Ruitenberg herself explicitly prefers Mouffe's theory over Rancière's (Ruitenberg, 2010). Rancière's political theory is more radical than the one proposed by Mouffe, she concludes. However, it is also more pessimistic in her view. Where Mouffe allows for democratic change within and through political institutions, Rancière's political theory only allows for politics to occur in the act of redrawing the boundaries of politics. *'I believe it is a mistake to leave the institutional dimension out of our thinking about democracy, even if we emphasize the inevitably conflictual or agonistic nature of democracy'* (2015, p. 3). Ruitenberg, for this reason, favours Mouffe's political theory, although she emphasizes the importance of Rancière's presupposition of equality in politics. Ruitenberg's conception of politics thus contains the aspect of assumed equality; disagreement and conflict; and agonism that she derived from Mouffe and Rancière. But where Biesta puts more emphasis on the process of subjectification that he derived from Rancière, Ruitenberg also leaves room for the institutional dimension, like Mouffe. Ruitenberg seems to look for the same balance between the importance of the established order and the constitution of that order in her notion of citizenship.

In her work, Ruitenberg refers to citizenship as both a status and a practice, which she derives from Balibar and Rancière (Ruitenberg, 2015). Citizenship as a status on the one hand refers to its legal or 'statutory' aspect, which distinguishes some as citizens of a particular state and not others. This aspect of citizenship introduces inequality by including some as citizens and excluding others as noncitizens. Citizenship as practice, on the other hand, refers to a capacity to participate in public decision-making, also referred to as self-constitution. This aspect of citizenship is egalitarian in so far as citizenship as practice is not earned based on certain qualities of intelligence, education or motivation; citizenship as practice is an equal right for all those with a legal status. So, these two aspects of the concept of citizenship introduces two

types of relations with the state; in which citizens simultaneously are subjected to the state, which will or will not grant them a legal status, and responsible for the constitution of that state, which subjects the state to citizens. Ruitenberg contents that *'the emphasis that nation-states and supranational governments currently place on the statutory aspect demands a greater focus on citizenship as a practice of identification with public issues that are of a common concern'* (p. 4).

Ruitenberg describes how Rancière understands these two aspects of citizenship as two possibilities. Either to see citizenship as a role or status in the police order or to see citizenship as a political activity or egalitarian practices. With Rancière, Ruitenberg wishes more attention was paid to the egalitarian aspect of citizenship. Equality in this matter should be understood as a quality of persons and interpersonal relations, instead of a quality of societies. In Rancière's understanding of this aspect there is no sense in speaking of 'better' or 'worse' citizens, because *'it is the fundamental right to speak and to be heard, to be counted'* (p. 5). Because there is no way to rationally determine who is a good citizen and who isn't, all are given the same rights and should therefore be taken serious equally in decision-making processes in which the state is subjected to its citizens. Citizenship, for Ruitenberg, is thus a dual relation to the state by both a legal status and an egalitarian practice.

The work of **Leonel Pérez Expósito** has education for political participation as its focus. He distinguishes five different approaches to the meaning of the political and places influential political thinkers within these categories (2014, 2015). According to his review the political can be defined (1) by its ends, (2) by its means, (3) as a specific arena, (4) as a process (Rancière), and (5) as a type of relation (Mouffe) (p. 236). To select one of these definitions unavoidably *'includes certain actors and excludes other, validates specific agencies, accepts some practices and disregard other and privileges particular targets'* (2015, p. 229). This statement indicates that Pérez Expósito, like Biesta and Ruitenberg, recognizes that defining the political creates an exclusionary domain. He proceeds to present the different approaches to the political in a table, set against a polar dimension that ranges from the inclination towards *order* on the one hand and the inclination towards *conflict* on the other hand. He describes how the political on the one hand allows for the organisation of collective life within different arenas (order). On the other hand, the political reveals differences between individuals and collectives and the relations of power and oppression in society (conflict). Pérez Expósito proposes to see the tension between the political (conflict) and politics (order), as described by Mouffe, as a core characteristic of the political. However, the meaning of the political is not only the result of a theoretical enterprise, according to Pérez Expósito.

The study of social movements, writes Pérez Expósito, by looking at practices of participation across time, has been quite receptive of transformations of the meaning of the political. The upswing of new social movements is based on the enactment on different meanings of the political. '*The analysis of new and global social movements*', Pérez Expósito concludes, '*widely transcend the notion of the political as a public governmental arena circumscribed within the nation-state, at the time that introduces elements from other approaches to the political*' (p. 238). These new movements act on the basis of different meanings of the political. First, the new social movements look beyond the public sphere as the exclusive arena of politics. Relations of power on the border of the public and the private sphere is politicized by these movements. Second, the political appears as a process of subjectivisation based on a presupposition of equality (in reference to Rancière). The study of social movements indicates that definitions of the political in terms of 'relations' and 'process', in accordance with the respective theories of Mouffe and Rancière, are manifesting in modern reality. Pérez Expósito, by looking at theoretical enterprises and practices of participation, expands the meaning of the political to not only refer to the domain of government, but he includes all aspects of society that either contribute to the organisation of collective life or the questioning of the inequality in relations of power in society.

There is no explicit notion of citizenship presented in the work of Pérez Expósito, but instead he writes extensively about political participation. From this writing, it can be assumed that Pérez Expósito is critical of a notion of citizenship which is based on a notion of politics that focusses exclusively on the domain of government. Within such a narrow understanding of politics, certain kinds of political participation that citizens can get involved in are overlooked (2015). To some extent, political participation is an important aspect of citizenship for Pérez Expósito. It is even implied that without this aspect, citizenship loses its political character. What exactly Pérez Expósito understands by political participation will become clear in 4.2.

Teacher educator **Jesse Bazzul** has written one article about possibilities for politicizing citizenship education in the context of science education (2015). He derives his definition of politics from an extensive reading of Rancière. Bazzul understands politics as '*an attempt to redraw what is visible, possible, and held in place by the police order, what is delineated already as legitimate and visible, through processes of dissensus – as opposed to consensus, which primarily works to defend the interests of those already counted and privileged*' (p. 222). Bazzul takes over Rancière's language of politics in terms of dissensus and the counting of the uncounted. But even though Bazzul endorses Rancière's politics through dissensus, he also considers the position consensus building could have in politics, whereas Rancière himself has only spoken about consensus as a practice of the police order. Bazzul refers to Kolstø (2000) in saying that '*the act of coming to consensus allows people to disagree, and if*

this disagreement achieves a division in the commonsensical frame of a problem in the name of equality it achieves the level of politics' (Bazzul, 2015, p. 226). So, while Bazzul sees the value of consensus building processes, he agrees with Rancière that these processes can only lead to politics when they facilitate disagreement and dissensus. In short, Bazzul, with Rancière, only sees possibilities for politics in processes of dissensus.

On citizenship, Bazzul writes as much in agreement with Rancière as he did about politics. '*Citizen identities are contingent and the outcome of political contests'* (p. 225) and as such belong to the category of the police order. Universal descriptions of what citizenship is are useful as long as they shed light on the inclusion and exclusion of bodies into the domain of the sensible as equals. In this regard, Bazzul approximates Biesta's notion of citizenship, which is also derived to a large extent from Rancière.

Maryam Nabavi (2010) writes about citizenship education in the context of the multicultural society. Only one article from her hand on this topic was found. There is no explicit exposition of a notion of politics. She refers to Marshall when speaking of citizenship. She claims that his work is still important because of the distinction that was made between substantive and social components of citizenship and the complex and reciprocal relationship between these components. The substantive component refers to citizenship '*as a status, political rights (voting), and civil rights (legal)*', whereas the social component '*considers social rights, civic duties, identity, and participation and belonging*' (p. 10). Nabavi is also critical of Marshall's components of citizenship, because the so-called universal rights that come with it negate socio-political, economic, and cultural rights to those members of society to whom social structure offers to least (p. 2). In the light of the multicultural society, the complexity of citizenship identifications that include national identity, equal rights and specific group memberships, must be considered. Therefore, Nabavi, just like Biesta and Bazzul, is critical of singular conceptions of citizenship, because they do not do right to the complex identities central to a conception like citizenship (p. 7). She adds that identity in this context should be understood '*as multiple, shifting, and evolving*' (p. 7).

Nabavi seems to offer a new dimension to the subgroup by writing in the context of multiculturalism, but lacks the theoretical foundation to add new perspectives to the notions of politics and citizenship outlined so far. The other notions, with reference to Mouffe and/or Rancière offer more leads for addressing dimensions of diversity or pluralism within politics and citizenship.

Table 2 offers an overview of the notions of politics and citizenship presented in this subgroup. As table 2 envisions, most of these authors (except for Nabavi) have been greatly influenced by Mouffe and/or Rancière in their conceptualisations of politics, with only minor differences in their focus on certain aspects of these political theories. All of them mention conflict as an important aspect of politics. Conflict is inherent to the shaping of the borders of the political order, where some are included and others excluded. Conflict is also inherent to the assumption of equality that these authors borrow from Rancière. An act based on the assumption of equality is an act of dissensus, it is the disruption of the existing order. Most of the authors (except for Bazzul) in this section combine Rancière's anarchic view of politics with the more archaic political theory of Mouffe in order to take into account the disagreement and disruption both within the institutions of a given order and in the moment a new order is being drawn. By combining these two theories a new notion of politics emerges which is less radical than Rancière's theory and at the same time more pragmatic thanks to the contribution of Mouffe. With this notion of politics, the political domain is expanded to include, not only governmental affairs of decision-making, but all acts done in the name of equality and liberty. And in these acts, political identities and subjects are formed and transformed. By placing politics mainly at the borders of the political order, the aspects of identification and subjectification become one of its most important features.

