

Emerging dimensions of young people's
citizenship activities and the role of
citizenship education: A mixed-methods case
study from a rural municipality in Germany

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Abstract

In this thesis I explore young people's citizenship activities in a changing democracy and the role of citizenship education in shaping these activities. I share data from a mixed methods case study with Year 8-10 students and teachers from a rural secondary school in Germany, collected through eight researcher-led focus groups (n=26), four student-led focus groups (n=9), a student questionnaire (n=106) and teacher interviews (n=11). This thesis contributes, firstly, by exploring the range of young people's citizenship activities at school and in their communities. Secondly, I propose a new framework for exploring citizenship activities in seven emerging dimensions including unofficial, individual, glocal, sporadic, online, issues-based, and justice-oriented. The proposed framework extends existing citizen typologies and taxonomies by characterising citizenship activities with overlapping citizenship dimensions to understand their nature in more detail. Thirdly, I contribute by adding empirical insights into rural young people's experiences, often omitted in research on emerging citizenship. Finally, the thesis offers unique insights into the connection between citizenship education and young people's uptake of citizenship activities, through the lens of the newly developed citizenship education subject (*Gemeinschaftskunde*) in secondary schools in the German state, *Baden-Württemberg*. Findings suggest that participants engaged in a wide range of citizenship spaces at their school including the form class, school-decisions, volunteering, service and activism, and within their communities including private, municipal, online, party politics and activism. Emerging citizenship dimensions, participants preferred, included glocal, unofficial, issues-based and sporadic. Regarding citizenship education, findings indicate that *Gemeinschaftskunde* has the potential to positively affect young people's uptake of citizenship activities, particularly if lessons include gaining political knowledge, learning participatory skills and learning about current issues. Furthermore, there is a positive effect on citizenship uptake of using pedagogical approaches that allow student agency, raise interest, enable active learning, and fostering a democratic classroom climate.

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Author's declaration

Parts of the research, including some of the findings, were presented in unpublished papers given at the following conferences.

- Hosoda, C., & Suppers, J. (2022). *Practical application of Westheimer and Kahne's citizen typology with qualitative data* [Paper presentation]. Political Studies Association (PSA) Annual International Conference, University of York.
- Suppers, J. (2022). *Young people's citizenship activities at school – Preliminary results of original research from a rural secondary school in Germany* [Paper presentation]. Political Studies Association (PSA) Annual International Conference, University of York.
- Suppers, J. (2022). *Developing adaptability: Data collection with young people during a school lockdown* [Paper presentation]. Virtual Researching Youth – Methods Seminar Series: Practical Research Considerations for PGRs and ECRs: Adaptability, Resilience, and Career Transitions.
- Suppers, J. (2021). *Are Young People Engaged in New and DIY Citizenship Activities? - Preliminary Results of Original Research with Year 8-10 Students from a German Secondary School* [Paper presentation]. European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Virtual General Conference 2021.
- Suppers, J. (2021). *Young people's citizenship activities in a changing democracy – Initial results of original research with Year 8-10 students from a German secondary school* [Paper presentation]. Political Studies Association (PSA) Virtual Annual International Conference.
- Suppers, J. (2021). *Turning Obstacles into Opportunities: Engaging Secondary School Students in Conversations Using Online Focus Groups* [Paper presentation]. 15th Research Students' Education Conference (RSEC) 2021: Research in Challenging Times, University of Leeds.

I also published parts of this research, including a framework for exploring emerging citizenship dimensions, in the *Journal of Youth Studies*.

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I declare that this thesis, of which I am the sole author, is a presentation of original work carried out under the supervision of Dr Eleanor Brown and Professor Ian Davies. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references.

1 Introduction

This research seeks to contribute to our understanding of young people's participation in a changing democracy and the value of formal citizenship education for young people's citizen participation. The research particularly focuses on understanding how young people can be supported to become active and critical citizens who are increasingly needed in rapidly changing democratic societies facing complex global issues including climate change, insecurity and misinformation. The research contributes to this by proposing a new framework that describes seven emerging citizenship dimensions based on reviewing literature, namely unofficial, issues-based, sporadic, online, individual, justice-oriented and glocal. This framework was explored with empirical data from a case study, conducted at a rural municipality¹ and secondary school in the German federal state of *Baden-Württemberg*². The findings provide unique insights into the experience of citizenship activities and citizenship education of young people from rural communities who are often overlooked in citizenship research.

My interest in this topic has developed from my experiences as a citizenship education teacher in a rural municipality in *Baden-Württemberg* and from my master's research on New Zealand Year 11 students' perceptions of political institutions, political decision-making, political personalities, and citizenship education. During my master's research, I noticed that young people's citizenship activities, discussed in public discourse and academic literature, did not fully represent the citizenship activities of my research participants. While the public discourse predominantly espouses youth disengagement narratives, academic literature often narrowly focusses on young people's participation in official citizenship activities such as electoral participation, neglecting the wide range of unofficial spaces of participation such as schools, the supermarket, and community clubs. In addition, empirical studies on young people's citizenship activities often exclusively represent young people from urban centres, neglecting the large number of young people living in rural communities. In terms of citizenship education, I noticed that there were many missed opportunities in how the subject is envisioned

¹ Municipality is a translation of the German word *Gemeinde* which are the smallest administrative units in Germany. There were 10,998 municipalities in Germany in 2021.

² Throughout this thesis, I used several German words because some terms do not have an appropriate English equivalent. I highlight all German words, using italics.

and taught to encourage young people in taking up citizenship activities, particularly in terms of developing critical and active citizens who are able to challenge the status quo. Furthermore, as a citizenship education teacher, I experienced a disconnect between the spaces that young people participate in as citizens, and the citizenship activities promoted in the citizenship education curriculum. I also experienced barriers when aiming to develop critical and active citizens such as citizenship education being an undervalued subject in the curriculum, low contact time and an overcrowded curriculum.

1.1 Research context and contributions to knowledge

This research makes original empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions to five debates in the literature. Firstly, this research contributes to the debate about transformational changes to Western democratic systems, particularly to our understanding of the shift in citizens' participation and an expansion of citizens' participation repertoire, termed emerging citizenship dimensions in this thesis (Flinders et al., 2020; Norris, 2002). This research contributes to understanding these emerging citizenship dimensions in terms of young people below the voting age who are particularly prone to participate in emerging citizenship dimensions. I identified seven emerging citizenship dimensions relevant to young people through reviewing literature and explored them in this thesis through a new framework (see Literature review section 2.6). This framework extends previously developed frameworks through offering a different approach than citizen typologies (see for example Amnå & Ekman, 2014) by focusing on citizenship activities rather than types of citizens. I argue that citizens, and particularly young people who are in a developmental phase due to the transition from childhood to adulthood, might not be described with one type of citizen but rather explore different citizenship activities. Moreover, the framework extends citizenship taxonomies (see for example Theocharis & van Deth, 2018) by looking beyond the type of activities at their modes, spaces, goals, and frequency, to understand their nature in more detail.

Secondly, this research contributes to the debate about the conceptualisation of citizenship activities (see for example Fox, 2014; Hooghe et al., 2014; O'Toole, 2010). In line with the theory on changing Western democracies, literature indicates that young people are engaged in a range of emerging citizenship dimensions. Their engagement, however, often goes unnoticed because it is not captured by traditional methodological approaches and narrow definitions of citizenship activities such as

electoral participation. To capture a wider range of young people's citizenship activities, a wider definition of citizenship is required, and data collection should focus on the dimensions young people are operating in (O'Toole, 2010). This research contributes to this debate by proposing a wide definition of citizenship activities, covering a wide range of young people's citizenship spaces including school spaces such as the form class and school service, and community spaces such as online, community clubs and the supermarket (see Literature review sections 3.3 and 3.4).

Thirdly, this research contributes unique insights into an underrepresented group of young people from rural communities. Young people's citizenship activities, particularly in emerging citizenship dimensions, are often empirically explored with young people from urban areas (see for example Lam-Knott, 2020; McMahon et al., 2018; Pickard, 2022). The citizenship experiences of young people from urban areas might not be representative of young people from rural areas however, because rural areas are unique spaces for participation. According to the literature, community service such as the voluntary fire brigade and volunteering within community clubs are important pillars of many rural communities in Germany and, thus, have a higher uptake there (Kleiner & Klärner, 2019). Activist causes such as protests, conversely, are taken up less in rural communities because they predominantly happen in urban spaces and are difficult to access, particularly for rural youth without a car (Gensicke, 2014).

Fourthly, this research contributes to the debate about the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship activities. While some research suggests that schools play an important part in forming young people's citizenship (see for example Keating et al., 2010), other scholars suggest that they play a minor role in this process (see for example Goering, 2013). In addition, there are a wide range of theories on how to best address citizenship education. This research contributes to this debate through the lens of the newly developed citizenship education subject *Gemeinschaftskunde* in secondary schools in *Baden-Württemberg*. The research particularly focuses on the capacity of *Gemeinschaftskunde* to develop active and critical citizens.

Finally, this research contributes methodologically to our understanding of co-producing research with young people. The assumption behind co-production is that knowledge is socially constructed, and research participants are experts of their own

experiences. Therefore, research should allow for a collective investigation of these experiences. I added an element of co-production to this project by inviting some young people to design, conduct and analyse their own focus groups with my support. In addition to having unique insights into young people's citizenship experiences, young people are often marginalised in the political world, which is why I decided to increase young people's agency within this research.

1.2 Research aims and questions

This research seeks to understand how young people participate in emerging citizenship dimensions and gain insights into the value of formal citizenship education on young people's uptake of citizenship activities through addressing three research questions. I developed these questions based on my experiences as a citizenship education teacher, engaging in previous research on political participation with young people through my master's research and reviewing literature (see Chapters 2-4).

1. Which citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students part of
 - a) at school?
 - b) in their communities?
2. Which citizenship dimensions do Year 8-10 students participate in?
3. What is the value of citizenship education for Year 8-10 students' uptake of citizenship activities?
 - a) How does the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum support Year 8 to 10 students in taking up citizenship activities?
 - b) How do Year 8-10 students perceive the value of citizenship education for their citizenship activities?
 - c) How do teachers perceive the value of citizenship education for Year 8-10 students' citizenship activities?

1.3 Study design

The underlying design of the project is social constructivism, as I aim to understand participants' experiences (Creswell, 2009). I decided to invite participants from one school with unique perspectives on young people's emerging citizenship dimensions and *Gemeinschaftskunde*, following a case study approach (Thomas, 2011). My

chosen case is Anderberg middle school³, a mid-sized, rural secondary school in *Baden-Württemberg*. As I collected data solely from stakeholders within one school, I do not aim to generalise my findings but rather explore and describe young people’s citizenship and the role of citizenship education in depth and from different perspectives. Within this case study approach, I am using a mixed-methods design with five methods namely researcher and student-led focus groups, documentary analysis, teacher interviews and a student questionnaire. My methods are mainly qualitative with a part of the questionnaire collecting quantitative data. The data collection instruments are interrelated. After conducting focus groups, I carried out preliminary analysis which influenced the selection of curriculum documents for analysis as well as teacher interview questions. Teacher interviews were also shaped by curriculum document analysis. Finally, the design of the student questionnaire was influenced by preliminary focus group, interview and curriculum analysis results. I analysed data with the help of the data analysis software NVivo and SPSS, using thematic analysis, quantitative content analysis and descriptive statistical analysis. I also explored three citizen frameworks, namely Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004b) and Bennett’s (2003) citizen frameworks, and a framework for emerging citizenship dimensions proposed in this thesis. The research design of this study is outlined in Figure 1.1.

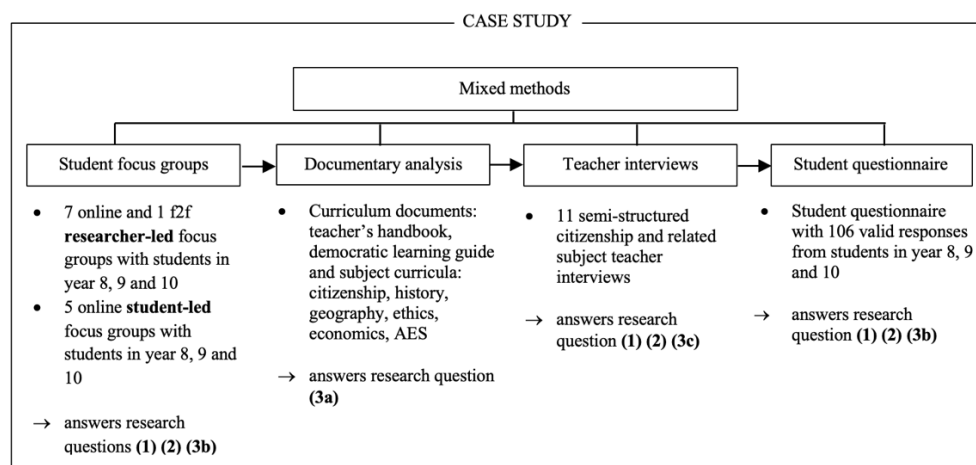


Figure 1.1: Research design of this study

³ Anderberg middle school is a pseudonym to protect the identities of my research participants.

1.4 Overview of thesis chapters

This thesis consists of ten chapters divided into five parts: Introduction (Chapter 1), literature review (Chapters 2-4), methodology (Chapter 5), findings (Chapters 6-9) and conclusion (Chapter 10). As follows the four remaining parts are summarised.

There are three literature chapters that outline existing research on young people's citizenship activities in emerging citizenship dimensions, at school and in their communities, and on citizenship education. In **Chapter Two** I summarise the debate on young people's participation in changing democratic societies. Based on this summary, I propose a definition for citizenship activities to be used in this thesis. I also summarise seven emerging citizenship dimensions, identified in the literature, that are relevant to young people, namely glocal, online, unofficial, individual, issues-based, justice-oriented, and sporadic. Based on this summary, I propose a framework that operationalises these seven dimensions. This framework was explored (as described in Chapter 7) with empirical data, collected from Anderberg middle school. In **Chapter Three** I provide background information on spaces for citizenship at secondary schools and rural communities in Germany, which are relevant to understand the case study context. I also summarise research on how young people engage in citizenship activities at schools including the form class, school-decisions, service, volunteering and activism, and in their communities including private, activism, online, municipal, party politics and politics and art. While I focus on Germany and rural communities, which is the case study context of this research, I also included literature from other contexts and argue that the results also apply beyond Germany. This chapter lays the foundation for developing focus group, teacher interview and questionnaire guides (outlined in Chapter 5). In **Chapter Four** I summarise literature on the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship activities. I also introduce the citizenship education subject *Gemeinschaftskunde*, which was introduced in *Baden-Württemberg* secondary schools in 2016. Since this is the final of three literature chapters, I also draw together findings to describe how this research fits within the literature.

In the third part of this thesis, **Chapter Five**, I introduce and justify the methods I used to collect and analyse data. I first describe the philosophical assumptions guiding this research, followed by outlining the research questions and research design. Then I introduce the case study and participants. I also discuss ethical considerations and how I went about translating participant data. Then I describe the

design of the data collection and data analysis methods, how they were used in this research and their limitations.

In the fourth part of this thesis (Chapters 6-9), I summarise research findings and discuss them in relation to the literature. In **Chapter Six**, I introduce participating students and teachers in terms of their background characteristics. This is followed by a summary of participants' citizenship activities at school (Research Question 1a) in four spaces namely form classes, school service, school decision-making, school volunteering, and school activism. I then summarise results on participants' citizenship activities beyond school (Research Question 1b) in five spaces namely private, municipal, online, activism, and party politics. I also reflect on the impact of the Covid pandemic on participants' citizenship activities. In **Chapter Seven** I summarise participants' engagement in seven emerging citizenship dimensions (Research Question 2) namely glocal, unofficial, sporadic, issues-based, individual, online, and justice-oriented. In **Chapter Eight** I summarises results on the value of citizenship education for participants' uptake of citizenship activities. In the first part, I outline aspects and missed opportunities of the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum (Research Question 3a) to encourage young people's uptake of citizenship activities. Part two focuses on participating students' (Research Question 3b) and teachers' (Research Question 3c) perspectives on the value of *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons for students' uptake of citizenship activities. In **Chapter Nine** I revisit the research gaps addressed by this research and discuss findings in relation to the literature.

In the final part of this thesis, **Chapter Ten**, I summarise key findings in relation to the research questions. I also highlight the original contributions to knowledge made in this thesis as well as limitations of the research. I conclude with recommendations based on the findings of this research, for future studies, practice and policy.

2 Young people’s participation in a changing democracy

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I introduced my motivation for this research, the research context, how this research contributes to knowledge, and provided an overview of the research questions and study design. In this chapter I summarise literature on young people’s participation in a changing democracy, define the concept of citizenship activity to be used in this thesis, and propose a framework for exploring young people’s emerging citizenship dimensions. The chapter is divided into the following sections.

2.2 Literature search strategy

2.3 Young people's participation in a changing democracy

2.4 Proposing a definition of citizenship activities

2.5 Seven emerging citizenship dimensions

2.6 Proposed framework for exploring emerging citizenship dimensions

2.7 Summary

2.2 Literature search strategy

I conducted searches for English-speaking literature on YorSearch, ERIC, Scopus, Web of Science, PsychInfo and Google Scholar. The first search focused on identifying a broad range of literature on young people’s citizenship activities, particularly in the context of a changing democracy. To conduct the first search, I combined the keywords ‘citizenship’, ‘youth’ and ‘changing democracy’ and their synonyms with the Boolean operators AND and OR (see search 1 in Appendix A). Once I identified the seven emerging citizenship dimensions in the literature, I also included them and their synonyms in the search (see search 2 in Appendix A). In addition, I searched for German literature using German and publicly accessible databases such as *DBIS*, *HEIDI*, *WLB*, Google and Google Scholar. I used equivalent German translations of the English keywords (see searches 3 and 4 in Appendix A).

Additionally, I searched doctoral theses using the above-described terms and Boolean operators, on YorSearch, WhiteRose E-Theses and GlobalETD. Furthermore, I manually searched four key academic journals: “Citizenship Teaching and Learning”, “Education, Citizenship and Social Justice”, “Journal of

Social Science Education” and “Theory and Research in Social Education” for articles related to the proposed project. The literature search was limited to post 2010, Germany, Europe and other Western democracies because of the vast amount of available literature. I assumed that recent literature would provide references to previously conducted research and key contributions from other regions, which I also reviewed where appropriate. In addition, I included significant classical literature on key theories pre-2010. To decide whether an article was reviewed further, I viewed research titles, abstracts, tables of contents as well as conclusions. I stored all identified literature on Mendeley.

2.3 Young people’s participation in a changing democracy

There is an ongoing debate in the literature on how young people in contemporary Western democracies participate in citizenship activities, with differences being observed in comparison to other age groups and previous generations of young people (Flanagan et al., 2012; Flinders et al., 2020; Foa et al. 2020; Inglehart & Catterberg, 2002). Understanding young people’s (dis)engagement from citizenship activities is one of the key debates for democratic societies which rely on citizens’ engagement to keep the democratic system healthy (Flinders et al., 2020; Inglehart & Catterberg, 2002; Norris, 2004). A range of explanations have been put forward by the literature to explain young people’s (dis)engagement including lifecycle effects, the public institutional hypothesis, and a transformation of democratic systems which leads to a diversification of the way young people engage as citizens. This research particularly contributes to the latter explanation by exploring the diversification of young people’s citizen participation. Before the explanation of transforming democratic systems is discussed in detail, the lifecycle and public institutional hypothesis explanations are briefly introduced.

The “lifecycle effect” explanation

Some scholars suggest that life-cycle effects are causing a difference in young people’s citizenship activities in comparison to people from other age groups (Flanagan, 2012; Verba & Nie, 1972). This can, on the one hand, mean that young people are not engaged because they are not affected by political decisions at this time in their life but will engage once they reach markers of adulthood such as employment. On the other hand, this can mean that young people engage in different activities because they are affected differently by political processes than adults and do not usually have access to adult forms of participation such as voting. Some

scholars suggest that this phase of different, less or even non-participation is expanding because young people in contemporary society take longer to transition from youth into adulthood by taking longer to reach markers of adulthood (Flanagan et al., 2012).

The “public institutional hypothesis” explanation

Research suggests that the uptake of citizenship activities is influenced by public institutions. This is referred to as the public institutional hypothesis, proposing that the design of public institutions, their performance including political authorities and how they are perceived, can affect the way individuals participate in citizenship activities (Amnå & Zetterberg, 2010; Flinders et al., 2020). While the public institutional hypothesis applies to both adult and younger citizens, the literature suggests a particular disconnect between young people and political institutions. This is, for example, described by O’Toole and colleagues (2003) in their qualitative study of young Britons, stating that participants in their study felt they were not valued, nor listened to by political authorities in the political process. Experiencing a high level of confidence in public institutions, such as political parties, however, can positively affect young people’s future intention to engage in citizenship activities, such as protesting or voting (Amnå & Zetterberg, 2010).

The “transformation of democracy” explanation

Research indicates that many Western democratic systems including Germany are undergoing transformational changes which affects the way people and particularly younger people, participate as citizens (Bennett, 2003). The societal processes associated with this change are, for example, globalisation, global migration, digitalisation, individualisation, a shift from a materialist to a postmaterialist society, and anti-politics, a trend which causes the citizenry to distrust traditional political processes (Flinders et al., 2020; Inglehart & Catterberg, 2002). The change of democratic systems is, on the one hand, explained by a decline in satisfaction with democracy across many developed democracies, referred to a “democracy in a state of malaise” (Foa et al. 2020, p.2) and expressed through a decline of collective citizenship activities, such as party membership (van Biezen & Poguntke, 2014). On the other hand, scholars suggest an expansion of citizens’ participation repertoire (Flinders et al., 2020; Norris, 2004). With this research, I particularly contribute to the latter explanation by exploring this expansion, referred to as emerging citizenship dimensions in this thesis.

I explore emerging citizenship dimensions in relation to young people because they are on the forefront of low engagement in collective citizenship activities, dissatisfaction with democratic systems, and uptake of emerging citizenship dimensions (European Commission, 2015; Gaiser, Krüger et al., 2016; Inglehart & Catterberg, 2002). In terms of young people below the voting age, this might be explained by their exclusion from some traditional venues for participation such as voting, party membership and some community leadership roles, and their access to and uptake of unique and emerging participation online, unofficially, at schools, in youth community organisations and through youth leadership roles. Young people's exclusion from traditional venues and their participation in emerging citizenship dimensions is an important issue to study because traditional participation still exercises high influence on political decisions in many democratic systems which could marginalise young people in political processes (Bennett, 2008; Sloam, 2014). This is particularly problematic because young people are increasingly affected by substantial issues such as the Covid pandemic, climate change and migration, without access to the full repertoire of political processes available to adults. As follows, I outline current research on young people's emerging citizenship dimensions, gaps in existing literature, and how the reviewed literature has influenced this research.

2.3.1 Narrow definitions of citizenship activities cannot capture emerging citizenship dimensions

In line with the previously outlined theory of a changing democracy, literature suggests that young people's uptake of emerging citizenship dimensions often goes unnoticed because they are not captured by traditional methodological approaches, and narrow, adult-centric definitions of citizenship activities (Bennett, 2003; Farthing, 2010; Gaiser, Hanke et al., 2016; Norris, 2002; O'Toole et al., 2003; Percy-Smith et al., 2019; Theocharis & Van Deth, 2018). To capture a wider range of young people's citizenship activities, a wider definition of citizenship is required, and data collection should focus on the dimensions young people are operating in (O'Toole, 2003). This suggestion is followed in this thesis by proposing a definition of citizenship activities that is wide and captures a wide range of young people's citizenship dimensions (see Literature review section 2.4).

2.3.2 Citizen typologies do not fully represent young people's heterogenous experiences

Considerable research on young people's emerging citizenship activities includes citizen typologies, which classify young people's participation as citizens into models. As follows, I introduce four citizen typologies that attempt to describe young people's participation in a changing democracy. It should be noted that the typologies presented here are merely examples of a wide range of citizen typologies. I selected the following typologies based on their relevance for research with young people and emerging citizenship dimensions. Firstly, Bang (2005) suggests that there are two new types of citizens, called everyday makers and expert citizens. While both types of citizens work outside of activities driven by the state, they are different from each other. He argues that expert citizens are individuals who cooperate with the political elite to attain their political goals, while everyday makers are sceptical towards institutionalised politics and prefer to participate in grassroot-type action which is issues-focussed and sporadic. Li and Marsh (2008) have extended Bang's citizens by two more, called political activists and non-participants. In their study, involving a representative sample of the British population, they found evidence for the existence of all four types of citizens. Their data suggests that young people, aged 16-24, were most likely to be everyday-makers (44.1%) and non-participants (40%), rather than expert citizens (11.2%) and political activists (3.9%).

Secondly, Bennett (2003) suggests there are dutiful citizens (DC), and actualising citizens (AC) who represent young people's emerging experience of citizenship. According to Bennett dutiful citizens value a sense of obligation, voting, being informed about politics by following mass media, and engaging in formal representational citizenship activities such as party membership. Actualising citizens, conversely, are characterised by having individual purpose, engaging in personally defined citizenship activities such as political consumerism, having critical media literacy, and preferring online-enabled community action with thin social ties.

Thirdly, Westheimer and Kahne (2004b) put forward three types of citizens. The personally-responsible citizen is driven by a sense of duty, obeys laws and fulfils civic duties such as volunteering and paying taxes. The participatory citizen goes a step further by taking on leadership roles within a community to improve society.

The last type, the justice-oriented citizen, looks beyond situations to discover why injustice is happening and finds ways to solve social problems.

Finally, Amnå and Ekman's (2014) typology goes beyond the previously outlined citizen typologies by not only looking at active citizens but also at three types of passive citizens named standby, unengaged, and disillusioned citizens. As such this typology considers how frequently citizenship activities are performed and which perceptions and interest are motivating these activities. In a sample of 863 middle school students from Sweden, the authors found that most participants were standby citizens (n=401), followed by unengaged (n=226), disillusioned (n=185) and active citizens (n=51).

In this thesis I argue that due to the heterogeneity of young people, the previously outlined citizen typologies cannot fully represent the way young people participate as citizens. Instead, I argue, young people's participation is characterised by several overlapping citizenship dimensions. Nevertheless, these three citizen typologies have considerably influenced my understanding of how young people participate in changing democratic systems, namely unofficially, sporadically, individually, justice-oriented and in relation to issues, which constitute five aspects of my proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions (see Literature review section 2.6).

2.3.3 Citizenship activities cannot be satisfactory categorised because they overlap

In addition to using citizen typologies, existing research has categorised emerging citizenship activities. Three approaches to categorise citizenship activities, identified in the literature, are outlined as follows. As with the previous section, the included categorisations are examples of a wider range of categorisations in the literature and were selected due to their relevance for research with young people and emerging citizenship dimensions. Firstly, traditionally citizenship activities have been distinguished into conventional and unconventional activities. Conventional activities include citizenship activities related to institutions such as political party membership and being part of political campaigns, whereas unconventional activities are performed outside of institutions such as political consumerism and protests. As such unconventional activities refer to what is described as emerging citizenship dimensions in this thesis. While some scholars argue that both types of activities can be part of one person's citizenship action repertoire (Barnes & Kaase,

1979), research suggests that there has been a shift towards unconventional activities which is particularly pronounced for young people (Inglehart, 1997; Li & Marsh, 2008; Marien et al., 2010; Melo & Stockemer, 2014). While this distinction in conventional and unconventional engagement is useful to refute an overall decline of young people’s citizenship activities, it does not provide insights into the nuanced patterns of engagement in both conventional and unconventional dimensions. Furthermore, I argue that the lines between conventional and unconventional are blurred, making these concepts difficult to use empirically.

Secondly, Kersting (2016) describes conventional and unconventional activities in more detail. He calls them invited and invented space and positions them on a continuum with four areas for participation along it, as displayed in Figure 2.1.

