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Article

Time for citizenship in teacher training

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Keywords: citizenship education, democratic education, teacher training, national curricula, social sciences

- Citizenship education is in teacher training in the Netherlands linked to both the pedagogical and didactic tasks of teachers.
- The task of teachers to stimulate the development of values in students is addressed a lot less often.
- The idea of democracy and rule of law as a framework for citizenship is not mentioned in most knowledge bases.
- As a result, some knowledge bases seem to lack direction, as if all opinions and all ways of ‘dealing with diversity’ are desirable.

Purpose: With this article we aim to provide insight into how citizenship education receives attention in the formulated national curricula for teacher education in the Netherlands and to what extent the different domains of citizenship and the different tasks of teachers with regard to citizenship education are addressed.

Method: For this study the knowledge base for all teacher training curricula at Bachelor and Master level in the Netherlands were analysed. We looked at the extent to which citizenship (education) is addressed in teacher training and the ways in which this takes place.

Findings: The results of the study show that several domains of citizenship are mentioned, albeit not often together in one knowledge base. Citizenship education is linked to both the pedagogical and didactic tasks of teachers. The task of teachers to stimulate the development of values in students is addressed a lot less often. The fact that citizenship also involves moral development is only mentioned in some knowledge base. Also, the idea of democracy and rule of law as a framework for citizenship is not mentioned in most knowledge bases. As a result, some knowledge bases seems to lack direction, as if all opinions and all ways of ‘dealing with diversity’ are desirable.

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1 TIME FOR CITIZENSHIP IN TEACHER TRAINING

Citizenship education requires a lot from those who teach it. It deals with topics that may be far removed from the personal experience of the students they teach and who might find these topics too abstract or boring. At the same time, citizenship education also encompasses topics that can trigger heated debate among students in the classroom. It is about developing knowledge, as well as learning to substantiate one's argument and responding to one another. In addition, encouraging democratic values is a central principle of citizenship education. In this context, the development of its curriculum is not only a matter for those who teach subjects that are substantively related to the field of citizenship education (Campbell, 2019; Geboers et al., 2013). Other teachers can also have a function in teaching the theoretical, political, and practical aspects of citizenship by linking the content of their own subjects to different areas of citizenship education. Furthermore, all teachers can stimulate citizenship by creating an open and safe educational climate in their classrooms (Geboers et al., 2013; Maurissen et al., 2018). In order to embed the concept of citizenship across subjects in the general curriculum of schools, teachers need to be well prepared. Their initial training obviously plays an important role in this (Donbavand & Hoskins, 2021; NAEP, 2020).

The competence and skills of the teacher are essential to the effectiveness of educational programs, didactic approaches, and pedagogical relations (e.g. Hattie, 2012; Scheerens, Luyten, Steen, & Luyten-de Thouars, 2007). Hattie (2012) shows that training can be valuable, especially to give teachers insight into the ways in which they can contribute effectively to their students' learning and how to implement different pedagogical-didactic strategies. Studies have also shown that teachers who are prepared to teach citizenship have more impact on their students than teachers who have not learned anything about citizenship in the course of their training (Donbavand & Hoskins, 2021; Isac et al., 2013; NAEP, 2020).

In many countries, all kinds of social and political requirements are imposed on citizenship education. The question is whether teachers are able to meet these requirements. In essence, all teachers can make an important contribution to citizenship education in school, and it is therefore important that teacher training courses for the different subjects pay attention to this and prepare prospective teachers for this task (Education Council of the Netherlands, 2003; 2012). However, little systematic knowledge exists at this time about the methods by which teachers-in-training are prepared for the task and for the goals set in training. It is relevant to clarify the focus on citizenship in teacher education because it provides insight into the knowledge and skills of novice teachers, and therefore helps us to form expectations about the role of teachers of different subjects in providing citizenship education.

This is why it is imperative to understand the goals set for students in teacher training. In this article, we focus on the ways in which teachers are prepared to teach citizenship. Our aim is to gain insight into the ways in which teachers-in-training in the Netherlands are prepared to give shape to citizenship education. We will try to answer the following

research question: How does citizenship education receive attention in the formulated national curricula for teacher education in the Netherlands and to what extent are the different domains of citizenship and the different tasks of teachers with regard to citizenship education addressed?

