

Citizenship Education and Human Rights in the Spanish Primary School Curriculum: The Teacher's Point of View

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Abstract

The declaration by the European Council of 2005 as the European Year of Citizenship through Education represented a clear boost to the current educational policies aiming at constructing active and democratic citizenship in different countries. The introduction of «Citizenship Education and Human Rights» (CE&HR), as a new subject in the Spanish Primary School curriculum, has been a source of controversy and rejection by different social sectors. This paper deals with the CE&HR teacher's point of view, and presents the results of an in-depth semi-structured interview with 17 sections, answered by 27 teachers belonging to different schools settled in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia. The study aims at increasing efficiency in promoting and constructing active citizenship from the educational perspective. Results indicate the teachers' strong need of training in citizenship both initial and in-service, and the teachers' requirement for more time to give the CE&HR subject.

1. Introduction

The Education Act *Ley Orgánica de Educación* [12] in force in Spain prescribes the implementation of the subject «Citizenship Education and Human Rights» (CE&HR) in the curriculum of the different compulsory educational stages. In Primary Education, CE&HR was introduced in the academic year 2009-2010, therefore it has only been given for two years at the moment of the study.

This subject annoys those social sectors that defend a concept of person and society rooted in values claimed to belong to the family domain. Thus, some parents believe that their rights are damaged and are afraid that their children will be indoctrinated. As a result of these suspicions, some families have pleaded to be objectors.

Neither does CE&HR please those who defend that, unless it goes together with changes in the organization of schools and in the social context, the real spirit of

the subject –educating for participatory democracy and the construction of a culture of peace based on human rights– will be limited to a marginal treatment, as Bolívar [4] and Jares [10] observe.

The Spanish curriculum is clearly linked to a large number of objectives directly related to CE&HR, such as:

- Understanding norms to live together, evaluating and using them appropriately.
- Developing emotional skills in all areas of personality and being able to establish positive relationships.
- Acquiring skills to prevent and solve conflicts peacefully in family, school and social environments.
- Learning to be a free and active citizen.
- Taking individual and collective commitments.
- Respecting and fostering human rights and rejecting all kinds of discrimination.
- Being aware of individual and collective work.
- Accepting pluralism, which means showing respect towards different people and cultures.
- Developing a positive and balanced image of one and acquiring personal autonomy.
- Developing an attitude opposed to any kind of violence, prejudice and sexist stereotypes.
- Promoting equal rights and opportunities between men and women.
- Encouraging people with disabilities.
- Understanding, appreciating and loving the natural, social and cultural environment and adopting behaviours which contribute to their protection.
- Developing attitudes of confidence, personal initiative, self-discipline, curiosity, critical sense, responsibility, creativity and interest in learning.
- Reinforcing the sense of belonging to the country.

It is clear that a subject with only a weekly one-hour session in the 5th and 6th grades, that is 35 hours in total around Primary Education, can only be considered as the spearhead of a real civic education.

For this reason, we think that it would represent a loss if we did not use CE&HR to its full potential.

One of the most sensitive elements that allow us to understand how CE&HR is developed is the analysis of the teacher's point of view; and for this we aimed at studying the results of an interview with teachers giving this subject.

However, the concern about competence-based training –that is, training people to be competent– is due to the need that the educational system gives appropriate response to a social reality which is very different from that one of relatively few years ago.

The traditional Primary Education system intended to transmit a culture with rather stable patterns to the new generations; in that context, the school had a role of social selection, transmission of predominant social values, and training in those contents considered to be needed in order to interpret and have a place in society.

At present, the school faces new social and educational challenges, where the relatively stable patterns are not so anymore and –as it is well-known– the most durable aspect of our society is the constant and permanent change. From this perspective, the teacher has to be trained and professionally develop in accordance with this reality.

In determining the appropriate teacher' profile to take over the development of social and civic competence, the role of the classroom tutor is the first to be considered. Yet, we must not forget that every teacher has the duty to contribute to the integral development of every child in an atmosphere of respect, tolerance, freedom and participation that encourages pupils to practice the values of a democratic society.

2. Research objectives

The objective of this research is to carry out an early diagnosis of the implementation of the «Citizenship Education and Human Rights» subject in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia (Spain), particularly in Primary Education when pupils come into contact with this new subject matter. More specifically, we are concerned about the teacher' perception about their role, their training and their assessment in relation to the development of the subject.