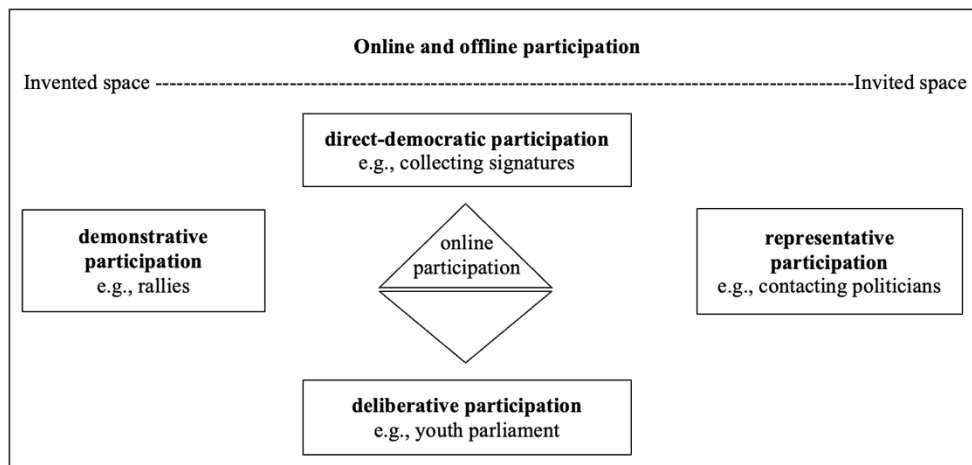


Figure 2.1: Online and offline participation (adapted from Kersting, 2016, p.255)

According to Kersting, the opposite poles of the continuum are representative participation in the invited space, and demonstrative participation in the invented space. Between the two poles, he places direct-democratic participation and deliberative participation. Kersting argues that young people’s engagement has decreased in representative participation and increased in demonstrative participation. Kersting suggests that this shows a process of delegitimisation of institutionalised democratic structures. By placing invented and invited space on a continuum and offering a means of compiling activities, this concept can provide a more detailed understanding of citizenship activities than a binary view of conventional and unconventional. However, as Kersting (2016) advocates himself, in addition to the four suggested areas of his concept, we should consider the influence of setting such as young people’s preference of local over national politics and the high status of online contexts. Furthermore, I argue that not all citizenship

activities can be placed within one of the four spaces as there is overlap between them. Nevertheless, Kersting’s suggestion of using a continuum, instead of binaries to differentiate between traditional and emerging citizenship dimensions has influenced the design of the proposed framework in this thesis (see Literature review section 2.6).

Finally, instead of focussing on the level of institutionalisation as the previous contributions, Theocharis and Van Deth (2018) focus on the mode of citizenship activities. The authors suggest that citizenship activities can be divided into six modes: voting, digitally networked participation, institutionalised participation, protest, civic participation, and consumerist participation. Results from their survey on new citizenship activities of 101 participants in Germany suggest that all new forms of citizenship activities, discovered in their study, could be classified into the six modes of engagement. While this taxonomy provides unique insights into how young people participate in emerging citizenship dimensions which have influenced my proposed framework (see Literature review section 2.6), I argue that several of the categories Theocharis and Van Deth’s (2018) propose, overlap. The mode of institutionalised participation, for example, overlaps with voting and civic participation.

2.3.4 *A new way of conceptualising young people’s emerging citizenship activities*

Based on the previously outlined concerns with existing conceptualisations of young people’s emerging citizenship, I suggest a new conceptualisation, using emerging citizenship dimensions. This allows me to characterise citizenship activities with multiple overlapping dimensions instead of characterising participants into citizen types or citizenship activities into categories. Based on reviewing literature (see Literature review section 2.5), I identified seven emerging citizenship dimensions relevant to young people, and placed them on a continuum from traditional to emerging, as illustrated in Figure 2.2.

Traditional citizenship dimensions		Emerging citizenship dimensions
official	↔	unofficial
offline	↔	online
national	↔	<i>glocal</i>
collective	↔	individual
system-based	↔	issues-based
personally-responsible, participatory	↔	justice-oriented
regular	↔	sporadic

Figure 2.2: Initial model for traditional and emerging citizenship dimensions

Using this conceptualisation, each citizenship activity can be categorised by multiple emerging and traditional citizenship dimensions. Furthermore, participants' engagement in several overlapping dimensions can be captured, thus, leading to a more nuanced description of young people's heterogeneous experiences than using citizen types. As follows, based on the findings summarised in this section, I propose a definition of citizenship activities to be used in this thesis (2.4), summarise each of the seven emerging citizenship dimensions (2.5) and introduce the proposed framework (2.6).

2.4 Proposing a definition of citizenship activities

Defining citizenship activities is a challenging endeavour because many different terms are used to describe citizenship activities such as political participation, political engagement, civic engagement and civic participation which are defined differently by scholars. The same is true for German literature which includes terms like *politische Partizipation*, *politische Teilhabe*, *Bürgerschaft* and *Bürgerbeteiligung*. This makes it difficult to locate, compare and evaluate studies. In this thesis the term citizenship activity was chosen because it does not prescribe the nature of the activities in the way 'civic' and 'political' does. It rather suggests they are activities performed by citizens which broadens the range of included activities. An activity is perceived in a wide sense of the word ranging from what could be described as 'active' such as participating in a protest, to what could be described as 'passive' such as reading an article about a political issue. Citizens include everyone who participates in a community and/or is part of a community, also including children and young people. The closest German translations of citizenship activities is *Bürgerschafts-Beteiligung* or *Bürgerbeteiligung*. As *Bürgerschafts-Beteiligung* is a more accurate translation but very uncommonly used in the German language, I decided to use the word *Bürgerbeteiligung* with German research participants.

2.4.1 Between a wide definition of citizenship activities and a 'theory of everything'

In line with research criticising narrow conceptions of citizenship activities, which are imposed on participants in many empirical studies (Fox, 2014; O'Toole et al., 2003; Pickard, 2019), I decided to use a wide definition in this thesis. While narrow definitions of citizenship activities often exclusively focus on electoral participation, wider definitions also look at unofficial citizenship activities such as community

volunteering. Looking beyond electoral participation is particularly important when conducting research with young people who are often excluded from electoral participation such as general elections in Germany, which are only accessible for people aged 18 and over.

When using a wide definition of citizenship activities, the literature warns of “conceptual stretching” (Flinders & Buller, 2006) or a “theory of everything” (van Deth, 2001), making concepts difficult to use with empirical data. This warning is related to the expansion of the repertoire of citizenship activities, starting with an acknowledgement of unconventional activities in the 1970s (van Deth, 2001). More recently, civic activities such as volunteering and social engagement have also been included in the repertoire of citizens. This development is in line with research suggesting that social involvement in community organisations can increase social capital and social cohesion and as such support a democratic culture (Putnam, 1995). Furthermore, social engagement can be a predecessor for political engagement (Rowe & Marsh, 2018; Wohnig, 2016). In addition, the domain of citizenship activities has expanded, because of governments becoming more involved in different aspects of civil society, often brought about by economic involvement such as subsidies and regulation. This leads to more people being affected in an increasing number of domains such as education, transportation, and health care, and to a distortion of the lines between citizenship and non-citizenship activities. To confine the concept of citizenship activities and avoid a theory of everything, Van Deth (2001) suggests two strategies namely defining what is excluded from the concept and focussing our research inquiry on a certain area. I integrated both suggestions in the definition of citizenship activities, proposed for this thesis.

2.4.2 The proposed definition of citizenship activities

In this thesis, I define citizenship activities as all activities that aim at influencing governmental personnel or their actions, that target a community problem, have a political motive, provide a service to the community or are related to community decision-making (adapted from Verba & Nie, 1972; Theocharis & Van Deth, 2018), as displayed in Figure 2.3, I developed this definition explicitly for research with young people from rural communities and in a school context. This was done by focussing on the spaces relevant to young people in rural communities including different levels of school participation and community service (Antes et al., 2020; Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011; Harris & Wyn, 2009; Kleiner & Klärner, 2019; Müthing et al., 2018). To reduce the risk of a theory of everything (van Deth, 2001)

and to help decide what ‘counts’ and does not ‘count’ as a citizenship activity with empirical data, I included descriptions of what citizenship activities can and cannot be (see grey boxes in Figure 2.3).

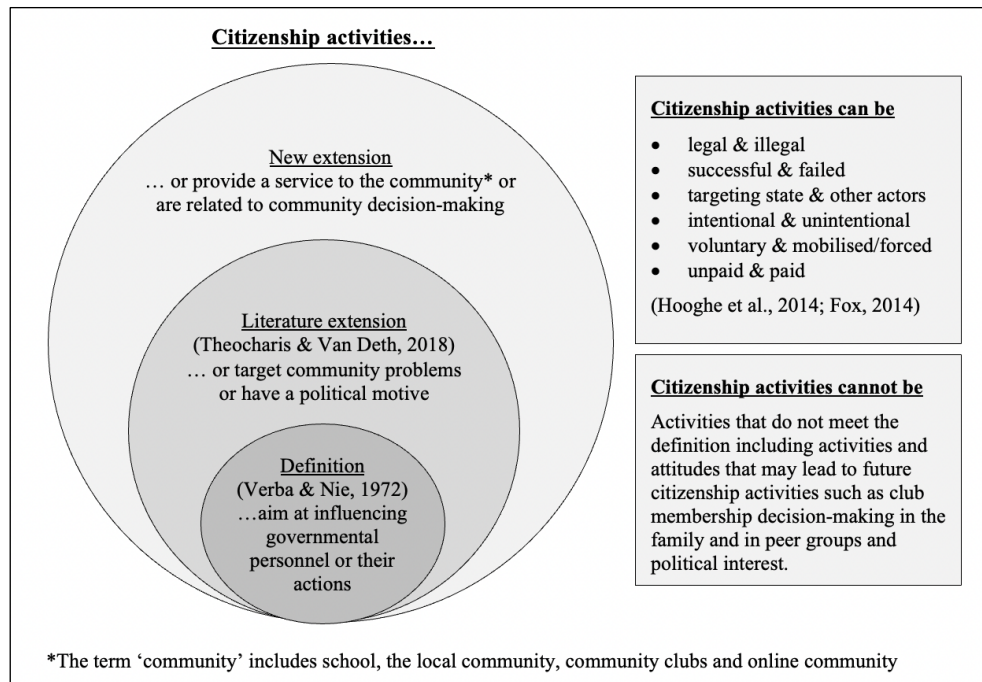


Figure 2.3: Proposed definition of citizenship activities

As evident in the Venn diagram in Figure 2.3 my definition of citizenship activities is built on the seminal definition by Verba and Nie (1972) including an extension by Theocharis and Van Deth (2018). I extended these definitions by adding “provide a service to the community” and “community decision-making”. While the former is to some extent already included in Theocharis and Van Deth’s (2018) extension, I argue that there must also be a focus on community events that do not directly address community problems. This includes citizenship activities such as volunteering for a youth community event which does not fit the community problem definition. The latter extension on community decision-making, includes citizenship activities such as deciding on community club equipment. As evident in Figure 2.3, community includes the school, the local community, community clubs and online communities. I argue that this wide definition of community is particularly important if research is done with young people below the age of 18 and in formal schooling because they might be excluded from more official community spaces such as the community council and have access to unique spaces in the community such as schools. Furthermore, online citizenship contexts seem to be particularly important spaces to young people, as further discussed in Literature review section 2.5.2.

I decided to exclude all activities from the proposed definition that do not meet the definitional criteria. This includes activities and attitudes that may lead to future citizenship activities, for example referred to as the “protopolitical sphere” (Rowe & Marsh, 2018) or “latent political participation” (Ekman & Amnå, 2012). These activities, for example, include political interest, family decision-making and community club membership. Results reported in this thesis suggest that activities that may lead to future citizenship activities, were frequently discussed by participants (see Findings section 6.6).

I developed this definition iteratively through reviewing literature (Fox, 2014; Hooghe et al., 2014; Theocharis & van Deth, 2018; Verba & Nie, 1972) and refined it through analysing empirical data reported in this thesis. The proposed definition, displayed in Figure 2.3, is one of the outcomes of this thesis and thus could have been presented in the findings chapter. I made the decision, however, to include the definition here because it is needed to understand how I selected literature for this thesis and how I collected and analysed data, which is discussed in the literature review (Chapters 2-4) and methodology (Chapter 5), situated in this thesis before the findings sections (Chapters 6-8).

2.4.3 Citizenship activities can be illegal, failed, unintentional, mobilised, paid and target multiple actors

I decided to include a wide range of characteristics in the definition of citizenship activities (see grey box in Figure 2.3). The characteristics are based on reviewing literature and were selected due to their importance for conducting research with young people and particularly young people from rural communities (Fox, 2014; Hooghe et al., 2014). Some of these six characteristics were included in the definition after analysing data, which showed some shortcomings of my initial definition. I, for example, initially only included ‘voluntary’ citizenship activities. Data analysis showed, however, that this led to an underrepresentation of participants’ citizenship activities because they were often mobilised by their teachers or through community members. As follows, I define each of the six proposed characteristics and explain why the citizenship activities in this thesis can be defined by them. Firstly, I decided that citizenship activities can be legal and illegal. There are many examples of illegal citizenship activities in the literature such as spraying political graffiti or unregistered protests. I argue that excluding illegal citizenship activities leads to an underrepresentation of citizenship activities. It should be acknowledged, however, that asking participants about illegal citizenship activities, can result in ethical issues

such as the responsibility of the researcher to report behaviour that is harmful to participants or other people. Therefore, I decided to only include pre-defined illegal citizenship activities in the anonymous questionnaire such as spraying political graffiti, instead of explicitly asking about illegal citizenship activities in focus groups. Furthermore, I explained to participants that I would report any information they share that may cause harm to them or others, which was also included in informed consent letters.

Secondly, I included successful and failed citizenship activities because the outcome of citizenship activities might not always be known, for example in the case of a protest it might not be clear whether change was achieved. This also raises the question who should determine whether a citizenship activity was successful which could be participants themselves, the researcher or external evidence such as a policy change. In addition, whether the citizenship activity was successful does not necessarily impact on the fact that the citizenship activity was carried out by a participant.

Thirdly, citizenship activities can target the state and other actors because the lines between the state and other actors have become increasingly blurred with governments becoming more involved in different aspects of civil society. Thus, deciding whether an activity is targeted at the state or other actors is complex and might not be feasible when working with empirical data. In addition, I argue that including citizenship activities that target other actors is particularly important when conducting research with young people, who are increasingly engaged in citizenship activities targeting other actors such as through selective consumerism (Stolle et al., 2005).

Fourthly, I included both intentional and unintentional citizenship activities. I argue that using intentions to determine what is or is not citizenship, is not useful due to two reasons. First, people's motivations are often multifaceted and it, thus, is difficult to determine whether respondents' answers are one of multiple reasons, whether they truthfully reflect their intention or whether participants are even able to verbalise their intention at all (Hooghe et al., 2014). Furthermore, the sociability effect can affect the intentions reported by participants (Hooghe et al., 2014). Second, intention might not be relevant at all, as it does not affect the outcome of a citizenship activity and how it is perceived. Thus, I decided to include both citizenship activities that were done intentionally and unintentionally in my analysis

if they fulfilled the definition, outlined in Figure 2.3. Nevertheless, I decided to collect data on participants' intentions as this allowed me to explore and describe their citizenship activities and motivations behind them in detail.

Fifthly, voluntary, mobilised and forced citizenship activities were included in the analysis. The term 'forced' means that a citizenship activity is compulsory, such as 'voting for class reps' in most German schools. The term 'mobilised' refers to being persuaded into taking up a citizenship activity such as a soccer coach encouraging a club member to become a junior coach. Whether an activity is done voluntarily or is mobilised/forced does not necessarily affect the outcome of the activity (Hooghe et al., 2014). Furthermore, somebody might engage in an activity which is compulsory but would have done the activity nevertheless and to the same extent if it was not forced. In addition, I argue that a high number of young people's citizenship activities can be described as forced or mobilised because young people are often in positions of lower power and are, as a result, often pushed into citizenship activities both at and beyond school. Thus, excluding all forced/mobilised citizenship activities might lead to an underrepresentation of young people's citizenship activities.

Finally, I included both unpaid and paid activities if they fulfilled the definition of citizenship activities. This was decided because receiving payment does not change the outcome of an activity. Furthermore, in rural communities, many people who work in an honorary position, termed *Ehrenamt* in German, receive a small reimbursement while their work is still considered voluntary. This is because municipalities often cannot afford a fully paid employee to work in some positions. These positions include, for example, community club councils, and public facilities such as the municipal hall or municipal library.

While the previously outlined proposed definition helped to narrow down the decision on what to 'count' and not 'count' as citizenship activities, I still had to make some decisions on case-by-case basis when I coded the data. To make this process more straightforward, I kept a record of my coding decisions and referred to this throughout the coding process. The application of my definition of citizenship activities, the issues resulting from my definition and how I addressed them, are a contribution of this thesis, to the literature on researching citizenship activities. For information on how I used this definition with empirical data, refer to Methodology

sections 5.9.1.2 and 5.9.1.3. As follows, I discuss seven emerging citizenship dimensions relevant to young people.

2.5 Seven emerging citizenship dimensions

In this section, I summarise results from reviewing literature on young people's emerging citizenship dimensions. I identified literature with the search strategy, introduced in Literature review section 2.2. I also summarise factors that may impact young people's uptake of citizenship activities including age, gender, location, socio-economic background, age, political interest and efficacy.

2.5.1 *The glocal dimension*

The reviewed literature points to a move from national to global citizenship, driven by challenges affecting more than one nation, such as migration or climate change as well as through the “immediacy of the media coverage [encouraging] citizens to feel implicated in some way in the lives of those whose story is being told” (Osler & Starkey, 2005, p.7). In addition to citizens becoming more interested in global issues, citizens are increasingly able to participate on a global level and with people from different parts of the world, particularly through online means such as raising awareness for global issues through social media. A concept put forward in the literature to capture this move to global citizenship are ‘cosmopolitan citizens’ (Osler & Starkey, 2005) who identify “...more broadly with their continent or with the world as a whole, and who have greater faith in the institution of global governance” (Norris, 2000, p.159). Concurrently, the literature points to a move from national to local citizenship with citizens showing increasing interest in local issues and engaging in local citizenship activities such as local community decision-making, community service or reaching out to local council members (Harris & Wynn, 2009). The literature also indicates that emerging local and global citizenship is often intertwined which is, for example, discussed through the concept of ‘glocal citizenship’ (Terren & Soler-I-Martí, 2021) which describes citizens’ interest in global issues which are addressed through local citizenship activities. Glocal citizenship is particularly discussed in the literature in relation to young people below the age of 18 who may be interested in global issues but are restricted to localised solutions within their communities and schools (Harris & Wynn, 2009).

2.5.2 *The online dimension*

The reviewed literature also suggests increased citizen participation in online contexts (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Bessant et al., 2016; Tereshchenko, 2010), particularly to access political information (Albert et al., 2019). Bennett and Segerberg (2012), furthermore, suggest that young people increasingly engage in loose, digitally enabled social movements, referred to as ‘connective action’. The authors propose that this type of online participation enables citizens to directly participate in issues of personal relevance and without having to adjust their ideals to be part of a collective purpose. The authors also argue that in postmodern societies, political expression has become a process of expressing personal hopes and grievances, rather than fighting for collective goals. This can be explained by citizens no longer wanting to adjust their ideals which is necessary when acting through collective means (Bang & Halupka, 2019). In contrast to party politics, or merely performing traditional citizenship activities online such as e-voting, connective action is marked by “co-production and co-distribution” (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p.752). As such, connective action does not rely on a collective identity and representative leadership. Online citizenship activities are, however, also debated in the literature and are sometimes referred to as clicktivism or slacktivism due to their low hurdle of engagement. Interestingly, Ekström and Sveningsson (2019) suggest that their research participants seemed to be aware that some of the low-engagement activities they performed on social media were not as impactful as party politics for example. It should also be noted that there are studies suggesting low importance of online citizenship activities to young people (see for example Jerome & Lalor, 2016).

2.5.3 *The unofficial dimension*

Young people increasingly participate in unofficial citizenship dimensions operating outside of established institutionalised politics (Bennett, 2008; Harris & Wyn, 2009; Kersting, 2016; Li & Marsh, 2008; Malafaia et al., 2021; Pickard, 2019). This shift is, for example, evident in Pickard’s concept of Do-It-Ourselves (DIO) politics, defined as “entrepreneurial political participation that operates outside traditional political institutions through political initiatives and lifestyle choices in relation to ethical, moral, social and environmental themes with young citizens being at the forefront of such actions” (2019, p.390). An increased uptake of unofficial citizenship activities by young people is also discussed by Bennett (2008) who suggests a shift towards actualising citizens who prefer to engage in personally defined activities including selective consumerism and global activism.

2.5.4 *The individual dimension*

Literature suggests a move towards individual citizenship activities. This is described, on the one hand, as participation by individuals through lifestyle activities such as selective consumerism (Stolle et al., 2005) as opposed to participation within organised groups such as during protests. On the other hand, it is described as participation in loose social networks where individuals can express their concerns directly without formally joining a campaign with centralised leadership and are able to drop in and out (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). Kyroglou and Henn (2021), in addition, suggest there is a collective dimension to individual citizenship activities as they often address collective issues such as climate change or racism.

2.5.5 *The issues-based dimension*

The reviewed literature also indicates a decrease in system-based citizenship activities including party membership and voting (Flinders et al., 2020; Norris, 2002). Flinders and colleagues (2020) term this decrease ‘passive anti-politics’ which results from distrust in politicians and political parties and is particularly relevant for young people. Instead, the literature points to an increase in issues-based citizenship activities (McMahon et al., 2018; Norris, 2004; Pickard, 2019). This shift is, for example, discussed by Bennett, with his concept of emerging actualising citizens, who “are more inclined to become interested in personally meaningful, lifestyle-related political issues rather than party or ideological programs” (2008, p.20). Similarly, Norris suggests that young people in Europe “are more likely than their parents and grandparents to engage in cause-oriented political action” (2004, p.16). Norris further indicates that increased cause-based activism may be part of a generational shift.

2.5.6 *The justice-oriented dimension*

Literature also points to an increase in justice-oriented citizenship activities that initiate or demand a systematic change individually or as part of a collective (Lam-Knott, 2020; McMahon et al., 2018; Pickard, 2019). Justice-oriented citizenship activities are also referred to as activist citizenship activities in the literature, which is a term I decided not to use for the proposed framework because of its frequent usage in English-speaking literature and negative stereotypes associated with it (Kennelly, 2011). An increase in justice-oriented citizenship activities carried out by young people, is particularly reported in terms of (re)claiming urban spaces and in relation to environmental issues (Lam-Knott, 2020; McMahon et al., 2018; Pickard, 2019). It should be noted that when comparing a wider range of young people’s

citizenship activities, some studies suggest an overall low uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities by young people (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b; Wood et al., 2018).

2.5.7 *The sporadic dimension*

Literature also indicates that young people participate in an increasing number of citizenship activities that are sporadic as opposed to activities that happen at regular intervals (Amná & Ekman, 2014; Bang, 2005; Li & Marsh, 2008). Sporadic participation is related to the increase of issues-based citizenship activities which conclude once issues are perceived to have been addressed. Concepts put forward by the literature to support sporadic participation, include Amná and Ekman's (2014) standby citizens and Bang's (2005) everyday makers who get engaged part time and when issues arise. Both types of citizens were particularly frequent among samples of young people in Sweden and Britain (Amná & Ekman, 2014; Li & Marsh, 2008).

2.5.8 *Factors that may impact the uptake of emerging citizenship*

In this section, I summarise factors that may impact young people's uptake of (emerging) citizenship. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide an in-depth discussion of each factor, instead I provide an overview of factors which informed my decisions on which background factors to include in the data collection instruments for this research (see Methodology section 5.8.6.2).

2.5.8.1 Location

Location can affect young people's uptake of (emerging) citizenship dimensions by impacting their access to participation opportunities. Cities and municipalities, for example, differ in the way they include young people in decision-making processes (Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg [LpB BW], 2019). The literature also indicates differences between rural and urban areas. Community service such as the voluntary fire brigade and volunteering within community clubs, for example, are important pillars of many rural communities and, thus, have a higher uptake there (Kleiner & Klärner, 2019). Justice-oriented causes such as protests, conversely, are taken up less in rural communities because they predominantly happen in urban spaces and are difficult to access, particularly for rural youth without access to a car (Gensicke, 2014).

2.5.8.2 Socio-economic background

The impact of socio-economic background on young people's uptake of citizenship activities is debated in the literature. Young people's socio-economic backgrounds

may, for example, affect their uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities. While some research suggests that young people with higher socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to participate in justice-oriented citizenship dimensions (Henn et al., 2021; Inglehart, 1971), other studies suggest that participants' satisfaction with their resources at home and at their school do not create the need to affect change (Gaventa & Martorano, 2016).

2.5.8.3 Gender

A further, frequently discussed background factor impacting young people's uptake of citizenship activities is gender. Research suggests that young men are more prone to engage in institutional citizenship activities while young women are more likely to volunteer and engage in unofficial citizenship dimensions such as online (Antes et al., 2020).

2.5.8.4 Efficacy

Efficacy is a further factor related to young people's uptake of citizenship activities. In this thesis, efficacy is divided into internal efficacy, the belief that one understands politics, political efficacy, a belief in oneself to be able to affect political change and external efficacy, the belief that one is included into political decisions by external bodies such as the government or one's school (Bandura, 1977). While high efficacy is generally reported as having positive impacts on young people's uptake of citizenship activities, there are some debates about the stability of efficacy measures throughout the life course and about the influence of efficacy on different types of citizenship activities (Schulz, 2005; Westheimer & Kahne, 2006). Westheimer and Kahne (2006), for example, argue that "exposure to certain kinds of constraints, although frustrating, can also help students learn about the ways power-structures, interest group influences, and technical challenges can limit the ability of concerned citizen to bring about change" (p. 290).

2.5.8.5 Political interest

Political interest is a contested concept in the literature because it is difficult to measure due to the conceptual gap between researchers' and young people's understanding of the political (O'Toole, 2010; Sveningsson, 2016). Political interest, however, is suggested in many studies as a factor predicting young people's uptake of citizenship activities and is also often referred to as a mediating factor, for example between citizenship education and political participation (Maurissen, 2018).

2.5.8.6 Age

Age is an important factor influencing young people's uptake of citizenship activities. Age, for example, impacts the citizenship activities young people have access to, with many official citizenship spaces not being accessible for young people below the age of 18 such as general elections in most countries. Conversely, some citizenship activities are exclusively accessible to young people under the age of 18 such as some school and community venues like student councils. Age may also affect young people's uptake of citizenship activities in terms of life stage effects. Keating et al. (2010), for example, discovered a dip in political participation for young people aged 14-16 at Key Stage 4, in their longitudinal study of UK youth.

2.6 Proposed framework for exploring emerging citizenship dimensions

Based on the previously outlined findings from the literature, I developed a framework, displayed in Figure 2.4, to identify emerging citizenship dimensions, contrast them from traditional citizenship dimensions, and identify them in empirical data sets. The framework was developed by creating an initial model, based on the literature (see Figure 2.2) which was then developed into a conceptual framework through analysing focus groups and questionnaire responses, reported in the results section of this thesis (Chapters 6 and 7). The framework consists of seven emerging and seven traditional citizenship dimensions. Each dimension is to be seen on either end of a continuum, displayed using double arrows in Figure 2.4, from traditional to emerging. Given there is enough information, each citizenship activity can be characterised by each of the seven continua depending on its newness or traditionality.

The use of continua in the framework was influenced by Kersting's (2016) use of a continua from invented to invited spaces. The use of dimensions was influenced by Norris' (2002) conceptualisation of citizenship activities into agencies (organisational structure of citizenship activities), repertoires (the means by which citizens participate), and targets (who a citizenship activity is aimed at). I decided to use the word dimension without further dividing the dimensions into agencies, repertoires, and targets because these terms can be overlapping. Unofficial, for example, can be an agency and a target. I selected the dimensions based on reviewing current theories and empirical research on young people's emerging citizenship activities, as outlined in Literature review section 2.5. All initial emerging and traditional dimensions were retained after analysing data. However, I changed some

dimension names to better reflect what they include. I, for example, changed the term ‘private’ to ‘unofficial’ and ‘activist’ to ‘justice-oriented’. In addition, I added a detailed operationalisation of each dimension to allow for consistent and transparent data analysis. Operationalisations also helped to draw a line between emerging and traditional dimensions, so decisions could be made on which emerging or traditional dimensions characterised each citizenship activity. The operationalisations are displayed in Figure 2.4 below each dimension.

Traditional citizenship dimensions	Emerging citizenship dimensions
<p style="text-align: center;">National</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National refers to citizenship activities that address national issues and/or are carried out at a national level <u>Example</u>: watch parliamentary debates 	<p style="text-align: center;">Glocal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Glocal here is used in a wider sense than in the literature, including all citizenship activities that address local or global issues Glocal also includes citizenship activities carried out at a local or global level, including at school, in the community and online, as opposed to national. Glocal may include local citizenship activities, global citizenship activities or a mix of glocal and local citizenship activities <u>Examples</u>: collect rubbish in the local community, organise an anti-discrimination event at school
<p style="text-align: center;">Offline</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Citizenship activities done without the use of online tools and that do not take place in online spaces are offline <u>Examples</u>: attending a face-to-face community meeting, collecting rubbish in the community 	<p style="text-align: center;">Online</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Online can be a space for (on Instagram, on YouTube) or mode of (accessing political information through online media) citizenship activities <u>Examples</u>: follow politicians on Instagram, discuss issues below YouTube videos
<p style="text-align: center;">Official</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Citizenship activities that are directly supported, driven, or invited by the state are official Includes citizenship activities at school that are formally invited by the state <u>Examples</u>: take part in formal school assembly meetings, volunteer at red cross (funded by state) 	<p style="text-align: center;">Unofficial</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any citizenship activity that is not directly supported, driven, or invited by the state is unofficial Includes citizenship activities, initiated by school members that are not formally intended by the state <u>Examples</u>: participate in protest, raise money for a sport club, work as student mentor⁴
<p style="text-align: center;">Collective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collective citizenship activities are carried out as a group of at least one other person It can include initiating an activity with others or participating in an activity with others <u>Examples</u>: complain about a teacher with your class, take part in a protest 	<p style="text-align: center;">Individual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individual citizenship activities are carried out alone (usually so one does not have to adjust one’s ideals to fit collective values) Individual participation, however, often includes dealing with collective issues such as climate change <u>Examples</u>: sign a petition, raise an issue with the class rep (if issue is raised alone), follow politicians online

⁴ Student mentors, translated from the German word *Schülerstreitschlichter*, help other students to solve conflicts.