1.1 Domains of citizenship education

In order to examine the ways in which teachers are prepared to provide citizenship education, we must first delineate the concept. Obviously, citizenship is a concept that can be described in many ways (Heater, 1990). Most importantly, the framework of democracy and the rule of law is seen as the foundation of citizenship. Without fundamental rights, people cannot exercise their citizenship. In other words, the democracy and rule of law guarantees the participation of its citizens in society (Biesta, 2015; Kymlicka, 2001; Miller, 2000).

Citizenship consists of different components, including dealing with conflict, differences and diversity, considering individual and collective interests, the ability to conduct discussions and consultations, making joint decisions, and the opportunity to participate in all of these areas (e.g. Ten Dam et al., 2011; Miller, 2000; Schulz et al., 2018).

These components can be applied in both the social/civic and political domain. The social/civic domain concerns direct contact between people (such as in a classroom, in a certain neighbourhood, or in a small club) and their ability to participate in the wider society (e.g. as part of a church community, trade union, or even the country as a whole). This domain applies to the horizontal relations between citizens, which can be direct or indirect. In this context, citizenship is primarily about being able and willing to deal with differences and diversity, conduct discussions, make joint decisions, and find mutually beneficial solutions, and about having knowledge of society, as well as insight into the similarities and differences between the different groups that together form the society. The political domain relates to the vertical relations between citizens and the government. It concerns the desire and ability to take part in politics at different levels (from local to international), and the support for the principles of democracy and rule of law. In addition, knowledge of political institutions and the democracy and the rule of law plays an important role (Diamond, 2008; Miller, 2000; Van Gunsteren, 1998; Ten Dam & Volman, 2007).

Citizenship education encompasses both of these domains. It would thus be expected that both domains are addressed in teacher training. Perhaps one domain is more prominent in one form of teacher training, while other training forms focus more on the other domain, but it would be in line with this theoretical classification that both domains are well-covered in teacher training as a whole. In this article, we will explore whether this is indeed the case and whether teachers are given the tools to form their own perspective on citizenship education.

To help their students acquire a sense and understanding of citizenship, teachers must carry out different tasks. The first one is the teachers' pedagogical task with respect to citizenship education. This task has two different components. First of all, citizenship education involves the development of values. These values include democratic values (such as tolerance, political engagement, equality, and autonomy) as well as other values related to citizenship (like solidarity, charity, sustainability, social cohesion, and justice). For an open, fair and democratic society to function, it is necessary that large groups of its citizens embrace these values (Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Veugelers, 2009). However, this is not self-evident. Education plays a role in this, as teachers must stimulate the development of values in their students (for example, Winter, 2012). The second component concerns the ability to create an open and safe educational climate. This, too, proves to be an effective manner in which education can contribute to the development of citizenship in students. It means that teachers must be able to create a class climate in which students feel they can say what they want without being judged on the basis of their opinions, views can be exchanged, and they can experience that their opinions matter (Campbell, 2019; Maurissen et al., 2019).

Citizenship education further involves a substantive task (second task) and a didactic task (third task). An effective way of stimulating citizenship is through offering a citizenship curriculum. Research shows that education can contribute to the development of citizenship in students by offering educational content that is related to citizenship (Campbell, 2019; Geboers et al., 2013). This means that teachers are able to link knowledge related to their subject to the concept of citizenship and can teach this to their students. Teachers must therefore learn about substantive matters and how these are linked to citizenship (the *substantive task* of teachers), as well as how to teach these substantive matters in such a way that it contributes to the development of students, both in general and with respect to citizenship (the *didactic task* of teachers). We will explore whether these different tasks of teachers are indeed described in the national curricula for teacher training.