Therefore this study aims, on one hand, at increasing efficiency in promoting and constructing active citizenship from the educational perspective and, on the other, it intends to draw attention on a subject that should not be considered as secondary.

Research results provide us with information about the implementation of the new CE&HR subject, as well as guidance and recommendations for those agents directly involved in boosting children's civic

education, specially: teachers, citizenship educators, schools, NGOs committed to human rights, publishing houses, universities, and educational administrations at local and national levels.

3. Contextualization

The controversial introduction of the subject «Citizenship Education and Human Rights» was preceded by two worrying issues: the detection of antisocial behaviours among youth and a deficit in democratic participation.

Concerning the former issue, it is worth mentioning that, despite the social alarm caused by such phenomena as vandalism, substance abuse, gang fighting, school bullying, gender violence, xenophobia and so on, different studies in our context show that violent expressions do not seem to be increasing in schooled population [5], [8], [9], [16].

As for the deficit in democratic participation also studied by Blondiaux et al. [3] and Rosanwallon [17], the European Council, already in 1997, expressed their concern and promoted the development of a set of measures that culminated in the declaration of 2005 as the «European Year of Citizenship through Education» [7], which represented a clear boost to the current educational policies aiming at constructing active and democratic citizenship in different countries.

Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman [2] considers that the role of Europe in the world is no other than becoming global generator of democratic patterns, developing those values that throughout centuries have become our own and that, now more than ever, are essential elements for human solidarity: feelings of mutual belonging and shared responsibility in the face of a common future, disposition to worry for the collective wellbeing and to find friendly and lasting solutions for conflicts to make our planet “a receptive place.”

In the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, the law of education [13] establishes the construction of a culture of peace and the respect for human rights as essential principles. And the Decree that dictates the official curriculum [18] identifies eight basic competencies to develop thorough the Primary School curriculum, being one of them specifically devoted to build social and citizenship skills and values.

The content of the CE&HR subject is arranged around three interrelated blocks: learning to be and act autonomously, learning to live together, and learning to be citizens in a global world. As shown below, we can realize that the CE&HR syllabus is very ambitious. This evidence reinforces the idea that has taken us to analyze the teacher's point of view about their professional competences, degree of commitment

with the school and sensitivity towards the environment and social reality.

According to current regulations, learning to be and act autonomously represents:

- to construct a harmonic, conscious and conscientious way of being;
- to develop autonomous, critical and sensitive thought in the face of unfair situations and other people's needs;
- to promote self-regulation of one's own behaviour;
- it also means to achieve the highest degree of autonomy and responsibility;
- and to overcome stereotypes and recognize oneself as equal in the social, cultural or gender differences.

Learning to live together involves:

- developing the fundamental values of life together, and the positive resolution of conflicts with ethical criteria of justice;
- acquiring resources that guide one towards openness to others in an altruistic manner, creating feelings of affection and empathy, and overcoming individualism with attitudes of collaboration and commitment to carry out projects in common;
- it also implies working on skills that allow us to actively participate in civic life, taking on democratic values, accepting and engaging in social rules in accordance with these principles, as well as knowing the foundations and ways of organization in a democratic state;
- and exercising freedoms in the form of rights and abiding by the corresponding duties.

Learning to be citizens in a global world has to contribute to the development of attitudes to living in a sustainable manner, being aware of the bonds that unite us as human beings and those that link us to nature. It involves:

- taking on responsibility for the consequences of our actions and habits in daily life for the future conditions of human life;
- it also involves admitting that we are members of a social group and identifying the common values that we share within diversity.

All this suggests that, on the one hand, the visibility and systematization of social and citizenship curriculum in schools could be a factor for innovation and transformation of the current education system and accordingly, we could gain better harmony between school and society. On the other hand, the current perspective on education is touched with mercantilist policies, mainly occupied in designing control mechanisms to quantify the performance and results of investment in education. Such priorities directly

conflict with alternative approaches about what does quality mean in education.

And once more, the school has to balance between promoting human values and increasing academic performance. However, this classic dichotomy could be overcome by pointing out that democratic skills and values are currently prized in workplaces, where people who are leaders rather than spectators of their lives are nowadays requested.