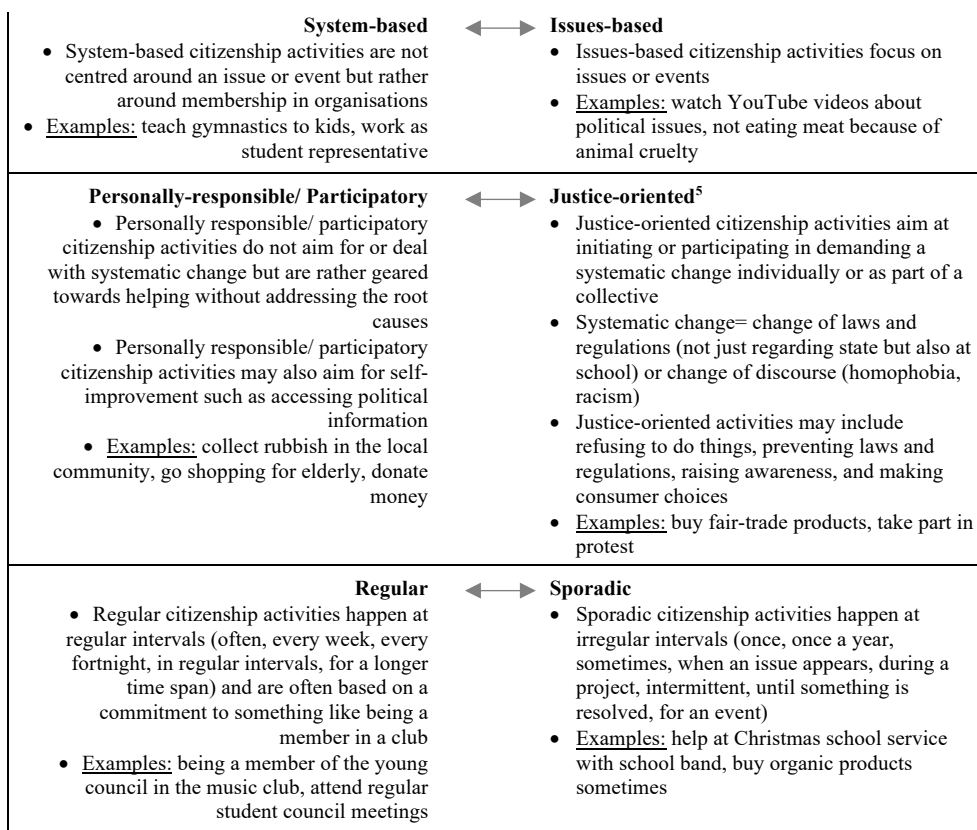


Figure 2.4: Proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions

The following premises underpin the framework. Firstly, a citizenship activity may be described with only emerging, only traditional, or some emerging and some traditional dimensions. A citizenship activity cannot, however, be described with an emerging and traditional dimension from the same continua, such as online and offline. It is acknowledged that the lines between the dimensions are blurred, which is a limitation of this framework. Attending a protest, for example, may be typically characterised as an offline activity. It may also include online aspects, however, by tweeting about the protest. To make the framework specific and practical, I decided to not permit overlap within one continuum. In the case of the protest, for example, if participants spoke about online and offline aspects of protesting, I divided the activity by labelling ‘attending a protest’ as offline and ‘tweeting about a protest’ as online. Secondly, I developed the framework for use with qualitative data sets as detailed information on each citizenship activity is required to make decisions about assigning different dimensions. When collecting data to use with this framework,

⁵ The dimensions personally-responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented are based on Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004b) three types of citizens. In the proposed framework, however, they describe citizenship dimensions rather than types of citizens.

detailed information on the spaces, modes, goals, and frequency of citizenship activities should be acquired. Finally, to achieve consistency, particularly when using a large data set or data from different sources, decisions on assigning dimensions to citizenship activities should be recorded and guide future decisions.

It should be noted that the proposed framework is a model aiming to gain in-depth understanding of a range of emerging citizenship dimensions rather than a representation of the lived realities of all citizens alike. Furthermore, some dimensions, labelled as ‘emerging’ in the framework may have existed for a long time, such as justice-oriented activities and some traditional dimensions may characterise recent citizenship activities such as the Fridays for Future protests being collective. Thus, when applying the framework with empirical data, the goal is not to judge whether a citizenship activity is mainly emerging or traditional but rather to identify and further examine emerging citizenship dimensions. Moreover, while the framework can influence data collection, it was mainly designed for data analysis. The framework’s complexity makes it difficult to directly ask participants about their participation in emerging citizenship dimensions such as glocal or unofficial. For information on how I applied the framework during data analysis, refer to Methodology section 5.9.1.3.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter I argued that democratic societies are undergoing change and that as a result, the way young people participate in democratic societies is diversifying. Therefore, to capture these diverse citizenship activities, young people are engaged in, a wide definition of citizenship activities focussing on a diverse range of young people’s citizenship spaces, is needed. Thus, in this chapter, I proposed a wide definition of citizenship activities, including all activities that aim at influencing governmental personnel or their actions, target community problems, have a political motive, provide a service to the community, or are related to community decision-making” (adapted from Theocharis & van Deth, 2018; Verba & Nie, 1972). Many studies that aim to explain young people’s emerging citizenship activities, do so through categorising young people into types of citizens or categorising citizenship activities. I argue that these approaches do not fully represent young people’s experiences. Instead, I proposed a novel framework for studying young people’s citizen participation in changing democracies through exploring multiple overlapping citizenship dimensions. These dimensions include glocal, online,

unofficial, individual, issues-based, justice-oriented, and sporadic. I suggest that this framework extends previously developed frameworks by allowing an exploration of the modes, spaces, frequency, and goals of citizenship activities, rather than categorising citizenship activities or identifying citizen types. The framework was explored with empirical data on young people's citizenship activities at school and in their communities (see Chapter 7).

3 Young people’s citizenship activities at school and in (rural) communities: The German context

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two I summarised literature on young people’s emerging citizenship dimensions and proposed a framework through which these dimensions can be explored. As explained in the previous chapter, I decided not to directly translate the framework into data collection instruments because of its complexity. Instead, I used it as a data analysis framework. Thus, to use the proposed framework, I needed in-depth qualitative data on young people’s citizenship activities. I collected this data from Year 8-10 students at a rural secondary school in Germany. In this chapter, I summarise literature on young people’s citizenship activities in secondary schools and (rural) communities, with a focus on Germany, to gain insights into the range of citizenship activities the participants in this study might be engaged in. The word rural is in brackets because the citizenship activities explored in this chapter include activities unique to rural spaces such as community service but also activities that are relevant beyond a rural context such as online or party politics. While I focused on Germany, I also used literature from beyond the German context, especially where I experienced gaps in the literature. The literature, summarised in this chapter, underpins the data collection instruments introduced in Methodology section 5.8. The chapter is divided into the following sections.

3.2 Literature search

3.3 Secondary schools as spaces for citizenship

3.4 (Rural) communities as spaces for citizenship

3.5 Summary

3.2 Literature search

In this section, I describe the literature search strategy, I used to identify citizenship activities young people participate in at schools and in (rural) communities.

3.2.1 Literature search strategy

I searched German literature using publicly accessible databases such as *DBIS*, *HEIDI*, *WLB*, Google and Google Scholar. In the first search, I focused on identifying a broad range of literature on young people’s citizenship activities at

school and in their communities including rural municipalities, combining terms like ‘*Bürgerbeteiligung*’ (citizenship activities), ‘*junge Menschen*’ (young people), ‘*Deutschland*’ (Germany) and their synonyms with the Boolean operators AND and OR (see search 1 in Appendix B). Once I identified spaces for young people’s citizenship activities at school and in their (rural) communities, I also searched for these spaces and their synonyms (see search 2 in Appendix B). In addition, I searched for English-speaking literature on YorSearch, ERIC, Scopus, Web of Science, PsychInfo and Google Scholar using equivalent English translations of the German keywords (see searches 3 and 4 in Appendix B). The literature search focused on post 2010 and original empirical studies involving young people aged 13-17 from *Baden-Württemberg* and Germany. I also included studies with young people outside of this age bracket and other regions in the world, particularly where I experienced gaps in the literature.

3.2.2 Summary of identified studies and their limitations

Using the previously outlined search strategy, I identified 13 key studies on the range of young people’s citizenship activities at school and in rural municipalities (see Appendix C). These studies form the foundation for the literature summaries on young people’s citizenship activities at schools (see Literature review section 3.3) and in (rural) municipalities (see Literature review section 3.4). I also identified a few additional studies that provide insights into individual aspects of young people’s participation which are also outlined in this section. While I was able to identify a range of young people’s citizenship activities from reviewing these studies, they have notable limitations. Firstly, most of these studies have a broad focus on different youth related topics such as free-time, friendship, or money, which results in sidelining topics relevant to young people’s citizenship such as volunteering or political participation (see for example Albert et al., 2019; Antes et al., 2020; Müthing et al., 2018; UNICEF, 2019). Secondly, most of the studies apply narrow, pre-defined, adult-centric measures for citizenship activities, which causes an underrepresentation of young people’s citizenship activities, particularly in emerging citizenship dimensions. Thirdly, some of the studies use broad categories for defining young people, usually between 14 and 30 years. This makes it difficult to apply their results to young people below the voting age, who are unique due to their restrictions from some adult participation venues, such as elections, and due to their access to unique youth participation venues, such as schools (Albert et al., 2019; Gaiser, Hanke, et al., 2016; Simonson et al., 2022). Finally, almost all identified studies rely heavily and often exclusively on quantitative designs, which indicates a

gap in in-depth qualitative research, exploring the range of young people's citizenship activities, which is one contribution made by this thesis. The few qualitative studies I located focus on specific aspects of young people's citizenship activities rather than the range of citizenship activities young people are engaged in. I, for example, identified qualitative research on young people in political parties and social movements (Klein & Papendorf, 2017), critical views towards democracy among young people, including supporters of ultra-patriotic or populist radical right movements (Grimm & Pilkington, 2015), barriers for civic engagement (Jugert et al., 2011), cultural differences in what it means to be engaged citizens (Goering, 2013) and political learning by social engagement (Wohnig, 2016). I also identified a few qualitative studies exploring individual aspects of young people's citizenship activities at school, including research on class councils (Brilling, 2012), student councils (Leung et al., 2016), lesson decision-making (Müller-Kuhn et al., 2020), participation in everyday school life (Müller-Kuhn et al., 2021), school volunteering (Sliwka, 2004) and student voice (Black & Mayes, 2020; Dunlop et al., 2020; Grimm & Pilkington, 2015).

3.3 Secondary schools as spaces for citizenship

In this section, I describe the spaces for young people's citizenship activities at secondary schools. I first provide a brief introduction to secondary schools in the context of *Baden-Württemberg* (3.3.1). Second, I describe spaces for citizenship at secondary schools, according to the *Baden-Württemberg* education act (3.3.2). These two sections lay the foundation to understanding the case study of this thesis. While both sections focus on *Baden-Württemberg*, I argue that many aspects apply to secondary schools in Germany and other countries. Third, I share results of reviewing empirical literature on young people's participation in citizenship activities at secondary schools (3.3.3).

3.3.1 Introduction to secondary schools in *Baden-Württemberg*

On the principle of federalism, Germany is divided into 16 federal states which are, as stated in paragraph 30 of the German constitution (*Grundgesetz*), responsible for schooling in their respective state. As a result, different school types, curriculum approaches and subjects have developed across Germany. Traditionally, *Baden-Württemberg* followed a three-tier school system, allocating students who have finished a four-year common primary school, to one of three different school types. These school types were called *Hauptschule/Werkrealschule*, a five-year pathway to

enter the workforce, *Realschule*, a six-year pathway to enter the workforce or continue higher education, and *Gymnasium*, a nine-year pathway to gain university-entrance, see Figure 3.1.

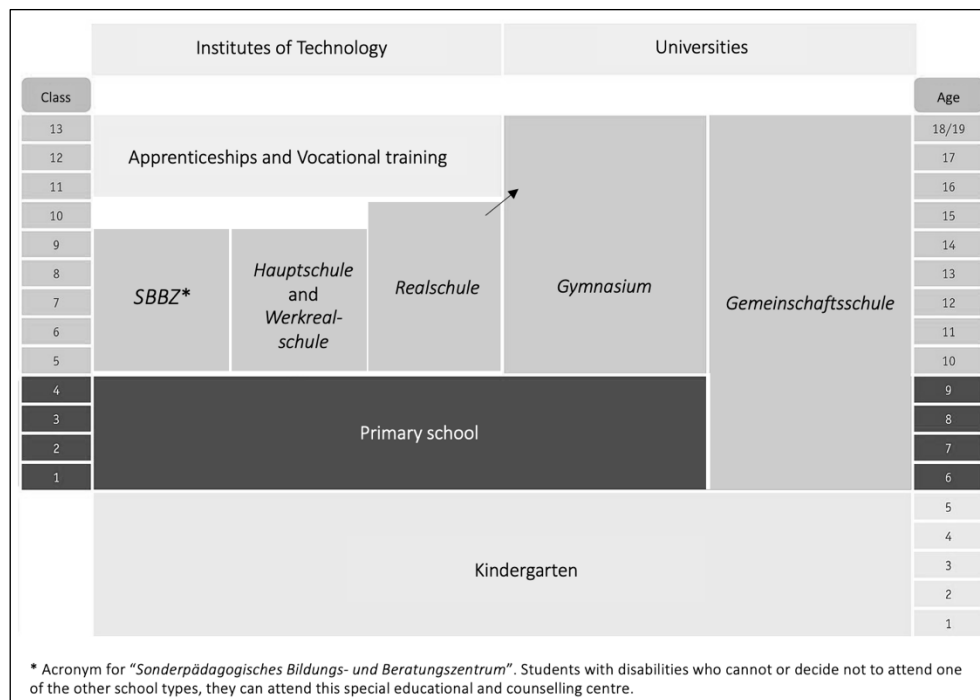


Figure 3.1: Simplified version of school types in *Baden-Württemberg* (translated from IW Köln)

In the last decades, however, the three-tier system received a lot of criticism, such as the bad reputation of the *Hauptschule*, *Werkrealschule* and *SBBZ*, leading to dwindling student numbers in these schools, particularly in rural areas. This caused many schools to close and stakeholders to demand a more inclusive system, as it had already been practiced in some German states and across the world, in the form of comprehensive schools (*Gemeinschaftsschulen*). These schools allow young people with different abilities to attend the same school. There has been an increase in comprehensive schools of 9.6% across Germany within the last ten years, with the highest number in federal states in the north of Germany and the lowest number in the south (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2018). *Baden-Württemberg* is the state with the third lowest rate of comprehensive schools which have recently been established as an additional type.

In the school year 2020/21, which is when I collected data for this research, a total of 1,095,252 students attended schools in *Baden-Württemberg*. Most students attended primary schools (35%), followed by *Gymnasium* (27%), *Realschule* (19%), *Gemeinschaftsschule* (8%), *SBBZ* (5%), *Hauptschule/Werkrealschule* (4%) and other schools such as Waldorf schools (2%) (Statistisches Landesamt Baden-

Württemberg, 2021). Differences in uptake of citizenship activities have been found across different school types. Achour and Wagner (2019), for example, suggest that the participants in their study attending a Gymnasium were more engaged in citizenship activities than the participants attending other school types, including *Hauptschule*, *Realschule* and *Gemeinschaftsschule*. The school type where I collected case study data for this research is a *Realschule*.

3.3.2 Spaces for citizenship at secondary schools according to the Baden-Württemberg education act (SchG)

Young people in *Baden-Württemberg* typically attend secondary schools, such as the *Realschule*, for six years between the ages of 10 and 16. Considering schools start at 8 am and finish at 1 pm, plus 2-4 hours of afternoon lessons a week, we can assume that students spend around 30 hours at school each week during these six years. In addition, students are often involved in additional school activities including extracurriculars, service projects or school volunteering roles. During their time at school, students meet many young people and adults from different backgrounds and are involved in a wide range of negotiation processes, ranging from small decisions such as which class trip destination to choose, to bigger decisions such as voting for a person to represent their interests. While schools, are often underrepresented in political participation research (see for example Achour & Wagner, 2019; Weller, 2009), I argue that due to the high amount of time young people spend at school and the various negotiation processes they are involved in there, schools constitute a key space for young people's citizenship activities. Young people's experiences at school, furthermore, mirror citizenship activities carried out in other spaces and as such can be described as "miniature communities" as illustrated in the following quote.

(The school) has a chance to affiliate itself with life, to become the child's habitat, where he learns through directed living, instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future. It gets a chance to be a miniature community, an embryonic society.

(Dewey, 1915, p. 15)

As follows, I summarise those spaces for citizenship at school that are envisioned by the *Baden-Württemberg* education act (SchG), which regulates all aspects of school life in *Baden-Württemberg*. Young people's right to participate in their schools and local communities is also included in the UN Convention on the rights of the child (1989).

Form class participation: Class council and class representatives

In *Baden-Württemberg* secondary schools, and in most schools in Germany, students are typically taught in small groups of 20-30 students from the same year, referred to as *Klasse* in German which can be translated to form class in English. Students typically stay in their form class throughout their time at secondary school which often leads to the development of a sense of community. Form classes typically are assigned one or two teachers who teach most subjects in their form class and are responsible for pastoral care. These teachers are called *Klassenlehrer/in* in German which can be translated to form teachers in English. Form teachers also typically have at least one lesson a week with their form class, to make announcements, provide pastoral care, and facilitate decision-making. This lesson is called *Klassenlehrerstunde* and can be translated to form time in English. The *Baden-Württemberg* education act instructs that each form class votes a class representative and a deputy class representative, called *Klassensprecher/in*, following democratic election principles (SchG §65). Class representatives represent the interests of their form class and inform them of important student matters. Class representatives from all form classes also make up the student council, which is discussed further in the next section. All students in a form class are part of the class council, called *Klassenschülerversammlung* (SchG §64). The class council debates about and decide on all matters related to the form class. Another important aim of the class council is to collaborate with form teachers. It should be noted that, overall, the language used in SchG §64 and SchG §65 indicates a focus on collaboration and representation rather than conflict and raising issues, which I argue should also be part of young people's experiences at school. This is particularly important in today's rapidly changing democratic societies, faced by complex global issues such as climate change, insecurity and misinformation, which need citizens who are active, critical and challenge the status quo.

Whole school participation: Student council, student representatives and formal school assembly

The *Baden-Württemberg* education act instructs that each school has a *Schülerrat* which can be translated to student council in English (SchG §66). The student council is the main student decision-making body at *Baden-Württemberg* secondary schools. It is responsible for all student matters affecting the school and decides on rules regarding the way the student council works. The principal should inform the student council of all matters related to students. The student council is made up of

all class representatives and their deputies, voted by the class council, as illustrated in Figure 3.2

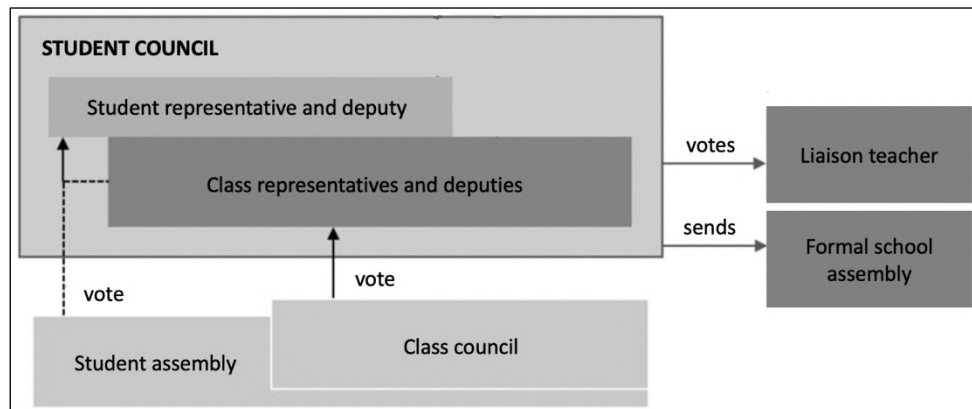


Figure 3.2: Student decision-making at schools in *Baden-Württemberg*, translated from Erath (2020)

The student council is chaired by the student representative and deputy, called *Schülersprecher/in*, who can be either voted by all class representatives and deputies, or by the student assembly, which is made up of all students at a school (SchG §67). How student representatives are elected is up to the student council. The student council also votes for a liaison teacher, called *Verbindungslehrer/in* in German, who is a teacher at their school, supporting the student council (SchG §68). The liaison teacher should, according to the education act, have an advisory function, supporting students to fulfil their tasks and support their collaboration with teachers, the principal, and parents. The student representative, liaison teacher, and principal should have regular meetings to discuss school matters and share information. The education act also states that the student council sends two students to the formal school assembly, usually the student representative and deputy student representative. The formal school assembly, called *Schulkonferenz*, meets at least twice a year (SchG §47). The number of participants in the formal school assembly depends on the size of the school but always includes the principal, parent representatives, student representatives, teachers, and the liaison teacher if student matters are discussed. The formal school assembly is responsible for connecting school leadership, teachers, parents, and students at a school. It also mediates in case of differences of opinion, to discuss school matters and make school-related decisions. School matters to be discussed, reported, or decided by the formal school assembly include agreeing on school partnerships, deciding on the school budget, changing school rules, and planning key school events.

Participation in school service

While school service is not officially intended by the education act, many secondary schools in Germany provide students with training to volunteer as peer mentors. Peer mentoring may include being student mentors (*Schülerstreitschlichter*) who help students to solve conflicts, first aid officers (*Schulsanitäter*) who provide first aid and mental support to students who are injured, orientation mentors (*Orientierungshelfer*) who help students settle into their new schools, and anti-bullying mentors (*Anti-Mobbing-Aktivisten*) and anti-violence mentors (*Anti-Gewalt-Aktivisten*) who support their peers to deal with violence and bullying at school (Raufelder & Ittel, 2012). Many schools have also started to offer additional childcare which is often covered by older students in form of homework volunteering (*Hausaufgabenhilfe*) and tutoring (*Nachhilfe*), supporting students with different subjects and their homework. In addition to the previously outlined service activities, many schools in Germany offer social work placements for students which allows students to experience a social institution in their local community for a week. Social institutions may include kindergartens, retirement homes, youth centres, hospitals, or facilities for disabled people. Social work placements can develop young people's social capital and encourage young people to take up citizenship activities (Putnam, 1995). It should be noted, however, that to develop citizen skills from participating in social work placements, the experiences should be reflected at school (particularly in citizenship education lessons), to allow students to understand underlying issues and conflicts of community service (Jerome & Starkey, 2021; Wohnig, 2016). This is, for example, illustrated in the following quote.

Working in a soup kitchen warming the soup might help young people develop in some ways, including building social capital, but being part of the discussions with service users about what causes their poverty, or with the organizers about securing adequate funds, is likely to be more politically instructive...

(Jerome & Starkey, 2021, p. 221)

3.3.3 Empirical results on young people's citizenship activities at secondary schools

In this section, I summarise results from reviewing literature on young people's citizenship activities at secondary schools. As indicated in the literature search strategy (see Literature review section 3.2.1), I focused on different spaces for citizenship at school aiming to cover a wide range of citizenship activities to inform the questionnaire and focus groups, conducted as part of this thesis. In addition, I focused on *Baden-Württemberg*, secondary schools, and young people aged 10-17.

I also included studies from beyond *Baden-Württemberg* and other age groups, however, especially where I experienced gaps in the literature. The citizenship activities included in this section, follow the definition of citizenship activities, outlined in Literature review section 2.4.

Results of reviewing literature suggest that school participation is an under-researched aspect of young people’s citizenship activities which is often omitted or under-represented in political participation research. Furthermore, if school participation is included in empirical research, it is often narrowly phrased as activities that help students learn to become citizens, rather than being current citizens, as for example illustrated by this translated statement from the International Civics and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS): “School as one of the central socialization instances, prepares adolescents for citizenship...” (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017, p.255).

Results from those studies that included schools as spaces for young people’s citizenship activities, suggest that young people participate in five related spaces, namely the form class, volunteering, school decisions, activism, and service (see Figure 3.3).

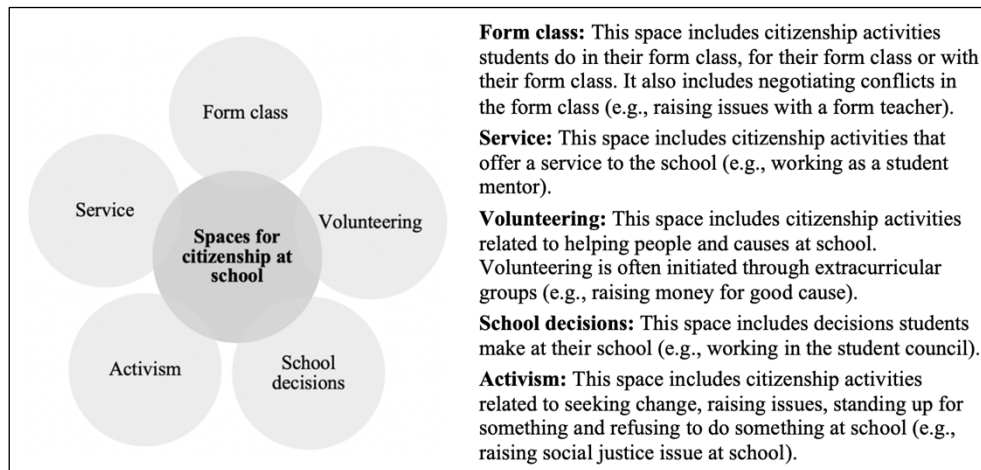


Figure 3.3: Five spaces for young people's citizenship activities at secondary schools

The model contributes in four ways. Firstly, identifying these five spaces for young people’s citizenship activities at school constitutes a key original contribution to knowledge, addressing a gap in the literature. I argue this model can be used in future research to include a wider range of young people’s citizenship activities in questionnaires and other data collection tools. Secondly, I used this model to structure the questionnaire, teacher interviews and focus groups, conducted as part of this thesis (see Methodology sections 5.8.2 and 5.8.6). Thirdly, the model is a

starting point to achieve conceptual clarity of school citizenship spaces, which are discussed through many different names in the literature, making locating and comparing literature difficult. To attempt conceptual clarity, I further defined the five spaces through analysing empirical data and using mind maps (see Findings sections 6.4 and 6.5). Finally, the model allows comparison of young people's engagement in different spaces. This can provide insights into young people's preferences of spaces for school participation and highlight those spaces that might not be accessible to young people. The model also allows a comparison of the spaces that are well represented in the literature and the spaces that are under-researched. Results from reviewing literature suggests that participation in form classes and school decisions was well-researched while there were fewer studies on extracurriculars, volunteering and activism.

Some limitations of the model should be acknowledged. Firstly, the five spaces of citizenship at school can overlap, as illustrated using grey shapes in Figure 3.3. Citizenship activities in form classes can, for example, include raising issues, which is also part of the activism space. Secondly, the model may not represent all citizenship activities, young people are engaged in at school. Finally, this model was developed based on reviewing literature, focussing on schooling in a German context and, thus, might have to be adapted for different regional contexts. This is particularly true for the form class space as schools in other countries, such as the UK for example, may not have the same form class system as Germany. As follows, I summarise results from reviewing literature on young people's participation in the five identified school citizenship spaces.

3.3.3.1 Form class

Results from reviewing literature suggest that young people participate in a range of citizenship activities in the form class. Two official form class citizenship activities, discussed in the literature, include class representatives and the form class council. The ICCS, for example, suggests that more than half of their participants (57%), aged 14, have voted for a class representative within the previous year (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017). The Youth Study *Baden-Württemberg* (Youth Study BW), in addition, suggests over a third of participants (34.1%), aged 12-18 have worked as a class representative before (Antes et al., 2020). Concerningly, the study also suggests that a total of 9.5% of participants did not know that class representatives existed which raises the question to what extent the education act is implemented in every school across *Baden-Württemberg*. According to the literature, the class council is a

neglected student decision-making body (Brilling, 2012). Class councils were, for example, excluded from the Youth Study BW, the ICCS and the Shell Youth Study which instead asked their participants about class representatives, student representatives and the student council. Brilling (2012) suggests that the class council is neglected at school due to a lack of resources including students' and teachers' skills in facilitating class council debates and decisions. Furthermore, form times, which are typically used to implement class councils, are often already used for making announcements and dealing with pastoral care, leaving no time to facilitate class council meetings. While class councils as a formal decision-making body may be underrepresented at schools, research suggest that students are also involved in a range of unofficial form class citizenship activities.