The role of the teacher is crucial for the potential effectiveness of citizenship education. The ability of the teacher to reach such effectiveness depends on his or her training (Yemini, Tibbitts, & Goren, 2019). Training is therefore relevant for the development of competence among teachers. However, we know relatively little about the ways in which teachers are prepared for their role in citizenship education. There is little insight into the goals that are set, emphasises on particular content, and the extent to which pedagogical, didactic, and substantive issues are addressed in the course of training.

1.2 Teacher training in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, teacher training is offered via a complex system. Firstly, there is teacher training aimed at Primary education. This type of training takes four years. Secondly, there is teacher training aimed at Secondary education, which requires specialization in a particular subject, such as Dutch, Mathematics or History. A student who follows this type of training teaches only one, specific subject. A distinction is made between teacher training at a Bachelor's level and at a Master's level. The Bachelor's programs are followed at a University of Applied Sciences. They take four years and prepare the student to teach in Primary education, lower Secondary education or Vocational education. In addition, there are Master's programs that can be followed at a University of Applied Sciences upon completion of the aforementioned Bachelor's degree, or at a general university after completing a Master's degree in a specific subject. These programs take between one and two years.

As far as the Dutch situation is concerned, not much is known about the ways in which citizenship education is addressed as part of teacher training. Gaining a systematic overview of the position of citizenship education in the Dutch educational system is not that simple. There is no nationally determined final level that needs to be attained by the teachers-in-training, as a result of which the programs have a lot of leeway in creating their own teacher training program. In 2012, the Dutch Education Council found that a very limited amount of attention was given at that time to citizenship education in teacher training. It was only addressed in the context of the teacher training program of social studies. In retrospective studies, teachers indicated that they had learned little about citizenship (education) in the course of their training (Nieuwelink, 2018; Willemse, Ten Dam, Geijssel, van Wessum, & Volman, 2015). Citizenship therefore seems to have played a limited role in teacher training in the Netherlands in the past.

Since 2008, national curricula for all teacher training programs at Bachelor and Master level are defined. These provide a starting point to gain insight into what teachers-in-training must learn about citizenship education. Each subject has its own so-called knowledge base, in which the (subject-related) didactic competencies and professional knowledge and skills are defined that graduates must have. In addition, there are generic knowledge bases (one for primary education, one for all Bachelor programs, and one for all Master programs) that describe general aspects of the teaching profession. To a large extent, the knowledge bases consist of a description of attainment targets. They offer relatively concrete standards for skills and knowledge to be attained by the teachers-in-training. Teacher training at general university Master level uses only broadly identified profiles to describe what is expected of their students in terms of subject content Knowledge, Pedagogy and Didactics.

The knowledge base has been composed by teams of teacher trainers from the relevant training institutes and were validated by national committees that consisted of both scientists and active teachers. The knowledge base was revised in 2016-2018. Hence, they reflect what is currently happening in teacher training and determine the minimum

necessary knowledge that teachers-in-training must have at the end of their training. This means that more can be done with citizenship than the knowledge base prescribed. The extent to which this is the case, is difficult to determine.

Since 2006 there are formal regulations for citizenship education in the Netherlands, as is the case in other countries. Schools, teachers and experts were unhappy with these regulations. It was not well defined what was expected from schools and what citizenship entails. From 2010 onwards, the Dutch Education Inspectorate has also criticized the current state of citizenship education in the Netherlands and argued that the formal regulations were insufficient. This has resulted in the introduction of new, more concrete rules in 2021 about what is expected of schools. The law states, inter alia, that schools should be focused on:

1. “instilling respect for and knowledge of the basic values of democracy and rule of law, as enshrined in the Constitution, and universally applicable fundamental human rights and freedoms, and acting on these basic values in school”;
2. “developing the social and societal competencies that enable the student to be part of and contribute to the pluralistic, democratic Dutch society” (Dutch Official Gazette, 2021).

In addition to this, schools are obliged to create a school culture where students can practice democratic values. The new regulations therefore focus on the school as a place where students should be able to practice citizenship.