When taking into account the character of the contents approached by CE&HR we realize that an appropriate methodology is needed, as some authors point out (Martinez Bonafe, 2003). The Arigatou Foundation (2008), in collaboration with UNESCO and UNICEF, indicates five teaching and learning strategies that should be used in subjects such as CE&HR: experience based learning; cooperative learning; problem based learning; discussion; and introspection. This means that some activities are specially effective and recommended.

For example, debates among pupils develop communicative skills, argumentative abilities and critical thinking. Furthermore, a way of inspiring democracy and human rights consists of sharing life stories of those who contributed to build a better world and fought against injustice (role-model). Storytelling also gives possibilities to analyze and think about feelings and values that children better understand through fiction. Socio dynamic games, simulations, drama and role-playing help pupils too to develop empathy and comprehension in situations very close to reality.

Several experts in cooperative learning emphasize the need to develop feelings of belonging to the group, altogether with social roles and skills addressed to build interdependent relationships [6], [11]. Hence, cooperative learning can be a useful instrument to improve living together.

Another didactic resource commonly used is films, documentaries and audiovisual material, because they provide information about some facts that can be analyzed and discussed afterwards. Besides, looking for information through the internet about NGOs committed to human rights is a way not only to obtain information, but to know what can be done and how to get involved in peace-building.

There is no need to say that the context that surrounds the school is the best source of information and opportunities to learn and practice citizenship. So, it is important to include in CE&HR lessons those problems that children are, in fact, experiencing in their everyday lives and communities.

Finally, we think that teachers giving CE&HR should not be just those that have a blank in their timetable, but the sensitive and committed ones. From our point of view, the ideal teacher would be a caring

and understanding person, engaged with humankind and showing solidarity, someone that believes that teaching is a moral job [14].

4. Method

The study combines quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze data collected through an in-depth semi-structured interview.

4.1. Sample

In the study of the role of teachers giving the CE&HR subject, the final sample consisted of 27 teachers from 27 schools in Catalonia (Spain). Some of the schools were private (13) and the rest were public (14), 11 were religious and 16 secular. The studies offered by these schools were: kindergarten and primary education (12), only primary education (2), kindergarten, primary and secondary education (6), and kindergarten, primary, secondary, baccalaureate and vocational training (7). About the number of pupils attending the school, the figures vary between 250 and 800 students.

4.2. Instruments

The collection of data from teachers was carried out through an individual, thorough semi-structured interview, with 17 sections: teacher's role, teacher's stance, children's involvement, style of communication, management of diversity, classroom participation, conflict resolution, construction of knowledge, development of critical thinking, connections with reality, teaching and learning methods, material and human resources, assessment strategies, classroom atmosphere, opportunities to influence the school, opportunities to influence the community, and relevance in the curriculum. Answers have been categorised according to their typology, except for merely descriptive data that has been quantified.

5. Results and discussion

Below there are some of the results from the opinions of the 27 teachers that answered these questions. Concerning the descriptive data:

- 33% of teachers giving this subject are men, with 67%, the majority, being women.
- Ages are arranged as follows: between 20 and 30 years old, 15%; another 15% between 31-40 years old; 26% between 41 and 50 years old;

and the majority, 44%, between 51 and 65 years old.

- Another important aspect is their years of teaching experience: between 1 and 10 years, 22.2%; between 11 and 20 years, 7.4%; between 21 and 30 years, the majority, 37.1%; between 31-40, 22.2%; and more than 40 years of teaching experience, 7.4%; finally 3.7% of subjects did not answer this question.
- Regarding the timetable, 40.7% of cases give the subject in the morning; 48.2% in the afternoon; 3.7% both in the morning and in the afternoon; and 7.4% in a variable timetable.
- All CE&HR teachers also give other subjects. Most of them, 77.8%, give Knowledge of the Social Environment (History and Geography).
- It is very relevant to know whether the teacher has specific training: in this sense, more than half of them, 56%, report that they do not; 7% do; 33% report that they have another kind of training that helps them; and 4% observe that it is their own living experience that helps them to give the subject.
- As for the material of reference to implement the subject: 69.9% use a textbook, while the others use different materials from the school (3.7%), their own (29.6%) or individualized (3.7%).

Before presenting more data we have to point out that the total percentage can be, in some cases, above 100, because there are items in which more than one possibility can be selected.