Unofficial form class decisions, reported in the literature included deciding on class rules, the seating plan, decoration of the classroom and class trip destinations (Antes et al., 2020; Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011; UNICEF, 2019). In addition, students contributed to lesson-decisions, including lesson topics, lesson structure, homework, test dates and grades (Antes et al., 2020; Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011; UNICEF, 2019). The literature suggests, however, that not all students were involved in form class decisions in the same way and that overall students reported more participation in form class than lesson decisions. In addition, results suggest that older students claimed to have less influence on form class decisions than younger students (Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011; UNICEF, 2019). It should also be noted that research on form class decisions was markedly absent from political participation studies such as the ICCS, indicating a gap in political participation research (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017). Instead, findings on students' form class participation were drawn from general youth studies such as the Youth Study BW (Antes et al., 2020).

3.3.3.2 School decisions

Students' participation in school decision-making was reported by a few large-scale quantitative studies from Germany. The Youth Study BW, for example, suggests that their participants had little faith in their ability to influence school decisions with only seven percent of participants stating they could influence school decisions and a further 32.7% suggesting they could partly influence school decisions (Antes et al., 2020). Similar results are reported by other studies from Germany (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017; Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011). Findings regarding students' range of citizenship activities in relation to school decision-making, however, were

rare. The Youth Study BW, for example, reports that just over a quarter of participants (26.6%) had participated in the student council before. These results indicate that student decision-making might be done by a minority of students. Results also suggest that students' participation in school decision-making such as the student council, might be perceived differently by different stakeholders. Müller-Kuhn and colleagues (2020), for example, report that teachers perceived students' school decision-making in a more positive light, suggesting higher student engagement than reported by students. This result indicates that nuances of young people's participation at school might be gained from engaging in conversations with different stakeholders such as students and teachers, which was implemented in this research.

Insights into students' experiences of student councils are provided by qualitative research from the UK and Hong Kong. Weller (2009) suggests that participating students overall perceived the student council as good practice but not all students were engaged in it. Some students felt the student council was not taken seriously by other students, some students did not experience the need to participate in the student council and some students did not feel listened to by teachers. The latter issue was also reported by Leung and colleagues (2016) from their mixed methods research in Hong Kong. The authors suggest that student councils were perceived as positive due to the fair voting process, however, student councils were often given limited decision-making powers at school. There is also literature on student assemblies, which do not appear to be a common feature in the German context, however. The Youth Study BW, for example, reports that only 11.8% of participants had participated in a student assembly before. A student assembly is a meeting of all students at a school, called *Schülervollversammlung* in German. Student assemblies are more common in other countries such as New Zealand, for example, where most secondary schools have monthly student assemblies.

3.3.3.3 School service

Empirical research on secondary school students' uptake of school service activities is rare. One study, considering service and school volunteering in a wider sense, is the Youth Study BW, which suggests that secondary schools in *Baden-Württemberg* offer a wide range of extracurricular activities including student mentoring, music clubs, sport clubs, theatre clubs, peer tutoring, technology clubs, art clubs and church clubs (Antes et al., 2020). Research also reports, however, that service activities are only taken up by few students (Antes et al., 2020; Busse et al., 2015). As follows, I

summarise research on two school service activities documented in the literature, namely mentoring and the student newspaper. Firstly, uptake of peer mentoring has been researched in the Youth Study BW, suggesting that 15.3% of participants have been involved in training to become a peer-mentor. Furthermore, only a total of 19.5% of participants reported not being aware of peer-mentoring at their school, which suggests that peer-mentoring is an established process in many schools in *Baden-Württemberg* (Antes et al., 2020). Secondly, the student newspaper as a school citizenship activity has only been included in one of the reviewed studies, namely the ICCS, suggesting that 34% of participating 14-year-olds intended to write an article for the student newspaper in the future (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017). In addition, empirical research from the UK reports differences in school service participation according to age. Keating and colleagues (2010), for example, suggest that participation in school service decreases with age, with Year 7 students in their longitudinal research showing higher engagement than Year 9, 11 and 13 students. The authors refer to school service as extracurricular activities, which might also include activities that do not meet the definition of citizenship, used in this research, such as being in the school swimming club.

3.3.3.4 School volunteering

Voluntary participation at school is, for example, reported by the German Volunteering survey, suggesting that the school is the second most taken up space for volunteering by young people aged 14-17 years (Simonson et al., 2022). Due to the quantitative nature of the volunteering survey, however, information is missing on the types of voluntary activities participants were engaged in at school. More information on the types of voluntary participation is provided by Sliwka (2004), suggesting that students are engaged in a wide range of school-based voluntary activities, particularly in collaboration with their communities including, for example, a school project to address the pollution of the town lake or beautifying facilities of the local municipality as a school art project. In addition, the Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) suggest that young people are engaged in raising money at school and helping in the school community (Keating et al., 2010). Except for the three previously outlined studies, volunteering at school is often excluded from empirical studies (see for example Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017; Albert et al., 2019; Antes et al., 2020). Some literature even suggests that schools and volunteering might not be compatible due to the fact that students are forced to be at school and that many topics the school focuses on, cannot be voluntarily selected which should be at the heart of volunteering (Rauschenbach, 2013).

3.3.3.5 Activism

Like school volunteering, activism at school is under-represented in empirical research (see for example Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017; Albert et al., 2019; Antes et al., 2020). Young people's activism has been, however, reported in a few qualitative and mixed methods studies from Germany and the UK that suggest that young people engage in activism at school through challenging power structures, raising issues and through participating in the Fridays for Future movement. Research from the UK, for example, suggests that students participate in activism through challenging power structures, often related to accessing school spaces (Weller, 2009). Students' attempts to challenge power-structures and claim agency at school, are often perceived as misbehaviour which needs to be corrected, rather than recognising that "...such acts of omission, withdrawal, or disobedience have their parallels in adults' citizenship actions" (Jerome & Starkey, 2022, p. 2).

A further study from the UK, reporting qualitative research with teachers and students from a secondary school in a fracking region, suggests that activist issues may be intentionally absent from schools, and that controversial conversations may be purposefully avoided by teachers (Dunlop et al., 2020). The authors suggest that this may be related to strict teacher regulations that force teachers to not share their personal beliefs with students and to not encourage students to break the law. The authors argue that these regulations might restrict students' climate activism. The role of teachers in student voice is also raised by Black and Mayes (2020) in relation to pre-existing power structures at school which are challenged when student activism takes place. Pre-existing power structures at schools are deeply rooted in the minds of teachers, students, school leadership and other stakeholders (Black & Mayes, 2020; Jerome, 2018). This can make the process of acknowledging power-relationships and attempting to change them an emotional process, particularly for teachers who will have to shift some of their power to students (Black & Mayes, 2020).

Fridays for Future is another example of student activism, discussed in the literature, which is at the intersection between school and community activism. There are multiple stakeholders including teachers, school leadership, caregivers, political decision-making bodies such as ministries of education and the media, with competing perspectives on and goals for young people's involvement in protests (Alexander et al., 2022; Costa & Wittmann, 2021; Jerome & Starkey, 2021; Teune, 2021). Young people's participation in protests has, for example, led to conflicts

between young people and their schools due to their challenge of students' school attendance regulations (Costa & Wittmann, 2021; Teune, 2020). Negotiating these conflicts can be seen as an additional type of school activism. While some schools reacted with punitive measures, other schools saw Fridays for Future protests as an opportunity for developing students' agency and political learning (Jerome & Starkey, 2021; Teune, 2021).

In this section, I introduced secondary schools in Germany with a particular focus on spaces for citizenship and young people's uptake of citizenship activities within these spaces. Results indicate that there is a lack of in-depth qualitative research on the range of young people's citizenship activities at school. I address this gap in this research by proposing five spaces for citizenship at school, and collecting in-depth qualitative data on young people's citizenship activities within these spaces (see Findings section 6.4). In the following section, I summarise results from reviewing literature on citizenship spaces in rural communities.

3.4 (Rural) communities as spaces for citizenship

In this thesis, I argue that rural municipalities are unique spaces for young people's citizenship activities which deserve more attention in the literature (Simonson et al., 2022). A unique feature of rural municipalities, for examples, is community service such as the voluntary fire brigade and volunteering within community clubs, which are important pillars of many rural municipalities (Gensicke, 2014; Kleiner & Klärner, 2019). In this section, I introduce rural municipalities in *Baden-Württemberg* as spaces for young people's citizenship activities. Much of the information provided in this section, is also applicable to rural municipalities in other German federal states and other countries. Rural is in brackets in the section title because I also summarise citizenship spaces beyond a rural context in this section, such as online or party politics. As follows, I first introduce rural municipalities in *Baden-Württemberg* (3.4.1). Second, I describe the spaces for citizenship in rural municipalities according to the *Baden-Württemberg* municipal law (GemO) (3.4.2). Third, I summarise findings from reviewing literature on young people's participation in citizenship activities in (rural) communities (3.4.3).

3.4.1 Introduction to rural municipalities in *Baden-Württemberg*

Germany is divided into 16 federal states which are unique in terms of their municipal organisation and involvement of young people in decisions. In Germany

there are three decision making levels, namely the federal (*Bund*), state (*Länder*), and local level (*Kommunen*). The federal level is responsible for making decisions that affect Germany as a whole. The state level refers to the 16 federal states that Germany is divided into. On the state level, political matters affecting individual states are addressed. On the local level, political matters affecting local communities, are addressed. *Baden-Württemberg* has 35 districts (*Landkreise*) which are divided into 1,102 municipalities (*Gemeinden*) and 9 urban districts (*Stadtkreise*). The research reported in this thesis focuses on the local level and more specifically on rural municipalities.

Municipalities in *Baden-Württemberg* are regulated by municipal law, called *Gemeindeordnung* (GemO), which is referred to throughout this section. Local communities have a wide range of responsibilities including, for example, dealing with school, housing, and recreation matters. These responsibilities are addressed by two interacting decision-making bodies, namely the municipal council, called *Gemeinderat* and the mayor, called *Bürgermeister/in*, which are elected by all citizens from a municipality who are aged 16 and over, as illustrated in Figure 3.4.

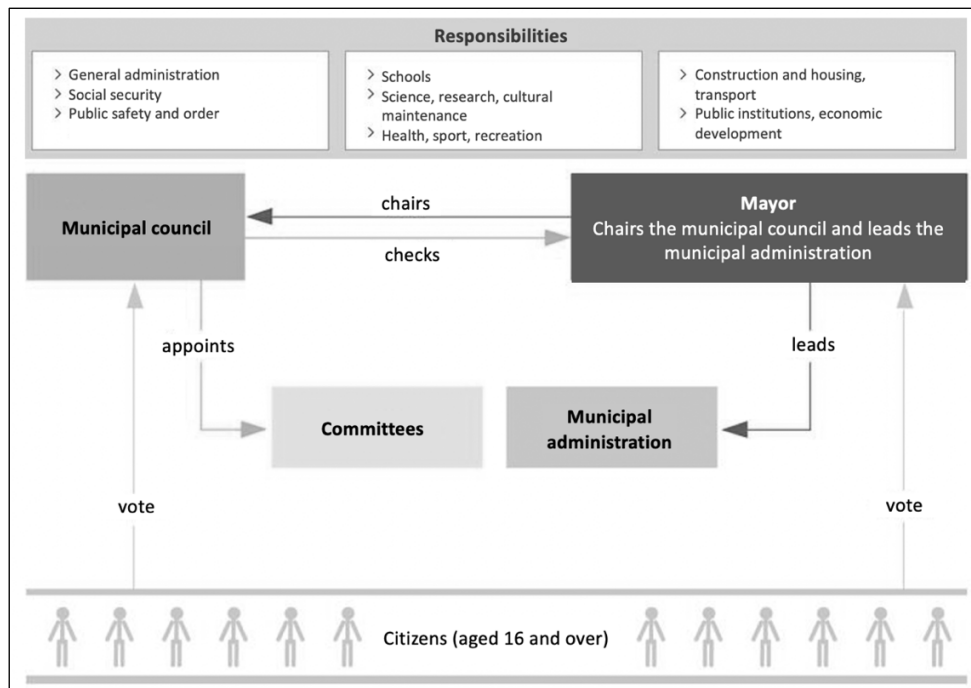


Figure 3.4: Municipal decision-making, translated from Pöttsch (1995)

In addition to the decision-making processes, displayed in Figure 3.4, citizens can attend meetings of the local council, raise issues with elected municipal council members and the mayor, and raise issues through a range of formal requests (see

GemO §15-21). Special regulations for the participation of young people aged 13-16 in the local community are introduced in Literature review section 3.4.2.

As follows, I explain how I use the term ‘rural’ in this thesis. While I acknowledge that ‘rural’ is a contested concept in the literature because of the heterogeneity of rural regions, I decided to provide a definition of the term to achieve conceptual clarity for this thesis (Mose, 2018). With rural I refer to rural agglomerations and rural areas in a narrow sense, as defined by the *Baden-Württemberg* Ministry of Economy (Wirtschaftsministerium Baden-Württemberg, 2002) (see Figure 3.5). Following this definition, Antes and colleagues (2022) suggest that more than half of all municipalities in *Baden-Württemberg* are rural and out of the 11 million people living in *Baden-Württemberg*, around a third (34%) live in rural regions. For this research, I am particularly interested in rural agglomerations.

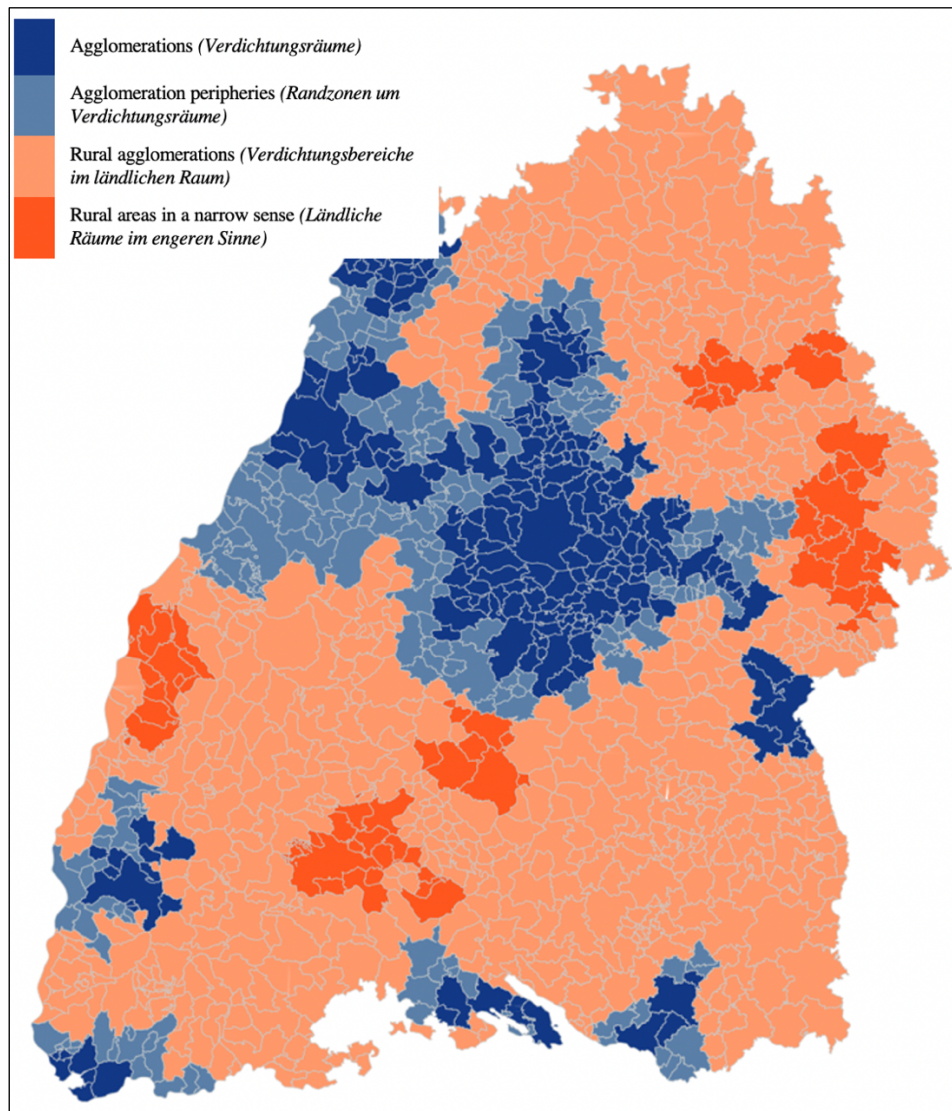


Figure 3.5: Rural and urban areas in *Baden-Württemberg*, translated from Antes and Colleagues (2022, p.22)

My definition of rural areas is also influenced by a report, called *Teilhabeatlas*, published by the Berlin Institute for Population and Development (Sixtus et al., 2019) which uses social indicators to further define rural areas in Germany. The authors suggest that there are three types of urban areas in Germany, termed rich cities and their affluent suburbs, attractive cities, cities with problems and three types of rural areas, termed successful rural regions, rural regions with isolated problems and disconnected regions (see Appendix D for a map showing the three types of rural areas). This definition is useful for this research to allow a more detailed definition of the case study region, which fits into the category successful rural regions, as further discussed in Methodology section 5.4.2. It should be acknowledged, that the people who live in urban and rural regions might not agree with these prescribed definitions of rural and urban, as suggests by Antes and colleagues (2022) who suggest that 50% of their participants from urban areas indicated that they lived in rural areas.

3.4.2 Spaces for citizenship activities in rural communities according to Baden-Württemberg municipal law (GemO)

In this section, I summarise those spaces for citizenship in rural municipalities that are envisioned by *Baden-Württemberg* municipal law (GemO). Much of these citizenship spaces are also relevant beyond *Baden-Württemberg* and beyond Germany.

Participation in municipal elections

Young people aged 16 and over can take part in several elections in their municipalities in *Baden-Württemberg*. Local municipal elections take place every 5 years. Elections include village council elections (*Ortschaftsratswahlen*), district assembly elections (*Kreistagswahlen*), municipal council elections (*Gemeinderatswahlen*) and mayoral elections (*Buergermeisterwahlen*) depending on the size of a community. In addition to municipal elections, young people in Germany might also be allowed to vote in federal and general elections in the future, in line with recent movements from around Europe demanding a lowering of the voting age to 16 (see for example Faas & Köneke, 2021; Huebner et al., 2021; Wagner et al., 2012).

Participation in the municipal council

While young people below the age of 18, are not able to participate as elected candidates in the municipal council, they are allowed to attend public council

meetings. According to GemO §33(4), the municipal council allows residents of the municipality to ask questions, make comments or make suggestions during public council meetings. The council may also invite members of the municipality who are affected by a particular matter and ask them to speak to that matter.

Participation in municipal youth councils

Before 2015, whether young people could participate in municipal decision-making was up to individual municipalities. Since the introduction of GemO §41 on the 1st of December 2015, young people can ask for their own youth representation in form of a municipal youth council (*Jugendgemeinderat*) and receive support from the municipality to establish it. To officially ask for a municipal youth council, young people must write a letter, signed by a certain number of young people living in a municipality, depending on the size of the municipality. In municipalities with 20.000 inhabitants, for example, municipal law states that 20 young people must sign the request (see GemO§41a). After the formal request was made, the municipal council is given three months to decide on the matter, during which time, youth representatives must be heard. Once the municipal youth council is established, the municipal council must regulate how young people are part of municipal council meetings. Young people have a right to speak, to be heard and to file motions. The municipal youth council also receives funding which is decided by the municipal council and any spending must be documented by the youth council.

Residents' assembly and resident requests

Municipal law states that residents in a municipality must be informed regularly about important community matters that were decided in the municipal council. For this purpose, the municipal council should convene a residents' meeting, called *Einwohnerversammlung*, at least once a year which is chaired by the mayor (GemO §20a). While municipal law does not explicitly invite young people to join this meeting, they are not excluded, as the law states that all residents are invited to join. Municipal law also suggests that a residents' assembly can be initiated by residents through a letter which is signed by a certain share of inhabitants in a municipality, as set out in GemO §20a(2). All resident, including young people, can speak at residents' assemblies.

According to municipal law, residents can also apply to the council to deal with a specific matter, called a *Einwohnerantrag*, which can be translated to resident request in English (GemO §20b). A resident request can only focus on the

responsibilities of the municipality (as outlined in the box at the top of Figure 3.4) and must be requested in writing with a certain number of signatures from residents, depending on the size of the municipality. Again, age is not mentioned in this law, suggesting that the request can be done by any resident, including young people.

Petitions and referenda

According to municipal law, the council can put a matter up for a vote to all residents of a municipality in form of a referendum, called *Bürgerentscheid* (GemO §21). Some decisions are excluded from this such as decisions on how the council is appointed or the organisation of the municipal administration, as set out in GemO §21(2). The same election principles as for council elections, are applied for referenda, including that each resident aged 16 or over gets a vote which includes some young people. A matter can also be put to the vote by residents by starting a petition, called *Bürgerbegehren*, as set out in GemO §21(3). A petition must include an outline of the issue and means by which it can be addressed including how it would be paid for. The petition must be signed by at least seven percent of residents but no more than 20.000 residents in total. After approval by the municipal council, the petition is decided on by the residents of a municipality, according to general election principles.

Community clubs

Community clubs, called *Vereine* in German, are important spaces for young people's citizenship activities, particularly in rural regions (Antes et al., 2022; Kleiner & Klärner, 2019). Community clubs are particularly important for rural areas because they often provide services to the municipality that could not be provided otherwise due to scarcity of cultural institutions such as theatres or lacking financial resources (Kleiner & Klärner, 2019). According to the representative 2018 Municipal Children and Youth Participation Study, almost all participating municipalities in *Baden-Württemberg* had community clubs with specific youth focused offers. Youth specific offers were particularly common in sports clubs, music clubs and the voluntary fire brigade (LpB BW, 2019). In addition, churches and youth centres also offered youth specific activities in most municipalities, while NGOs and political party youth wings were only available in few municipalities.

Youth leader training

While young people's involvement as youth leaders in municipalities in *Baden-Württemberg* is not part of municipal law, it is encouraged throughout the state and

throughout Germany through a system called *Juleica* (Landesjugendring Niedersachsen, n.d.). *Juleica* is a Germany-wide organisation that allows any young person aged 16 years and over who volunteers as a youth leader, has completed a minimum of 30 hours of pedagogical training and has a current first-aid certificate, to apply for a youth leader card. The youth leader card provides reduced or free entry to a range of youth specific facilities such as swimming pools or cinemas to thank young people for their voluntary participation in their municipalities and cities. It also functions as official evidence for voluntary engagement and is often a requirement to volunteer as a youth leader on a youth camp or work as a coach at a sports club. The youth leader training is usually offered by sports clubs, music clubs and the church.

3.4.3 Empirical results on young people's citizenship activities in (rural) communities

In this section, I summarise results from reviewing literature on young people's citizenship activities in (rural) communities. As indicated in the literature search strategy in section 3.2, I focused on different spaces for citizenship in young people's communities aiming to cover a wide range of citizenship activities to inform the questionnaire and focus groups, conducted as part of this research. In addition, I focused on *Baden-Württemberg*, rural municipalities, and young people aged 10-17. I also included studies from beyond *Baden-Württemberg*, non-rural areas and other age groups, especially where I experienced gaps in the literature. The citizenship activities included in this section follow the definition outlined in section 2.4.

Results of reviewing literature suggest that in comparison to school participation, young people's community citizenship activities are covered well in the literature. Young people's citizenship activities, identified in the literature can be divided into six related spaces, namely municipal, private, party politics, activism, online, and politics and art (see Figure 3.6).

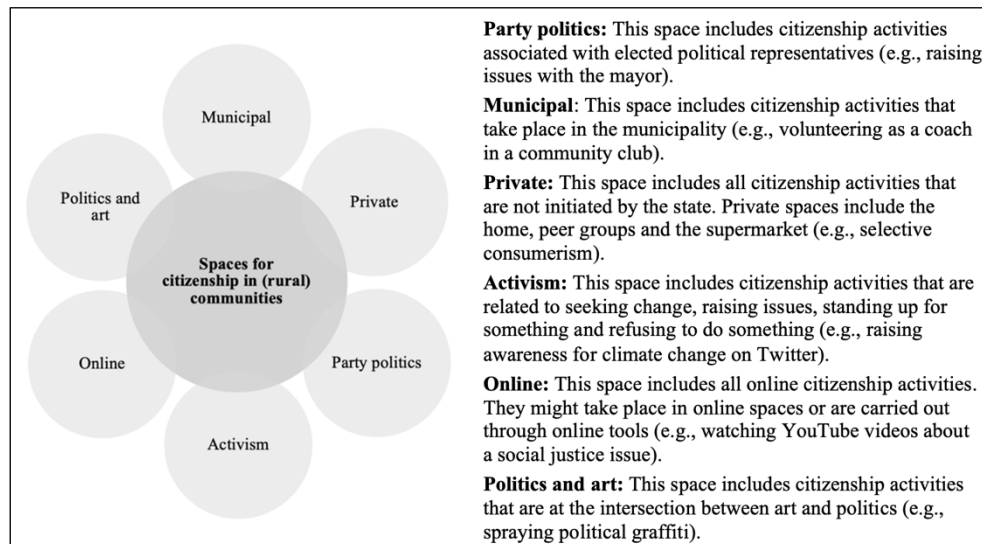


Figure 3.6: Six spaces for young people's citizenship activities in (rural) communities

I developed the model displayed in Figure 3.6, in the same way as the model for school participation spaces (see Literature review section 3.3.3). A comparison of literature on young people's participation in the six citizenship spaces, suggests that most studies explored the municipal and party politics space and that private, online and activism were researched to a lesser extent. This result raises concern since results also suggest that many young people were disengaged from party politics, thus, contributing to the youth disengagement narrative.

As suggested in Literature review section 3.3.3, the model, displayed in Figure 3.6, has some limitations including an overlap between spaces such as the party politics and municipal space, illustrated using grey circles. Some of these overlaps were addressed by the definitions in Figure 3.6. As follows, I summarise results from reviewing literature on young people's citizenship activities in six (rural) community spaces.

3.4.3.1 Private

While I identified some citizenship activities in the private space, this space is under-represented in the literature (see for example Albert et al., 2019; Antes et al., 2020; Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011; Müthing et al., 2018; UNICEF, 2019). When included in studies, it was predominantly measured through selective consumerism. Selective consumerism was included in studies through asking participants whether they bought or refused to buy a product due to political or ethical reasons. Selective consumerism, for example, was taken up by 10% of participants in Achour and Wagner's (2019) study and by 20.8% of participants in the 2019 volunteering survey

(Simonson et al., 2022). The difference in uptake might be due to participants' age differences. While the 10% refer to participants attending Year 9 to 10 at a *Realschule*, the 20.8% in the volunteering survey refer to young people aged 14-29. A further citizenship activity in the private space included asking participants whether they had discussed political topics with others before which was done by 60.7% of participating 14-year-olds (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017). Based on my experience as a secondary school teacher, I argue that the citizenship activities, identified in the reviewed literature do not fully represent young people's participation in the private space, omitting activities such as recycling or helping community members. A reason for this might be a narrow definition of the term citizenship activities which does not cover all activities young people are engaged in.

3.4.3.2 Activism

Citizenship activities that can be described as activism were evident in the reviewed literature, but overall activism was under-represented in the reviewed studies (Antes et al., 2020; Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011; LpB BW 2019; Müthing et al., 2018; UNICEF, 2019). The reviewed studies that included activism focused on collecting signatures, signing petitions, attending protests, non-voting, political graffiti, wearing a political badge, participating in citizen initiatives, occupying buildings, and blocking traffic (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017; Gaiser, Hanke, et al., 2016; Simonson et al., 2022). Overall, participants' engagement in activism was low with attending protests being the most frequently taken up activist citizenship activity across the reviewed studies. Low participation in activism is, for example, discussed by Hurrelmann and colleagues (2013) who suggest that overall, their participants were satisfied with their lives, particularly in relation to young people's careers and, thus, did not have a reason to affect change through activism. I argue that in addition to this explanation, some of the activist citizenship activities included in the reviewed studies, might not be relevant and in some cases not available to young people, particularly from rural areas. This includes, for example, the activities 'blocking traffic' and 'occupying buildings' which were included in the ICCS (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017). I argue that the 14-year-old participants of this study might be prevented from such citizenship activities by their parents since they might interfere with young people's safety and school attendance. Research from the UK on anti-fracking protests with young people aged 15-19, in addition, suggests that protests might be perceived less suitable than other citizenship activities by young people, which were for example described as ineffective, disruptive, divisive or extreme by

participants (Dunlop et al., 2021). As with the previous section, I suggest that some aspects of young people's activism might have been overlooked by the reviewed studies, which is a contribution this thesis can make to the literature.

3.4.3.3 Online

Results from reviewing literature indicates an overall low number of studies that included online spaces in their research on citizenship (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017; Achour & Wagner, 2019; Gaiser, Hanke, et al., 2016). Online activities, explored by the reviewed studies, include participating in online political discussions, joining online political groups, signing online petitions, accessing political information through different online channels, participating in online protests, and sharing political images. Interestingly, even though research suggests that most young people spend a lot of time on social media (see for example Antes et al., 2020), the reviewed studies reported low engagement in online citizenship activities. This might be related to a narrow definition of citizenship which overlooks social media as a citizenship space.