2 METHOD

For this study the revised knowledge bases (2018) for all teacher training curricula at Bachelor and Master level in the Netherlands are analysed. We looked at the extent to which citizenship (education) is addressed in teacher training and the ways in which this takes place, using all existing subject-based and generic knowledge base for teacher training at universities of Applied Sciences in the Netherlands (24 at the Bachelor level and 17 at the Master level). In order to assess the role of citizenship education at university-level teacher training, we examined the documents in which the general profiles of teachers-in-training are described.

To select the parts of these documents that are relevant to this purpose, we used various search terms. We searched for ‘citizenship’ (in Dutch: ‘burgerschap’) by using the term ‘citizen’ (in Dutch: ‘burger’). We also perused the documents to find out whether they included any themes that did not explicitly refer to citizenship, but could have done so as they are related to the topic. Furthermore, we searched for *diversity* (in Dutch: ‘divers’), *civic* (in Dutch ‘maatschapp’), and *politics* (in Dutch ‘politiek’). Finally, we looked at the table of content of each knowledge base to find out whether certain chapters could be related to citizenship. Within these chapters, we paid particular attention to the possible links with citizenship.

The selected texts were then analysed using a code scheme in the MAXQDA software program. The following head codes were used:

- Explicit reference to citizenship
- Relation to teacher's task: pedagogy, subject matter, teaching methodology
- Component of citizenship
 - Social/civic citizenship
 - Political citizenship

In this way, we could see how citizenship education is described in the knowledge bases, how citizenship is addressed, and what teacher tasks are linked to it.

3 RESULTS

A comparison of the knowledge bases for the Bachelor programs for primary education and lower secondary education, and the Master programs for the upper grades of secondary education, shows that their structure and content are remarkably similar. For example, what is said in the knowledge base for Primary school teaching about citizenship in relation to the subject of History is very similar to that which is included with respect to that subject in the knowledge bases for secondary education. For this reason, we have chosen to devote extensive attention to the knowledge bases for Bachelor programs aimed at secondary education. After all, these are the most comprehensive, which makes it most likely that links to citizenship education can be found. Subsequently, we briefly discuss the other knowledge bases.

3.1 Knowledge bases for Bachelor programs

In the generic part of the Bachelor knowledge database, citizenship is mentioned explicitly several times. All Bachelor programs require their teachers-in-training to learn about citizenship education in relation to their pedagogical task. According to the knowledge base, this type of education should 'contribute to social cohesion and social integration (citizenship competences).' In this knowledge base, citizenship is therefore linked only to diversity. It mentions schools with '100 nationalities', a 'student population with a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds' and 'the increase of cultural-ethnic diversity'. The implications of this for the teacher and for citizenship education are discussed in rather broad terms. The teacher must have knowledge of 'the backgrounds of diversity,' must understand that 'differences in school performance can be explained by various factors' (e.g. cultural capital, teacher expectations), and must be 'aware of his or her own assumptions' and 'standards and values'. Strikingly, no attention is paid to other substantive components of citizenship, such as the political domain of citizenship. Based

on these goals, teachers apparently only need to guide their students in terms of ‘dealing with diversity’ and do not need to concern themselves with introducing them to the ‘political world’.

Teachers’ pedagogical task in relation to citizenship is described quite generally in this knowledge base. The knowledge base does not explicitly define the pedagogical goals and strategies linked to citizenship in relation to diversity. The fact that teachers can contribute to the development of citizenship in their students through an open and safe educational climate is hardly mentioned. Whether the knowledge base descriptions actually provide concrete tools to teacher trainers and their students is questionable.

Citizenship is not only discussed in the generic part of the knowledge database, but also in the knowledge bases for specific subjects. Below you will find a brief description of the ways in which citizenship is addressed within the various subjects.

3.1.1 Knowledge bases for teaching social subjects

It will hardly come as a surprise that citizenship features prominently in the social subjects. Much of the content of these subjects is directly related to citizenship and cannot be separated from it. Teachers-in-training that specialize in these subjects therefore learn a lot about the substantive aspects of citizenship. Different specialisations place different emphasises in this area.

In the knowledge base of the subject of *Geography*, all kinds of explicit links to citizenship are made. Its knowledge base emphasizes cross-border themes, such as migration, sustainability, and climate change. These themes are mainly described from the point of view of the social/civic domain of citizenship. Unlike many other subjects, Geography places particular emphasis on global citizenship. The development of geographical awareness helps to create global citizens.

