

The ethics of care as a pedagogical approach: Implications for education for democratic citizenship

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Both education for democratic citizenship and human rights education tend to emphasise political and legal learning. In both human rights education and moral education in Japan, however, there has been a tendency to give particular attention to interpersonal elements of learning such as kindness and sympathy. This article draws on feminist thinking and on Nel Noddings' concept of the ethics of care to propose a learning framework that combines emotional and socio-political elements, arguing that since motivation is an important element in acting for social justice, learning for social justice must be cognisant of emotional learning. The authors then present the case of a university teacher in a gender studies classroom to consider how these two elements, the emotional and the political, might be combined to enhance students' commitment to social justice when the topic under consideration is LGBTQ+ rights.

Keywords: ethics of care; education for citizenship; justice; human rights education; political responsibility

Introduction

The concept of citizenship based on Rawlsian liberal theories of justice has been criticised for its assumption that the subject of justice is a socially and economically independent male citizen (Young, 1989). Alternatively, Okano (2016) suggests the ethics of care as a complement to liberal theories of justice, as it enables the questioning of asymmetric power relations and addresses the politics of recognition, challenging the ways in which those who have more power assess and decide to what extent they tolerate, recognise, and include oth-

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ers. In this paper, we consider how an ethics of care may strengthen the pedagogical approaches and curricula of citizenship education, which have traditionally emphasised political and legal rights while giving less attention to the emotional and personal aspects of learning.

Ideas around the ethics of care have been developed as a moral ethics alternative to earlier conceptions of justice proposed by Kohlberg (1981). Gilligan (1982) challenges Kohlberg's conceptualisation of the ethics of justice by highlighting the ways in which it overlooks female experiences. Noddings (2002) defines the concept of care as a moral attitude and a basic aspect of human nature and places human relationships at its centre. Caring is considered a morally fundamental form of relationship because no one is entirely independent of caring relationships – all human beings need to be cared for at some point in their lives, at birth, due to injury or illness, and in old age (Kittay, 1999). Therefore, in the ethics of care, vulnerability is considered a feature of human nature that provides a moral basis for human interdependence. In this paper, we draw some pedagogical implications from the ethics of care to identify an approach that may help learners understand and challenge injustice in a more nuanced manner, motivating them to take action for change.

Some scholars have emphasised the 'scientific approach' to Japanese social studies education based on its primary framework of purpose in objective knowledge and understanding of 'social recognition' and in 'rational decision-making' (e.g. Moriwake, 2001). In contrast, within human rights education and moral education, interpersonal relationships and emotional aspects, such as kindness and sympathy, are often placed at the centre of learning rather than the legal and political dimensions of human rights (Ikuta, 2007; Chen, 2021). Some scholars have criticised this emotion-centred approach for failing to promote the understanding of legal rights endorsed by international human rights instruments and the Constitution (Akuzawa, 2007), placing a primary emphasis on the moral responsibilities of individuals, and presenting human rights violations as interpersonal rather than structural problems (Ikuta, 2007).

In this paper, we examine the emotional and political dimensions of learning and teaching by focusing on the ethics of care as an inclusive approach to citizenship education which could be embraced and fully owned at both the individual and community levels in order to enable a greater realisation of human rights and social justice. To do this, we place the ethics of care alongside the concept of political responsibility, recognising that citizenship education must necessarily engage with contemporary political realities (Osler & Starkey, 2018). Instead of a dichotomous view, we suggest that the ethics of care and political responsibility should be seen as twin pillars in any educational process. We consider the concept of care as a common element of human nature that is shared across cultures due to the singularity and vulnerability of each human being, rather than regarding it narrowly as a 'Western' or 'feminist' idea.