Among the results from the different questions, we can highlight the main ones:

- 78% like giving this subject; 11% do not; and another 11% do not specify their answer. Table 1 summarizes their reasons.

Table 1. Description of reasons of interest to give EC&HR

Reasons for "yes"	%	Reasons for "no"	%
Because I think that it tackles topics/values that are fundamental for children's training	18.5	Because it should be a 24/7 area, rather than just a weekly 1-hour class	3.7
Because it is complementary to tutorials	18.5	Because it is not necessary in Primary, as it should be given in a cross-curricular way	3.7
Because it provides me with information about the pupils' relationships and way of being concerning values and attitudes	11.1		

Because it is important to make pupils participate of their surrounding reality	7.4		
Because it promotes participation, cooperation, and working with peers	3.7		
Because it promotes critical thinking and reflection	7.4		
Because it encompasses the foundations of our social organization	3.7		
Because I give it my way from the curriculum	3.7		

As we can appreciate in Table I, reasons for not being interested in teaching CE&HR are minority, but express the need for more time than one hour per week or the feeling that such a subject should be given in a more extensive way.

Regarding the specification of difficulties when giving the CE&HR subject, Table 2 presents the answers grouped in percentages. Here we observe a variety of problems, some of them are related to resources (material, audiovisual), others to the group (behaviour, dynamics, size, reflection), the schedule (time, school year), methodology (topics, activities) and, finally, to the purpose of the subject (similar to religious studies, contradictory message).

Table 2. Difficulties when implementing the CE&HR subject

Type of difficulty	%
None	18.5
Keeping silence /Keeping the right tone in group dynamics	11.1
The timetable of the subject is not very appropriate	11.1
Choosing the material	7.4
There are few materials, because I don't like the textbook/Lack of resources	7.4
Lack of time and too big groups	7.4
Due to the timetable, sometimes classes are not given at their time	3.7
I don't understand the aim of the subject	3.7
In the class dynamics	3.7
Choosing the topics to work with, thinking how to do them, and adjust activities to the kind of children in every group	3.7
Lack of neutrality from pupils when doing debates and discussions	3.7
Lack of audiovisual resources	3.7
Lack of reflection on the part of pupils	3.7
Cacophony with values education and religious culture	3.7

It is only given in their 6 th year	3.7
The school transmits contradictory messages	3.7
Content that is far from my point of view	3.7
Little time to prepare it	3.7
Blank answer	3.7

And answers to the question *What would you need to improve CE&HR classes?* are shown in Table 3. In this case, the lack of time leads the teachers' concerns, followed by the want to have more audiovisual resources to work with and by the need of having access to better materials in general. Other answers mainly discuss specific training.

Table 3. What would you need to improve CE &HR classes?

Type of resource or material	%
More time	22.2
Audiovisual material	18.5
Better material (more real content, exercises with more guidelines...)	11.1
More engaging resources	7.4
More materials, resources and training. There have been no specific training proposals concerning this subject	3.7
Task of thinking and reflecting, and linking tutorial and citizenship	3.7
More books for further information	3.7
Introducing group dynamics and being allowed to work with photocopied material	3.7
That the subject had more weight in the curriculum	3.7
Better specific training	3.7
Being able to use other spaces than the classroom	3.7
A fix timetable, and having time for preparation with another tutor or with the teaching staff of the cycle	3.7
More dynamic sessions, having more guidelines, and having the opportunity to observe how other teachers give their sessions	3.7
Nothing	3.7
Blank answer	7.4

Concerning the teacher's perception of how the subject is appraised, as shown in Table 4, there is again a variety of answers. On the positive side we have a 26% who believe that in general CE&HR is a well considered subject, while 11% of teachers that give to it great importance and a 30% of children that like it. On the negative side, different opinions say that CE&HR has not any relevance, because it is not so important as core subjects are, or they think that it is an easy subject, and thus, not very significant.

Table 4. How do you think the subject CE&HR is appraised (teachers, families, and pupils)?