The notions of citizenship clearly follow from the notions of politics. First of all, the concept of citizenship is understood as a contested and contingent concept and fixed citizen identities are regarded with suspicion. Although Ruitenbergh gives equal weight to the status and the practice of citizenship, while Biesta favours the practice of it, both clearly argue that the practice of citizenship deserves more attention than it has been given recently. The practice of citizenship, in this sense, is mainly concerned with identifying with public issues of a common concern. Interestingly, not all authors offer a notion of citizenship separate from their conception of citizenship education.

Table 2: Identification and subjectification: Notions of politics and citizenship

Author/publications	Politics is...	Citizenship is...
Biesta (2007, 2011a, 2011b)	An event that takes place at the border of the political order in the formation and transformation of political subjectivities (Mouffe & Rancière)	Not a status, but a practice of identification
Nabavi (2010)	<i>No conceptualization</i>	A concept with a substantive and a social component
Bazzul (2012, 2015)	A process of dissensus that redraws the existing order (Rancière)	<i>No conception of citizenship</i>

Ruitenberg (2008, 2009, 2010, 2015)	A disagreement-oriented and agonistic process both within and outside the political order (Mouffe & Rancière)	A relation to the state by both a legal status and an egalitarian practice
Pérez Expósito (2014, 2015)	Tension between organisation of collective life and relations of power and oppression in society (Mouffe) and a process of subjectification based on the assumption of equality (Rancière)	No conception of citizenship

4.2 Identification and subjectification: Conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education

According to **Biesta** three important risks of depoliticization of citizenship education can be distinguished, which illuminate his conception of depoliticized citizenship education (2011a, 2011b). First, he mentions educational practices that understand citizenship mainly as a personal and social phenomenon and therefore put too much emphasis on personal responsibility. The second risk of depoliticization he mentions, is about failing to empower young people as political actors *'who have an understanding both of the opportunities and the limitations of individual political action, and who are aware that real change – change that affects structures rather than operations within existing structures – often requires collective action and initiatives from other bodies, including the state'* (2011b, p. 31). The third risk presents itself when education finds itself in the position where it contributes to *'a domestication of the citizen'* (2011a, p. 142), by which Biesta means a restricting of citizens to a particular civic identity. In this depoliticized notion of citizenship, democracy can only 'take off' once students have been socialized into that particular identity. This would be the opposite of an understanding of citizenship as an essentially contested concept and contribute to an erosion of more political interpretations of citizenship.

Biesta also distinguishes two conceptions of citizenship education: a socialization conception and a subjectification conception. *'While the first focuses on the question how 'newcomers' can be inserted into an existing political order, the second focuses on the question how democratic subjectivity is engendered through engagement in always undetermined political processes'* (p. 142). These two conceptions of citizenship education are opposites. Where socialisation is concerned with knowledge, skills and competencies, subjectivity is about exposure to the experiment of democracy. Where conventional education, according to Biesta, departs from the idea that one can only begin to take part in democracy once political subjectivities and identities are fully formed (socialisation conception of citizenship education), Biesta departs from the idea that political subjectivities are rather formed and transformed in the political process (subjectification conception of citizenship education) (p. 151). It is

therefore that in engaging students in politics subjectivities are formed. This is not something students can learn *for*, but they can learn *from* these engagements (p. 152). This does not mean that a socialisation conception of citizenship is inherently apolitical (it can be either political or apolitical depending on its content), but it does mean that in order to speak of political citizenship education the socialisation aspect needs to be challenged by the subjectification aspect. So apart from teaching about the existing order, students need to engage in practices of dissensus in order to form (new) political subjectivities.

In short, Biesta wants to promote an understanding of citizenship that is *'more political than social, more concerned about collective than individual learning, that acknowledges the role of conflict and contestation, and that is less aimed at integration and reproduction of the existing order but also allows for forms of agency that question the particular construction of the political order'* (2011b, p. 44). Because democratic politics is a fundamentally open and undetermined process, education should be intended to 'expose' young people to and engage them in the 'experiment of democracy' (p. 152). *'The most significant forms of civic learning are likely to take place through the processes and practices that make up the everyday lives of children, young people and adults'* (pp. 152-153). This type of education is not based on a fixed idea of what a good citizen is. Rather, Biesta promotes the notion of the 'ignorant citizen', who is ignorant of any predefined citizen identities and thereby refuses to be domesticated to a certain identity.

The dominant type of citizenship education or even political education, according to **Ruitenberg**, is based on a deliberative understanding of democracy and politics: *'It is focused on rational decision-making and agreement rather than disagreement and questions of power'* (2008, p. 5). Ruitenberg warns against this type of citizenship education in which the aspect of citizenship as constitutive force is absent (2015). If this more political aspect of citizenship is not included and citizenship education consists mainly of fostering civic qualities such as helping others, it promotes only the statutory aspect of citizenship. The same counts for citizenship education that presents citizenship without any opportunities for students to enact their citizenship here and now, but rather as a predefined role that is only relevant for the student's future.

Ruitenberg argues for citizenship education in which the egalitarian aspect of citizenship (see 4.1) is emphasized and political subjectification is the main focus (2015). This type of citizenship education should first emphasize the egalitarian or constitutive role of citizens, as the democratic and political responsibility to hold the state accountable. Second, this type of citizenship education should present citizenship as something students can act upon now, rather than in a distant future. Ruitenberg also defends the place of civic socialization within

citizenship education. Political knowledge, which is an important aspect of civic socialization, has been connected to political engagement in several studies and should therefore not be dismissed, according to Ruitenberg. As important as civic socialization may be for Ruitenberg, she emphasizes, following Biesta, that it should not overshadow opportunities for civic subjectification. What subjectification means, is more clear in Biesta's work, than in Ruitenberg's.

What Ruitenberg adds to Biesta's understanding of political citizenship education are several important aspects of political education, which are based on her reading of Mouffe (Ruitenberg, 2008; 2010). She argues for a more prominent place for emotions in education, for fostering understanding of the difference between moral and political disagreement and for developing awareness of the political projects of the 'left' and 'right' (2008, p. 276).

Pérez Expósito is an advocate for '*political participation as a central category for citizenship education*' (p. 230). However, he has noticed that political participation in citizenship education in recent decades has been replaced by less controversial categories, like civic engagement (2014, p. 230). According to Pérez Expósito, the term politics as used these days in citizenship education is restricted to only refer to affairs of the state, governmental affairs and the electoral process. Moreover, political participation often has a negative connotation, being equated with power, corruption, self-interest and conflict. He claims that depoliticization of citizenship education occurs in two ways: depoliticization of participation in civic education and depoliticization of adolescents as subjects. Depoliticization in this regard, does not necessarily mean that politics is removed from civic education, but rather that it refers to politics in a certain way, according to Pérez Expósito (2015). Firstly, participation in civic education focusses mainly on moral and altruistic motivation, based on the premise that participation is a result of moral awareness, while research suggests moral development to be an outcome of participation (2014). Secondly, because participation is restricted to the domain of politics in the sense of government affairs and elections, civic education can only prepare students for a future as citizens, but doesn't include possibilities for participation within the reach of adolescents.

With Berger (2011) he introduces a distinction between three independent notions of civic engagement: political, social and moral engagement (Pérez Expósito, 2014, p. 232). Pérez Expósito develops the concept of political participation, which is implied to be closely tied to the notion of political engagement. It does not become explicit how Pérez Expósito understands the nature of this relation. The notion of political participation proposed by Pérez Expósito argues that children and adolescents are already political, even if they are not allowed yet to take part in certain formal political activities. He uses the term *politicity* to refer

to *'an evolving capacity of children and adolescents to act as a result of their equal condition as human beings, which is oriented to the enactment of such an entitlement (equality) and the neutralisation of the power relationships within which we are immersed (emancipation)'* (p. 241). Here, Pérez Expósito refers strongly to Rancière's notion of equality. *'To act under the presupposition of equality always implies a disagreement and discomfort with one's position in a given power relationship, or within the network of power relations that shapes our subjectivity and limits our possibilities'* (p. 242). For this reason, political participation in civic education needs to stimulate awareness among students of the position one takes within the relations of power and reflection on how these power relations influence one's subjectivity and possibilities for (collective) participation. This implies an important role for conflict in political citizenship education.

Political participation in civic education, according to Pérez Expósito, should be focussed on *'the neutralisation of the power relations in which students are immersed'* (p. 243). This should not be seen as an end that can be achieved, but more as an orientation. Four mechanisms or processes of political participation can be enacted to balance asymmetrical relations of power: resistance, reciprocity, legitimation and persuasion. Pérez Expósito calls these counter-power actions which are based on a presupposition of equality; demand reflection and awareness; and define a process of subjectivisation and expansion of possibilities. Power, seen from this perspective, becomes a productive force which is within reach of students. The counter-power actions in political participation are oriented to equality and emancipation and have a tendency to both conflict and order, although order necessarily demands a degree of inequality and can therefore never be perpetual.

So, in short, political citizenship education for Pérez Expósito is strongly tied to his notion of political participation and what he calls *politicity*. These conceptions add to the discussion, as presented so far, by focussing from political engagement into the nature of political participation. Although the nature of the relationship between these two concepts remains unspecific, Pérez Expósito seems to have found a way to translate Rancière's theory into a notion of political participation that is applicable to citizenship education. He builds on and specifies the conceptions of Biesta and Ruitenberg for the education context. However, he does so without reference to citizenship as such, but by focussing on, what he is implied to believe to be, an important aspect of citizenship.