Our contention is that effective citizenship education in the present multicultural society needs to reconcile universal principles with learners' diverse experiences, which implies engaging with debate about the universality and particularity of rights. It also demands that those working in the field of citizenship education address the sociocultural features of the learning environment and disparities in social, economic, cultural, and political rights as key elements in education for democratic and inclusive citizenship. We present a model that addresses these issues, and then apply it to a Japanese learning environment and suggest that rights are commonly associated with emotions such as kindness and empathy. Drawing on the case study of a Japanese university teacher of gender studies, we discuss the potential of

combining the ethics of care and political responsibility to enable an inclusive approach to citizenship education and its relationship to particularity and universality.

The ethics of care as a pedagogical approach

The ethics of care and the caring approach in education have been subject to scholarly examination in Japan, particularly through Japanese translations of Noddings' works (e.g. Noddings, 2003; 2007). The idea of caring is derived from the philosophy of basic human nature and can be applied across cultures. In a conversation with Noddings, Manabu Sato suggested that the ethics of care may be relevant to Japanese schools, which often emphasise interpersonal relationships (Noddings, 2007). Much attention has been paid to Noddings' work, particularly in the fields of educational philosophy, early childhood education, and moral education. Hayashi (2000) analysed teaching approaches in moral education in several Japanese schools and found that they have similarities regarding their approach to caring, as they focus on building good human relationships and a sense of compassion towards others. Although the new Courses of Study for moral education emphasise rational discussions among children (MEXT, 2017), we found that they still give interpersonal relationships central importance. The caring approach also highlights topics and educational approaches that have not been widely discussed in the field of educational research in Japan. These include the distinction between pity and compassion in moral education practices (Kitayama & Hashizaki, 2018), autonomy and interdependence in pedagogy (Ozaki, 2015), vulnerability to human nature as the basis for human rights and citizenship education (Kamada, 2017), and the need to create a safe learning environment as a basis for dialogue on controversial issues (Wakatsuki, 2014; Sohn, 2020).

Education for democratic citizenship involves not only knowledge about the democratic system and human rights as legal instruments, but also imagination and empathy, which enable learners to be committed and engaged in alleviating the suffering of others (Kitayama & Hashizaki, 2018). Emotions play an important role in promoting equality because they underpin moral reasoning, which enhances morality and equality, while avoiding the risk of imposing universal expressions of equality on different cultures (Nussbaum, 2003). Nevertheless, several scholars have argued that citizenship education's emphasis on mere logic is often insufficient to motivate learning, particularly about difficult and complex topics. Inspired by the work of the Confucian philosopher Mencius, Barton and Ho (2020) points out this weakness of the rational and abstract learning approaches to citizenship education, and suggest the importance of cultivating 'sprouts of benevolence' through encounters with concrete and tangible accounts of others in order to motivate learners to develop a deeper sense of solidarity with others. In addition, Osler and Zhu (2011) discuss the emotional impact of narratives as pedagogical tools for enabling a deeper understanding of both the self and others.

Caring seems to be similar to having empathy, expressed through the saying 'putting oneself in someone else's shoes'. However, Noddings (2003) is cautious about interpreting caring as equivalent to having 'empathy', which can be characterised by the analysis of someone's reality in mathematical terms. She maintains that those caring need to set aside a temptation to analyse and project upon the other, and instead develop receptive attention to perceive the other. Furthermore, drawing from the ideas of Levinas, Todd (2003) perceives

empathy as ‘very much an ego activity’ (Todd, 2003, p. 62) of projection and identification with ‘*the Other*’. Although learning through empathy may provide a chance for self-reflection, Todd stresses that empathy does not help one recognise the singularity and uniqueness of the other’s feelings, experiences, and needs, but may mask or produce a questionable understanding of the other. Instead, she insists on the importance of passively *listening* and fully immersing oneself in the other’s speech as central to learning social justice.