Appraisal of the CE&HR subject	%
Well or very well / Positively	25.9

	Not so important as core subjects	7.4
	An "easy subject" like music or plastic arts	7.4
	Not very well considered / Not very relevant	7.4
	It is still hard	3.7
	Idea that they do nothing, just talking	3.7
	It has no academic value	3.7
	It is a reason to think about oneself, the family, relationships...	3.7
	No answer in this section	37.1
Teachers	Not very well considered / A second-rate subject	7.4
	Positively/ Very important, it requires constant work / it is well considered because it is part of daily life	11.1
	Motivation and interest	3.7
	As the other subjects	3.7
	Impartial	3.7
	As an obligation	3.7
	I don't know	3.7
	No answer in this section	63
Families	A not very important subject	14.8
	A not very known subject	14.8
	An unnecessary subject	3.7
	They get involved as in the other subjects	3.7
	They want it to solve everything	3.7
	No problem	3.7
	No answer in this section	55.6
Students	They like it	29.6
	As any other subject	3.7
	A bit of everything (very interesting or just silly)	3.7
	They are not ready for certain content	3.7
	Not very well considered	3.7
	More amusing than the other subjects	3.7
	No answer in this section	51.9

Table 5 presents the answers to a critical question: whether, as a teacher, they have to give their opinion about controversial topics or it is better to keep their neutrality. As it can be realized the idea of neutrality is the dominant one, about 30% of teachers believe that they can express their opinion and another 11% would say what they think depending on the topic under discussion.

Table 5. Do you think you have to give your opinion about controversial topics?

"Yes"	"No"	Keeping neutrality	Depending on the topic
29.6%	11.1%	48.1%	11.1%

We also asked several questions related to the way of teaching and organizing the lesson that we will summarize here:

- 74% of teachers said that the class begins with a presentation of the subject or reading a book or portfolio.
- Following are activities in which children participate by sharing their ideas and opinions, basically: discussions, comments, personal situations and experiences.
- In all cases there is a combination of theory and practice. 40% of teachers introduce the topic through practical activities, debates or group dynamics.
- Textbooks and other curricular materials also play a significant role, because 33% usually reads the book, reflects on what it says and puts exercises that children have to solve.
- 14,8% prefer beginning with a real story, a film, a tale, a song, or a piece of news followed by activities in which children participate by sharing their ideas and opinions, basically, discussions, comments, personal situations and experiences.
- And 11,1% start collecting knowledge from students and then looking for more information altogether.

In a subject such as «Citizenship Education and Human Rights» pupil's participation is crucial if we want to guarantee a true democratic education. So, finally, we put to teachers several questions about children's participation according to: classroom activities, decision-making process, conflict resolution strategies, opportunities to develop critical thinking, ways of connecting CE&HR with reality and effective participation in their school and district.

According to teachers, there are different kinds of pupil's participation in class and we did not detect any group where children do not intervene. However, there are, at least, two different categories of participation: spontaneous or organized. In the first category, we have questions, opinions, personal explanations... and, in the second one, there are efforts to understand the contents of the subject (reading, discussions, explanations, research...), and also some decision-making processes and training of critical thinking (assembly, active participation ...).

Here results show that in CE&HR sharing ideas, debates and assemblies are frequent activities (40,7%), followed by talking about personal situations and feelings (29,6%), reading the text-book and answering questions related to the lesson (14,8%), looking for information (11,1%), working in groups (7,4%) and role-playing and drama activities (7,4%).

According to the decision-making process, teachers say that children actively participate in class because the majority of proposed activities allow children to share their views, to dialogue and reach consensus decisions (37%) and, also, they vote in assemblies or

debates (29,6%). However, there is an 11,1% that reckon that there isn't any opportunity for children to take decisions.

About conflict resolution strategies, there are different ways to solve conflicts that arise in class. Some teachers say that usually there are no conflicts, adding that when they appear they just talk about it (37%).

When conflict occurs, 40% are resolved by reaching agreements or through other peaceful strategies. Somewhat, it's quite surprising that there is no reference to classroom rules or discipline, only to punishments (7,4%). Besides, only 7,4% indicate the existence of a mediation service.

Concerning to opportunities of developing critical thinking, we put to teachers the question: *Do you encourage critical thinking? How?* This question was affirmatively answered in all the interviews. Teachers give special importance to raising different views of the same facts and they encourage children to reflect on what they think and say and to freely express their opinions.

In relation with ways of connecting CE&HR with reality, we found that schools are committed to a greater or lesser degree in social responsibility projects, whether collaborating with organizations that support vulnerable groups and promote human rights (UNICEF, Manos Unidas, Caritas, Women's Day...), or taking part in projects involved in civic responsibility practices (Council of children), and in environmental projects too (Green Schools).