Depoliticized citizenship is defined by **Bazzul**, in terms derived from Rancière, as *'processes of consensus whereby those who are already counted, and define the domain of the sensible, deal with their interests in their terms'* (p. 223). Politicized citizenship, on the other hand, is defined by *'processes of dissensus, whereby communities contest what is considered*

commonsensical in the name of equality, thereby challenging who is counted as equal part of the community and what is considered important to the community' (p. 223). A politicized notion of citizenship should therefore always remain a contested notion, in order for those who have not yet been included to be given those opportunities. A politicized notion of citizenship education departs from the understanding that citizen identities or conceptions are the result of political contest and are therefore contingent. Citizenship, in this sense, is not meant to maintain the status quo, but rather to open up possibilities for change based on radical collective political action. For education, this means less attention for citizenship in terms of positive content (e.g. rights and responsibilities) and more attention for '*political possibilities in community with others*' (p. 226) and '*dissent, disruption, and dissensus in the name of equality*' (p. 223).

In the context of science education, which is the focus of his writing, Bazzul argues that '*if science education is going to play an integral part in solving 21st-century problems such as climate change and social inequality, it must become a site of political contestation*' (p. 221). A politicized science education, according to Bazzul, should direct its practices and research toward '*disruption of who can make claims in/about/with science, on what grounds, and for what purposes*' (p. 231), by for instance considering indigenous ecological knowledge legitimate. Citizenship education in this sense takes place throughout the entire curriculum and is aimed at possibilities for social transformation.

Where Pérez Expósito translated Rancière's theory in a notion of political participation as an aspect of citizenship, Bazzul stays in a more theoretical dimension. Although it is enlightening to see how politics and citizenship can be applied to science education, or any part of a school curriculum for that matter, his expose doesn't add anything new to the discussion, but rather adds to the weight of the argument that unfolds within this subgroup.

Nabavi (2010) writes about citizenship education in the context of an increasingly multicultural Canada. Her analysis of depoliticization of citizenship education in the light of multicultural society is more extensive than her conception of political citizenship education.

'The political nature of citizenship within a multicultural state, such as the ways in which diverse social identities and interests are articulated, is largely absent in citizenship education. Thus, citizenship education is depoliticized insofar as the complexities of differentiated citizenship – in which the needs of the individual are considered vis-à-vis their group membership – are concerned' (p. 4).

The complexities of the multicultural society, with different populations holding different positions, is not taken up in citizenship education. Nabavi argues that the notion of citizenship

and citizenship education in and of itself, is '*depoliticized in the shadow of multiculturalism*' (p. 4). This type of citizenship education is focused on strengthening the concept of nation, building character and engaging in community service, while negating political activism. The underlying problem, according to Nabavi, is that citizenship education has failed to articulate different models of citizenship that adhere to a variety of identities. This becomes clear in the attempt to position citizenship education within a social cohesion framework, while in the meantime it aims for assimilation rather than democracy '*in its focus on social control, homogenization, and silencing dissenting voices*' (p. 6). Any mention of diversity in this framework, in the absence of a social justice analysis, can only look at the responsibility of citizens in social issues through a 'charity lens' (p. 6). The focus on social cohesion introduces the need to de-emphasize difference and emphasize commonality in citizenship education. Here Nabavi implies that conflict is necessary in a political type of citizenship education, but this aspect doesn't become explicit in her work.

Political citizenship education, according to Nabavi, requires shifting the focus of citizenship from a substantive to a social concept as described in 4.1.

'The process of becoming a citizen requires working against traditional conceptions of citizenship to critically engage in social, political, and ecological concerns both locally and globally. It further requires a commitment to challenging dominant institutions and structures and working alongside individuals to whom social structures offer the least' (p. 3).

To achieve this in a multicultural society, citizenship education should work with a conception of citizenship that goes beyond the boundaries of formal schooling, in order to connect to immigrant students lived experiences. Singular conceptions of citizenship do not do justice to the complex identities of citizenship. Therefore, it is necessary to explore possibilities for more informal education that allows for analysis and articulation of a multiplicity of social identities within the national context.

Nabavi adds to the importance of opening up possibilities for multiple citizen identities, by addressing the multicultural context that students find themselves in, that is not reflected in depoliticized citizenship education. From this it becomes quite vivid that political citizenship education should celebrate diversity, which has been argued by the other authors through the argument of equality that they derived from Rancière. This diversity Nabavi argues for however, seems to imply the necessity of conflict, but she does not go into that aspect. The conflicting aspect of dissent on the basis of equality has become more clear from the works of the other authors in this subgroup.

Table 3 offers an overview of conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education from the authors within this subgroup. Depoliticized citizenship education, according to the authors of this subgroup, is citizenship education that focusses mainly on citizenship as a specific identity. Apolitical citizenship education is concerned with the statutory and moral aspect of citizenship, such as rights and responsibilities and helping others, whereas political citizenship education departs from a contested conception of citizenship, allowing for an endless range of possible civic identities. These identities or subjectivities are formed in the political process or political participation. Political citizenship education therefore aims to develop political knowledge, skills and competencies, but more so its objective is to create opportunities for students to experience the political process, engage in conflict, question relations of power, imagine possibilities for change and identify with collective issues. What has become clear in this section is that the notions of politics described earlier create a foundation for a definition of political citizenship education that includes students and young people as political subjects even though they do not yet enjoy all political rights (such as voting or running for office).

Table 3: Identification and subjectification: Conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education

Author/publications	Apolitical citizenship education is...	Political citizenship education is...
Biesta (2007, 2011a, 2011b)	Based on a restricted conception of citizenship which focusses on a single civic identity, mainly with attention for personal responsibility, and aims at the development of civic knowledge, skills and competencies that reproduce the existing political order.	Based on a concept of citizenship which is essentially contested, with eye for both the socialization of citizens into the existing order, and the subjectification of citizens to form and transform that order, and aims to develop political engagement by exposing students to 'the experiment of democracy'.
Nabavi (2010)	Focussed on strengthening the concept of nation, social cohesion and charity and aims to develop a single citizenship identity.	Based on an open conception of citizenship suitable for a variety of identities and goes beyond the formal boundaries of schooling.
Bazzul (2012)	Focused mainly on citizenship in terms of positive content, including rights and responsibilities, and aims at the development of skills for consensus building.	Focused on teaching citizen participation in terms of dissent and aims to develop sensitivity to possibilities for disruption and dissensus in the name of equality.
Ruitenbergh (2008, 2009, 2010, 2015)	Focused on the statutory and moral aspect of citizenship, as a future identity for students, and aims to mainly develop individual civic qualities.	Based on creating opportunities for civic subjectification with possibilities for affective attachment to political identities and aims to develop both political knowledge and subjectivity.
Pérez Expósito (2014, 2015)	Focused on the moral and altruistic aspects of motivation for participation, as a future	Based on subjectification through the neutralisation of power relations through counter-power

	identity for students, and aims to develop moral awareness.	action in students own lives and aims to develop awareness of power relations.
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4.3 Identification and subjectification: Key characteristics of political citizenship education

This chapter so far has explicated notions of politics and citizenship and described core elements of apolitical and political citizenship education as deployed by Biesta, Ruitenberg, Pérez Expósito, Bazzul and Nabavi. The presented arguments have many similarities and only differ in their emphasis and focus. Based on everything mentioned so far six characteristics of political citizenship education have been distinguished according to a broad understanding of politics and citizenship, and several other characteristics, which have not been explicitly mentioned by all the authors of the subgroup. Political citizenship education fosters citizens who:

1. *Understand citizenship as a contested/political concept.* Any fixed notions within civic education of what a citizen is or should be is the result of a political process, according these authors. They prefer to understand citizenship as an open concept, with space for a multitude of identities that are shaped through political participation. By understanding citizenship as a political concept in itself, they wish to open up debate which can ignite new possibilities for citizen participation and action. This debate should even be held in classroom settings, according to Biesta. Through these discussions, students can become aware of the contingency of citizen identities.
2. *See themselves as (equal) political subjects.* The main aim of the authors within this subgroup is the inclusion of children and students in the political domain. They speak of depoliticization when civic education is based on notions of politics and citizenship in which citizenship is an identity that will only be relevant in the future of student's lives. Civic education based on a political understanding of citizenship should be about a process of subjectification based on a presupposition of equality, is their contention. Students form their political subjectivity in the political process, which is acting on the presupposition of equality, and can be practiced by students in their own lives concerning collective issues that are relevant to them. Political citizenship education exposes students to situations in which they can act on the basis of equality, to stimulate the formation of political subjectivity. This point remains implicit in Nabavi's article, but fits her contention that migrant students should be allowed to shape their own identity and voice within citizenship education, to act politically based on their lived experiences.