This receptive aspect of the caring approach may make citizenship education a destabilizing experience. Drawing from Stanley Cavell’s conception of ‘philosophy as translation’, Saito (2015) argues that a radical transformation is necessary in citizenship education’s predominant discourse of understanding other cultures to embrace ‘patience and receptivity, a readiness to go through the indefinite, the transitory and the vague in encountering the other’ (p. 24). The pedagogical significance of this instability is also found in university lectures, which can be considered as human encounters that provide opportunities for someone’s voice to be heard by others with no guarantee that it will be understood as intended (Fulford & Mahon, 2020). Unpredictability and uncertainty are thus sources of education (Biesta, 2017).

In an encounter with someone else’s voice, students may experience discomfort when their beliefs and worldviews are challenged. Zembylas (2010) argues, however, that this sense of discomfort can be transformed into motivation for further learning. Zembylas (2013) also highlights the importance of compassionate learning with narratives of suffering in critical pedagogy, which may not only promote understanding and a sense of solidarity, but also motivate learners to take further steps to challenge injustice.

The caring approach to citizenship education helps learners avoid misrecognising others as mere objects of pity and may engender the adoption of an intersectional perspective by stressing attentive listening to others’ narratives (Kitayama & Hashizaki, 2018; Zembylas, 2013). Drawing on Black feminist scholarship, Crenshaw (1989) coined the term *intersectionality* to describe the complex reality of the oppression experienced by Black women. Yuval-Davis (2006) extends this idea of intersectionality to all members of society, claiming that any essentialised view on Blackness, womanhood, or working classness would ‘inevitably conflate narratives of identity politics and descriptions of positionality as well as constructing identities within the terms of a specific political project’ (p. 195). By focusing on vulnerability and listening to others, the ethics of care addresses complex aspects of human conditions that are often overlooked in normative citizenship education, which is normally based on the worldview of the majority. This intersectional perspective promotes learners’ understanding of individuals’ identities as multiple axes of differentiation including ethnicity, gender, and socio-cultural status.

We emphasise the importance of providing caring relationships in citizenship education, so that learners can experience being cared for. This is because experiencing caring and being cared for encourages one to care for others, including strangers (Noddings, 2003). These experiences enable learners to see not only themselves but also others as unique individuals. In addition, creating a caring community in which learners feel safe in expressing different views provides a foundation for learning about sensitive and controversial issues.

Philosophical discussions about caring and understanding others offer significant implications for inclusive and democratic citizenship education; however, the application of such discussions to actual classroom settings has not been fully clarified. For example, while arguing for the importance of individual voices, Hodgson, Villeghe, and Zamojski (2018) reject

any functionalist view of education and criticise critical pedagogy for its transformative character in challenging social injustices, claiming that it essentially serves extrinsic goals, rather than ‘education itself’ (p. 10). By contrast, we do not see classrooms as vacuums that are isolated from the outside world, but as communities of learners with a range of potential vulnerabilities reflecting social inequalities which are likely to be reproduced or even strengthened through education unless they are challenged.

Theorising the ethics of care, political responsibility, universality, and particularity

We address key questions using the quadrant in Figure 1: (a) the ethics of care, (b) political responsibility, (c) universality, and (d) particularity. This figure serves as a model for examining where a teacher might be placed (or indeed place herself) in relation to pedagogy and classroom practices concerning these four features. Teachers may move from one quadrant to another according to the lesson, target student group, or topic or discipline they are addressing in a particular class.