History naturally focuses on different forms of citizenship in the past. The subject of History focuses mainly on the political domain, civil rights, and the origins of various forms of government. In this knowledge base, citizenship is therefore mostly linked to freedom, the rule of law, politics, and democracy. This can be explained as a result of the link between History and Civics.

The topic of citizenship is firmly embedded in *Social Studies* as well. When Social Studies were first established as a subject, it was intended to contribute to the development of citizenship in students. This principle is still clearly reflected in the knowledge base. The subject promotes democratic citizenship and aims to teach students to analyse social and political issues. Virtually all of the knowledge offered is directly linked to citizenship. This is explicitly stated in the knowledge base. Attention is paid to both the civic domain of citizenship (such as the socialization of young people, issues surrounding a multicultural society) and the political domain (such as political movements and democracy models), while a clear link is made with the supranational aspects of citizenship.

Hence, in these three social subjects the primary focus is on the knowledge of social/civic developments and political issues and institutions. In the knowledge bases for teaching *Religion and World philosophies* and *Islamic religion*, links with citizenship are also made, but these mostly concern moral and ethical issues. These knowledge bases concentrate on the social domain by addressing the identity development of students, including in the context of school. The civic domain is covered by the fact that students are taught to think about 'system of standards and values that are supported by society'. Whether, when thinking about these values systems, certain views are considered more desirable than others is not explicitly discussed and the limits of democracy and the rule of law are not mentioned. The knowledge base for teaching Islamic religion does explicitly refer to the possibility that this subject can play a role in preventing the radicalisation of young (Muslim) people, which could be considered a demarcation of its goals and boundaries.

Strikingly, citizenship is not mentioned in the knowledge base for the subject of *Economics*, and the knowledge base only formulates a few themes in such a way that they could be linked to social, civic, and political issues. Although many issues of citizenship could be linked, for example, to the network economy, the capital market, market failure and social welfare policy, this is not the case in this knowledge base. The main focus is on having 'theoretical knowledge' about these domains. The function of this knowledge, how it is interpreted, what normative and ethical questions are involved, and the existence of different perspectives on potential solutions are hardly addressed.

3.1.2 Knowledge bases for teaching Dutch and modern foreign languages

The knowledge bases for teaching languages do not explicitly refer to citizenship. However, all kinds of links to themes that are related to citizenship can be found.

With respect to the subject of Dutch, it is mentioned that language skills are important for the students' 'social/civic functioning', while learning about 'the relation between language and culture' is indicated to be a necessary aspect of language philosophy. Neither aspect is elaborated upon. In relation to the aspect of teaching methodology, it is also stated that teaching about Fiction and Literature can be socially oriented, and that it is important to be able to differentiate according to the cultural and social backgrounds of students. This, too, is not further explained.

The structure of the knowledge bases for teaching modern foreign languages (*French, German, Spanish, and English*) is more or less the same. Various themes are described which could have been explicitly linked to citizenship. For example, different skills are mentioned that are directly relevant to citizenship. Regarding listening skills, for example, this concerns 'the ability to follow a description' and 'understanding and appreciating the feelings and opinions of others,' while in relation to reading skills it involves 'analysing, interpreting, evaluating and summarizing texts'. In addition to these skills, the knowledge bases for modern foreign languages also occasionally mention a link with the ability to

participate in society. With respect to the domain of ‘culture and literature’, the following is stated in the different knowledge bases: ‘This is not only about knowledge and knowing, but also about skills and attitude (intercultural competence). In principle, this means acquiring all necessary tools to find your way and function in society.’ Here too, then, the main emphasis is on interculturality and diversity. The chapter on this domain subsequently states that teachers must have knowledge of historical and current events in the country, among other things.

Hence, in the knowledge bases for language subjects, some links with citizenship can be found. These often focus on the social and civic domains and involve learning how to deal with diversity.