3. *Are inclined to question relations of power.* Acting on a presupposition of equality demands a certain level of awareness of the relations of power that are constitutive of the existing order. This is something that needs to be addressed and questioned in citizenship education, according to the authors. Following Rancière, they believe that politics is not simply about relations of power, but about the confrontation of the police order with the logic of equality. Students in political citizenship education develop an inclination to question and reflect on relations of power that they themselves and others are emerged in.
4. *Are sensitive to possibilities for (social) change.* Politics is articulating new possibilities amidst the existing order of things, in which those possibilities can't yet be understood as possibilities. Subjectification is about recognising possibilities for (structural) change and acting on a presupposition of equality to make change happen. For this reason, politics in education should be presented as an open and undetermined process and students must develop a sensitivity to imagining alternatives to the existing mode of society.
5. *Are capable of engaging in conflict.* Acting on a presupposition of equality in order to articulate possibilities for change inevitably places one in opposition or disagreement with the existing order. Although this point remains implicit in many of the conceptions of political citizenship education, conflict is a necessary condition of politics, which students need to be prepared for. Ruitenberg emphasizes, following Mouffe, that students therefore need to develop a capacity to engage with conflict using political reasoning instead of moral reasoning, in order to transform antagonism into agonism.
6. *Can identify and commit with collectives or with issues of a common concern.* Political identities are collective identities. Political action or participation is not something individuals do in isolation, but only happens when individuals identify with collectives or issues of a common concern. Students need to encounter opportunities for collective identification and action in citizenship education. This point is mentioned by all the authors to some extent, except for Nabavi, who's single article does not offer a comprehensive political theory.

Other characteristics suggest that political citizenship education fosters citizens who:

- *Understand that institutions are created by people and can thus be reimagined and recreated.* Ruitenberg emphasizes the constitutive aspect of citizenship and the role institutions play in democracy that cannot be ignored. Therefore civic socialisation and subjectification should go hand in hand to foster knowledge about institutions and the understanding that citizens are responsible for the creation of those institutions.

5. Subgroep 2: Institutions and political creation

In this chapter the analysis of the work of Frazer and Straume are presented. These authors both developed notions of politics and citizenship in relation to their theoretical work on institutions and political creation. In this chapter these notions of politics and citizenship will be outlined, followed by their understanding of depoliticized and political citizenship education. This chapter will conclude with an overview of the key characteristics of political citizenship education mentioned explicitly within this subgroup and the implicit characteristics that can be derived from their work.

5.1 Institutions and political creation: Notions of politics and citizenship

Political theorist **Elizabeth Frazer** (2000, 2007) extensively conceptualizes politics and citizenship in her work to point at the essential role of politics in society and at depoliticization of citizenship education. In her work she distinguishes between negative, neutral and positive conceptions of politics. Frazer aims to point out how much we depend on politics in its positive sense '*meaning roughly a public process of the conciliation of all relevant and rival interests and views about an issue so that an authoritative and legitimate decision can be reached with relevant officials empowered to dispose of the necessary resources in order to execute the decision*' (2007, p. 251). The neutral conception of politics, according to Frazer, would be to say that politics signifies '*all those processes pertaining to the power to govern – getting it, keeping it, opposing it, subverting it, squandering it and so on*' (2007, p. 250). In the negative perception of politics, it is perceived as 'Machiavellian', in the sense of associated with strategic manoeuvring, cunning, ruthlessness and acting disreputable. She argues that it has become common sense to focus on the negative connotation of politics. Frazer suggests several reasons for suspicion that explain this negative connotation regarding politics.

First of all, politics is associated with making compromises in the process of seeking alliances. In order to get something done, one has to act strategically to get others on board. In the process of overcoming disagreement one seems to have to compromise with what they believe to be true. Second, even in the positive perception of politics, there is an association with endless deliberation, whereas what people often want is action. The political process at times can thus seem to be a waste of energy. Thirdly, politics is associated with violence and aggression, not so much in its exercise of a monopoly on violence, but in the competition that is the political process itself. Politics reveals antagonisms that are manifested in arguments and disagreements, which to some are uncomfortably hostile.

From this point on it may seem tempting to look on alternatives for politics that are more effective and legitimate to rule society, Frazer suggests. Spiritual or religious power could have

a rightful claim to rule, bringing harmony to society, instead of antagonism. Those in military power could claim legitimacy on the basis of bringing stability and order instead of disorder and corruption. Managers and entrepreneurs have the expertise to make efficient decisions if they would be given the right to rule. Even judges might have more wisdom and independence to rule under the rule of law. But, Frazer wonders, for all deficiencies in politics, would we be able to live without it? What does politics have that these alternative bases of rule do not?

Frazer goes on to formulate several key characteristics of politics. First, politics is a public process: *'Politics is a public (visible and audible) process and onlookers are entitled to ask participants, in whatever role, to account publicly for what they do'* (p. 255). Contrary to all the alternatives listed above, only with politics is there a sense of public accountability. Second, only in the political process are the demands of the opposition acknowledged in decision-making, even though this acknowledgement will not always result in satisfaction for the opposition. A third key characteristic of politics is that political office holds its officers to certain virtues and standards of procedure (p. 255). In the establishment of these procedures becomes manifest who has the most political power³ to decide how decisions will be made. *'All of these principles add up to something very distinct about politics – it is inevitably an open-ended process'* (p. 256). Politics is a never-ending process in which decisions that are made are only temporary, so that the same disagreements have to be disputed again and again. Also, politics is non-optional. It can't be eliminated, because in human society, there is conflict. And where there is conflict, people *'will get together, and cooperate, and decide, and act up publicly, and attempt to hold the powerful to account for power and injustice'* (p. 258). However, Frazer adds, although politics can't be eliminated, it can be given a bad name and some may try to displace it with community, violence or religion. But we need politics, Frazer concludes, because there is conflict and politics is the best way to conduct it.

Frazer defines citizenship as a political relationship (p. 257). She is critical of one of the most influential conceptions of citizenship, which was suggested by Marshall in 1950, defining citizenship as 'membership of a community'. According to Frazer, this definition is inadequate, because to say that a citizen is 'any' member of 'any' community, makes the concept of citizenship far too vague. According to this 'vague' definition *'we can speak of 'a good citizen' as anyone who, in any community whatsoever, pulls their weight with regards to the common good, upholds the organisation and its values, takes responsibility and so on'* (p. 258).

³ *'By political power, let us remind ourselves, we mean the cooperative power to get together publicly and decide how to decide, to decide, to have methods of making the decision stick, and methods of implementation'* (Frazer, 2007, pp. 259-260).

However, when citizenship is understood without any reference to political power according to Frazer 'we are omitting something crucial' (p. 258). Instead, she suggests that *'[t]o speak of ourselves as 'citizens' is to claim a particular kind of dignity, to proclaim a particular kind of relationship with our fellows, a particular set of responsibilities and privileges, and a particular kind of relationship with those who hold office, and rule, whether locally or at the national state level'* (p. 258). Frazer argues that citizens have a stake in decisions that are being made and because of this interest in public issues, citizens will find themselves in conflict with other citizens. Citizenship, therefore, is *'inescapably competitive'*, according to Frazer (p. 258). Moreover, Frazer seems to imply that a just society cannot exist without citizens who engage in the pursuit of justice. Without these kinds of citizens, justice would either have to be managed through authoritarian means or it would become very fragile. So citizenship is inescapably political because it involves conflicting interests and relations, and a never-ending pursuit of justice.

Ingrid Straume dedicates her work to political and education theory. She aims to give insight in the nature of the relationship between democracy, politics and education (2016). Her work is greatly inspired by Cornelis Castoriadis and critical of liberal theory. She derives her conception of politics from Castoriadis (and to some extent from Arendt⁴) (2012a, 2016). When she discusses politics, it refers to the political domain, *'which is the domain for law-making and the creation of institutions, or in a wider perspective, ways to organize society'* (2012a, p. 2). She uses the term 'political democracy' to refer to *'a society that has instituted itself as to embody [...] political self-questioning'* (2016, p. 31) as mentioned by Castoriadis. Implicit in this notion of political self-questioning is a strong conflictual component, for questioning the status quo is an act of dissent. Although Straume doesn't go into detail about the aspect of conflict, she does seem to criticize liberal theory and citizenship education theory for overlooking the inherently conflictual nature of politics. Also, in reference to Mouffe, she mentions that this dimension cannot and should not be overcome. Straume's vision of the nature of conflict in politics does, however, remain implicit.

Straume also uses the categories of the *who*, *how* and *what* of politics, arguing that the *what* of politics is what makes it political or politicised (p. 42). This category is concerned with political causes and creation and recreation of institutions. She criticizes Biesta, among others, for focussing too much attention on the *who* of politics which is related to notions of identity and subjectivity. She holds liberal thinking responsible for introducing this focus on identity. *'By making values, life-views and culture main themes for political thought – rather than, e.g.,*

⁴ Straume has dedicated an article (2012b) to the similarities between the political theories of Castoriadis and Arendt.

socioeconomic issues – identity became a main category of political discussions and analyses' (2016, p. 38). But the *who* of politics just presents one side of the matter, and not the most important one, according to Straume. The *what* of politics is so important because *'to think and act politically means to realize that our common world is a created world'* (p. 42). Every society is characterized by its institutions by which she means *'the laws, norms and customs that regulate our life together'* (p. 42). Politics should therefore be about imagining, creating and recreating social institutions. Moreover, Straume also attaches politics to the project of autonomy as described by Castoriadis. *'A society that has not instituted politics is a society without freedom'* (p. 43). Freedom to question the institutions of society and to take responsibility for the creation or recreation of society.

Straume does not argue for a particular notion of citizenship. Actually, she only mentions the word citizenship when referring to citizenship education. It seems that, in order to prevent a discussion about the *who* of politics or citizen identities, which according to Straume is not the most important aspect of politics, instead she writes about democracy. The result of a focus on identity is a reduction of democracy to *'a social system with an abundance of participation, yet little going on in terms of political creation'* (2016, p. 38). The political dimension is lost when individuals – or citizens - are seen as the starting point and key component of democracy (p. 39). *'The question that begs itself is whether the bringing forth of subjects is a more central task for democracy than to create institutions'* (p. 40). Democracy, for Straume, is more than the conjoint experience of citizens or a mode of associated living, *'it is also a form of government'* (p. 34). So, it seems, that her argument for more attention for politics as the questioning and recreation of the institutions of society, has led Straume to decide not to speak explicitly about citizenship. However, in 5.2 will become clear that there still is a notion of the 'good' citizen to be found in the work of Straume.