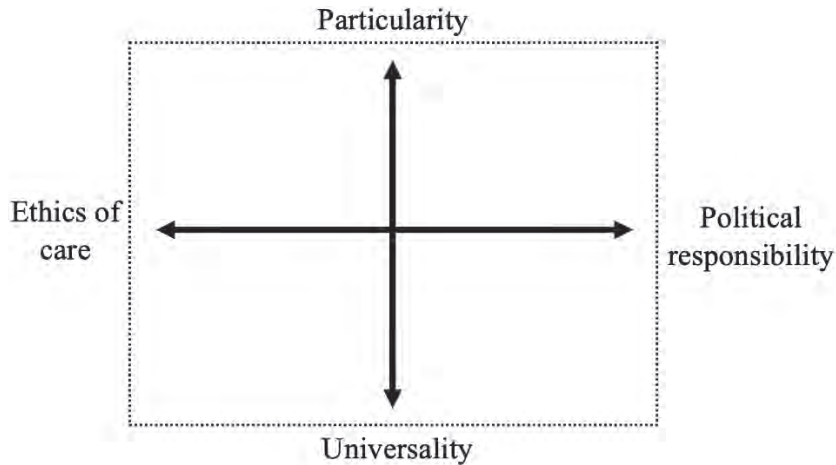
In the top left-hand quadrant square, the teacher emphasises the ethics of care within her approach and sees her practices as addressing rights within and specific to a *particular* socio-cultural context with regard to a specific religious, community/local, or national group or individuals. For example, the teacher might argue that one religious group (x) has a specific claim to human rights, such that x is the basis for human rights. In this quadrant and the bottom left quadrant, emphasis is given to emotions as impacting practices, while less attention is given to legal or political frameworks.

In the lower left-hand quadrant, teaching and learning focus on care and compassion, emphasising them as *universal* emotions seeking to uphold universal rights. For example, a teacher might illustrate a particular value or attribute such as kindness through examples of kindness displayed to others from a range of cultural or geographical communities. Thus, solidarity between people and groups is stressed.

In the top-right quadrant, there is less emphasis on caring and much more on legal and political entitlements. Rather than linking human rights and social justice to caring and compassion, they are associated with democratic structures and legal frameworks. Knowledge is given greater emphasis than caring and common human feelings. In this quadrant, as in the top left-hand quadrant, the emphasis is placed on the particularity of rights. This is in order to understand rights in accordance with their specific legal, historical and cultural contexts. However, the emphasis on ‘our’ rights as associated with ‘our’ nation or cultural tradition is also typical of the exclusionary discourse on the rights of minorities such as migrants.

In contrast, the lower right-hand quadrant, like the bottom left, stresses solidarity across communities and equal entitlement to rights regardless of an individual’s heritage or background. However, the emphasis remains on legal frameworks rather than on feelings of belonging. Here, universality may imply teaching equal entitlement without exploring individuals’ real experiences.

Figure 1. Quadrant of the ethics of care, political responsibility, particularity, and universality



As discussed above, most of the existing research on caring-based educational practices has focused on younger children. We believe, however, that the caring approach has important implications not only for primary and secondary education but also for higher education. In the following sections, we discuss the contributions of the ethics of care and political responsibility in enabling an inclusive approach to education for democratic citizenship and their relationships to particularity and universality, drawing on the case study of a Japanese university teacher in a gender studies programme.

Case study: Gender studies with a caring approach

Here, we examine an undergraduate module as a case study to illustrate how the ethics of care and political responsibility approaches are used in pedagogy and practice. This course, titled Gender Studies, is an elective module at a university in Western Japan. The instructor, Yumi,ⁱ has taught at the university for nine years. The university provides teacher education programmes; a large majority of its students become teachers at primary, lower-secondary, or upper-secondary schools after graduation. We first conducted an interview with Yumi in March 2017 as part of a larger project in which we interviewed fifteen teacher educators. The interview included questions about their learning goals, course content, and teaching methods, as well as their motivations and beliefs as educators. As we found that Yumi's approach was characterised by the ethics of care, we conducted further examination by analysing her curriculum and teaching materials and conversing with her.ⁱⁱ We defined our research questions to examine (a) what beliefs were reflected in her teaching and (b) where her course focus can be placed in the quadrant shown in Figure 1.

As shown in Table 1, gender studies cover various topics on gender and sexuality, such as single-parent households and poverty, gender representations in the media, working conditions of different genders, domestic violence, sexual violence, and the #MeToo movement. Course materials state that after completion, students will be able to (1) critically examine

gender stereotypes and heterosexism in everyday life and (2) understand how these hegemonic gender norms have been embedded in gender representation, social norms, and institutions. As a researcher, Yumi uses discourse analysis to examine how gender images are formed in modern literature in Japan, and her expertise is reflected in content choices and the analytical approaches of the module.