3.1.3 Knowledge bases for teaching science subjects

In the case of the teacher training in the science subjects, it would be easy to assume that citizenship is not directly integrated into the substantive knowledge base. Still, in various knowledge bases for these subjects, explicit references are made to the relevance of these subjects for social/civic and political issues. The knowledge base for *Biology* does not explicitly refer to citizenship, but does on several occasions mention the relevance of biological knowledge for social/civic themes. It states that students must have knowledge of various topics in order to be able to think about the consequences of changes in an ecosystem with respect to sustainability and nature conservation, or to be able to debate, for example, intensive stock farming.

The knowledge bases for *Physics* and *Chemistry* mention explicit, albeit limited, links to citizenship. It indicates that students must learn about ‘the role of natural sciences in our society’ and about the reason why ‘literacy in natural sciences’ is crucial for individuals to participate in a modern society as empowered and critical citizens.’ Students must learn that a scientific view of the world can contribute to the resolution of social/civic discussions. It can help distinguish between scientific arguments, normative considerations, and personal opinions.

A limited relation can be found in the subject of *Mathematics*. It is indicated that students must learn what the influence of society is on the development of mathematics.

3.1.4 Knowledge bases for other subjects

Some subjects do not fit properly within the aforementioned clusters. In the knowledge bases for vocational training (*Consumer technology*, *Green Industry education* and *Man and Technology*), citizenship themes are hard to find. Citizenship is addressed in teacher training related to care professions (*Coaching skills*, *Health Care and Wellbeing* and *Pedagogy*) through links with issues such as the increasing cultural and ethnic diversity or social cohesion. With respect to training in *Coaching skills* and *Health Care and Welfare*, explicit references are also made to the requirements that apply to citizenship in vocational training. As the requirements in vocational training link certain aspects to

citizenship that are theoretically not part of it (including financial self-sufficiency and personal health), this stretching of the concept of citizenship is also reflected in the knowledge base.

3.2 Knowledge base for primary education

There are many instances in the knowledge base for teacher training aimed at primary education where an explicit link is made with citizenship. The knowledge base consists of several sub-knowledge bases that are more or less consistent with those for the secondary education subjects. The knowledge base states the following: 'Knowledge and understanding of important standards and values, and knowing how to act in accordance with them, is a requirement for being able to live together. Respect and tolerance are expressions of this. [Geography and History among others] prepare students to participate in society as independent and critical citizens.' The authors of the knowledge base therefore assume that students in primary education must be made to participate in the democratic society. In this knowledge base, citizenship is linked to the three domains of citizenship. Links are made with the political domain, social/civic issues, sustainability, diversity, and moral and ethical issues. In addition to establishing links in terms of content, this knowledge base also explains the relationship with the pedagogic practice. It points out that citizenship education requires a safe pedagogical climate.

3.3 Knowledge base for Master programs

Since Master programs at universities of Applied Sciences take considerably less time than the Bachelor programs, this knowledge base is more concise. In terms of content, it is very similar to the knowledge bases for the Bachelor programs. A significant difference between the knowledge bases for Bachelor and Master programs lies in the themes that receive attention in the generic section. The decision was made to only describe research skills, as it is assumed that other aspects of the teaching profession have already been covered in the Bachelor program. There are therefore no references to general pedagogical and didactic aspects and citizenship. Considering the packed curricula, choices must be made. However, some caveats must be noted. After all, many teachers-in-training follow a Master program years after they have received their Bachelor degree. In the meantime, all kinds of new insights about citizenship education have been gained that these students should (must) be informed about. Also, it begs the question whether students who are training to teach in the final grades of secondary education do not need to apply a different pedagogical-didactic approach than is used in the earlier grades. Research in the fields of developmental psychology and political socialisation shows that the development stages of students vary (Amná, 2012). It therefore seems important for teachers to take this into account as they fulfil their various tasks in citizenship education.