Table 4 presents an overview of the notions of politics and citizenship within this subgroup. As becomes clear in table 4 both Frazer and Straume emphasize the open-ended nature of the political process. Frazer mentions this aspect explicitly, whereas Straume presents this aspect by focussing on imagination and political creation, by which she implies that the institutions of society could always be different. Institutions are imagined and created and in order to re-image or recreate institutions, the existing ones need to be questioned and contested. This makes politics a necessarily conflictual affair that takes place in the public sphere. Where Frazer is explicit in the necessity of conflict in politics and citizenship, Straume mentions this aspect more implicitly in relation to politics as self-questioning. A difference between these two authors can be found in the underlying principles that are a driving force for politics. For Frazer this seems to be justice, the pursuit of which is a task of citizens. Straume refers to freedom or autonomy as the underlying principle of politics. Another difference is manifested

in the use of the term citizenship. Where Frazer has developed a comprehensive notion of citizenship, Straume seems reluctant to speak about politics and democracy with reference to citizenship.

Table 4: Institutions and political creation: Notions of politics and citizenship

Author/publications	Politics is...	Citizenship is...
Frazer (2000, 2007)	An non-optional and open-ended, public process of the conciliation of all relevant and rival interests on an issue on the basis of justice.	A political relationship with a strong competitive element.
Straume (2012a, 2014, 2016)	Creation and recreation of society on the basis of freedom (Castoriadis).	No conception of citizenship

5.2 Institutions and political creation: Conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education?

In 5.1 Frazer's critique of a vague conception of citizenship was presented. When citizenship education is based on such a 'vague' conception of citizenship, Frazer argues its objectives may be as wide as to aim for legal education, human rights education, values education, moral and spiritual education, personal development, health, voluntary effort and community service all at once (2000, p. 99). According to Frazer, even if educators stood positively against politics, *'it is clear that such programmes could coherently omit any discussion of the circulation of the power to govern proper [...], any discussion of the history or development of [formal] political institutions [...] and their relation with other important social institutions'* (p. 99). So depoliticized citizenship education fails to incorporate a critical discussion about institutions, in the broad sense of the term.

Then, there is the problem of ethics, which in education seems to conflict with teaching politics, according to Frazer (2000, p. 98). The importance of teaching moral values and human rights seems uncontested, however, at the same time the importance of teaching political values, political relationships and political processes is denied. Values such as equality, tolerance of difference, political liberty and free speech are seen as intrinsic values, not political values. Discussing political values may even divert or undermine values education, because of the role power and pragmatism play in politics. According to Frazer, the negative connotation of politics results in values education that focusses on getting the morals right, thinking the politics will look after itself.

Proper political citizenship education however, would teach about the structure of power, touching upon formal and informal political institutions. Also, it would prepare students to engage in conflictual encounters. And when teaching values, it should be done in the context

of political power and institutions (2000, p. 100). *'In formal classroom work I think this should mean sustained attention to states, inter- and supra-state institutions and organisations, their constitutions, and the way these values have or have not been, are or are not, realised in political events'* (2007, p. 261). Moreover, the school should hold itself to the highest standards of political virtue in the development of its own procedural justice for decision making and conflict resolution, according to Frazer. She doesn't explicate what she means by political virtue, but based on her work it can be assumed that she refers to an appreciation of the constitutive power of politics and its open-ended and conflictual nature, which allows citizens to strive for the stakes they have in the decision-making process and pursue justice.

Where Frazer refers to depoliticized citizenship education **Straume** speaks of a depoliticization of *democracy* in citizenship education. She refers to two aspects of depoliticization of democracy in citizenship education: conflating a social conception of democracy with a political one and a focus on identity without regard of political causes. These two aspects of depoliticization of democracy in citizenship education will be elaborated on. Her conceptions of depoliticization are more theoretical and conceptual than some of the other authors, with less explicit mentions of education practices or objectives. Her aim is to offer a political conception of democracy for citizenship education in the light of depoliticized conceptions of democracy that shape current education practices, in her view.

Straume is critical of a conception of democracy in citizenship education that minimizes it to social integration. *'Without sufficient distinction between social and political aspects of democracy, the concept becomes vulnerable to depoliticizing trends, and most importantly, it loses capacity to foster political change'* (2016, p. 34). According to her, democracy in citizenship education is often defined in vague terms like 'living in society' or 'living together' (p. 34). From this point of view she is critical of Biesta's conception of democracy in citizenship education as *'learning to live with others who are not like us'* (p. 40). According to Straume, this is still a social conception of democracy, not a political one. But democracy for Straume is more than living together. She suggests to see democracy as a political form of rule, i.e. self-government. This implies that it involves contestation, conflict and disagreement, but these aspects are often left aside in citizenship education. There is also a critique in the work of Straume of a focus on identity in citizenship education. Straume misses the political in Biesta's concept of subjectification as an aim for citizenship education. This notion, according to Straume, needs political causes: *'that which makes people take to the streets, to look beyond themselves, and even, at times, to give their life for the sake of politics'* (p. 41).

A political notion of democracy in citizenship education would refer to political causes or the notion of questioning the existing powers, according to Straume (p. 40). She refers back to

Castoriadis, who wrote that in order for a democracy to work properly '*citizens need to care for their society and its institutional arrangements*' (2014, p. 9). The virtues that are required of citizens of a democracy are '*a commitment to common interests, truthfulness, responsibility, intellectual and democratic courage*' (p. 9). These virtues must all contribute to the self-institution of society by its citizens. Although, as mentioned before, Straume herself seems to avoid writing about politics and democracy with mention of citizenship, she seems to translate Castoriadis vision of 'good' citizenship into the notion that '*to become engaged in politics, we must be able to focus our attention on the world, not only on ourselves, and the things, ideas and institutions that are between and around us*' (2016, p. 43). This requires citizenship education that engages students in controversial and emotional issues and creating opportunities for '*identifying oneself as political subjects, individually and collectively*' (2016, p. 43). Also, political creation and questioning is closely tied to responsibility, Straume emphasizes. Still, her vision for education is mostly based on theoretical notions of politics and democracy and she doesn't offer a comprehensive pedagogy for political citizenship education. So that leaves questions about the educational goals that Straume would set in order to engage students in politics and foster a sense of responsibility for political creation.

Table 5 presents an overview of the conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education in this subgroup. Depoliticized citizenship education, according to the authors in this subgroup, focusses on values or identity rather than socio-economic issues or political institutions. These two authors agree that there is too little attention for institutions – in the broad sense of the term – in citizenship education. The authors differ in their additional focus with regard to depoliticized citizenship education. For Frazer depoliticization becomes apparent in educating moral values without reference to the way these values function within political power relations. From the principle of justice, as an underlying principle of politics mentioned by Frazer in 5.1, it is necessary to develop a critical vision of the role of values in political institutions. Straume emphasizes an exaggerated focus on identity and subjectification, or the inclusion of *who's* into the political order, without mention of political causes or institutions. From the principle of freedom, as an underlying principle of politics as mentioned by Straume in 5.1, it is necessary to appreciate the self-instituting power of society to imagine new and/or better institutions. Also, Frazer explicitly mentions engaging students in conflictual encounters, whereas Straume only mentions allowing controversy and emotions into the classroom.

The prominent place political institutions and political creation get in the work of these authors poses a challenge to the prevalence of the process of subjectification and identification that was argued to be so important to political citizenship education by the authors in chapter 4. It has to be made clear, though, that the discussion between these subgroups is one about priorities. None of the authors in both subgroups seems to deny the importance of teaching

for political subjectification or political creation. These aims for citizenship education are not mutually exclusive but complementary. In an ideal world they would be given equal weight and even turn out to be mutually supportive. In a more realistic vision of citizenship education, there would be constant contestation over the prevalence of one or the other, which is part of what makes political citizenship education political.

Table 5: Institutions and political creation: Conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education

Author/publications	Apolitical citizenship education is...	Political citizenship education is...
Frazer (2000, 2007)	Based on a 'vague' conception of citizenship and focused on values without mention of political power or political institutions and aims to develop moral awareness.	Focused on structures of power, both formal and informal and aims to develop skills necessary to engage in conflictual encounters.
Straume (2012a, 2014, 2016)	Focuses on identity without regard of political causes and conflates a social conception of democracy with a political one, and aims to develop individual identity.	Focuses on political causes and the questioning of existing powers and aims to develop capacities to deal with emotions that are inherent to controversial issues and a sense of responsibility for the (re)creation of society.

5.3 Institutions and political creation: Key characteristics of political citizenship education

This chapter so far has explicated notions of politics and citizenship and described core elements of political citizenship education as deployed by Frazer and Straume. The presented arguments have many similarities and but also differ on certain principals. The most pressing difference is the result of Straume's decision to present an alternative for the focus on citizenship in citizenship education theory by writing instead about democracy with minimal mention of the roles of citizens. It is not within the scope of this research to extensively elaborate on the implications of this theoretical friction, but it would be interesting for future studies to see what we can learn about the relation between politics, democracy and education with and without mention of citizenship. That being said, based on everything mentioned so far four characteristics of political citizenship in citizenship education have been distinguished, according to a broad understanding of politics and citizenship. Political citizenship education fosters citizens who:

1. *Are sensitive to possibilities for (social) change.* Both Frazer and Straume emphasize that society as it was created, can always be recreated, because politics is an open-ended process. This underlying notion effects the conceptions of political citizenship education, in that it demands questioning of the relations of power in society. Political

citizenship education aims to develop a sensitivity in students to imagine alternative modes of society.