3.4.3.4 Municipal

The municipal space was, along with party politics, the most researched space for young people's citizenship in the reviewed literature. Municipal citizenship activities predominantly took place within community clubs, particularly in the areas of sport and music (Albert et al., 2019; Antes et al., 2022, 2020; Simonson et al., 2022). Some community club-related activities, young people were engaged in, include volunteering as coaches, organising sports events or having a seat in community club councils, according to the German volunteering survey (Simonson et al., 2022). Due to the large age range in the volunteering survey, it is however, not evident which of these activities were taken up by young people aged 13-17. Literature also suggests that young people in rural areas were slightly more engaged in citizenship activities in clubs than young people from urban areas, even though slightly more young people in urban areas were club members (Antes et al., 2022; Kleiner & Klärner, 2019). Further areas for reported municipal engagement include churches and service clubs such as the voluntary fire brigade, first aid organisations and charities (Albert et al., 2019; Antes et al., 2022; Simonson et al., 2022). Apart from club and service organisations, research indicates that young people were engaged in helping people in need in their municipalities and working at public institutions such as public libraries for a small compensation (Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011; Simonson et al., 2022). While there were many examples of voluntary engagement in municipalities and a high overall engagement of young people (also in comparison

to other age groups, see Simonson et al., 2022), only few participants suggested they were involved in community decisions (Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011). Results also indicate that participants' background factors affected their municipal participation with female participants, participants with higher socio-economic backgrounds, and participants without migration experience showing more engagement in municipalities (Antes et al., 2022; Simonson et al., 2022). While municipal participation was well documented in general youth studies, this space is notably absent from political participation studies such as the ICCS which might be due to its narrow definition of citizenship activities (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017).

3.4.3.5 Party politics

Party politics, which includes all citizenship activities related to elected representatives, was one of the most widely included spaces in the reviewed studies and at the same time included those citizenship activities that were taken up least by participants. This is concerning, particularly because some studies exclusively rely on party politics as a space for young people's citizenship activities which, thus, may re-enforce the narrative of young people's political disengagement. The citizenship activities identified in the party politics space included voting in national, European and local elections, raising issues with the mayor, participating in youth councils, joining political parties, being a candidate in an election, supporting election campaigns, contacting MPs, and attending political meetings (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017; Achour & Wagner, 2019; Albert et al., 2019; Antes et al., 2020; Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011; Gaiser, Hanke, et al., 2016; Müthing et al., 2018; Simonson et al., 2022; UNICEF, 2019). Young people's participation in the party politics space was notably explored in relation to future participation as "citizens in waiting" (see for example Osler & Starkey, 2003; Verhellen, 2003), instead of current citizenship, with many of the previously named items restricting uptake by young people below the age of 18 including voting and being a candidate in elections. Furthermore, some of the items that are supposed to measure engagement in the party politics space seem curious in a German context such as 'supporting an election campaign' which is not something commonly done by citizens in Germany, as opposed to the US for example. While results suggest low current engagement of young people in the party politics space, many young people indicated that they believed in party political processes and wanted to be involved in this space in the future (see for example Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017; European Commission, 2015; Henn et al., 2002; Dunlop et al., 2021; Malafaia, 2021). A barrier mentioned

by young people for their low party politics engagement, included politicians showing a lack of respect for young people's opinions (Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011).

In terms of municipal youth councils, results suggest that a total of 47% of municipalities in *Baden-Württemberg* do not have any form of formalised youth participation (LpB BW, 2019, p.4). Furthermore, out of those municipalities who involve young people in decision-making, only 20.5% have a formal youth council. Established youth councils are even rarer in smaller municipalities which often coincide with rural regions. Similar results are evident in terms of active youth party wings, which were only reported by 162 of the 1068 participating municipalities (LpB BW, 2019).

3.4.3.6 Politics and art

There were a few instances of citizenship activities related to art in the reviewed literature. Art particularly played an important role in the PARTISPACE project which is a project that supports young people to develop participation projects in their cities. Young people, for example, developed a play to raise awareness for a social justice issue and reclaimed urban spaces through a graffiti project (McMahon et al., 2018). Art is also discussed in relation to activism, for example, by Bowman and Pickard (2021) in relation to protest placards, created by young climate protesters. In addition, the Youth Study BW reports some art-related citizenship activities, with overall low engagement, however, including, for example, helping in community art and culture organisations (Antes et al. 2020). Moreover, art was also included in the ICCS study through political graffiti (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017). It should be noted that while I identified a range of art-related citizenship activities in the literature, they were often also part of other citizenship spaces. Political graffiti, for example, is part of activism and politics and art. Thus, during data analysis, I decided to remove arts and politics as a separate space.

In this section, I introduced rural municipalities in Germany with a particular focus on spaces for citizenship and young people's uptake of citizenship activities within these spaces. Results indicate six spaces for citizenship in (rural) communities, which informed the questionnaire, focus group and teacher interview guides for this research (see Methodology section 5.8) and helped to collect in-depth qualitative data on young people's citizenship activities within these spaces (see Findings section 6.5).

3.5 Summary

Results of this chapter indicate that most data on young people's citizenship activities comes from quantitative youth studies and there is a gap of in-depth qualitative analyses of young people's citizenship experiences, particularly in the German context. Furthermore, results suggest that there is a gap in research that systematically identifies the range of citizenship spaces that young people are engaged in at school and in their (rural) communities which can be helpful to guide data collection. To address this gap, I propose five citizenship spaces at school and six citizenship spaces in (rural) communities which are based on reviewing literature from Germany and beyond. This is one of the original contributions to knowledge, made with this thesis. The five spaces for citizenship at school, include form class, school decisions, service, volunteering and activism. The six citizenship spaces in (rural) communities include private, activism, online, municipal, party politics, and politics and art. I used these spaces to develop focus groups, teacher interviews and the questionnaire. In the next chapter I share results from the literature regarding the value of citizenship education on young people's uptake of citizenship activities.

4 The value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship activities

4.1 Introduction

In Chapters Two and Three I introduced young people's citizenship activities in emerging citizenship dimensions, in secondary schools, and in (rural) communities. For the sake of structuring this thesis, literature on citizenship education is summarised separately in this chapter, rather than included in the previous chapters. It should be acknowledged, that citizenship activities and citizenship education overlap. This is because engagement in citizenship activities can lead to acquiring citizenship skills, making it difficult to draw a line between these two concepts. In this chapter I define citizenship education which is a contested concept in the literature. I also introduce the newly developed citizenship education subject (*Gemeinschaftskunde*) which was re-introduced as a stand-alone subject in *Baden-Württemberg* secondary schools in 2016. *Gemeinschaftskunde* is the context for exploring the value of citizenship education on young people's uptake of emerging citizenship dimensions, chosen for this thesis. In this chapter I also summarise existing literature on the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship dimensions and point out gaps in the literature and how this research can address these gaps. Furthermore, I introduce frameworks for exploring citizenship education. In addition to a chapter summary, this chapter also brings all three literature review chapters together, highlighting the gaps identified throughout the literature review. The structure of the chapter is displayed as follows.

4.2 Literature search

4.3 Defining citizenship education

4.4 Citizenship education at secondary schools in *Baden-Württemberg*

4.5 Citizenship education and young people's citizenship activities

4.6 Summary

4.7 Literature review summary

4.2 Literature search

I searched for English-speaking literature on YorSearch, ERIC, Scopus, Web of Science, PsychInfo and Google Scholar. The search focussed on identifying literature that explored the link between citizenship education and citizenship

activities. I combined the keywords ‘citizenship education’, ‘citizenship activities’ and their synonyms with the Boolean operators AND and OR (see search 1 in Appendix E). In addition, I searched for equivalent German translations of the English keywords on German and publicly accessible databases such as *DBIS*, *HEIDI*, *WLB*, Google and Google Scholar (see search 2 in Appendix E). The literature search was limited to the same criteria, outlined in Literature review section 2.2.

4.3 Defining citizenship education

In this thesis the term citizenship education was selected, rather than similar terms such as social studies, civic education, political education, or character education because it best describes the approach of the newly introduced school subject *Gemeinschaftskunde* in *Baden-Württemberg*, which is the context of this thesis (see Literature review section 4.4 for an introduction to *Gemeinschaftskunde*). While this research focuses on citizenship education in a school context, citizenship education can occur in a range of settings and modes, and be provided by different agents and approaches, as outlined in Table 4.1 based on reviewing literature (Bandura, 1977; Breslin & Dufour, 2006; Jerome & Kisby, 2019; Jerome & Starkey, 2021; Moeller et al., 2014; Quintelier, 2015; Rattinger, 2009; Schmid, 2012).

Citizenship education agents	Citizenship education settings	Citizenship education modes	Citizenship education approaches
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • family • peers • school • media • community members and institutions • politicians and political institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • family • school • community • online 	<p style="text-align: center;">intentional ↔ unintentional</p> <p style="text-align: center;">formal ↔ informal</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political socialisation • citizenship education (e.g., <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> in Germany) • character education (e.g., PSHE in the UK) • human rights education • children’s rights education

Table 4.1: Citizenship education agents, settings, modes and approaches

As displayed in Table 4.1, there are different agents of citizenship education who influence young people’s uptake of citizenship activities. Socialisation literature, for example, suggests that family, peers, school, and the media are most influential on young people’s citizenship (Bandura, 1977; Moeller et al., 2014; Quintelier, 2015; Rattinger, 2009). In addition, citizenship education can occur in various settings including school, community, family and online. These settings often overlap, such as in the case of service learning which is an interaction between community and school. Furthermore, citizenship education happens in different modes which are displayed in the table as continua because each setting and each citizenship education

agent can take on different modes depending on the scenario. While a citizenship lesson about political parties at school, for example, might follow an intentional citizenship education goal, the power relationships between teachers and students might be an unintentional outcome, teaching students about citizenship. Furthermore, citizenship education can be delivered through different educational approaches including political socialisation, citizenship education, character education, human rights education and children's rights education. While the three types have some characteristic features, outlined as follows, there is overlap between the concepts. Political socialisation is the acquisition of social patterns from different stakeholders of society (Hyman, 1959). As such it is a combination of intentional and unintentional learning experiences in formal and informal settings, administered by socialisation agents with different goals for society. Character and citizenship education, on the other hand, are often employed by a government to deal with a (perceived) crisis in society such as political extremism. While citizenship education teaches learners the skills and knowledge needed to act in a better way in democracy, character education aims at instilling a set of character traits in learners (Davies et al., 2005). The newly developed *Gemeinschaftskunde* subject in *Baden-Württemberg*, for example, is characterised by a citizenship education approach while personal, social, health and economics (PSHE) education in the UK, is influenced by character education. Further differences between character education and citizenship education are, for example, differing opinions about 'correct' answers, different content and curriculum structure and different intentions for citizens in relation to the state (Davies et al., 2005). Currently, character education is experiencing a rise in popularity, particularly in the UK and the US which is critically debated in the literature (see for example Jerome & Kisby, 2019). Two further approaches, human rights education (see for example Lenhart, 2006) and children's rights education (see for example Jerome & Starkey, 2021), focus on rights in their approach to citizenship education, as illustrated in the following quote summarising a children's rights education approach: "CRE encourages teachers to reflect on the nature of children's agency, as citizens, as rights holders, and as rights defenders" (Jerome & Starkey, 2022, p.1). As follows, I introduce the citizenship education subject *Gemeinschaftskunde*.

4.4 Citizenship education at secondary schools in *Baden-Württemberg*

Secondary schools in *Baden-Württemberg* have undergone a comprehensive curriculum initiative in 2016 with full implementation of all changes by August

2021. The curriculum initiative came from the *Baden-Württemberg* Ministry of Education, which was at the time headed by Dr Susanne Eisenmann, who is a member of the Cristian Democratic Union (CDU). The reasons for implementing a new secondary school curriculum, according to the *Baden-Württemberg* Ministry of Education, included the introduction of new common standards for education in Germany, the 2000 PISA results and significant demographic changes (Ministerium für Kultus Jugend und Sport [KM BW], 2016g), briefly summarised as follows. Firstly, just after the previous secondary school curriculum was introduced in 2004, the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education⁶ (KMK) have aligned their standards for education across Germany, which were included in the new curriculum. Secondly, Germany has undergone a series of educational reforms since the previous 2004 curriculum initiative, particularly to address the weak PISA results, which had to be integrated with the 2016 curriculum. Finally, there have been a range of demographic developments which could be addressed through the curriculum initiative. The most important development is Germany's aging population which has resulted in a lower number of school-aged children. This has made it difficult for the traditional three-tier school system to survive, particularly in small rural communities which experienced dwindling admission numbers particularly in the *Hauptschule/ Werkrealschule*, which have been suffering from bad reputation for many years. As a result, education policy makers have decided to foster the development of the *Gemeinschaftsschule* which is supposed to be, together with the *Gymnasium*, the future of *Baden-Württemberg's* two-tier school system. To achieve consistency across the traditional three-tier school system and the newly introduced *Gemeinschaftsschule*, a common core curriculum was created for all secondary school types (except for the *SBBZ*). Below, first, the new common core curriculum is introduced, followed by a summary of the re-introduction of *Gemeinschaftskunde*, after it was combined with economy and geography in a subject cluster in the previous 2004 curriculum.

The new common core curriculum for secondary schools replaces the previous *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* curriculum and serves as the new *Gemeinschaftsschule* curriculum. The curriculum for the *Gymnasium* was refreshed and aligned with the new core curriculum but remains separate. To differentiate within the core

⁶ The KMK is the main decision-making body that aligns education across all 16 federal states in Germany.

curriculum, three levels were developed namely *Grundlegendes Niveau* (G) which can be translated to basic level, *Mittleres Niveau* (M) which is medium level in English and *Erweitertes Niveau* (E) which is advanced level. While the *Gemeinschaftsschule* and *Realschule* offer learning on more than one level to their students, the remaining school types specialise exclusively on one of the three levels which is G for *Hauptschule/Werkrealschule* and E for *Gymnasium*. The *Realschule* typically leads to a M level certificate called *Mittlere Reife*, students are however able to complete Year 7-9 on M or G level which is marked in their reports. On the *Gemeinschaftsschule* students can complete G, M or E-level certificates and can move between levels throughout Year 7 and 9. Year 10 can only be done at M and E level, and Year 11-13 can only be done at E level. The *Hauptschule* typically leads to the *Hauptschulabschluss* which is a G-level certificate, and the *Gymnasium* typically leads to the *Abitur* which is an E-Level certificate. The level system and the three school leaving certificates in *Baden-Württemberg* are displayed in Figure 4.1.

Class	<i>Hauptschule</i>	<i>Realschule</i>	<i>Gemeinschaftsschule</i>	<i>Gymnasium</i>
13			<i>Abitur (E)</i>	
12			E	E
11				
10		<i>Mittlere Reife (M)</i>		
		M	M/E	
9	<i>Hauptschulabschluss (G)</i>			
8		G/M	G/M/E	
7	G			
6		Orientation	Orientation	
5				

Figure 4.1: Competence levels in the new common secondary curriculum in *Baden-Württemberg*

While the new common core curriculum has achieved more flexibility for students to move between school types, it has also raised some issues for schools and teachers such as an increasing workload to provide assessment and differentiation for students on different levels in *Realschule* and *Gemeinschaftsschule*. Furthermore, many schools and teachers, particularly at the *Realschule*, are unsupportive of a move to a two-tier school system in *Baden-Württemberg*, which means their schools will be integrated with other school types. As follows, I introduce the newly developed

Gemeinschaftskunde subject in three sub-sections namely the history that shaped citizenship education in Germany (4.4.1), curriculum documents and contact time (4.4.2) and curriculum content (4.4.3).

4.4.1 *Citizenship education in Germany was shaped by history and has a special place in the curriculum*

The structure and content of citizenship education in Germany is closely tied to German history including Hitler's takeover and the totalitarian rule of Eastern Germany during the Soviet occupation (Lange, 2008; Lange & Heldt, 2021). After World War 2 citizenship education was used by the allies to, on one hand, support German citizens to unthink "...respect for authority, subservience to and blind faith in the *Führer*..." (Lange, 2008, p.89) and, on the other hand, to re-introduce democratic attitudes and processes. It was agreed that the re-introduction of democratic attitudes and processes had to be done through democratic means rather than be imposed on the population who did not immediately have a democratic mindset just because the war ended. These democratic means were later written down in the so called Beutelsbach Consensus (*Beutelsbacher Konsens*), signed in 1976, and are still an important pillar of citizenship education across all German federal states. The Beutelsbach Consensus suggests that citizenship education (1) is not allowed to overwhelm students from a particular standpoint, (2) should treat controversial issues controversially in the classroom and (3) should give weight to the personal interests of students, allowing them to influence society by following those interests (LpB BW, 1976).

Citizenship education has a special place in the *Baden-Württemberg* school curriculum as the only subject with constitutional status. The *Baden-Württemberg* constitution, called *Landesverfassung* (LV) suggests that young people are to be educated in schools to become free and responsible citizens and to be involved in shaping school life and that *Gemeinschaftskunde* is to be a regular subject at all schools (LV §21,1-2). Citizenship education receiving constitutional status is common in Germany which is included in a total of 10 out of 16 federal German states (Kenner, 2020, p.123). Only *Baden-Württemberg* and North-Rhine Westphalia, however, state that citizenship education must be a subject, while in the remaining states it may also be taught as a cross curricular approach. The *Baden-Württemberg* constitution suggests that *Gemeinschaftskunde* must be taught as a subject in all schools, it does not, however, prescribe whether the subject is taught as a single subject or within a subject cluster. Thus, over the years it has been taught

both as an individual subject and in different subject clusters. At the *Realschule* in *Baden-Württemberg*, *Gemeinschaftskunde* was for example an individual subject called *Gemeinschaftskunde* in the 1994-2004 curriculum and in a subject cluster with Economy and Geography, called *Erdkunde, Wirtschaftskunde, Gemeinschaftskunde* (EWG) in the 2004-2016 curriculum. In the newly initiated 2016 curriculum, it has been re-introduced as an individual subject. The re-introduction of *Gemeinschaftskunde* as an individual subject is part of a wider move of the curriculum to split up previous subject clusters, to deepen students' subject-specific competencies (KM BW, 2016g). Most German federal states currently offer citizenship education as a single subject while a small minority of states teach citizenship in a cluster with related subjects including History and Economy (Hedtke & Gökbudak, 2018). Subject names are also different including *Gemeinschaftskunde, Sozialkunde, Politische Bildung, Politik, Gesellschaftslehre* and *Weltlehre*.

The name *Gemeinschaftskunde*, translates to English as social studies or community studies. The terms social studies, and community studies, however, do not accurately describe the nature of the subject. Instead, citizenship education, and the German translation *Bürgerbildung*, better describe the subject matter. This is because the topics focus on citizenship, rather than other social disciplines such as geography, economy and history, which are expected to be part of a subject titled social studies or community studies. Thus, I decided to use the term citizenship education in this project. In the German translation of the data collection instruments and informed consent letters, I used the term *Gemeinschaftskunde* because this term is familiar to research participants.

4.4.2 Curriculum documents and contact time of *Gemeinschaftskunde*

There are three official documents guiding the delivery of citizenship education in *Baden-Württemberg*, including the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum (KM BW, 2016a), the teachers' curriculum guide (KM BW, 2016g) and an additional compulsory booklet on democratic education (KM BW, 2019a). The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum was first implemented in the school year 2017/2018 in Year 7 with subsequent implementation of the following school years one year at a time with Year 10 *Gemeinschaftskunde* having been implemented in 2020/2021. The teachers' curriculum handbook was released in 2016 and the booklet on democratic education was released in 2019.

In terms of *Gemeinschaftskunde* contact time, the *Realschule* allocates five weekly lessons of citizenship education, shared between students from Year 7 to 10 (KM BW, n.d.). For a school this can result in the following weekly citizenship education contact time: Year 7 (90 minutes), Year 8 (45 minutes), Year 9 (45 minutes), Year 10 (45 minutes). When compared with other subjects in the curriculum, it becomes clear that five lessons are low, considering that the subjects music and art, receive eight lessons each and that related subjects such as history (8 lessons) and geography (7 lessons) also receive more contact-time. Another related subject, economy/ career and study orientation (WBS), receives the same contact time as citizenship education but has been upgraded by a special compulsory project with internal examination status. In addition, *Gemeinschaftskunde* has lost one weekly lesson in comparison to its provision in the previous 1994 curriculum. While citizenship education at the *Realschule* receives a high number of contact hours in a comparison with other German federal states, and other school types, it appears to be under-valued in comparison to other subjects (Gökbudak et al., 2020). This is in line with the international discourse on the value of school-based citizenship education.

4.4.3 *Gemeinschaftskunde* content

In terms of content, the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum offers achievement objectives for Year 7-10, focusing on the concepts: society, rights, polity and international relations. Refer to Appendix F for a table with all *Gemeinschaftskunde* achievement objectives. There is no specific focus on citizenship activities in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum, which are, however, hinted at in different parts of the curriculum such as in the skills section of the curriculum, suggesting that young people should be encouraged to participate in democratic decision-making processes at school and in the political world (KM BW, 2016a, p.13). In addition, the handbook for democratic learning (KM BW, 2019a) includes more suggestions on how young people can be engaged as citizens. However, since this is an additional document, which has been distributed to schools in June 2019, after implementation of the curriculum, it is uncertain how well this 60-page document has been studied by teachers. Similarly, curriculum documents may not necessarily be implemented in the way they were intended due to time-constraints, resistance from teachers and many other issues including institutional obstacles (Pinar, 2013). There is currently no research on the newly developed *Gemeinschaftskunde* subject in *Baden-Württemberg* in relation to young people's uptake of citizenship activities, which is one contribution of this thesis.

4.5 Citizenship education and young people's citizenship activities

In this section I summarise results of reviewing literature on the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship activities. The focus is on citizenship education as a secondary school subject for Year 8-10 students, on emerging citizenship dimensions, and on literature from Germany. I included literature from other countries and on other subject approaches such as cross-curricular approaches, especially when I experienced gaps in the literature. I identified literature with the search strategy, introduced in Literature review section 4.2. Results are presented through themes as follows.

4.5.1 Measurements for citizenship education are not defined clearly, contested in the literature and often exclusively quantitative

Results of reviewing literature indicated three issues. Firstly, there is a lack of shared understanding of key terms used in exploring the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship activities. The term citizenship education, for example, is used for individual subjects in the curriculum, subject-clusters, cross-curricular approaches, project learning or even non-formal citizenship education outside of school. Citizenship activities range from narrow definitions that exclusively focus on electoral participation to wider definitions including unofficial citizenship activities such as community volunteering. Furthermore, many studies are not explicit about the type of citizenship education or citizenship activities they explore (Moxon & Escamilla, 2022).

Secondly, measuring pedagogical approaches and educational activities is contested in the literature. Some scholars suggest that students are not reliable in reviewing their teachers' educational approaches because they lack an understanding of pedagogical theories (Feistauer & Richter, 2017; Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022). Literature also suggests that teachers may not be trustworthy in reviewing their own pedagogical approaches due to social-desirability bias (Kopcha & Sullivan, 2007).

Finally, many studies exploring the link between citizenship education and citizenship activities exclusively rely on quantitative methods and use narrow, predefined and adult-centric measures. While quantitative methods can be helpful to provide representative data on the correlation between the amount of citizenship education young people receive and the citizenship activities young people are engaged in, they are often unable to establish causal links or provide in-depth

understanding of young people's complex experiences of citizenship education (Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022).

This thesis contributes to these three issues by firstly, providing a clear definition of citizenship education (see Literature review sections 4.3 and 4.4) and citizenship activities (see Literature review sections 2.4 and 2.6), secondly, by exploring citizenship education from multiple perspectives (teachers and students) and, thirdly, by using qualitative methods (focus groups, interviews, qualitative questionnaire) to gain in-depth insights into young people's experience of citizenship education. As follows, I outline results from reviewing literature on the link between citizenship education and young people's citizenship activities.

4.5.2 Citizenship education is positively related to young people's uptake of citizenship activities

Results of reviewing literature suggest that the more formal school-based citizenship education secondary students received, the more citizenship activities they were engaged in (Jugert et al., 2018; Keating et al., 2010; Weinberg, 2020; Whiteley, 2014). Results also indicate that particularly assigning a specific space for citizenship education in the curriculum can positively affect young people's uptake of citizenship activities (Geboers et al., 2013; Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz et al., 2017; Lange et al., 2013; Weinberg, 2020).

Geboers and colleagues (2013) in their review of 90 empirical studies, for example, suggest that there is a small to large effect of citizenship education as a curricular approach on young people's uptake of citizenship activities. The effect was particularly evident on young people's citizenship activities in the political domain, which they define as including, for example, voting, taking part in discussions and political participation. The positive effect of curricular citizenship education was lower in the social domain which includes, for example, acting socially responsibly and dealing with disagreement and differences. The authors define a curricular approach as all activities within educational methods or programs that take place within a classroom context, which might also include form class activities or other subjects. Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz and colleagues (2017) suggest that citizenship education is most effective as an independent subject at two levels of the curriculum, based on their comparative study of 1719 young people from 14 European countries. The authors differentiate in three educational levels namely primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education. The authors' results are based on

comparing the involvement in various citizenship activities of young people in countries offering citizenship education as a compulsory subject at different levels and countries not offering compulsory citizenship education at school. As pointed out by the authors, these results may have been affected by countries' individual problems and socio-political culture. Lange and colleagues (2013) indicate that receiving more than two weekly lessons of formal citizenship education was correlated with young people's willingness to participate in citizenship activities, particularly in elections. Weinberg (2020) suggests that receiving regular whole lessons dedicated to citizenship were correlated with participants' citizenship activities including both formal and expressive citizenship activities.

It should be noted that there are also a few studies that suggests formal citizenship education is not, or even negatively, correlated with young people's likelihood for political participation. García-Albacete (2013), for example, suggests that the effect of citizenship education on students' political participation depends on the type of learning done in citizenship education classes and students' background characteristics. The author indicates that citizenship education can even have negative effects on political participation and, thus, recommends further research with a nuanced understanding of different aspects of citizenship education. The importance of context is also discussed by other authors, suggesting the effects of citizenship education on young people's citizenship activities are difficult to untangle, and might be mediated and re-enforced by factors such as political knowledge, political awareness, political interest, other socialisation actors including peers and the family, participants' socio-structural characteristics and political efficacy (Keating et al., 2010; Onken & Lange, 2014; Weinberg, 2020). The influence of context is for example illustrated by Onken and Lange (2014) in their causal model of factors influencing the willingness for political participation (see Figure 4.2).

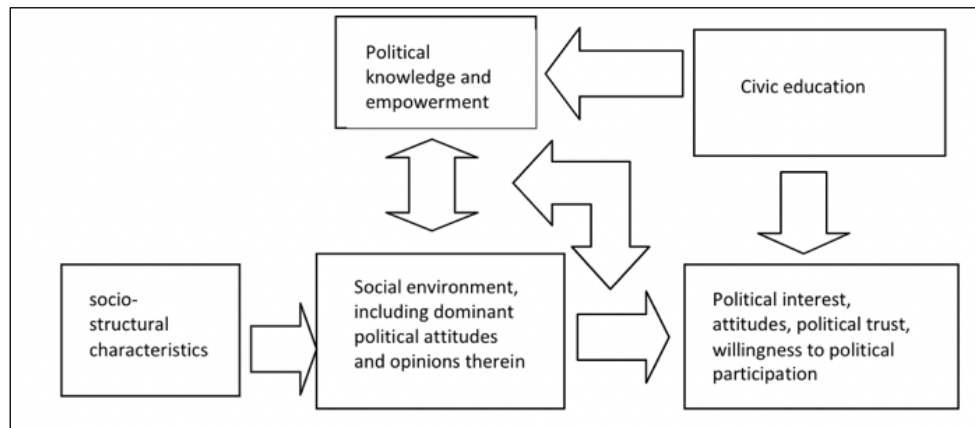


Figure 4.2: Causal model of factors influencing the willingness for political participation (Onken & Lange, 2014, p. 71)

As illustrated in Figure 4.2, the authors suggest that in addition to a direct influence on political participation, citizenship education might be mediated through political knowledge and empowerment, social environment, political interest, attitudes, political trust, and socio-structural characteristics. Participant factors that might affect the impact of citizenship education include age, gender, migration background and socio-economic background.

4.5.3 Political knowledge, active learning pedagogies and democratic classroom climate are valuable for young people’s uptake of citizenship activities

In this section, I summarise three aspects of citizenship education that are, according to the reviewed literature, valuable for young people’s uptake of citizenship activities. These aspects include political knowledge, active learning pedagogies and democratic classroom climate. It should be noted that different citizenship education approaches may encourage different types of citizenship activities, envisioned for and by young people (Davies et al., 2019; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004a) which is further discussed in Literature review section 4.5.4.