3.4 Guidelines for university-level teacher training

The situation at the university-level teacher training programs is different from that at universities of Applied Sciences. Merely a few profiles have been drawn up to describe what knowledge and skills may be expected of their graduates. At university-level teacher training, students no longer learn subject content, as they have already gained that knowledge in the course of the Bachelor or Master program that preceded this training. The description of subject contents that students must master is therefore merely general and very concise. An explicit reference to citizenship is only made in the context of the knowledge base of social studies. Although in other knowledge bases many indirect links can be found, these are less numerous than in the knowledge bases for the Bachelor programs. With respect to Physics, for example, no reference is made to Natural sciences as a framework for social/civic debate.

Not only substantive knowledge that novice teachers must possess is described, but required competencies as well. Here, again, citizenship is not explicitly addressed. However, the description of the required pedagogical competence does include related aspects. For example, students must have knowledge of the moral development and identity of students and be able to apply a pedagogical approach that creates a safe learning climate. These aspects may be linked to citizenship, but no explicit links are made.

4 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this article, we have tried to answer the following research question: In what ways is citizenship education presented in the knowledge bases for teacher training in the Netherlands, and are the different domains of citizenship and the various tasks of teachers with respect to citizenship education addressed?

We have shown that citizenship is explicitly included in several knowledge bases. Indirect links can be found in virtually all other knowledge bases. The domains of citizenship (social/civic and political) are mentioned, albeit not often together in one knowledge base. Citizenship education is linked to both the pedagogical and didactic tasks of teachers. The task of teachers to stimulate the development of values in students is addressed a lot less often. The fact that citizenship also involves moral development is only mentioned in some knowledge bases. Also, the idea of the democracy and rule of law as a framework for citizenship is not mentioned in most knowledge bases. As a result, some knowledge bases seem to lack direction, as if all opinions and all ways of ‘dealing with diversity’ are desirable (Biesta, 2015). Below, we will discuss several aspects of the way in which citizenship is incorporated into the knowledge bases.

Citizenship has a place in the knowledge bases and thus in teacher training. Hence, some changes have been made since the Education Council for the Netherlands observed in 2012 that a very limited amount of attention was given to citizenship education in teacher training. However, the extent to which citizenship is addressed differs greatly between the knowledge bases. Citizenship features prominently in some knowledge bases,

such as those for teaching Social studies, History, and Geography, and is mentioned sparingly in others, such as the knowledge base for teaching Physics, Biology, and French. This difference is not surprising since the subject content of the first type of training is directly related to citizenship, while this is much less the case in the latter type of training. The fact that teacher training in Physics and Chemistry does pay attention to possible links between the subject and society is a good sign in terms of citizenship education. However, not all knowledge bases are equally successful in making such links. Much stronger links may be possible in some cases. Some types of teacher training, such as the training to teach Dutch or Economics, offer plenty of opportunities to make those links, but the extent to which this is done remains limited. Such missed opportunities mean that students are given a rather limited view of what they can do as citizens in society.

The overall picture that emerges from the knowledge bases is that attention is mainly paid to subject matter and teaching methodology. Considerably less attention is given to Pedagogy. However, in the field of citizenship education, the teacher's pedagogical task is crucial. Creating an open and safe educational climate is one of the main means by which citizenship can be stimulated (Campbell, 2019; Geboers et al., 2019). In the generic knowledge base for the Bachelor programs aimed at primary and secondary education, a brief reference is made to the importance of creating an open and/or safe class climate, but this is hardly elaborated upon. Moreover, the attention given to this topic is very brief. It is therefore quite possible that this aspect is also insufficiently addressed in teacher training and that teachers are not adequately aware of this. This is certainly a point for improvement, as all teachers play a fundamental role in achieving an open and safe educational climate.