2. *Are inclined to question relations of power.* The open-endedness of the political process can only be utilized when existing political powers are questioned, including its formal and informal institutional arrangements. Frazer and Straume see it as one of the most important tasks of political citizenship education to equip students with the capacity to question existing powers.
3. *Have a sense of responsibility for the questioning and (re)creation of the institutions in society.* This characteristic combines the previous two, but adds the institutional aspect. Frazer and Straume both see the creation and recreation of institutions as one of the main tasks of citizens in a democracy. Political citizenship education should therefore teach about the existing formal and informal institutions and help students develop the capacity to question existing institutions and imagine new ones. Frazer focusses more on questioning than creation and uses the term *engagement* in this context. For her, this should be connected to being critical of the way institutions either do or do not realise the values they claim to uphold. Straume explicitly refers to questioning *and* creation in democratic politics as a *responsibility* that needs to be fostered in citizenship education. Because an emphasis on creation also fits Frazer's definition of politics as an open-ended process, the aim to foster a sense of responsibility in political citizenship education, seems the appropriate terminology.
4. *Are capable of engaging in conflict.* Questioning the existing powers is an act of contestation that can lead to conflict or disagreement. Straume refers to this in terms of controversy in the classroom, but the actual engagement with conflict is explicated by Frazer. Students should learn how to engage in conflictual encounters in a meaningful way, according to Frazer. She adds that this is something students can practice and experience within educational institutions.

Other characteristics suggest that political citizenship education fosters citizens who:

- *Are oriented toward social justice.* Frazer sees the pursuit of justice as a responsibility of citizens and suggests political citizenship education should foster political virtue, which implies this orientation towards justice.

6. Subgroup 3: Social justice

In this chapter the analysis of the work of Westheimer & Kahne; McCowan; and Llewellyn, Cook & Molina are presented. Some of these authors developed notions of politics and citizenship in relation to their theoretical notions of social justice. However, the articles in this chapter contain the least extensive conceptualisations of politics and citizenship. In this chapter notions of politics and citizenship will be outlined, followed by their understanding of depoliticized and political citizenship education. This chapter will conclude with an overview of the explicit key characteristics of political citizenship education mentioned within this subgroup and the implicit characteristics that can be derived from their notions of politics and citizenship.

6.1 Social justice: Notions of politics and citizenship

Education theorist **Tristan McCowan** (2009) in his search for participative or radical democratic education (p. 16), is influenced by the work of Paulo Freire. This Marxist pedagogue has inspired educationists around the world including the critical pedagogy movement. It doesn't become explicit in McCowan's work what his notion of politics is, but he does extensively refer to Freire's notion of politics. According to McCowan, Freire uses the term politics in a very broad sense, referring to all relations of power and forms of organization in society in the ongoing struggle for humanization and against oppression (p. 61). Freire denies that conflict is a necessary condition for society and politics, according to McCowan. Instead, Freire sees oppression as an unnatural characteristic of society. When this unnatural division of the oppressed and the oppressors is transformed, conflicts of interests will dissipate. Freire takes an idealist or utopian position by claiming that society can overcome divisions and injustices. It doesn't become clear whether McCowan completely agrees with Freire's notion of politics. He does however in more general terms speak of the importance of Freire's work on education and its possibilities for transforming individuals in society. Probably McCowan, at least to some extent, sees politics as relations of power at all levels of society and as a struggle against oppression. Politics, in this sense, becomes a means to transform society in accordance with social justice.

McCowan defines citizenship as membership of a state (2009). According to him, this refers to both an official status and to *'the fulfilling of those expectations associated with membership'* or the 'good' citizen (p. 5). However, later on, McCowan emphasizes that citizenship is not a status, but something that people continuously do (p. 192). *'My belief is that citizenship, as well as involving a deep understanding and exercising of universal rights, should be based on participatory or radical democracy, involving a significant increase in popular involvement in political processes'* (p. 16). McCowan understands citizenship as a fundamental right to be involved in decision-making processes, the outcome of which affects citizen lives. Moreover,

he sees political participation as a valuable experience for people to enhance agency through political learning. On this last notion, McCowan is likely inspired by Freire. Otherwise, it doesn't become explicit how McCowan is influenced by Freire's ideas on citizenship.

Table 6 presents an overview of the notions of politics and citizenship in this subgroup. As becomes clear in table 6, these authors haven't explicitly conceptualized their notions of politics. Only McCowan has offered a notion of citizenship. Also, there aren't many publications on this topic from these authors to build comprehensive notions of politics and citizenship from. Although lacking explicit definitions of these concepts, there is an implicit notion in the works of all the authors in this subgroup that implies that politics and citizenship have something to do with social justice. This notion will become more clear in 6.2 when conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education are presented.

Table 6: Social justice: Notions of politics and citizenship

Author/publications	Politics is...	Citizenship is...
Westheimer & Kahne (2004a, 2004b)	<i>No conceptualization</i>	<i>No conception of citizenship</i>
McCowan (2006, 2009)	Power relations in all levels of society and a means to transform society in accordance with social justice (implicit)	A status and a practice
Llewellyn, Cook & Molina (2010)	<i>No conceptualization</i>	<i>No conception of citizenship</i>

6.2 Social justice: Conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education

Westheimer & Kahne ask the question: '*What kind of citizens do we need to support an effective democratic society?*' (2004b, p. 3). They have distinguished three conceptions of the 'good' citizen that can be taught in citizenship education: the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen and the justice-oriented citizen (2004a, 2004b). The *personally responsible citizen* acts responsibly within his or her own community by, for example, keeping the streets clean, recycling, donating cloths to charity and, in general, obeying the law. Westheimer and Kahne clearly state that this first conception is apolitical. However, they argue that in citizenship education, it is the individually responsible citizen that is often aimed at. Individual acts of compassion and kindness are privileged over social action and the pursuit of social justice. Westheimer & Kahne argue that such a vision of citizenship education devoid of politics promotes service but not democracy (2004a, p. 3). In the pursuit of promoting democracy, the concept of the personally responsible citizen may contribute to social trust, but at the same time it creates certain problems for democracy as well, Westheimer & Kahne claim.

'First, the emphasis placed on individual character and behaviour can obscure the need for collective and often public sector initiatives; second, this emphasis can distract attention from analysis of the causes of social problems; and third, volunteerism and kindness are put forward as ways of avoiding politics and policy' (2004a, p. 3).

The conception of the 'good' personally responsible citizen, stimulates certain desirable traits for people living in a community, but these traits are not democratic in the sense that even leaders of authoritarian states would want their subjects to abide by the rules, be respectful and feel responsible for the wellbeing of others. Westheimer & Kahne argue that these traits are not what makes citizenship democratic. Moreover, they claim that *'a focus on loyalty or obedience [...] works against the kind of critical reflection and action many assume are essential in a democratic society'* (2004b, p. 6). It is implied that what makes a conception of citizenship democratic, is the political aspect that is present in the other two types of citizens.

The *participatory citizen* actively participates in civic affairs and the social life of the community at the local, state and national level. The *justice-oriented citizen* is capable of analysing and discussing social, political, and economic forces and structures in society in order to promote social justice. It would be hard to pursue all three types of citizens at the same time in citizenship education, because when emphasis is put on the personally responsible type of citizenship, this conflicts with the aims of the justice-oriented type of citizenship. The participatory and the justice-oriented conception of citizenship, however, also have conflicting attributes in practice (2004a, p. 6). Where participatory citizens have the ability and motivation to participate in collective action, it lacks critical capacity to analyse root causes of injustice. At the same time, justice-oriented citizens may be able to engage in critical analysis, but lack the ability or commitment to participate. It doesn't become clear what specific aspects make citizenship and citizenship education political according to Westheimer & Kahne. They clearly root for fostering participation and critical analysis of injustices over obedience and loyalty, but they also see conflict between the two more political conceptions of citizenship they formulated.

The article by **Llewellyn, Cook & Molina** (2010), despite lacking theory on politics and citizenship, offers extensive conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education, which are largely in line with the conceptions of Westheimer & Kahne as just presented. The three authors have studied Canadian curricula and spoken to students and teachers about their experiences with civic education. They describe a tendency in citizenship education to focus on citizenship status, by teaching about formal political institutions and citizen rights, rather than on practice. They argue that citizenship education hardly teaches political participation

and rarely touches the subject of relations of power within the democratic context. Most of all, citizenship education fails to mention possibilities of civil disobedience, protest, or boycott, because these actions are considered unpatriotic. Instead, Canadian schools wield behavioural codes of conduct that hold compliance and obedience as ideals of civic behaviour. *'Civic learning in schools stems from dominant culture and often contributes to a value-neutral approach to politics'* (p. 805). This value-neutral approach to politics is based on a notion of the 'good' person instead of the 'good' citizen: doing community service, helping others and following the rules. This approach stifles students passion for political change, according to Llewellyn et al.

'We believe that civic learning should stand in opposition to conformity, which neglects the diverse cultural realities and powerful voices of youth' (p. 806). Llewellyn et al. suggest a social-justice model of citizenship education. This kind of civic learning involves controversial debates and competing interpretations of responsibility and justice. This kind of education not only teaches how government works, but analyses the relations of power in political processes. Also, they suggest that, civic education should discuss both the expansion of citizen rights and the struggles that need to occur to challenge injustices and gain those rights. According to Llewellyn et al. one of the most important lessons is that *'democracy is not self-winding'* (p. 808) and that engagement with collaborative action is needed to achieve systemic change. So, in comparison with the conceptions of Westheimer & Kahne, what is added by Llewellyn, Cook & Molina is the implicit mention of fostering engagement with conflict.