Yumi's motivation to teach the course largely comes from her concern that student teachers are not sufficiently prepared to teach in classrooms, in which children's diverse backgrounds, including gender identity, should be respected. She believes that teachers must be aware of and able to critically examine the ways in which unequal distributions of power and resources based on gender have been justified and institutionalised. Throughout her teaching career, Yumi has observed how some students, particularly female students, struggled with their family relationships. She recalls that 'some of them were told not to expect to pursue as good an education as boys, some have parents who want to have strong control over their daughters, others were victimised by domestic violence'. These students' stories motivated her to develop the Gender Studies module, with which she hopes to empower them to liberate themselves from hegemonic gender norms which impose a particular image of 'an ideal family'.

Through our interview and subsequent correspondence with her and our analysis of the curriculum and other documents, we found that her approach to teaching had three key features: highlighting structural marginalisation, learning from others' experiences and stories, and establishing a safe learning environment.

Table 1. Topics and contents of Gender Studies

Topics	Contents
Sexuality	Basic concepts regarding sexuality, dominant gender norms, legal protection for same-sex marriage, and related issues in schools
Family and Gender	Single-parent families and poverty
Media and Gender	Gender image and representation in TV programmes, fashion magazines, and comics for girls/ boys.
Work and Gender	Long working hours, housework burdens, percentage of women in managerial positions in schools
Violence and Gender	Domestic violence, sexual violence, #MeToo movement

Highlighting structural marginalisation

At the beginning of Yumi's module, students are encouraged to examine the ways in which different social institutions are constructed based on the gender binary and heterosexism and how these institutions ignore diversity in gender identity and sexuality. Yumi stresses the importance of an awareness of how systemic injustice intersects with personal perceptions. She maintains that 'you have to see gender inequalities as institutionalised, not a personal problem. [This is] because one's gender norms are formed under the influence of dominant gender norms, and the dominant norms are embedded in institutions'. In order to help students examine institutionalised gender inequalities, Yumi asks them to consider the gender roles that are predominant in society: what is the proportion of women employed in

managerial positions in schools, why do men tend to feel pressured to work long hours, and what difficulties do same-sex couples face because of the absence of legal recognition?

Yumi used the case of same-sex marriage for a discussion in class because she believes it is a typical case of institutionalised inequality which cannot be understood simply as a case of interpersonal discrimination. For this discussion, she used the American television film *If These Walls Could Talk 2*. The film follows the story of a lesbian couple, Abby and Edith, in the US in the 1960s. The couple has been together for over 30 years. One day, Abby is in critical condition following a fall from a ladder. Edith pleads with the hospital staff to see Abby, but she is not allowed, as she is not a family member. After Abby's death, Edith discovers that their house is registered in Abby's name, meaning that she has no legal right to her own home despite having contributed to the mortgage equally.

After the film, Yumi explained the current situation in Japan, where same-sex marriage is not legally recognised, and encouraged students to examine the problems that same-sex couples may face such as a lack of inheritance rights, using the ideas of gender binaries and heterosexism. Students then compared the situation in the 1960s to that of Japan today. Yumi found that most of the students pointed out that in both situations, same-sex couples face similar difficulties because the legal systems are similarly based on gender binaries and heterosexism. Yumi deliberately used examples from different countries and different periods to help students identify what these systems hold in common, regardless of their cultural and historical differences. Through her practice, Yumi, as a teacher educator, plays a role in promoting learning about political responsibility, both in particular contexts and universally.