There are as well different events, campaigns and celebrations that deal with democracy, peace and solidarity, being the School Day of Peace and Nonviolence the most popular. This day is celebrated the 30th of November in commemoration of Gandhi's death.

Effective participation in school is held around 30% of cases through the assembly of class, and then there also are peer cooperation projects and tutorials.

When asking about effective participation in the context we obtained a variety of answers that furnish an idea about the existence of adequate opportunities available to schools wishing to get involved with their district or municipality. Generally, however, these opportunities are not channels for decision-making (except for the Children's Town Council) but areas where children can cooperate.

6. Conclusions

In conclusion, and referring to the CE&HR teacher's role, the picture would be a woman, older than 41, with a working experience between 20 and 40 years, without specific training and who follows the textbook. Most of them like giving this subject, and

feel comfortable when teaching it and those who disagree usually it is because they think that the content and competences dealt with in CE&HR should be cross-curricular. They believe that what the subject needs to be improved is more time, and 11% of them also refer to the need of improving children discipline.

Concerning other important issues, teachers have difficulties to deduce how this new integral training subject is currently appraised. Out of those who answer this question only a few appraise the subject very positively; the families believe it is not very well considered; and pupils think it is indeed well considered.

Taking into account that the content of the CE&HR subject is arranged around three interrelated blocks, already mentioned (learning to be and act autonomously, learning to live together, and learning to be citizens in a global world) and the significance of such education for a democratic civil society, we should include more training about ethical issues and human rights in teacher training, and the ministries of education and school authorities should give it more time and promote a debate among the teaching staff about the transfer of CE&HR content to other curricular areas and to school life in general.

Taking a look inside the classroom, we realized that the idea that children should participate by expressing their opinions in the classroom is extended and put into practice as a way to involve them in their own learning process.

Teachers also try to foster the development of critical thinking in a high percentage (81%), which should be highly appreciated.

We can also highlight the use of a wide-range of methodologies in classroom, which is not a surprise because frequently in the areas considered to be "secondary" there is a greater propensity to draw on alternatives to paper and pencil activities, since there is no pressure in terms of results.

Failure to specify the material used in the course of CE&HR (about half of the teachers did not give any answer) suggests a certain degree of improvisation when giving the lesson.

The idea that the teacher has to remain neutral in front of dilemmas, controversial issues, or social conflicts raised in class is prevalent. Surely this concept is related to the teacher's lack of specific information, insecurity about contentious issues and the fact that the teaching profession is not generally politicized.

Lessons led by teachers predominate in most schools. The fact is that there is a lack of true children participation in school, where generally they have little room for decision. As we have already said, although children are used to express their own opinions and

thoughts in class, this does not have any sort of influence in what happens in the school setting.

Conflict resolution strategies are mostly dialogue and consensus. Conflicts in Primary schools are handled by teachers and some practices such as mediation are known and sometimes used, but in general conflict mediation is somehow thought to be more appropriate for Secondary schools.

And we found that the practice of solidarity in schools is common, so, in this area, it probably would be easy to gather a varied collection of good practices.

We'll finish with a brief reflection on the importance of democratic culture as a tool for social cohesion and understanding of a complex and globalized world that cannot, in any way, be ignored by schools. Therefore, it is essential to strengthen links and synergies between research, education and action for citizenship and their contribution to processes of social change.

We hope that this initial diagnosis about the CE&HR subject contributes to broaden the knowledge we have about how to build an active citizenship through education. We fully recognize that there are plenty of doubts and concerns surrounding this new subject in Spain, till the point that it is not improbable the current government erases CE&HR from the curriculum in the future. In this sense, our research shows that teachers and schools are cautious but positive about teaching democracy and human rights. However, they have explicitly included the subject because until now it is compulsory, which reveals the fragility of the subject.

In this sense, we think that it would be really useful to collect good civic practices transversally developed by schools. These experiences are highly valuable within and without a curricular approach towards democratic education. We also would like to replicate this study in few years, if possible, when the CE&HR subject has been implemented for more time in schools.

Finally, we expect our findings can guide further studies and help us to identify and build the "ideal" profile to critically teach citizenship and democracy in schools. Sooner or later it would be essential to clarify the capacities, knowledge and methodologies that the CE&HR teachers must put into practice to overcome the idea that citizenship is a secondary subject.

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