McCowan doesn't explicitly offer his own conception of depoliticization of citizenship education, but only refers to conceptions of depoliticized citizenship as proposed by Freire. McCowan's own vision remains implicit. He distinguishes two conceptions of how positive change can be achieved in society: a charity conception and a justice conception (2009, p. 198). He emphasizes that volunteering is not part of citizenship, because citizenship comes with entitlements, which are not dependent on the arbitrariness of charity. Service learning, is therefore not a part of citizenship education. In this regard he makes clear that he uses the terms political education and citizenship education interchangeably (2006, p. 58). McCowan, moreover, doesn't support any predefined notion of citizenship and in that sense doesn't think too much should be expected from education (2009, p. 192). Education can't do it all, first because the outcomes of education are unpredictable, and second because citizenship is not an outcome, but a process. *'With a 'process' conception of citizenship, rather than 'the simple acquisition of certain fixed core values and disposition', education would equip or capacitate young people for engagement in political processes, and allow them a space to build and exercise their own conceptions'* (p. 192). Education can only support a notion of citizenship that is open and leaves opportunities for reimagining and recreation (p. 193).

McCowan argues for fostering ‘strong’ criticality in citizenship education, by which he means the capacity to not just evaluate policies and judge electoral candidates, but to question the foundations of society, including ‘*the influence of social class, gender and race inequalities on the exercising of political power*’ (p. 196). Citizenship education should be about change on the basis of principles of justice, according to McCowan (2006, p. 68). ‘*Far from avoiding political questions for fear of bias, schools and teachers are ethically bound to deal with them and use them for social transformation*’ (2006, p. 68). Knowledge, skills and values are not enough to speak of a political actor. First, students must learn to see themselves as subjects with the ability to influence the reality that surrounds them. In order to achieve this kind of agency citizenship must go beyond being a separate subject in school. At least, schools should have a prefigurative role by engaging in a process of democratization (2009, p. 195). This process should aim for a school culture in which pupils, staff and community are involved in decisions on management and curriculum. Compared to the authors in the subgroup mentioned before, McCowan adds the need to foster citizens that see themselves as political subjects.

Table 7 presents an overview of the conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education in this subgroup. From the conceptions of depoliticized citizenship education it becomes clear, that citizenship in schools is presented as a narrow identity, related to being individually responsible and with the aim to develop a sense of charity and volunteerism. It is a compliant notion of citizenship that reproduces the existing order. Against this apolitical conception of citizenship education, the authors present a conception of political citizenship education that transcends this narrow identity by focussing on social justice. Political citizenship education would foster a sensitivity for possibilities of social transformation and political change based on collective work. The questioning of the existing order and the strife for change should be based on a principle of social justice. So citizenship education should foster understanding of the causes of problems, engagement with and responsibility for the improvement of collective life and participation in social transformation.

Although this subgroup has added social justice to the list of underlying principles of conducting politics, it mostly confirmed a few other characteristics of political citizenship education. Because the underlying notions of politics and citizenship were less rich than in the other subgroups, there is less information to derive more implicit aspect from.

Table 7: Social justice: Conceptions of apolitical and political citizenship education

Author/publications	Apolitical citizenship education is...	Political citizenship education is...
Westheimer & Kahne (2004a, 2004b)	Citizenship education that aims to develop a personally	Citizenship education that aims to develop a participatory or justice oriented type of citizenship, which

	responsible type of citizenship that is devoid of politics.	have eye for collective/public initiatives and actions and critical reflection.
McCowan (2006, 2009)	based on a charity conception with a focus on service learning which aims to develop a sense of responsibility to help others.	based on an open notion of citizenship and aims to develop an inclination to question the foundations of society in order to achieve social transformation based on the principle of justice.
Llewellyn, Cook & Molina (2010)	Focussed on fostering 'good' persons and aims to develop obedience and compliance.	Based on a social-justice model of citizenship and aims to develop involvement with controversial debates and analyses of relations of power in political processes and collaborative action for social change.

6.3 Social justice: Key characteristics of political citizenship education

This chapter so far has explicated notions of politics and citizenship and described core elements of political citizenship education as deployed by Westheimer & Kahne; McCowan; and Llewellyn, Cook & Molina. The presented arguments have many similarities and differ merely in their emphasis and focus. Based on everything mentioned so far four key characteristics of political citizenship education have been distinguished, and several other characteristics, which have not been explicitly mentioned by all the authors of the subgroup. Political citizenship education fosters citizens who:

1. *Are sensitive to possibilities for (social) change.* Social transformation or social change on the basis of social justice should be the aim of political citizenship education.
2. *Are inclined to question relations of power.* The foundations of society, dominant institutions and structures, and relations of power need to be analysed and questioned in political citizenship education on the basis of social justice.
3. *Can identify and commit with collectives or with issues of a common concern.* From conceptions of depoliticized citizenship becomes clear that education that only fosters individual responsibility lacks politics. Education for political citizenship is only possible in the context of the collective. Political participation requires collective efforts, collective decision-making and collective action. Citizenship education needs to develop skills and commitments for working collectively to improve society.
4. *Are oriented towards social justice.* Social justice or principles of justice are the driving force for political citizenship education that these authors identify. Students need to develop a sensitivity for asking justice oriented questions and recognizing and addressing structural injustices in society.

Other characteristics suggest that political citizenship education fosters citizens who:

- *Understand citizenship as a contested/political concept.* These authors emphasize that conceptions of citizenship are political in that they are the result of a consideration about the 'good' society. Only McCowan emphasizes that citizenship should also be understood as an open concept in the classroom and that students should be challenged to create their own citizen identity that fits the context of their lives.
- *Are capable of engaging in conflict.* This aspect is only mentioned implicitly in this subgroup. Especially Llewellyn, Cook & Molina argue that instead of teaching conformity, education should stand in opposition to conformity. Students should develop competencies to engage in controversial debates and discussions with competing interpretations of justice. There clearly is an aspect of conflict in these statements.
- *See themselves as (equal) political subjects.* McCowan is the only one in the subgroup that explicitly emphasizes the need to educate for agency. Students must learn to see themselves as subjects with the ability to influence the reality that surrounds them. However, in comparison with subgroup 1, there is no explicit mention in McCowan's work of the equality of political subjects, although this equality is implied when young students are presented as capable of being political subjects.

7. Conclusion & Discussion

This study examined *what key characteristics of political citizenship education can be derived from contemporary notions of politics and citizenship and conceptions of depoliticized and political citizenship education and what these key characteristics mean for theorizing about education for political citizenship*. The study was conducted through a conceptual review of literature on notions of politics, citizenship and conceptions of apolitical or depoliticized and political citizenship education which led to the distinction of several key characteristics of political citizenship education. The main aim of the study was to generate a comprehensive conception of political citizenship education. In this section the findings and conclusions of the thesis are summarized, followed by a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of the findings.

The notions of politics and citizenship of the authors under study were overall focused more on conflict and disagreement than on order or consensus and more on the practice of citizenship than on its status. Among these notions, a range can be discerned, with authors who, with Rancière, favour a more anarchic notion of politics and citizenship, and those who take a middle position, allowing for both order and conflict in the domain of politics (following Mouffe and Castoriadis). Overall, it can be said that these authors presented notions of politics as an open-ended process in which citizens have a stake and possibilities to influence decision-making, but also to change power structures. The author's understanding of what politics is ultimately about varies. For some the moment new subjects are included into the existing political order is what politics is ultimately about, but for others it is ultimately about self-institution in which political institutions are created or transformed. And there were those, who didn't offer any conception of politics.

There was agreement about citizenship being both a status, with regard to the formal relationship of rights and obligations vis-à-vis the state, and a practice, with regard to the responsibility of citizens to constitute the state and hold it accountable. There seems to be consensus amongst the authors on the importance of emphasizing the practice of citizenship, when dominant views emphasize the aspect of status. There were also those who didn't offer a specific notion of citizenship prior to conceptualizing citizenship education.

Table 8 presents an overview of the key characteristics that resulted from the analysis of conceptions of politics and citizenship and conceptions of depoliticization of citizenship. The colours indicate whether the whole subgroup mentions and supports a characteristic (blue) or only a part of the subgroup does (grey). As becomes clear in table 8 there is quite some overlap in the mention of the key characteristics. Some characteristics are mentioned by a

whole subgroup, others by several individual authors within the subgroups. The table also shows the difference between the three subgroups. Based on notions of politics and citizenship these subgroups have taken certain aspects of political citizenship education as their starting point. Because this study was focussed on key characteristics of political citizenship education, the discrepancies between the conceptions of political citizenship education have not been analysed systematically. But because there are differences in focus amongst the different authors, some frictions will be mentioned, which would be interesting for future inquiry. Below, the key characteristics will be summarized briefly followed by the frictions within the presented framework.