4.5.3.1 Political knowledge

Political knowledge, “...the range of factual information about politics that is stored in long-term memory” (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996, p.10), is an established factor in the reviewed literature that promotes the uptake of citizenship activities. While the literature indicates a strong connection between political knowledge and formal citizenship activities such as voting (Amadeo et al., 2002), the impact of political knowledge appears to be lower for other, less formal citizenship activities such as online participation or volunteering (Milner, 2007). It should be noted that political knowledge may be mediated by other factors such as students’ home literacy resources or parents’ educational level, in addition to citizenship education (Amadeo

et al., 2002). Political knowledge may also increase internal efficacy which in turn increases political participation, instead of directly affecting political participation (Reichert, 2016).

4.5.3.2 Active learning

Actively constructing knowledge has been established as a valuable pedagogical approach for a long time. Active learning theories are, for example, grounded in Vygotsky's (1978) concept of the 'Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)'. Vygotsky argued that learning is most effective if it is done by students themselves and with learning activities that are in the ZPD which is "...the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p.86). Active learning is also often discussed in the citizenship education literature as having a positive impact on young people's uptake of citizenship activities (Quintelier, 2010; Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022; Wood et al., 2018), two approaches of which are outlined as follows. Firstly, service learning, which engages students in service activities in the community with school-based guidance, has shown positive impacts on young people's uptake of some citizenship activities, particularly community-based participation (Kahne et al. 2013). When service learning is integrated at school, however, it is often limited to 'minimal' (McLaughlin, 1992) citizenship activities, including recycling or volunteering, rather than justice-oriented activities that challenge the status quo (Wood et al. 2018; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Moreover, service learning at school is often not critically reflected in terms of underlying issues that make service necessary, which can lead to simplistic notions of service and reduces its impact on young people's citizenship learning (Jerome & Starkey, 2021; Wohnig, 2016). According to the reviewed studies, literature on the quality of service-learning programmes is limited (Quintelier, 2010; Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022). Secondly, experiential learning, which is learning through activities such as role plays, simulations, expert interviews, and field trips, is also related to young people's uptake of citizenship activities (Weinberg, 2020; Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022). Weinberg (2020), for example, suggests that experiencing a visit by politicians can positively influence students' future intention to vote and join a political party. Quintelier (2010) cautions, however, that whether visits by politicians are beneficial to students "...might heavily depend on the speaker's comprehensibility, interactivity and attractiveness" (p.141). While active learning is promoted as a successful approach to citizenship education, some research shows it

is not always implemented in citizenship classrooms which still often use passive learning approaches including memorisation and a focus on content (see for example Akar, 2016).

4.5.3.3 Democratic classroom climate and learning *through* citizenship

Democratic classroom climate is “...the learning culture in a classroom with a particular focus on the extent to which young people are encouraged to debate, form and express individual opinions, and introduce issues for class discussion” (Weinberg, 2021, p.26). Democratic classroom climate is also sometimes referred to as open classroom climate. The literature suggests a positive relationship between democratic classroom climate and participation in citizenship activities (Kahne et al., 2013; Weinberg, 2020; Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022). Democratic classroom climate experienced in subjects other than citizenship education, or in students’ form classes, can also have a positive effect on their uptake of citizenship activities. Democratic classroom climate is connected to the concepts of ‘learning *through* citizenship’ (Keating & Janmaat, 2016; Kerr, 1999), ‘citizenship-rich schools’ (Breslin & Dufour, 2006), ‘learning democracy’ (Biesta & Lawy, 2006) and schools as ‘miniature communities’ (Dewey, 1915). These concepts are “...underpinned by the belief that young people acquire civic attitudes and behaviours not just from being educated about citizenship through the formal curriculum, but also by putting citizenship into practice” (Keating & Janmaat, 2016, p. 2). Putting citizenship into practice may be characterised by what Breslin (2004) terms ‘citizenship-rich schools’ illustrated as follows:

...the Citizenship-rich school is both a successful school and a community where there is a positive and harmonious ethos that is tangible, where teaching and school organisation demonstrably reflect Citizenship values, where students contribute to leadership and management of the school by being clearly involved in a wide range of rights, duties and responsibilities, where there is an active and vigorous school council run by students, where students feel safe and content because of the school’s anti-discrimination and anti-bullying approaches, where there is a wide involvement in community action and an awareness of local, national and global concerns. It is a school in which all students achieve and feel included rather than one in which some achieve and others feel excluded.

(Breslin, 2004, as cited in Breslin and Dufour, 2006)

Keating and Janmaat (2016), furthermore, suggest that positive effects of learning *through* citizenship at school may even persist after young people leave school.

4.5.4 There is a lack of qualitative research on the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of emerging citizenship activities

While there is an increasing number of studies looking at the value of citizenship education for the uptake of citizenship activities in general, there are only few in-depth qualitative studies that explore the value of different citizenship education approaches for young people's emerging citizenship activities. Davies and colleagues (2019), for example, raise this issue, stating: "We recommend that young people and those with whom they work should think about what sort of education is necessary for what sort of engagement, and how best that might be achieved" (p. 8). I identified three studies, related to this thesis, that differentiate into different citizenship education approaches and focus on young people's emerging citizenship activities. Firstly, Weinberg (2020) differentiates between the effect of citizenship education on expressive and formal citizenship activities. He suggests that a positive impact of citizenship education was evident for both expressive and formal citizenship activities in his study. Expressive citizenship activities included students' current likelihood to engage in activities such as selective consumerism, collecting signatures or protesting. Formal citizenship activities included students' future likelihood to vote in national elections, join a political party and become a political candidate. Findings suggest that particularly visits by politicians and voting on topical issues were positively correlated with expressive political participation. Visits by politicians was also positively correlated with voting and joining political parties. Weinberg also indicates that pedagogical approaches that use a mix of fact-based and skill-based activities focussing on social or political issues, had as much or more impact on participants' political participation, as explicit citizenship education lessons.

Secondly, Westheimer and Kahne (2004a) suggest that citizenship education might prepare young people to participate as personally-responsible, participatory and/or justice oriented citizens. The personally responsible citizen, is driven by a sense of duty, obeys laws and fulfils civic duties such as volunteering and paying taxes. The participatory citizen goes a step further by taking on leadership roles within a community to improve society. The last type, justice-oriented citizen, looks beyond situations to discover why injustice is happening and finds ways to solve social problems. They suggest that different educational approaches might promote different types of citizens and that some educational approaches might even harm the development of certain citizen characteristics. The authors also suggest that most

programmes for citizenship education they studied, particularly in the United States but also in other regions of the world, are aimed to educate personally-responsible citizens, as indicated by the following quote.

The kinds of goals and practices commonly represented in curricula that hope to foster democratic citizenship usually have more to do with voluntarism, charity, and obedience than with democracy. In other words, good citizenship to many educators means listening to authority figures, dressing neatly, being nice to neighbors, and helping out at a soup kitchen – not grappling with the kinds of social policy decisions that every citizen in a democratic society needs to learn how to do.

(Westheimer, 2015, p.472)

This focus on educating personally-responsible citizens while neglecting justice-oriented citizenship is particularly problematic in light of complex global issues such as climate change, misinformation, human rights violations or the Covid pandemic, which require autonomous, justice-oriented citizens who are critical and challenge the status quo (Wood et al., 2018, Veuglers, 2007). A focus on personally-responsible citizens in the education system might also be rooted in the banking concept of education which promotes passive over active citizen roles, as pointed out by Freire.

It is not surprising that the banking concept of education regards men as adaptable, manageable beings. The more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world. The more completely they accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them.

(Freire, 1970, p.73)

Pedagogical approaches to educate active and justice-oriented citizens include giving students agency through, for example, allowing them to select topics to study and take social action on which they are emotionally invested in, creating opportunities for real-world citizenship activities, allowing for controversial discussions and providing students with an understanding of the complexity and underlying issues of these real-world issues (Davies et al., 2019; Dewey, 1915; Freire, 1970; Jerome & Starkey, 2022; Lundy, 2007; Wood et al., 2018). In addition to providing young people the spaces to participate in decisions and teaching them the skills to express their voice, they should also have positive experiences with using their voice, as suggested by Lundy (2007) with her four-dimensional model of space, voice, audience and influence, illustrated as follows.

Space: Children must be given the opportunity to express a view

Voice: Children must be facilitated to express their views

Audience: The view must be listened to.

Influence: The view must be acted upon, as appropriate.

(Lundy, 2007, p.933)

Finally, Bennett (2008) differentiates between actualising citizens (AC) and dutiful citizens (DC). The dutiful citizen embodies the traditional civic ideal, with a sense of obligation, voting, being informed about politics by following mass media and engaging in formal representational citizenship activities such as party membership. The AC citizen, conversely, embodies young people's experience of citizenship, characterised by individual purpose, personally defined citizenship activities such as political consumerism, having critical media literacy and preferring online-enabled community action with thin social ties. The AC citizen, as such relates to what is referred to as 'emerging citizenship dimensions' in this paper. In line with Westheimer and Kahne (2004b), Bennett (2008) suggests that different citizenship education approaches can promote or hinder the development of either of the two citizens. The author suggests that both citizen types have their value for democratic societies and educational approaches should aim to develop both citizen types, as illustrated in the following quote.

... both dimensions of citizenship seem important to address and integrate in effective approaches to civic education. The Dutiful Citizen continues to have obvious appeal, particularly to educational policy makers, based on the reasonable perception that citizen activities centered on voting and informed opinion are necessary to instill in new generations in order to ensure the viability of democratic polities. At the same time, recognizing that young citizens today may have substantially different social and political experiences than their elders did at comparable stages of life also seems important to incorporate into models of civic education -- both to address substantive changes in citizen roles, and to motivate young people to find personal meaning in a civic picture that includes them.

(Bennett, 2003, p. 7-8)

Bennett's (2008) and Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) citizen typologies are particularly relevant for this thesis because they allow a differentiation of educational approaches according to different visions of citizenship. In addition, Bennett's actualising citizen and Westheimer's justice-oriented citizen include many of the characteristics of what I define as emerging citizenship and, thus, can be helpful to explore pedagogical approaches aiming for emerging citizenship. In the following section, I explain how these two citizen typologies can be used to explore the link between citizenship education and uptake of citizenship activities in emerging dimensions.

4.5.5 Frameworks to explore the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of emerging citizenship dimensions

I decided to combine Bennett's (2003) two citizens (Framework 1), Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) three citizens (Framework 2) and the proposed framework for emerging citizenship activities (Framework 3) to achieve a common framework to

be used for data analysis, as displayed in Figure 4.3. All frameworks are to be seen on a continuum from dutiful citizenship (DC citizen, personally-responsible citizen, traditional citizenship dimensions) to self-actualising citizenship (AC citizen, justice-oriented citizen, emerging citizenship dimensions).

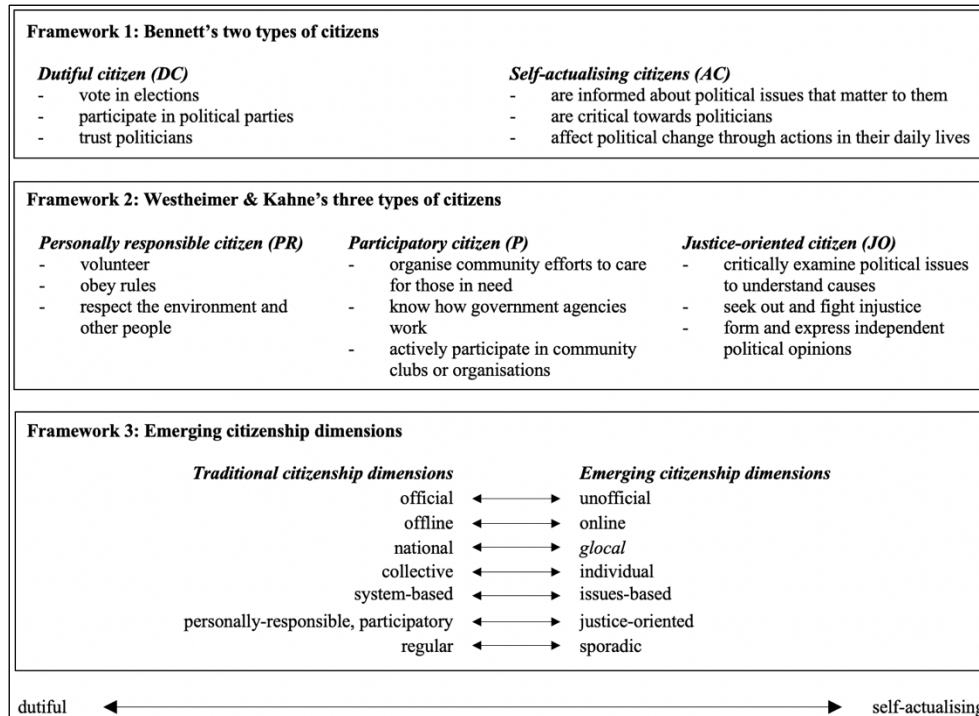


Figure 4.3: Three frameworks on dutiful and actualising citizens

I used this framework to explore the types of citizenship education and citizenship activities promoted in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum and experienced by students and teachers in their lessons. Refer to Methodology section 5.9.1.3 for more information how I used the frameworks to analyse data.

4.6 Summary

Results of this chapter indicate that school-based citizenship education can have positive effects on young people's uptake of citizenship activities. Particularly a whole-lesson approach, teaching political knowledge, learning about current events, acquiring participatory skills, using pedagogy for active and practical learning, and a democratic classroom climate appear to have a positive impact on young people's uptake of citizenship activities. Results also indicate, however, that exploring the link between citizenship education and young people's uptake of citizenship activities is a contested field because of the multiple factors influencing this link including, for example, participants' background characteristics, political interest, political awareness and political efficacy which can act as mediating factors. In addition, there are debates about the variables that should be used to measure

educational approaches and who (teachers, students, curriculum documents) should be involved in research about citizenship education lessons. In depth qualitative inquiries on the value of different types of educational approaches for young people's uptake of (emerging) citizenship dimensions, are under-represented in the literature, which are explored in this thesis in the context of *Gemeinschaftskunde*. To explore pedagogies for emerging citizenship dimensions, I applied three frameworks, including Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) three types of citizens, Bennett's (2003) two types of citizens, and the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions.

4.7 Literature review summary

Results from reviewing literature in Chapters Two, Three and Four have highlighted some consensus, tensions and gaps which are summarised as follows along with the original contributions this thesis makes to knowledge. In Chapter Two, I argued that democratic societies are undergoing change and that as a result young people are engaged in emerging citizenship dimensions which are debated in the literature. With this thesis, I contribute to this debate by proposing a framework for seven emerging citizenship dimensions, based on reviewing literature (see Literature review section 2.6). I also suggested that narrow definitions of citizenship activities are not suitable to explore young people's emerging citizenship dimensions. To address this, I proposed a wide definition of citizenship activities focusing on young people below the voting age (see Literature review section 2.4). This definition shaped the data collection and analysis, used in this thesis (see Methodology section 5.8).

In Chapter Three, I argued that there is a gap of in-depth qualitative analyses that explores the range of citizenship activities young people are engaged in in their communities, particularly at school and in rural communities. To address this, I proposed five citizenship spaces at school, namely form class, school-decisions, volunteering, service and activism and six citizenship spaces in (rural) communities, namely municipal, online, activism, party politics, private and arts and politics. The gap of in-depth qualitative research on the range of young people's citizenship activities and the proposed citizenship spaces also shaped the methodological approach chosen for this thesis (see Methodology Chapter 5).

Findings from Chapter Four suggest that school-based citizenship education can have a positive effect on young people's citizenship activities. Results also suggest,

however, that in-depth qualitative inquiries on the value of different types of educational approaches for young people's uptake of (emerging) citizenship dimensions are under-represented in the literature. This thesis contributes to this gap by using an in-depth case study approach to explore citizenship education in the context of the subject *Gemeinschaftskunde*. I also applied three frameworks, including Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) three types of citizens, Bennett's (2003) two types of citizens, and the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions (see Findings sections 8.2.4 and 8.3.3.6).

5 Methodology

5.1 Introduction

In Chapters Two to Four I defined key terms, outlined literature on young people’s emerging citizenship activities, identified spaces for young people’s participation in school and community spaces, and reviewed research on the value of citizenship education on young people’s citizenship activities. I also identified gaps in the literature and suggested how I can address these gaps with this thesis. In this chapter, based on findings from reviewing literature, I outline methodological considerations for this research. These considerations include philosophical assumptions behind this research, research design, information about participants and how I recruited them, how data was translated, the five data collection methods I used and how I analysed qualitative and quantitative data. The structure of the chapter is displayed as follows.

5.2 Philosophical assumptions

5.3 Research questions and research design

5.4 Introducing the case study: Anderberg and Anderberg middle school

5.5 Sampling, recruitment, and participants

5.6 Ethical considerations

5.7 Translation

5.8 Data collection methods: Focus groups, interviews, questionnaire, document analysis

5.9 Data analysis methods: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods

5.10 Summary

5.2 Philosophical assumptions

In this section, I share my assumptions of how I understand knowledge (ontology) and my approach to knowledge creation (epistemology). It is important to make these underlying assumptions transparent because they affect my chosen research design and data collection methods. According to Moon and Blackman (2014), ontological assumptions can be perceived as a dichotomy between realism, “one reality exists” and relativism, “multiple realities exist” (p. 3). My ontological assumptions align with relativism as I believe that reality is created by people based on their individual experiences and perspectives which result in multiple realities. This is particularly important for the concepts I use in this thesis. I view citizenship activities, for example, as a contested concept with multiple (sometimes competing) perspectives, definitions and measurements (relativism), instead of a single directly observable

reality (realism) (Moon & Blackman, 2014; Proctor, 1998). The idea of relativism, and the existence of multiple realities, has also influenced my decision to include multiple stakeholders in this research, namely students from different school years and form classes, teachers with different subject specialties and a range of curriculum documents. This helped me to gain in-depth insights into the research questions from multiple perspectives.

There are two philosophical assumptions that underpin my approach to knowledge creation . Firstly, social constructivism, as defined by Creswell.

Social constructivists hold assumptions that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences – meanings directed toward certain objects of things. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. The goal of the research is to rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of the situation being studied.

(Creswell, 2009, p.8)

It should be noted, that interpretivism is often interchangeably used with social constructivism in the literature. Social constructivism, however, goes beyond interpretivism by also considering the historical, social and political context of a question to be explored. Social constructivism has influenced this research by developing research questions that ask about participants’ experiences of citizenship through questions such as “How do Year 8-10 students perceive the value of citizenship education regarding their citizenship activities?”. I also predominantly selected data collection methods that allow me to engage in conversations with participants such as focus groups, interviews, and a qualitative questionnaire to explore participants’ multiple experiences. In addition, I used a case study approach which allowed me to explore geographical, historical, social and political influences on my participants’ experiences (Hammersley, 2013). Finally, in a social constructivist paradigm, it is assumed that the researcher and their background is important for data collection and interpretation, as illustrated in the following quote.

The task of the researcher...becomes to acknowledge and even to work with their own intrinsic involvement in the research process and the part that this plays in the results that are produced. The researcher must view the research as necessarily a co-production between themselves and the people they are researching.

(Burr, 2003, p.107)

Thus, I made my own background and relationship to the case study school and case study participants transparent (see Introduction and Methodology section 5.6.3).

Secondly, critical theory influenced my philosophical assumptions. Critical theory, also called transformative theory or advocacy/participatory worldview, is not just interested in explaining situations but also having an influence on them as, for example, defined by Creswell.

An advocacy/participatory world view holds that research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda. Thus, the research contains an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher's life. Moreover, specific issues need to be addressed that speak to important social issues of the day, issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression, and alienation.

(Creswell, 2009, p.9)

In line with critical theory, this research has an agenda, namely to challenge youth political disengagement narratives and increase young people's voices in decision-making in their schools and communities. In addition, with this research I aim to highlight weaknesses and missed opportunities of citizenship education to help young people to have a voice in decisions that matter to them. Increasing young people's voice is not just a goal of the research but also part of the methodological approaches I selected such as including student participants in design, data collection and analysis of focus groups (see Methodology section 5.8.3).

5.3 Research questions and research design

In this section I introduce the research questions and provide an overview of the mixed methods research design. I developed the research questions based on my philosophical assumptions, the previously outlined findings and tensions in the reviewed literature, my thinking about the literature, and methodological considerations. I decided to explore the following three research questions.

1. Which citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students part of
 - a) at school?
 - b) in communities?
2. Which citizenship dimensions do Year 8-10 students participate in?
3. What is the value of Year 8-10 citizenship education for students' uptake of citizenship activities?
 - a) How does the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum support Year 8 to 10 students in taking up citizenship activities?
 - b) How do Year 8-10 students perceive the value of citizenship education for their citizenship activities?

- c) How do teachers perceive the value of citizenship education for Year 8-10 students' citizenship activities?

As follows, key terms included in the research questions are defined. Firstly, citizenship activities aim at influencing governmental personnel or their actions, target community problems, have a political motive, provide a service to the community, or are related to community decision-making (adapted from Theocharis & van Deth, 2018; Verba & Nie, 1972). Refer to Literature review section 2.4 for a full definition of citizenship activities. Secondly, Year 8 to 10 students refer to young people aged 13-17. Thirdly, school refers to all citizenship spaces at school including form class, school decisions, volunteering, service and activism (see Literature review section 3.3.3). Fourthly, communities refer to all citizenship spaces in the community including municipal, online, private, party politics, activism, and politics and art (see Literature review section 3.4.3). Fifthly, emerging citizenship dimensions include unofficial, individual, online, glocal, issues-based, sporadic, and justice-oriented. These dimensions are based on reviewing literature and are defined in the proposed framework (see Literature review section 2.6). Finally, the term, citizenship education, refers to all educational and pedagogical approaches within citizenship education, particularly in the context of *Gemeinschaftskunde* in *Baden-Württemberg* (see Literature review section 4.4).

To address the research questions, I used a mixed-methods approach including researcher- and student-led focus groups, documentary analysis, teacher interviews and a student questionnaire. The research is also shaped by a case study tradition (see Methodology section 5.4). Figure 5.1 illustrates the research design, relationships between methods and research questions addressed by each method. As indicated by arrows, data collection instruments are interrelated. After conducting focus groups, preliminary analysis was carried out which influenced the selection of curriculum documents for analysis and the teacher interview question guide. Teacher interviews were also shaped by results of curriculum analysis. Finally, the design of the student questionnaire was influenced by preliminary analysis of focus groups, interviews, and curriculum data. I argue that the methodological approach used in this research can be described as mixed methods rather than multi method because I integrated the selected methods at different stages of the research (Creamer, 2018). Integration took place during data collection as the methods informed each other, and during data analysis through joint displays in form of mind-maps and thematic maps. I also reported findings from different methods in an integrated way rather

than through separate findings chapters for each method. While the design of the research is mixed methods, the underlying paradigms and overall focus, can be described as qualitative (Creswell, 2009).

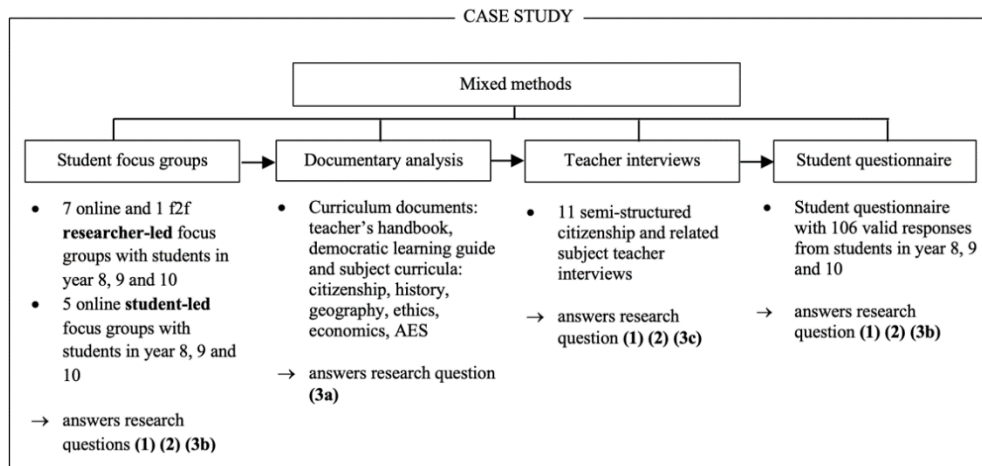


Figure 5.1: Research design of the proposed project

5.4 Introducing the case study: Anderberg and Anderberg middle school

In this section I describe how the research is shaped by a case study approach. I also introduce the case study municipality, Anderberg, and the case study school, Anderberg middle school.

5.4.1 Rationale for the case study approach

Case studies are a contested methodological approach in the literature with disagreement regarding their definition, design and implementation (Yazan, 2015). For this research, I followed Thomas (2011) definition of case studies which is flexible to use with different cases and methods.

Case studies are analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame - an object - within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates (Thomas, 2011, p. 513)

The subjects I chose for this case study are the rural municipality Anderberg and Anderberg middle school (see Methodology section 5.4.2). The objects of this research are the citizenship activities that Year 8-10 students are engaged in at school and in their (rural) communities, and their experiences of the value of citizenship education for their uptake of citizenship activities. I decided to follow a case study approach because my research questions are interested in contextualised issues. The citizenship activities, young people are engaged in, for example, are influenced by

contextual factors such as whether municipalities invite young people to be part of decisions, whether municipalities offer a range of clubs that young people can volunteer in and have leadership of, and how students are included in school decisions. Young people's citizenship activities are also influenced by local contexts which may include demographic, social, environmental, geographical, or political variables. Anderberg, the selected case study, is for example characterised by remoteness from big cities, which may negatively impact participants' ability to access protests which often exclusively take place in big cities. Using a case study approach allows me to explore participants' local context to gain in-depth contextualised understanding of their uptake of citizenship activities. As follows, I introduce the case study and rationale for choosing this case.

5.4.2 *Anderberg and Anderberg middle school*

Anderberg middle school is a secondary school in a rural village in the northern Black Forest in the German federal state of *Baden-Württemberg*, teaching students from Year 5 to 10. Anderberg middle school is a *Realschule*, which is a six-year pathway to enter the workforce or further education (refer to Literature review section 3.3 for more information about the *Realschule*). Anderberg middle school shares a building with a *Gemeinschaftsschule* (comprehensive school) but with separate classrooms, teachers, and school leadership teams. At the time of data collection, Anderberg middle school had 632 students in Year 5 to 10, 40 teachers, two school counsellors, a principal and an assistant principal. Students were distributed in four form classes of 20-30 students in each Year. Anderberg middle school's leaver data indicates that students at this school move on to a range of different educational pathways, such as apprenticeships or attaining university entrance. In addition, Anderberg middle school is a successful school in the region with continuously high student numbers in the past years, allowing it to have four form classes for each year, which is often a challenge for schools in rural municipalities. Due to data-protection regulations, I could not access additional data about students attending Anderberg middle school such as nationalities or families' socio-economic background. I could, however, access detailed statistical data for the community of Anderberg, which is the hometown of around a third of the participants of this research. I summarised the following data from a municipal statistical data set from 2021, which can be requested from the *Baden-Württemberg* Federal Bureau for Statistics (Maurer et al., 2022). I calculated some percentages to the nearest value to ensure anonymisation of the statistical data.

Anderberg is a municipality with 7,876 residents and a population density of 411 residents per square kilometre. It includes the villages Anderberg, Namensberg and Opjental. Anderberg is a rural municipality in the Black Forest with 35% of its area covered in forests, 42% used for agriculture and 20% used for settlement and traffic. While there are no official statistics on this, many people living in and around Anderberg are employed in the car industry which might affect my participants' opinion towards environmental issues. Out of the residents in Anderberg, only 11% have a nationality other than German, which is low in comparison to *Baden-Württemberg* (16%) and Germany (27.2%) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022). In terms of political orientation of Anderberg residents, results from the most recent German general election in 2021 suggest that there was a high overall participation in elections with 83%. General election results for individual parties suggest the highest support for the German Conservative Party (CDU), followed by the Social Democrats (SPD), the Green Party, and the Liberal Party (FDP). While Anderberg residents' support for the Left Party (Die Linke) was below the national average, their support for the Right-wing Party (AfD), was slightly above the national average. Figure 5.2 compares Anderberg residents' support for individual political parties in the 2021 general elections with *Baden-Württemberg* and Germany.