Learning from others' stories

After examining dominant gender norms and how they are embedded in institutions, Yumi encourages students to analyse how these institutionalised inequalities impact individuals, particularly sexual minority youth, emphasising the need for a caring perspective to imagine their struggles. She said, 'I tell my students that many people find no problem with mainstream gender norms because they are from the majority, but there are some children who do not fit these gender norms who may find it difficult to deal with them and feel excluded'. Yumi uses fictional stories such as comics as well as documentary videos about LGBTQ+ youth, to provide students with an opportunity to learn about diverse experiences. She also uses videos created by a non-profit organisation run by LGBTQ+ college students and allies. In the videos, the members talk about their gender identity and sexuality, as well as their personal experiences in school and with friends and family. These videos address members' school life, including hurtful ways teachers spoke to them and what happened when they asked teachers for help, and present ideas that may help school staff members support LGBTQ+ students.

Learning from individual stories is an important part of the Gender Studies module because the experiences of sexual minority youth cannot be generalised. Yumi encourages students to *listen* to these stories; in other words, they receive what they experience and feel as the stories are told, so that they can develop an intersectional understanding of individual experiences. The ethics of care approach is observed in these activities as students attempt to learn through accepting the narratives of individuals, not by judging or interpreting them with their own values or shared standards of justice. In addition, using narratives of LGBTQ+ and ally student groups and their activities may motivate students to take action by promoting a

sense of solidarity with other groups.

Creating a safe learning environment for all

We found that Yumi has a strong commitment to creating an environment in which each student feels safe participating in learning while encouraging them to listen to stories and identify injustices. She says:

Students may feel that their norms and values have been criticized or rejected when dealing with such topics, even if they are general or conceptual (...) I always keep that in mind. Since gender identity is a fundamental part of a person's existence, they may interpret it as a denial of their way of life. (...) I also try to be very careful in how I choose my words and how I teach in the class, so that no one gets hurt in this class.

Based on these concerns, Yumi carefully prepared her teaching plans so that they did not require students to disclose their gender identity or gender norms. Through her own experiences, she presupposes that some students in the class might be closeted and/or hold rigid conservative gender norms, and she believes it is inappropriate to discuss pros and cons objectively or openly:

For example, there may be a boy in a difficult family environment who has managed to hold on by believing that he is a man and should protect his mother and sisters. There may be situations in which gender norms are sources of emotional support. So, I cannot simply say that gender norms are just a social construct and that you need to free yourselves from them.

Yumi designed a curriculum in which students' personal experiences and values are not judged or assessed. Based on her belief that everyone is vulnerable, her priority is to create a safe learning environment in which students feel comfortable discussing different topics, including those related to gender and sexuality. We have noted that her use of fictional stories is also a part of this endeavour. She states, 'Fictional stories allow both minority and majority students to participate in the learning process, keeping a distance between themselves and the topic of the lesson while learning about someone's stories in detail'. For the same reason, she occasionally avoids discussions on certain topics because it might make it difficult for some students to feel safe enough to express their honest views and thoughts. Instead, she often uses worksheets to allow students to write their reflections on the lessons. Although she hopes that students will reflect on the connections between what they learn in the classes and their own lives, she does not insist that they do so.

Her approach appears to be carefully planned to be inclusive for everyone regardless of their gender identity and norms; however, she is also cautious about being neutral:

I try to be cautious about judging specific gender norms because they can be deeply linked to personal identity and I don't want my students to feel blamed for the way they live their lives. But if some people are suffering because of institutional inequalities based on gender, then there are things we need to change. So, I try not to fall into the trap of 'neutrality' by treating both sides equally, but I also help them to understand how certain gender norms are institutionalised and create structural inequalities.

While Yumi tries to remain open to different opinions, this does not mean that she ac-

cepts them uncritically. In one session, she focused on an answer to a worksheet from the previous session that stated, ‘How far do we have to recognise the rights of minorities? If we allow rights such as same-sex marriage, I am worried that we will be forced to accept all kinds of selfishness’. She then asked students to consider the following questions: Are there some important rights that should be granted to all people and others that should only be granted to some people? Who has the authority to recognise the rights of some people? Why do so many of us consider ourselves to be the ones who recognise the rights of others? Is this a privilege?