The analysis of the content of the knowledge base also reveals a noticeable deviation. Citizenship encompasses three domains: the social domain, the civic domain, and the political domain. The first two domains are discussed in many knowledge bases. Remarkably enough, the political domain, on the other hand, is hardly mentioned. Only the knowledge base for the subjects of History and Social studies addresses the political domain and the associated democracy and rule of law in a comprehensive way. In other knowledge bases, little or no attention is paid to it. Sometimes, the concept of citizenship is even narrowed to refer only to the social and civic domains, as well as to themes related to diversity. This happens in several knowledge bases, for example in those for teaching languages and pedagogy, but most explicitly in the generic knowledge base for Bachelor programs aimed at secondary education. In this particular knowledge base, it is stated that education must contribute to social cohesion and social integration by encouraging the development of citizenship competences in students. According to this knowledge base, citizenship education consists of 'learning to deal with diversity' but it fails to explain the purpose of this. There are many goals and purposes one could attach to citizenship education, depending on one's view of citizenship. In our opinion, dealing with diversity must certainly be linked to democracy and the rule of law. This means that students should learn that diverse opinions and expressions should be allowed and are even desirable, but

that they are limited by the rule of law. Not all opinions of the students should be considered desirable outcomes of their education (Miller, 2000).

As only a few knowledge bases explicitly mention the political domain, democracy and the rule of law, the distinctive political character of citizenship is hardly apparent. We consider this as problematic. Citizenship education is not only about learning to deal with different people and taking each other into account, but also about learning that political conflicts are part of society, understanding how collective decisions can be taken, and having knowledge of the fundamental rights of citizens. These are aspects that Dutch adolescents know relatively little about. Both the students and their teachers indicate that their education is lacking in this respect (Munniksma, et al., 2017; Nieuwelink, Dekker, & Ten Dam, 2019). The knowledge bases confirm that the political nature of citizenship is seldom addressed in the Dutch educational system. Since the *political* education of students is one of the reasons for renewed attention to citizenship education and the new law, the near absence of this component of citizenship in the knowledge bases can certainly be regarded as problematic.

We would like to end this discussion by noting four policy recommendations. First, our analysis shows that teacher training programs primarily focus on the social/civic domain of citizenship. The political domain is absent from most knowledge bases. If consensus indeed exists that an urgent task for teachers is to help students to be introduced to the political world, it seems obvious that teachers-in-training should to a larger extent learn about how they can stimulate their students to have knowledge about and be familiar with and interested in politics. Second, a large amount of studies show the importance of a class climate on the development of student citizenship. In teacher training programs learning about a pedagogical class climate seems to have limited attention. In order to make citizenship education be more effective, this should be addressed and the pedagogical role of teachers should receive more attention in training programs.

Third, in this article we looked at the ways in which citizenship is addressed in all types of teacher training and, consequently, in what ways the training and the related school subjects can contribute to the development of citizenship. The knowledge bases show that substantive links with the 'civic socialisation' of young people can nearly always be found. In addition, as pedagogues, teachers always have a function in citizenship education. This, too, is confirmed by the knowledge bases. However, we do not believe that all education should be 'citizenship-related' at all times. In Chemistry, students must mainly learn about things like atoms, molecules, and chemical bonding; in Dutch, it is essential that they learn to read and write properly. This is where the emphasis of the subject should lie. Still, even the content of subjects that seem far removed from the topic of citizenship can teach students about society and can shape them socially and politically. This kind of learning must be offered in a conscious and purposeful manner.

Fourth, on the basis of the substantive analysis of the knowledge bases, it can be recommended that educational policy is based less on the assumption of how education should work and more on the knowledge and skills that teachers actually possess. The idea

that all teachers could or should make an equal contribution to citizenship education simply cannot be maintained from a practical point of view. Such ideological principles have been guiding education policies in this area for years, and this has not led to substantial changes in Dutch citizenship education (Education Council of the Netherlands, 2003; 2012). Given the content of the knowledge base, it is difficult to maintain that teachers are adequately prepared to fulfil this task upon completion of their initial training. In light of the urgency of the issues surrounding citizenship education, it could be important to distance ourselves from this ideological position and to make a more realistic assessment of the possibilities that exist. In concrete terms, this could mean that teachers who have learned a lot about citizenship as part of their training are given an important and more supervising role in shaping citizenship education at their school. Among other things, they could be responsible for drawing up a vision based on what is already happening at their school; they could be given the opportunity to organize activities related to citizenship inside and outside the classroom, or they might think along with other teachers in order to advise or guide them. More realism and less idealism could give a strong boost to citizenship education in the Netherlands and probably to citizenship education in other countries as well.

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