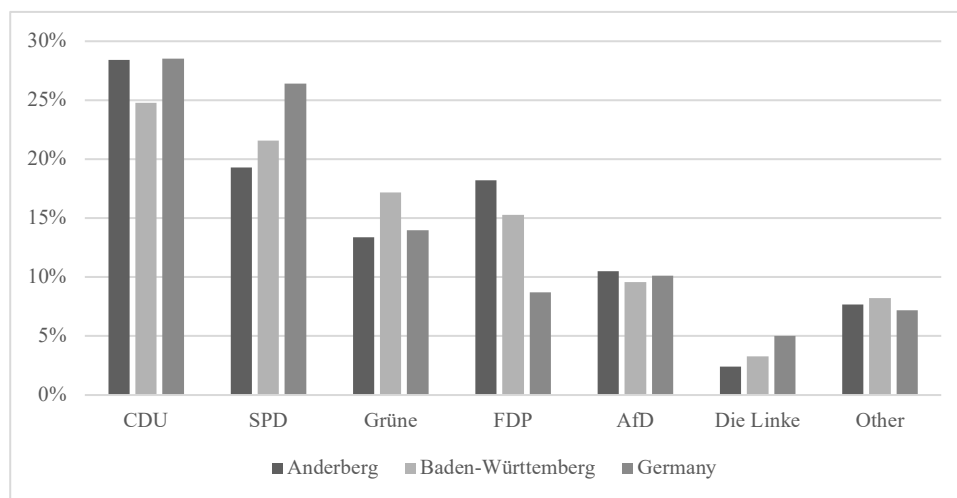


Figure 5.2: Comparison of Anderberg, *Baden-Württemberg* and Germany regarding political party support in the 2021 general elections

Furthermore, Anderberg is characterised by high incomes, high tax revenues, low percentages of early school leavers, good broadband coverage, and lacking access to public transportation (Sixtus et al., 2019). Anderberg's tax revenue per resident in 2020, for example, was 1312 Euros which is above the national average of 1001 Euros (Statistisches Bundesamt, n.d.). Anderberg also has high car ownership with 730 cars for each 1000 residents in comparison to 583 nationally. This is, on the one hand, an indicator for high socio-economic status of its residents. On the other hand,

it indicates low connection to public transport, which makes access to a car more important.

I selected Anderberg and Anderberg middle school for data collection due to the subsequent reasons. Firstly, I used to work at this school and as such have built relationships which enabled me to have access to the school, which is often a challenge for outsiders (Thomas, 2011). Secondly, Anderberg middle school is unique due to its rural context. Rural contexts have been neglected in previous research on young people's citizenship activities and, thus, this case study can provide novel insights into young people's citizenship activities in a rural school and municipality. Finally, while I was interested in a unique rural context, I also aimed to include 'ordinary' young people, as opposed to young people who are already highly engaged in citizenship activities and with high political interest. The term 'ordinary' is often used in the literature to describe young people who are not engaged in a special way such as climate strike protesters or youth party members (see for example Harris et al., 2010; Ojala, 2022). By contacting participants through a school, I expected to recruit young people who are 'ordinary' in the sense that they are not typically highly engaged in citizenship activities such as in a youth party wing or highly interested in politics. Furthermore, schools are organisations with processes in place for contacting participants and caregivers, as well as having suitable settings for research such as computer labs and rooms for interviewing which can make research more manageable.

5.5 Sampling, recruitment, participants and impacts of the Covid pandemic

In this section, I introduce participants and summarise information on the sampling strategy and recruitment process for each data collection method. For information on ethical considerations such as accessing participants and informed consent, refer to Methodology section 5.6. All sampling and recruitment processes, outlined in this section, were shaped by a social-constructionist world view (see Methodology section 5.2) and a case study approach (see Methodology section 5.4) which highlighted the importance of in-depth contextualised explorations. Thus, I did not recruit participants with the goal of generalising findings in a statistical-probability sense, instead I aimed at gaining in-depth understanding, and reporting findings and participants' background with rich detail inviting the reader to evaluate the applicability of research findings to their specific contexts (Smith, 2018). Sampling and recruitment were impacted by the Covid pandemic, introduced as follows.

5.5.1 Impacts of the Covid pandemic

During data collection for this research, the Covid pandemic caused intermittent pandemic school lockdowns in Germany and globally, which were implemented to reduce the risk of spreading the highly infectious coronavirus (Lindblad et al., 2021). The pandemic affected data collection for this research, as I was not able to enter Anderberg middle school to recruit participants and carry out in-person focus groups and interviews, due to pandemic school lockdowns. The pandemic also impacted participants' citizenship activities and experience of citizenship education, which was in large parts taught online in 2021, the year leading up to this research. To make the impact of the pandemic on this research transparent, I explain how I amended this research and dealt with pandemic effects on participants' experiences, throughout this thesis, particularly in this methodology chapter. I decided to summarise pandemic related impacts throughout this thesis rather than in a separate section because the impacts were specific to each data collection instrument and research question. While researching during the pandemic was time-consuming and required adaptability and resilience, I was able to contribute to our understanding of young people's citizenship experiences during the pandemic, which is an expanding field of research (see for example Mutch & Estellés, 2021). Moreover, I was compelled to explore innovative online data collection methods, making unique methodological contributions which I presented at a virtual 'Researching Youth Methods Seminar Series' (Suppers, 2022a).

5.5.2 Focus groups

In this section, I summarise focus group sampling and recruitment strategies and introduce focus group participants. This section includes information on researcher-led and student-led focus group participants because they were sampled together and later distributed to the different types of focus groups. For researcher-led focus group rationale and content, refer to Methodology section 5.8.2 and for student-led focus group rationale and content, refer to Methodology section 5.8.3.

5.5.2.1 Focus group sampling strategy

I used a combination of purposive and stratified sampling to recruit focus group participants with diverse perspectives who shared unique insights into citizenship activities and citizenship education (Braun & Clarke, 2013). I aimed for diverse perspectives by including students from different years (8-10), form classes, genders and with different *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers. I focused on these four characteristics because they can have a marked impact on participants' experiences

and were easy to identify during recruitment. Refer to Literature review section 2.5.8 for a summary of factors affecting young people's uptake of citizenship activities. Since focus groups were exploratory, I was the only researcher on this project and I used a time-intensive mixed methods research approach, I decided to limit data collection to a total of eleven focus groups: two researcher-led pilot study focus groups, two researcher-led main study focus groups in each year (8, 9 and 10), and one student-led focus group in each year (8, 9 and 10). Thus, with a planned focus group size of up to five students, I expected a total sample of 55 participants. In addition, I aimed to recruit up to six student-researchers from Year 9 and 10.

5.5.2.2 Recruiting focus group participants

To recruit participants with different background characteristics (school year, form class, gender, *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers) I used several strategies including targeted recruitment, staggered recruitment, snowballing and group recruitment (Cohen et al., 2018). I used targeted recruitment by asking form teachers to encourage students with certain characteristics such as with different genders to participate. Staggering recruitment meant instead of recruiting students from all Year 8, 9 and 10 classes at once, I started with two form class in each year and added further form classes if more participants from a particular year were needed. Snowballing included asking participants whether they could ask peers to join, which helped to increase student numbers within each focus group. Group recruitment was used by allowing participants to sign up to focus groups together with their peers.

Overall, I recruited a total of 35 focus group participants which is below the expected sample of 55 participants. Of the 35 participants, I recruited eight participants for the pilot study, 24 main study focus group participants in the first and four in the second round, and seven student-researchers. While the overall focus group sample was lower than intended, I was still able to conduct 11 focus groups with eight researcher-led (including two pilot study focus groups) and four student-led focus groups. This was done through reducing participant numbers in each focus group, which was also influenced by my decision to move focus groups on Zoom (see Methodology section 5.8.2.2).

When comparing the invited student population (n=225) with the recruited focus group sample (=35), a low participation rate is evident. Several factors might have caused this. Firstly, due to the Covid pandemic I was not allowed to recruit participants in person, instead I created a video, shown to students by their form

teachers. While the video was successful in motivating some participants to join the study, it could not replace personal recruitment. This was reflected in participant numbers after only showing the video and a rise in participant numbers after additional form teacher encouragement and snowballing recruitment. Secondly, form teachers mentioned that their students were motivated by the video and that many students took an invitation but most of them did not end up registering for the study. This could mean participants forgot to sign up at home, read the invitation and decided to not take part, parents were against taking part, participants felt insecure about taking part, or there were other reasons not to sign up. Finally, the overall pandemic situation might have affected students' motivation to participate in a project on citizenship which might not have been relevant to participants at that time.

5.5.2.3 Introducing focus group participants

While I recruited a smaller sample than expected, I was able to recruit a diverse sample in terms of the background characteristics I focused on (school year, form class, gender, *Gemeinschaftskunde* teacher) (see Table 5.1). Year 9 participants are overrepresented because I conducted both pilot focus groups in Year 9 which I had access to during the pilot study. In addition to these characteristics, I recruited participants from a total of eight hometowns, which was positive because it allowed me to gain unique insights into a range of different communities. Refer to Findings section 6.2.1 for more information on focus group participants, based on analysing participant data.

Variables	n	%	Variables	n	%
Focus group type			<i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> teachers		
Researcher-led	26	74.3	None	10	28.6
Student-led	9	25.7	Teacher 1 ⁷	8	22.9
Gender			Teacher 2	6	17.1
female	18	51.4	Teacher 3	5	14.3
male	17	48.6	Teacher 4	4	11.4
Year			Teacher 5	2	5.7
9	18	51.4	Hometown		
10	10	28.6	Not given	13	37.1
8	7	20.0	Anderberg	8	22.9
Form class			Schiligersford	3	8.6
9P	8	22.9	Sprurbach	3	8.6
			Hesernsee	2	5.7
			Gahlin	2	5.7

⁷ I numbered teachers here to indicate the range of *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers that participating students were taught by. I removed teachers' pseudonyms when reporting findings to protect teachers' identity.

10Z	5	14.3	Higersborn	2	5.7
10Y	5	14.3	Schleisee	1	2.9
8S	5	14.3	Namensberg	1	2.9
9W	4	11.4			
9V	4	11.4			
9U	2	5.7			
8T	1	2.9			
8R	1	2.9			

Note: Percentages are based on 35 participants.

Table 5.1: Researcher- and student-led focus group sample

5.5.3 Teacher interviews

In this section, I summarise the teacher interview sampling strategy and introduce participating teachers. For teacher interview rationale and content, refer to Methodology section 5.8.5.

5.5.3.1 Teacher interview sampling strategy

I used a combination of stratified and purposive sampling to recruit teacher interview participants who have diverse perspectives but unique insights into Year 8-10 students' citizenship activities and citizenship education (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The diverse perspectives I aimed to incorporate, included different genders, experience as form class teachers in Year 8, 9 and 10, a range of special insights at school and in the community such as into the student council, different career stages, and teaching *Gemeinschaftskunde* and related subjects such as history. I focused on these five aspects because this information was accessible during recruitment and provided diverse perspectives on my research questions. Form teachers, for example, spend a lot of time with their students and, thus, may have had conversations with students about their citizenship activities. Based on the five selected criteria, I identified 11 teachers for recruitment. I decided that engaging in conversations with these teachers would provide me with rich data while still being a manageable number of interviews for a PhD project. I contacted teachers directly, with all 11 teachers agreeing to participate in interviews. I achieved this high participation rate because of my previously established relationships with teachers due to my employment at this school. I reflect on my positionality as a researcher and former colleague in this research in Methodology section 5.6.3

5.5.3.2 Introducing interview participants

I recruited a diverse sample of teachers in terms of the identified background characteristics (form class, *Gemeinschaftskunde* and related subjects, gender, unique

experiences, career stage) (see Table 5.2). As evident in Table 5.2, I recruited teachers with experience as a form class teacher in Year 8, 9 and 10, an almost equal number of male and female teachers and teachers with experience in six different school subjects. The subjects included *Gemeinschaftskunde*, history (*Geschichte*), geography (*Geografie*), ethics (*Ethik*), everyday culture, nutrition, social issues (AES) (*Alltagskultur, Ernährung, Soziales*) and economy/ career and study orientation (WBS) (*Wirtschaft / Berufs- und Studienorientierung*). For more information on each subject, refer to Methodology section 5.8.4. Recruited teachers also had a range of unique experiences at school and were at different career stages, with an overrepresentation of teachers with 10+ years of teaching experience. Refer to Findings section 6.2.3 for more information on teacher interview participants, based on analysing participant data.

Variables	n	%	Variables	n	%
Form teachers			Additional school/community experience		
Year 8	5	45.5	Head of Department	5	45.5
Year 9	3	27.3	Work placement ⁸ / social curriculum ⁹	3	27.3
Year 10	3	27.3	Student council	2	18.2
School subject experience			School leadership	1	9.1
<i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i>	4	36.4	Local council	1	9.1
Geography	4	36.4	Career stage		
WBS	3	27.3	Senior (10+ years)	7	63.6
History	3	27.3	Mid-career (3-10 years)	3	27.3
AES	2	18.2	Early career (less than 3 years)	1	9.1
Ethics	1	9.1			
Gender					
Male	6	54.5			
Female	5	45.5			
Note: Percentages are based on 11 participants.					

Table 5.2: Teacher interview participant sample

⁸ Students at Anderberg middle school complete a one-week work placement in Year 8 and 9 each. Students find their own placements to gain insights into a career they are interested in. Work placement coordinators set the time frame for work placements and schedule teacher visits.

⁹ Most schools in Germany have a social curriculum which provides guidance on how the school promotes social engagement and positive behaviour. Social curriculum coordinators at Anderberg middle school oversee this curriculum, liaise with external partners who can promote students' social engagement and oversee students' one-week social work placements in Year 10.

5.5.4 *Questionnaire*

In this section, I summarise questionnaire sampling and recruitment strategies and introduce questionnaire participants. For questionnaire rationale and content, refer to Methodology section 5.8.6.

5.5.4.1 Questionnaire sampling strategy

I used a combination of stratified and purposive sampling to recruit questionnaire participants with diverse perspectives but unique insights into citizenship activities and citizenship education (Braun & Clarke, 2013). In contrast to focus groups and teacher interviews, where I recruited individual participants, I aimed to recruit whole form classes for the questionnaire. I did this because I was concerned that I recruited participants with higher political interest and higher citizen engagement than ‘ordinary’ young people. I believe that those young people with pre-existing interests may have been more likely and more confident to sign up to focus groups than their peers who might be less engaged. Instead of focussing on a highly engaged sample of young people, however, I was interested in ‘ordinary’ young people. I expected that if I recruited all students in a form class, I would achieve a natural diversity in students who are male and female, interested and uninterested in politics and engaged in citizenship activities to different extents. In addition, by purposefully inviting individual form classes, I could achieve a balance of different form classes, school years and *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers. I aimed to recruit 150 questionnaire participants. This number was based on anticipating participation of two form classes from Year 8, 9 and 10 each. Each form class has an average of 25 students. I decided that this would provide me with rich data while being manageable for a PhD project, considering that many questions in the questionnaire required in-depth qualitative responses.

5.5.4.2 Recruiting questionnaire participants

I used recruitment strategies that allowed me to include as many participants in each form class as possible to avoid only including those students who volunteer because of an existing interest in politics. To achieve this, I conducted the questionnaire for Year 8 and 9 students during their virtual *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. At the time of questionnaire data collection Year 8 and 9 students were fully home-schooled to limit the Covid pandemic infection risk. Year 10 students received the questionnaire as a homework task. Year 10 students came to school in alternate weeks, but teachers were not able to provide me with lessons as students were busy during class time, preparing for final exams. I offered alternative tasks in form of a worksheet to those

participants who did not want to take part in the research since participation was voluntary.

Similarly to focus groups, I staggered my initial recruitment starting with two Year 8 and 9 classes and three Year 10 classes. I decided to recruit three Year 10 classes because I expected a lower participation rate in Year 10 since the questionnaire was done as homework. I received 101 responses from contacting 200 participants. Since recruitment from Year 9 was low, I decided to recruit an additional Year 9 class which resulted in an additional 11 responses from contacting 25 participants. Overall, 115 responses were recorded with 106 valid responses. While recruitment for the questionnaire achieved higher numbers than for focus groups, there was still a large gap between the invited population (=225) and the sample (=115). This can be explained, firstly, by the pandemic situation which meant there was low attendance in virtual classes due to several Covid related absences. In addition, according to teachers, many students appeared disengaged in virtual lessons and in relation to completing homework which teachers attributed to an overall pandemic tiredness and the distance between students and teachers. Secondly, in line with focus group recruitment, response rates might have been higher, had the students and I been able to be present at school during questionnaire completion which could have increased students' motivation and confidence. Finally, the questionnaire length and high number of qualitative responses might have turned some participants off the questionnaire, which is indicated by the high rate of non-completion of questionnaire parts, further discussed in Methodology section 5.9.2.

5.5.4.3 Introducing questionnaire participants

While I recruited a slightly smaller sample than expected, participants were diverse in terms of their backgrounds including different genders, ages, school years, form classes, national groups and hometowns, and in terms of their *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers (see Table 5.3). Table 5.3 also indicates, that the sample is relatively homogenous in relation to some characteristics such as high perceived socio-economic backgrounds and a high number of young people from rural communities. I anticipated this due to the selected case study, which allows me to contribute to the lack of literature on young people's citizenship activities in rural contexts. The sample does not appear to overrepresent young people with high political interest, in fact most participants are hardly or not at all interested in politics (71.4%). Refer to Findings section 6.2.2 for more information on questionnaire participants, based on analysing participant data.

Variables	n	%	Variables	n	%
Gender			Hometown		
male	54	53.5	Anderberg	18	17.8
female	44	43.6	Gahlin	16	15.8
non-binary and other	3	3.0	Schiligerford	14	13.9
Age			Namensberg	10	9.9
15	33	31.1	Other	10	9.9
14	32	30.2	Sprurbach	9	8.9
16	23	21.7	Ostacker	8	7.9
13	16	15.1	Kinkenraden	6	5.9
17 and other	2	1.9	Opjental	5	5.0
			Hesernsee	5	5.0
School year			Gemeinschaftskunde teacher		
Year 8	43	40.6	Teacher 1	46	43.4
Year 9	36	34.0	Teacher 2	37	34.9
Year 10	27	25.5	Teacher 3	12	11.3
			Teacher 4	11	10.4
Form class			Perceived socio-economic status on ladder (1-10)		
8S	26	24.5	Average (5.5-7.5)	59	59.6
8Q	17	16.0	High (8-10)	21	21.2
9V	13	12.3	Low (3-5)	19	19.2
9W	12	11.3	Can your family afford more/less than other families?		
9U	11	10.4	About the same	57	55.3
10X	10	9.4	More	34	33.0
10Z	10	9.4	Less	12	11.7
10Y	7	6.6	Most people I interact with have similar values to me¹⁰		
National group			Agree	46.5	44.5
German	80	76.2	Neither agree nor disagree	50	47.9
German & Other	7	6.7	Disagree	8	7.7
German & Turkish	5	4.8	Political interest		
Croatian	5	4.8	Hardly interested	65	61.9
German & Italian	4	3.8	Quite interested	21	20.0
Serbian	2	1.9	Not at all interested	10	9.5
Other	2	1.9	Very interested	9	8.6
Hometown size¹¹					
Village	75	75.2			
Small town	24	23.8			
Medium town	1	1.0			

Note: Not all questionnaire questions were completed by all 106 participants, thus, percentages refer to the number of participants who completed each question (indicated by the sum of n-values for each topic).

Table 5.3: Questionnaire participant sample

5.6 Ethical considerations

5.6.1 *Gaining informed consent in a secondary school setting*

Because I collected all data at a secondary school including some data from young people aged 16 and under, the informed consent process involved multiple stakeholders including school leadership, form teachers, caregivers, and students. Because I was not able to be personally present at the research site due to pandemic

¹⁰ The values in this item are based on the averages from participants' perception of values differences at and beyond school.

¹¹ Village (<7,000 residents), Small town (7,000-25,000 residents) and Medium town (25,000-60,000)

restrictions, I decided to gain informed consent through an online form. Participating students and caregivers also received paper invitations outlining the research and ethical principles. In addition, caregivers and staff were informed of my research through the school newsletter. To make the consent process understandable for students aged 13 to 17, I used accessible language and summarised all information in a pamphlet rather than a lengthy letter. My experience as a teacher helped me to make the informed-consent process accessible. While focus group participants provided informed consent from caregivers and themselves before we arranged focus group meetings, I used an opt-out consent strategy for the questionnaire. As part of this opt-out process, I advertised the questionnaire through an email to caregivers which included a link to opt their children out of the research. Additionally, participating students were asked for their consent at the start of the questionnaire. Two students were opted out of the questionnaire by their parents. In addition to signing informed consent, participants were informed about the research at the start of each data collection method and could refuse to answer questions or drop out at any time. Participants were also given one week after the focus groups to withdraw their participation and given the opportunity to view their focus group transcripts. One participant requested to see their focus group transcript but did not comment on it. Ethical approval for this research was granted from the University of York Department of Education Ethics Committee.

All collected data was securely stored in accordance with my data management plan and the University's General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR). The data collection site, participant names, and other identifying information such as form class names, were anonymised using pseudonyms. Information on how long I will store participant data, that it will be deleted after this time, and the types of publications where anonymised data will be included in the future, was part of the informed consent forms. I also asked student-researchers to protect the identities of the participants in the focus groups they conducted and to delete anonymised transcripts after conducting data analysis. Student-researchers also received training in ethical principles to make sure they understood the importance of protecting participants' identities.

5.6.2 Risks benefits, and reciprocity of the research

There were overall low risks for participants, associated with this research. Firstly, participants may share potentially sensitive or illegal information. While I was not directly asking participants about sensitive information or illegal activities, I

anticipated that this may come up in our conversations about citizenship activities such as illegal political activism. To make sure that student-researchers and I could pass on information referring to potentially harmful situations, participants and caregivers agreed to this on the informed consent forms. Secondly, student-researchers may be at risk to get into conflicts with their peers throughout the research process because they were taking on a leadership role (Schubotz, 2012). I mitigated this risk by being transparent about the recruitment of student-researchers, by providing student-researchers with training to deal with difficult situations during focus groups (see Methodology section 5.8.3.2) and offering a space to discuss issues after focus group conversations.

While there were overall low risks in this research, there were multiple benefits making the research worthwhile. Firstly, this research can address multiple debates and gaps in the literature, as outlined in Literature review section 4.7. Secondly, I anticipate participating students to benefit from reflecting on their own engagement in citizenship activities, learn about new ways to participate, and have their voices heard at and beyond school. Thirdly, I anticipate participating teachers to reflect on the way they are teaching citizenship education, which can benefit their students and their own professional development. Finally, I anticipate student-researchers to gain skills in group leadership, ethical principles, and questioning techniques by engaging in this project.

In line with the previously outlined benefits, I aimed to improve teachers' and students' experiences at schools and in their communities, through reciprocity. Firstly, I offered to take over a virtual *Gemeinschaftskunde* lesson for participating form classes during which I conducted the questionnaire and discussed citizenship participation with students. This was a means to repay teachers with time they spent to allow me to interview them. Secondly, student-researchers received a certificate outlining their involvement in this research which they could use for their curriculum vitae. I also offered to provide additional references if needed. Finally, I will share results of this research with students and teachers to improve their experiences of citizenship education and participating in citizenship activities at and beyond school.

5.6.3 *The researcher's positionality*

In this section, I reflect on my positionality in this research which is referred to as being an "insider", in the literature (Poulton, 2021; Sikes & Potts, 2008; Wellington, 2015). Insiders have typically a dual role in the organisation or community they

research, as a member and a researcher (Sikes & Potts, 2008). In terms of this research, my dual role was as a teacher at the case study school, Anderberg middle school, and a researcher collecting data for this PhD research. Being an insider posed unique benefits and challenges. I was a teacher at this school for 4.5 years and terminated my employment in between collecting the pilot and main study data. Because I worked at this school for 4.5 years and have built relationships with students and teachers, I decided to discuss issues regarding insider research even though the employment ended before the main study. As follows, I summarise issues regarding insider research. Firstly, I have prior knowledge and enhanced insights into the school and its members. While this can make access to participants, facilities and insider knowledge such as hidden power relations, easier, it can also increase bias and limit the open-mindedness outsider researchers might have, which can affect the validity and reliability of the research (Wellington, 2015). It should be noted, that it is also not entirely possible to be unbiased and objective for outsider researchers who are also influenced by their epistemological views and prior experiences (Smyth & Holian, 2008). Furthermore, researchers bringing unique insights to the research can benefit the study rather than harm it (Braun & Clarke, 2019, 2022). Researchers must, however, reflect on their position in the research, the decisions they make and the experiences and world views they bring to the research. I did this by keeping a reflective diary, by making my research motivation and prior experiences transparent (see Introduction of this thesis) and by outlining the outcomes I expected for this research (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Smyth & Holian, 2008).

Secondly, insider researchers have access to participants and established relationships which can improve data collection. However, this can be a constraint because of distractions coming with being known to the student and teacher population (Poulton, 2021; Wellington, 2015). To mitigate this, I decided to follow a clear data collection timetable at school and be transparent about when I collected data and when I was there as a teacher and colleague.

Thirdly, pre-existing relationships can make data collection easier and help participants to speak freely in conversations. However, relationships can be a double-edged sword because there might be pre-existing power-relationships, which can intimidate participants and it can make the process of reporting-back results difficult if participants are critical towards members of the institution (Smyth & Holian, 2008). In addition, the participants I have formed collegial relationships with, might

know my stance on certain topics from teacher conferences, which might influence their responses to questions (Poulton, 2021). Anonymising the data was an important step in mitigating some of these effects. I also accounted for this by making the student questionnaires anonymous and by conducting focus group conversations with students from the same form class, which might increase students' confidence. In addition, students and their caregivers were informed previously about the research, allowing them to discuss students' participation. Form teachers were also present during the recruitment process, Year 8 and 9 questionnaire completion and when students signed their consent forms. I anticipated that the relationship students have with their teachers may encourage them to feel safe to ask questions, refuse participation in the questionnaire and share their opinions freely.

5.7 Translating and displaying quotes in this thesis

A further issue I considered in this research was language and translation. I conducted this research with German speakers, while I published results of the research in English. Publishing results in English was crucial to reach a wider readership. I decided to collect and analyse data in German because this is participants' and my native language. This also minimised the risk of data getting 'lost in translation' (Sutrisno et al., 2014). In addition, only the passages to be published were translated rather than full transcripts. This approach saved time and mitigated the risk of misrepresenting data. As follows, issues related to language, translation and using participant quotes, are outlined.

Advantages and disadvantages of being a linguistic 'insider'

As a native German speaker, I am regarded as a linguistic 'insider' which can have advantages as well as disadvantages (Cormier, 2018). On the one hand, being fluent in participants' language enables me to pick up on linguistic clues and insinuated comments, which might not be picked up by someone who is not fluent in a language. On the other hand, due to this familiarity, I might not ask participants to elaborate on their answers and as such miss out on valuable information. To avoid this, I had to be reflective by, for example, asking for clarification during focus group conversations and interviews, even if I was familiar with a concept (Wellington, 2015).

Translating data collection instruments

I translated data collection instruments from English to German, which can result in translation issues. Pennycook (2001), for example, suggests that there are some concepts that cannot be translated into another language because there is no equivalent. For example, there is no equivalent for the German term *Bildung* which, therefore, must be translated with the similar but different term *education*. As the wording of data collection instruments can affect validity of the research, translation issues must be reported in resulting publications of this research, to increase transparency as, for example, proposed by Venuti (1998). In addition, databases such as offered by the GESIS Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences¹², provide open access to English and German survey instruments, many of them from citizenship education studies. These instruments provided insights on wording of key terms and previously tested questions.

Translating and presenting participant quotes

After the data analysis process, I translated some participant statements into English to enable access to an English-speaking readership. When translating participants' statements, there is a risk of misrepresenting statements by imposing my own ideas on statements (Venuti, 1998). To alleviate this risk, I reflected on the powerful position I hold as a translator and discussed all participant quotes included in this thesis, with a native-British secondary school teacher with advanced knowledge of German which added to the validity of the translations (Brislin, 1970; Sutrisno et al., 2014). In addition to translating quotes, I decided to clean up quotes rather than using the original wording due to three reasons. Firstly, because I had to translate quotes from German to English, I was not able to use the exact same wording due to differences in grammar, sentence structure, punctuation and pauses between the two languages. Secondly, due to the small number of teachers, I was concerned that teachers could be recognised due to filler words they use and thus, cleaning up quotes helped to ensure teachers' anonymity. While more students participated, the same is true for students. Thirdly, cleaning up quotes meant they became more readable by removing filler words, wrong grammar, wrong sentence structure and repetitions. Nevertheless, I used several strategies to ensure the translated and cleaned up quotes

¹² The GESIS Leibniz Institute for Social Sciences carries out general population surveys in Germany. In addition, their website (gesis.org) offers access to a wide range of survey instruments for the social sciences.

still represent participants' voices. As previously mentioned, I discussed each quote with a native English speaker with high proficiency in German to discuss whether translations truthfully represent the original German quotes. In addition, I added original German words in squared brackets where English translations were not possible. Furthermore, I kept repetitions, filler words or pauses in the quotes, where they were needed because they expressed a certain nuance. I used ellipses where I took parts of a quote out of a longer participant statement or removed added information. I made sure to only remove information that did not obscure or change the statements' meaning.

While I decided to exclude filler words, some pauses and repetitions in most translations, I decided to transcribe the interviews and focus group conversations with as little correction of the collected data as possible, following a preservationist editing approach (Blauner, 1987; Weiss, 1995). I used information such as fillers, pauses, and repetitions during data analysis to reflect on, for example, whether participants appeared confident in their answers. Overall, I argue that in addition to the issues regarding translation, outlined in this section, translation also had benefits as it enhanced my engagement with the data, achieving a deeper understanding of the information.