In her commitment to creating a safe learning environment, we identified both caring and political responsibility. On one hand, these commitments are underpinned by her belief that vulnerability is part of human nature, which resonates with the ethics of care. On the other hand, she maintained her commitment to challenging systemic injustices by promoting students’ awareness of gender and power, in which we found an emphasis on political responsibility.

Toward building an ethics of care in citizenship education

Through our analysis of the case study, we conclude that the ethics of care enables an approach to teaching and learning which is responsive to the vulnerability of learners and supports students in their examination of sensitive or controversial topics. Yumi, who believes that gender identity is closely related to personal identity, sometimes avoided discussions that could touch on students’ own experiences and identities. Instead, she used narratives from LGBTQ+ youth, including fiction, so that students could learn from someone else’s story rather than their own. She was also careful to avoid having students disclose their personal identities or allowing them to judge their own or their classmates’ gender identities and values.

Although discussion can be an effective way to develop and exchange ideas with peers, Yumi chose other options such as worksheets and notes to create a safe learning environment. Her case suggests that teachers should be aware of asymmetrical power relations and the potential vulnerability of each student. Furthermore, Yumi was concerned about the emergence of psychological conflicts among mainstream students when their taken-for-granted values were challenged. She responded to students’ negative comments, such as those concerning minority rights, and used them as an opportunity to develop a further understanding of structural inequalities while being careful to avoid criticising students’ personal views and values. This indicates that Yumi’s lectures were open to unpredictability and uncertainty, while ensuring the safety of the learning environment.

Through our analysis of the case study, we identified different approaches to citizenship education using a quadrant that focuses on the ethics of care, political responsibility, universality, and particularity. The findings from the case study suggest that a political responsibility approach helps students identify legal and political injustices and understand their rights. It can also assist them in highlighting how their taken-for-granted conceptions of families based on heterosexuality and gender norms are institutionalised and generate unequal access to rights.

In this paper, we have presented an ethics of care which stresses learning from the ex-

periences of others, particularly those who are suffering. Our approach emphasises learning from individuals rather than a generalised group such as ‘LGBTQ+ people’ or ‘immigrants’. We argue that it is also possible to learn by listening to others in an indirect format, such as through narratives recorded in documentaries and biographies. This approach promotes an intersectional understanding of individuals’ complex realities and multiple experiences of oppression in a more nuanced manner.

As suggested by Noddings (2003) and Todd (2003), teachers need to be cautious about stressing empathy in promoting caring relationships. Bearing this caution in mind, we argue that the ethics of care can be an effective approach to help learners identify structural inequalities and asymmetrical power relations in society from the perspective of the most vulnerable. Otherwise, it may be difficult for learners to be aware of others’ experiences of injustice, particularly if they belong to privileged groups. Through emotional learning and a structural understanding of complex reality and the experiences of others, the ethics of care approach can also be expected to enhance learners’ sense of solidarity and motivate them to act as advocates of social justice.

We conclude that drawing on the ethics of care could be an effective approach to learning from the narratives of others suffering in complex situations, such as displaced refugees, those experiencing the aftermath of a nuclear accident, or people suffering from institutionalised gender inequalities (Kitayama & Hashizaki 2018; Kitayama, Osler & Hashizaki, 2017). Such caring encounters may provoke learners to develop positive responses to the other or adjust their current worldviews and attitudes. We argue that the source of learning lies in the subtle changes brought about by caring relationships. The instability of the self makes one aware of the presence of the other and creates the moment in which democratisation occurs (Biesta, 2011). Through these practices, the concept of *education for democratic citizenship* can emerge.

Notes

- i We use a pseudonym.
- ii We did not observe her lessons, as she conducts her lessons on sensitive topics based on a trusting relationship among students.

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