Table 8: Key characteristics of political citizenship education

Political citizenship education fosters citizens who:	Subgroup 1	Subgroup 2	Subgroup 3
Understand citizenship as a contested/political concept			McCowan
Are inclined to question relations of power			
Are sensitive to possibilities for (political) change			
Can identify with collectives or with issues of a common concern			
Are capable of engaging in conflict			Llewellyn et al.
See themselves as (equal) political subjects			McCowan
Understand that institutions are created by people and can thus be reimagined and recreated	Ruitenber		
Are oriented toward social justice		Frazer	

The analysis reveals the following key characteristics. Political citizenship education fosters citizens who:

- *Understand citizenship as a contested/political concept.* The majority of the authors have described political citizenship education as based on a conception of citizenship that is contested or political and thus open for a variety of interpretations. Political citizenship education is therefore not based on a fixed citizen identity, but it facilitates debate about possible different conceptions and stimulates the formation of new citizen identities.
- *Are inclined to question relations of power.* Political citizenship education aims to develop inclinations to question existing power relations and reflect on the position one takes within this existing order of power relations.

- *Are sensitive to possibilities for (political) change.* Politics is understood as an open-ended process, which is never finished and can therefore always be changed. Political citizenship education aims to develop a sensitivity to imagine and recognise possibilities for change and to act to make change possible.
- *Can identify with collectives or issues of a common concern.* Political identities are collective identities. Political action or participation is not something individuals do in isolation, but only happens when individuals identify with collectives or issues of a common concern. Students need to encounter opportunities for collective identification and action in citizenship education.
- *Are capable of engaging in conflict.* The characteristics mentioned so far are all constitutive of conflictual encounters. When understanding citizenship as a contingent identity, questioning relations of power, imagining possibilities for change and identifying with an issue of a common concern, disagreement is bound to be reached and conflict will have to be encountered. Political citizenship aims to develop capacities to engage in political conflict, which means encountering the opponent in an agonistic fashion.
- *See themselves as (equal) political subjects.* The above mentioned characteristics are only political, according to some of the authors who have been influenced by Rancière, if they are acted on in the name of equality. Equality is the guiding principle in the political process that stands at the basis of the formation of political subjects. According to some politics is ultimately about a process of subjectification that needs to be stimulated in political citizenship education by facilitating experiences with politics in students own lives.
- *Understand that institutions are created by people and can thus be reimagined and recreated.* This characteristic is closely tied to the one about political change, but this one emphasizes the self-instituting role of citizens in a democracy (autonomy) as the ultimate aspect of politics. Political citizenship education should therefore aim to develop political knowledge about the existing formal and informal institutions and help students develop the capacity to question existing institutions and imagine new ones.
- *Are oriented toward social justice.* Political citizenship education is only political according to some of the authors, when it is oriented to social justice. Political citizenship education aims to develop a sensitivity for asking justice oriented questions and recognizing and addressing structural injustices in society.

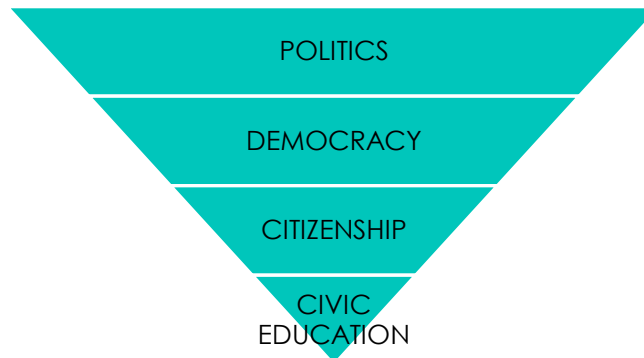
The main friction between the subgroups is created by the underlying theoretical notions. However, as key characteristics these theoretical notions do not have to be mutually exclusive. While subgroup 1 emphasizes the importance of subjectification and identification in political

citizenship education, they do not deny the importance of promoting the creation of institutions or an orientation on social justice. Only Straume is quite fierce in her argument that political citizenship should be less about identity and more about institutions. Although there seems to be a friction here, it doesn't have to be problematic. Whether to focus on identity or institutions in political citizenship education is a matter of priority. The framework as presented can be interpreted in many ways and, based on the results of this study, it should be clear that that's the only way to do justice to the political aspect of it. So whether more emphasis should be given to identity or institutions is an important debate that can be held within the scope of this framework.

Also, there appears to be a friction in the different principles, like equality, social justice and freedom (or autonomy), that are constitutive of politics in citizenship education. This too is a matter of political contestation and discussion within political citizenship education that doesn't have to lead to the exclusion of one principle or the other. However, this discussion requires comprehensive conceptual work into the nature of the relationship between these principles and politics and citizenship, which is still too limited in the subgroup on social justice.

So, what does this framework add to the field of citizenship education theory? In different fields of study – political theory and educational research – there has been theoretical development of concepts of politics - specifically broad conceptions of politics - and related broad conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education. In this study a number of these conceptualisations have been brought together. Reviewing the way different authors have written about the relationship between these concepts has contributed to the development of a comprehensive concept of political citizenship education. Similar work has been done relating conceptions of democracy with citizenship and education (Biesta, 2011b; De Groot, 2013). By focussing this study on politics instead of democracy a slightly different aspect of citizenship education has been emphasized that is additional to frameworks of democratic citizenship education. The relationship between these concepts has been visualised in figure 1. Here it should become clear that democracy is a response to the inherent aspect of politics in human societies, as already mentioned in 3.1. So the way politics is understood influences the understanding of democracy, and in turn, the understanding of citizenship and citizenship education. Focussing on the political aspect of citizenship education, thus offers a broader view than focussing on democracy.

Figure 1. Relationship between politics, democracy, citizenship and education



Also, in this study has tried to make clear what is mentioned explicitly in the data under study and what implicit notions can be derived from that. This made it possible to reach beyond the written words to create a deeper understanding of what has been said, what has not been said and what remains in the dark.

This study also contributes to New Civics and the critical democratic citizenship framework within Humanistic Studies. Where the New Civics approach challenges a narrow understanding of civic education or civic identity as just a social or political identity, as was mentioned in 1.1.2, this study shows that by working from a broad understanding of politics and citizenship, citizenship education can work with a wide variety of citizen identities. So, this study can contribute to the expansion of civic education by offering a broad concept of politics and citizenship.

Also, when looking at the overview of New Civics presented by Carretero, Haste and Bermudez, they write about a transition of conceptions of 'good citizenship' that underlie citizenship education practices (2015, p. 298). Here they only refer to Westheimer & Kahne's citizenship typology and their critique on conceptions of citizenship. This study, however, has presented a wider variety in apolitical and political conceptions of the 'good citizen'. Carretero, Haste & Bermudez also offer three examples of citizenship education in transition from a narrow to an expanded understanding of it. They speak of the increasing role of the media, critical inquiry and the discussion of controversial issues. Although these examples contain aspects of political citizenship education as conceptualized in the framework that this study presents, the political aspect is not explicitly given a prominent place in New Civics. The transition from apolitical or depoliticized citizenship education to political citizenship education could be presented as an additional important move within civic education.

Veugelers & De Groot (2015) build their framework of democratic citizenship education within Humanistic Studies based on their reading of Mouffe and, through Biesta, Rancière and Freire. Although these authors are mentioned in their work, there has not been a systematic theorizing of the conception of politics and how it relates to the democratic citizenship education framework they present. This framework presents democracy *'as a political system that is always under construction, as a culture that seeks to enhance respectful relations and social justice, and as an ethos that implies examining and co-constructing hegemonies and underlying normative frameworks in a multipolar society'* (2015, p. 29). Because many aspects of the framework presented in this study have already been taken up in the democratic citizenship education within Humanistic studies, the key characteristics offered in this study can be understood as a support for the thick democratic framework of Veugelers & De Groot.

The political citizenship education framework also has some implications for the citizenship education practice. According to the results of this study subjectification occurs in the act of politics and the most logical place for young people to act politically is their own neighbourhood or school. When taking political citizenship education seriously, schools become a site for disagreement and contestation in the name of equality and justice with the aim of social transformation. Then it becomes a place where students can experiment with democracy and thereby constitute new citizenship identities instead of trying on a predefined citizen costume. This practicing in the political domain should be alternated with gaining political knowledge about political institutions, their values and the extent in which these institutions embody those values. Also, when teaching about citizen rights, it should be made clear what struggles against injustices and what social movements lie at the foundation of those rights. All this, demands of teachers the courage to allow controversy, conflict and emotions into the classroom. That courage can only be ignited by educators who have some understanding of politics as an open-ended process and are to some extent passionate about the project of democracy.

On an additional note, it must be said that education cannot alone carry the responsibility for enhancing the quality of democracies by politicizing citizens. If other social and political institutions are depoliticized, than citizens will relocate their antagonisms to other dimensions of society (e.g. religion or nationalism). So in order for political citizenship education to be successful in a larger context, depoliticizing trends throughout society need to be addressed.

Limitations of this study can be attributed firstly to the strict literature sample. By holding on to the criteria of explicit mention of depoliticized or apolitical citizenship education, a great amount of literature on political education was left outside the scope of this study. Partly for this reason, only a certain form of political citizenship education was researched in this study.

In future studies, a broader literature search may give insight into other visions of political citizenship education. A second limitation is that the underlying political theories mentioned in the theoretical framework were not critically studied using other opposing theories nor systematically researched on viability and limitations. Moreover, they weren't systematically compared. For one, it could be interesting to spend further research on the compatibility of Rancière's and Mouffe's theories, which may have been brought together too easily in the literature under study in this thesis.

Future research could focus on the dominant discourses on democratic politics in teacher education. This would be an important inquiry because all necessary changes in education in order to politicize citizenship start with the educators. If teacher education is based on a dominant discourse of politics, it might benefit from counter conceptions of politics in order to spark a political debate among teachers about what political citizenship could be. Politicizing teacher education would be the first step to politicizing citizenship education.

8. References

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