5.8 Data collection methods: Focus groups, interviews, questionnaire and document analysis

To collect data, I decided to conduct researcher-led and student-led focus groups, teacher interviews, documentary analysis and a student questionnaire. I selected these data collection methods based on my philosophical assumptions of knowledge, the gaps I identified in the literature, the research questions I developed and the available time to conduct this research. In line with mixed-methods research principles, the selected data collection methods are interrelated and influence each other. As follows, I summarise the rationale, structure and challenges of each data collection method in the order in which they were conducted.

5.8.1 Pilot study

I carried out a pilot study at Anderberg middle school in July 2020, just before the summer school holidays and four months before I started to collect main study data. In the pilot study, I conducted one online and one face-to-face researcher-led focus group in Year 9 (n=8), a questionnaire in the same Year 9 class (n=12), one teacher interview and an analysis of the Gemeinschaftskunde curriculum. I did not pilot

student-led focus groups because I had a short window of time between gaining ethical approval and the summer holidays at Anderberg middle school. This short time frame did not allow me to train student-researchers and conduct student-led focus groups. All piloted research instruments were successful in principle which meant I decided to include all of them in the main study. While I decided to carry out face-to-face focus groups based on pilot study results, I was forced to move them online due to a pandemic school lockdown. I made changes to all research instruments which included removing parts, adding questions, changing question wording, re-arranging questions and amending the duration and setting. I discuss these changes throughout the following sections. I included pilot study focus group, teacher interview and documentary analysis data in this thesis. I, however, excluded pilot study focus group data on participants' experience of citizenship education because I previously taught focus group participants in *Gemeinschaftskunde*, and thus, expected participants to be hesitant to express negative perspectives. I also excluded questionnaire results because I restructured the questionnaire considerably.

5.8.2 Researcher-led focus group conversations

In researcher-led focus groups, I addressed research questions 1: Which citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students' part of at school and in their communities?, 2: Which citizenship dimensions do Year 8-10 students participate in? and 3b: How do Year 8-10 students perceive the value of citizenship education regarding their (emerging) citizenship activities? I conducted one online and one face-to-face pilot focus group in July 2020, and six main online focus groups between November and December 2020. The face-to-face focus group took place in a classroom at Anderberg middle school while online focus groups took place using the Zoom platform. All focus groups were voice recorded which was included in the informed consent process. In total 26 students attending Anderberg middle school, participated in researcher-led focus groups. Students were sampled from seven different form classes with each focus group including between two and six students. Focus groups took between 25 and 55 minutes.

5.8.2.1 Rationale for conducting focus groups

I conducted focus groups following Smithson's (2000) definition of "...a controlled group discussion, on the basis that the group interaction generated through discussion is of prior importance to this methodology" (p. 104). The focus group method I used for this research, thus, is in contrast with group interviews during which the researcher asks the same questions to each participant in turn (Barbour,

2007). To achieve discussion among participants, I prepared a list of questions and follow-up questions to control the group discussion but at the same time encouraged participants to have conversations amongst themselves. Generating opportunities for participants to discuss questions allowed them to debate and discuss each other's comments, helping to create rich and authentic data. This was particularly important since I was interested in exploring the range of citizenship activities young people are engaged in and multiple perspectives on citizenship education.

5.8.2.2 Focus group structure and questions

I conducted all main study focus groups online using the Zoom video conferencing platform. This decision was influenced by pandemic restrictions which prevented me from carrying out focus groups at Anderberg middle school, as initially planned. Zoom offered all features important to this research namely allowing for multiple participants with video and audio function, secure audio recording of Zoom sessions, and encryption of meetings (Archibald et al., 2019). Furthermore, Zoom offered additional features which benefitted the data collection process namely chat function, slide sharing, breakout rooms¹³ and creating polls. I presented some methodological results of conducting online focus groups at the University of Leeds 15th Research Students' Education Conference (Suppers, 2021b).

I divided focus groups into four sections namely citizenship activities at school (A), citizenship activities beyond school (B), good citizenship (C), and citizenship education (D). I created a question guide, Appendix G, but also anticipated participants to interact and raise additional issues. Each focus group started with an informal chat, an introduction to focus groups and technical information. I also reiterated the topic, that participants are experts of their own experiences and that I welcome conversations between participants. I also encouraged participants to write answers in the chat.

Part A and D focused on participants' citizenship activities in their (rural) communities (A) and at their schools (D), using a five-step questioning process. Firstly, participants discussed their citizenship activities with a partner in a breakout room, following a pair-share approach, to encourage participants who are less confident to share their ideas (Mundelsee & Jurkowski, 2021). I shared a wide

¹³ A Breakout room is a function on Zoom that allows the host to assign participants into small groups where they can have private discussions.

definition of citizenship activities with participants to make sure their response covered the research topic but did not limit answers. I defined citizenship activities as: “All activities carried out by citizens in communities. A citizen is everyone who lives in a community. You are also citizens”. Secondly, participants shared results from breakout room discussions with the whole group. I asked follow-up questions to gain rich data on participants’ experiences. Follow-up questions were based on the seven emerging citizenship dimensions (see Literature review section 2.6). Thirdly, participants discussed their engagement in six community citizenship spaces (party politics, municipal, unofficial, activism, online, politics and art) and in five school citizenship spaces (form class, service, school decisions, volunteering, activism), identified in the literature. Fourthly, participants completed a poll in which they chose from a list of community and school citizenship activities, also based on reviewing literature. The poll aimed to jog participants’ memory about the citizenship activities they have done and helped to shape the questionnaire. I also shared anonymised poll results with participating teachers during interviews to explore teachers’ perceptions of students’ engagement in citizenship activities. Finally, there was an in-depth follow-up discussion about the activities included in the poll and participants’ experiences with them.

Part B focussed on a research question which was initially included in this research, namely: How do Year 8-10 students perceive good citizens? Due to time and space constraints in this thesis, I decided to only share some findings, regarding this question regarding participants’ background (see Findings section 6.2), instead of dedicating a full chapter to it. I also shared some findings regarding this question at the Political Studies Association (PSA) Annual Conference (Hosoda & Suppers, 2022) and intend to publish some of this data in a journal article.

Part C focused on participants’ perceptions on the value of citizenship education for their uptake of citizenship activities. This part started with an open question about what participants learned in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons, followed by questions addressing their perceptions of the link between *Gemeinschaftskunde* and their uptake of citizenship activities and what kind of learning would help them to get involved in citizenship activities. I also asked participants about the impact of other subjects, work placements and social work placements on their uptake of citizenship activities.

5.8.2.3 Challenges of using focus groups and how I alleviated them

I anticipated three challenges with using focus groups. Firstly, students might be reluctant to speak to me, increased by the fact that I used to be a teacher at their school. To reduce participants' reluctance, two to six peers from the same form classes were present during the conversations. Additionally, at the start of the conversation, participants could ask questions and were informed of their right to withdraw at any point during the conversation. Furthermore, I conducted additional student-led focus groups to increase the possibility of capturing participants' perceptions in the absence of an adult researcher. Student-led focus groups are introduced in Methodology section 5.8.3. Secondly, I anticipated participants to be influenced by the presence of their peers, through the so called 'social desirability effect' (Callegaro, 2008), causing participants to make false comments because they believe this is a desired answer by the researcher or peers. This was alleviated by holding back physical and verbal value statements such as nodding or endorsing answers with phrases like "excellent idea". To further reduce the impact of participants' being influenced by their peers, some of whom might take on a dominant role in the conversation, I employed different techniques such as directly addressing participants who were less engaged in the conversation and interjecting when a participant was capitalising the conversation.

In addition to these general issues, I identified three issues with conducting online focus groups on Zoom. Firstly, there is a higher attrition rate in online than face-to-face focus groups, which is, for example, explained by a minimised risk on participants' side to miss an online appointment (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014; dos Santos Marques et al., 2020; Greenspan & Gordon, 2021). I reduced the attrition rate by collaborating with students' form teachers in the recruitment process which created accountability for participants. In addition, I established direct communication with participants through the learning platform Edmodo which helped to remind participants of their focus group appointments. I also shared clear information of what to expect during focus groups, helping participants to feel comfortable (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2017). These strategies appeared to be successful with only four out of 29 participants who signed consent forms, not showing up. Additionally, many participants joined focus groups late which meant I could only start two focus groups on time, with participants in the remaining focus groups arriving five to 28 minutes late. This impacted data collection as participants were interrupted when new participants joined. Secondly, I anticipated technical issues during focus groups including not being able to sign on the call, bad call

quality, and audio and video issues (Archibald et al., 2019; dos Santos Marques et al., 2020; Greenspan & Gordon, 2021). I alleviated the impact of these problems by offering Zoom group training sessions to participants. I also trialled focus groups with colleagues to learn which technical issues might occur and how I could solve them. Out of the 26 focus group participants, four participants had access difficulties, two experienced audio issues and six had their video turned off. Some participants turned off their video by choice. Thirdly, videoconferencing can pose communication issues such as background noise, talking at the same time, difficulty interpreting verbal cues and difficulty understanding each other (Dangerfield et al., 2021; Greenspan & Gordon, 2021; Kite & Phongsavan, 2017). To alleviate these challenges, Zoom allows participants to mute their microphone and virtual hand raising. I also encouraged participants to turn on their videos to help with interpreting verbal cues and reduced the group size to a maximum of five participants, which helped to reduce communication problems and technical difficulties.

5.8.3 Student-led focus group conversations

A total of seven student-researchers attending Year 10 at Anderberg middle school, conducted five online focus groups between November 2020 and January 2021 using the Zoom platform. All focus groups were voice recorded which was included in the informed consent. In total nine students, attending Year 8-10 at Anderberg middle school, participated in student-led focus groups. All, apart from one focus group, included two students and had a duration between 21 and 35 minutes. One conversation included one student-researcher and one participant, which was, therefore, an interview. Student researchers participated in three phases including a focus group planning session, conducting a focus group with students from Year 8 to 10 and a data analysis session.

5.8.3.1 Rationale for conducting student-led focus groups

Student-led focus group conversations addressed research questions 1: Which citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students' part of at school and in their communities?, 2: Which citizenship dimensions do Year 8-10 students participate in? and 3b: How do Year 8-10 students perceive the value of citizenship education regarding their citizenship activities? Student-led focus group is a method based on the concept of participatory research (also referred to as co-construction) which was developed in the 1970s, with the aim to give a voice to groups who were marginalised in mainstream research (Hall, 1992). The assumption behind participatory research

is that knowledge is socially constructed and, therefore, research should allow for a collective investigation of experiences. An element of participatory research was added to this project as young people are a group often marginalised in the political world. According to Hart (1997) there are different levels of youth involvement in research. He argues there are three levels of non-involvement: manipulation, decoration and tokenism, which should be avoided by research. In addition, he lists five levels of participation: assigned but informed, consulted and informed, adult-initiated shared decisions with children, child-initiated and directed, and finally, child-initiated shared decisions with adults. Hart (1997) believes that not all research and all participants are suited to all levels of involvement and that the involvement should be chosen with care and if possible, by participants themselves. For the proposed project, two different levels of participatory research are included. Firstly, the questionnaire and focus group conversations are asking for young people's perspectives and as such include the level of 'consulted and informed'. Secondly, some participants, called student-researchers in this thesis, are included in the process of developing questions, conducting a focus group with some of their peers and analysing focus group data. This relates to the level: adult-initiated shared decisions with children. While there is an increasing number of studies looking at how to include young people into the research process, co-production in a secondary school context and particularly including students in data analysis, is rare (Campbell et al., 2019). Thus, by using this methodological approach, I aimed to make a methodological contribution to the literature, in addition to gaining unique insights into young people's citizenship through student-researchers' perspectives.

5.8.3.2 Planning student-led focus groups

Student-researcher training took place in a 60-minute Zoom session which was attended by the seven student-researchers together. For the lesson plan of the student-researcher training, refer to Appendix H. Including research participants in the planning part of the research was a complex task because I already had research questions in mind which I wanted to address, based on an in-depth review of the literature, as outlined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. On the other hand, to achieve authentic involvement of student-researchers and avoid tokenism, I wanted to shift some of the decisions in the research process to students to allow them ownership over their data collection (Hart, 1997). Thus, I shared my research question and areas of interest but asked student-researchers to create their own focus group question guide. I explained to student-researchers that based on reviewing the literature I wanted to know: What are young people doing as citizens and what is the role of citizenship

education for this? I also suggested that I was particularly interested in unofficial, individual, online, sporadic, issues-based, justice-oriented and glocal aspects of young people's participation and explained these contexts. In addition to the goal of the research, I taught basic ethical principles to students because they collected data from their peers, including ensuring participants' voluntary participation and right to withdraw from focus groups, issues associated with voice recording, participants' anonymity, and data protection. I also discussed key aspects of focus group data collection methodology with student-researchers, including preparing a question guide, introducing the focus group and conversation rules, conversation strategies such as encouraging shy participants, avoiding leading questions and not judging participant comments. I also gave participants time to prepare their question guide and practice focus groups with each other. Involving participants in the process of designing questions helped to gain unique insights into the research topic because they developed different question (Kirby, 2004). Initially, I also planned to give student-researchers freedom to decide where to conduct focus groups. Due to the pandemic, however, all focus groups had to be moved to Zoom. While student-researchers were involved in designing focus groups and collected their own data, results showed that they appeared not to experience full ownership over data collection, illustrated in the following comment, which is a limitation of this research.

We actually already know the answers, but I think we have to ask that for Mrs Suppers.

(Student-researcher)

5.8.3.3 Conducting student-led focus groups

All student-researchers who participated in the training session, conducted a focus group. Two student-researchers decided to conduct focus groups together, while three researchers decided to conduct focus groups by themselves. These decisions were also impacted by the number of students who signed up and the availability of student researchers and participants. I created focus groups with participants who shared characteristics where possible such as gender and age. Some students also knew each other from other experiences at school such as being in the student council together, which made conversations more comfortable according to student-researchers.

While the data student-researchers collected was overall, rich and valid, there were more missed opportunities to ask follow-up questions than in the data I collected.

This was to be expected because student-researchers did not have much time to become familiar with data collection. The following student-led focus group excerpt shows a missed opportunities to ask a follow-up questions.

- Student-researcher: ...Have you ever done something for the municipality, like helping, like voluntary work?
 Lana: Not privately, but I did confirmation and during that time we helped. For example, we once sold oranges for a good cause.
 Ruben: Yes, or organise children's church.
 Lana: Yes.
 Student-researcher: Do you think you have a say in your municipality? Do you feel heard?
 (Student-led focus group, Y10)

As evident in the excerpt, some more follow-up questions such as: “Can you tell me more about this?” could have helped to gain a deeper understanding of the citizenship activities discussed by participants. It should be acknowledged, however, that not asking enough follow-up questions is not unique to student-researchers and might rather be an issue resulting from being an insider with shared understanding of what is being discussed (Wellington, 2015). Being an insider, however, also appeared to help student-researchers to build rapport with their participants, which encouraged participants to be critical, especially about power-relationships at school and their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons which appeared to be more difficult for participants in the focus groups I led, as shown in the following excerpt.

- Student-researcher: So, you didn't talk about current topics and stuff like that?
 Killian: Not really.
 Jordan: No.
 Killian: What I found problematic in *Gemeinschaftskunde*, was that we often, just, always, only got worksheets that we worked on, but never talked much about topics...Or something in the news.
 Student-researcher: Yes, it does not help if there is only one lesson of *Gemeinschaftskunde*.
 Jordan: Yes.
 Student-researcher: We only had one lesson of *Gemeinschaftskunde* last year.
 Jordan: We didn't learn much about politics.
 (Student-led focus group, Y9)

While this excerpt shows that participants appeared to be confident to voice critical comments about their experiences at school, there were also instances in the data where leading questions were asked and statements were valued by student-researchers. I, thus, had to exclude some data from the analysis. This was also expected as student-researchers did not receive in-depth data collection training. I addressed the impact of issues such as leading questions by voice-recording the

conversations to assess the content after data collection. Voice recording, however, was discussed with student-researchers and was made transparent to participants in advance. Participants were aware who was listening to the recording to not deceive them and student-researchers were given the opportunity to discuss and negotiate the use of voice-recording with the me, so their involvement did not become tokenistic.

5.8.3.4 Challenges of student-led focus groups and how they were alleviated

There are two challenges, associated with using student-initiated focus groups. Firstly, due to peer researchers' inexperience with conducting academic research, their collected data has a greater likelihood to be flawed than the data collected by me, which can affect the validity and reliability of the project (Hall, 1992). Issues might, for example, arise from posing questions that are suggestive, not being neutral in response to participants' statements, not including all participants in the conversation and note-taking difficulties. This challenge was alleviated by using a voice-recording device to increase transparency of the focus group process. In addition, training sessions as well as realistic expectations of student-researchers mitigated these challenges (Schubotz, 2012). Secondly, peer researchers might be at risk to get into conflicts with their peers and friends through the research process because they are taking on a leadership role (Schubotz, 2012). I mitigated this risk by creating transparency about recruiting student-researchers, by providing peer researchers with strategies to deal with difficult situations during focus groups, allowing peer researchers to have a say which focus group they wanted to conduct, as well as a space to discuss issues after the conversations.

5.8.4 *Documentary analysis*

Documentary analysis was selected to answer research question 3a: How does the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum support Year 8 to 10 students in taking up (emerging) citizenship activities? I selected eight curriculum documents for analysis, related to the 2016 curriculum initiative at secondary schools in *Baden-Württemberg*, including the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum (KM BW, 2016a), the teachers' curriculum guide (KM BW, 2016g), the handbook for democratic learning (KM BW, 2019a) as well as related subject curricula including AES, ethics, geography, history and WBS (KM BW, 2016b, 2016c, 2016d, 2016e, 2016f). As all documents were freely accessible and did not contain sensitive data, their analysis did not require special ethical considerations. In Appendix I, I summarised all documents I analysed, including their titles, document types, a description and a rationale for including each document.

I analysed all sections of curriculum documents except for achievement objectives (AOs) from Years 5-7 because this project focuses on Year 8-10 students' experiences. While I included full curriculum documents in the analysis, I placed most focus on AOs which provide insights into the skills, values and content each subject teaches. AOs are structured in the same way across all curriculum documents, as illustrated with an AO from the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum in Figure 5.3. All AOs belong to a key concept, such as "society" in this example, and are divided into themes such as "coexistence in social groups". Each AO is further described at three different levels (G, M and E). Since in this research I am interested in citizenship education at a *Realschule*, I exclusively included M-level AOs in the analysis.

Students are able to		
G	M	E
(1) Describe role expectations placed on young people in the family, peer group and school and compare these with their own ideas using pre-structured material	(1) Describe role expectations placed on young people in the family, peer group and school and compare these with their own ideas	(1) Describe the role expectations placed on young people in the family, peer group and school and explain the resulting role conflicts

Figure 5.3: Example of an achievement objective, translated from the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum

I employed two main strategies for documentary analysis. Firstly, I uploaded documents on NVivo to perform quantitative content analysis and thematic analysis, as outlined in section 5.9.1. Secondly, I decided to use Wellington's (2015) "framework for interrogating documents" (p. 216) to gain insights into authorship, audience, production, presentation, intention, style, and context of the curriculum (see Appendix J).

5.8.5 *Semi-structured teacher interviews*

Teacher interviews addressed research questions 1: Which citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students' part of at school and in their communities?, 2: Which citizenship dimensions do Year 8-10 students participate in? and 3c: How do teachers perceive the value of citizenship education regarding Year 8-10 students' citizenship activities? I carried out interviews with 11 teachers from Anderberg middle school between March and April 2021. One teacher was interviewed twice, once in the pilot

study and again in the main study. Both transcripts were included in the data analysis because I changed several aspects for the main study data collection, which means new insights could be gained from asking different questions. Two teachers were interviewed together as they shared unique insights into the student council and thus were able to spark off each other. All interviews were voice-recorded which was included in the informed consent letters.

5.8.5.1 Rationale for conducting teacher interviews

I selected teacher interviews to gain in-depth understanding of participants' experiences. I included teachers in this research because they are mediators between the curriculum and what students learn. In addition, comparing citizenship education teachers' viewpoints with data from student focus group conversations and student questionnaires can add diverse perspectives and richness to the research. I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews using a pre-determined list of questions (see Appendix K) but expected the interviews to be a professional discussion with room for teachers to raise issues (Wellington, 2015).

5.8.5.2 Interview structure and questions

I conducted all teacher interviews online using the Zoom and Webex application because I was not allowed to enter Anderberg middle school at the time of data collection due to pandemic restrictions. Using the Zoom and Webex online video-conferencing software offered all features needed to carry out successful interviews for this research which included audio and video, screen sharing and audio-recording. At the start of the interviews, I had an informal chat with participants, introduced the topic and defined citizenship activities. I defined citizenship activities as: "All voluntary activities regarding politics, the state and the government or geared towards community issues or with a political motive". I also explained that I was particularly interested in individual, online, glocal, issues-based, justice-oriented, unofficial and sporadic activities, and defined them. The definition of citizenship activities, I provided in the interview, has changed throughout the project. For example, while I initially only included voluntary citizenship activities, I later decided to also include mobilised citizenship activities. Describing citizenship activities to interview participants as voluntary, may have limited citizenship activities, shared by teachers. The rest of the interviews was divided into four sections, summarised as follows. While I asked all participating teachers about the first two parts on students' participation in citizenship activities, I asked the remaining parts depending on teachers' specialist knowledge.

Parts A and B were structured using a three-step questioning process. Firstly, I asked an open question about Year 8 and 10 students' engagement in citizenship activities at school (Part A) and in their communities (Part B). Secondly, I asked participants to comment on the citizenship activities Year 8-10 students participate in within six citizenship spaces at school (form class, service, volunteering, school decisions and activism) and in their communities (party politics, municipal, unofficial, activism, online and art). Thirdly, I showed anonymised results of focus group polls to participants to gain an additional perspective from teachers on the data I collected in focus group and to jog teachers' recollection of further activities their students may participated in.

Part C focused on citizenship education and was, thus, only asked to *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers. I also used a three-step questioning process for this part. Firstly, I asked an open question about the skills, values and knowledge Year 8-10 students can learn in *Gemeinschaftskunde*. Secondly, I asked participants to reflect on key terms regarding their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons which I identified in the literature, focus group conversations and preliminary documentary analysis. The terms included discussions, current topics, excursions, textbook, curriculum, democratic learning handbook, democracy and citizen participation. I presented all terms without attributing value statements to them, to avoid leading teachers to comments that they perceive to be the 'correct' answer. Finally, I asked teachers whether they perceived a link between citizenship education and citizenship activities and how citizenship education could increase students' uptake of citizenship activities.

In Part D I asked participants about the impact of other subjects on students' citizenship activities and whether they perceived a link between school-based work placement/ social work placement and uptake of citizenship activities. The remaining questions were geared towards specialist teacher roles including teachers with experience of the social curriculum, student council, local council and AES.

5.8.5.3 Challenges of teacher interviews and how they were mitigated

I identified three challenges using teacher interviews. Firstly, teachers have a busy schedule which might influence their interest and ability to participate in the research. To relief time-pressure I limited teacher interviews to a maximum of 45 minutes. Furthermore, I involved form class teachers in the organisational aspect of

the research to alleviate time-pressure on *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers and *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons, which are time-tabled with a minimal time allowance, making it difficult to meet curricular expectations. A second challenge using interviews was my two-folded role as interviewer and colleague. I decided to conduct interviews as professional conversations, anticipating that a collegial approach would minimise discomfort. Thirdly, teachers might be prone to the social desirability effect. To alleviate this, I aimed for a neutral body language and avoiding assessment of participants' statements.

5.8.6 Student questionnaire

The student questionnaire addressed research questions 1: Which citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students' part of at school and in their communities?, 2: Which citizenship dimensions do Year 8-10 students participate in? and 3b: How do Year 8-10 students perceive the value of citizenship education regarding their (emerging) citizenship activities? I conducted the student questionnaire in May 2021, with participants from Year 8 and 9 completing the questionnaire in a virtual *Gemeinschaftskunde* lesson and participants from Year 10 completing the questionnaire as a homework task. Overall, 115 participants from Anderberg middle school completed the questionnaire with a total of 106 valid responses.

5.8.6.1 Rationale for conducting student questionnaires

The questionnaire included both open-ended questions requiring in-depth responses and closed questions including dichotomous, multiple-choice, ranking and Likert-scale questions (Cohen et al., 2018). I chose a questionnaire to reach multiple participants in a short time frame and through a less-time intensive process than focus groups and interviews. The questionnaire also allowed me to gain a wide range of rich participant background information, which was important for the case study method and to allow the readers of this research to decide to which extent this research is applicable to their context (Smith, 2018). Apart from a few general background characteristics such as participants' hometown, form classes and school years, focus groups were not suited to collect participant data because of their shared nature. In addition, I assumed that the questionnaire would provide more reflection time for participants to share their experiences and some participants may be more willing to share their views in an anonymised questionnaire than in focus groups (Wellington, 2015).

5.8.6.2 Structure of the questionnaire and questions

I distributed the questionnaire using Qualtrics, which is an online questionnaire development tool. Qualtrics allowed me to use a wide range of question types, has functions to analyse qualitative and quantitative data during and after data collection, data can be directly exported to Excel and NVivo, and the questionnaire can be distributed through a link. In addition, the University of York has a subscription to Qualtrics and, thus, it was freely accessible to me. The questionnaire has six parts, Appendix L, starting with an informed consent form (Part A). Each part was clearly labelled for participants using headings to achieve clarity (Wellington, 2015). The remaining parts of the questionnaire are summarised as follows.

In Part B, I collected a wide range of participant background information which was informed by a review of the literature (see Literature review section 2.5.8). Detailed background information on participants helped me to compare different participants and allowed a thick description of results and the context within which data was collected.

Part C focused on participants' perception of good citizenship. I first asked participants what a good citizen is to them, followed by 15 statements about good citizenship to be ranked by participants. These statements were based on Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) three types of citizens and Bennett's (2003) two types of citizens. As previously discussed, I side-lined this topic in the thesis, to make the scope of the thesis manageable. Instead, results from this section have been presented at conferences and will be published in a journal article.

Part D and E focussed on participants' citizenship activities at school (Part D) and in their communities (Part E). I used a four-step questioning approach. Firstly, I asked participants whether they had participated in citizenship activities in the past two years and if so, how often. I provided a wide definition of citizenship activities to avoid participants limiting their answers (O'Toole et al., 2003; Pickard, 2019; Sveningsson, 2016). I defined citizenship activities at school as: "All voluntary activities that you do as a member of the school. This can include helping, planning events, making-decisions, being a leader, being critical, etc". I defined citizenship activities in their communities as: "All voluntary activities you do as a member of groups (incl. online), your community, nation, the EU and the world. Activities can include helping, planning events, making decisions, being a leader, being critical, etc.". As previously mentioned, I removed the word 'voluntary' from my definition

during the analysis. Secondly, I asked those participants who participated in citizenship activities, to describe their experiences. Thirdly, I asked participants to indicate which of a pre-defined list of citizenship activities they had done in the past two years. Because the literature review suggested that participants' might be engaged sporadically rather than regularly, I used a Likert scale, asking participants whether they participated in these activities almost always, often, sometimes, or never (Amnå & Ekman, 2014; Bang, 2005). Finally, I asked open follow-up questions including an in-depth description of a citizenship activity, why participants had not engaged in some activities and whether the Covid pandemic impacted their citizen participation. These follow-up questions aimed at gaining in-depth insights into participants' experiences of citizenship activities which was important to apply the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions (see Literature review section 2.6).

Part F focussed on participants' experiences of citizenship education. I first asked about participants' general experience of *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons including their likes and dislikes and what they would like to improve. I also asked about the impact of the Covid pandemic on their lessons. Secondly, I asked about the link between *Gemeinschaftskunde* and their uptake of citizenship activities at and beyond school. Finally, I used Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) and Bennett's (2003) citizen frameworks in a ranked question to find out about the type of teaching, participants experienced in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons.

5.8.6.3 Challenges of using a student questionnaire and how they were mitigated
While questionnaires possess unique benefits, such as allowing distribution to a large sample, there are possible challenges. Firstly, students might misunderstand questions which can affect validity. To prevent this, I used language appropriate to adolescents and tested the questionnaire through piloting. In addition, I defined contested terms such as citizenship activity. Secondly, data interpretation in qualitative questionnaires is a time-intensive process. To mitigate this, I used Qualtrics, which allowed me to export results into SPSS, NVivo and Excel. Thirdly, questionnaires do not allow an interaction with participants and as such I could not ask participants about their answers. This was mitigated by using many open questions in which participants could explain themselves. In addition, the previously conducted focus groups allowed for discussion with participants. Fourthly, questionnaires can be tiring, particularly when conducted during a long school day. To address this, I distributed the questionnaire online and in a visually pleasing

manner. While it depends on the presentation and application of a particular tool, using technology with young people can be a motivating factor (Kerres, 2013). The questionnaire was also sequenced sensibly, starting with easier closed questions and finishing with open questions as suggested by Wellington (2015). As with student focus group conversations and teacher interviews, the social desirability effect, is also an issue when designing questionnaires. To prevent participants from making false comments because they think this is the expected answer, I designed questions carefully, avoiding to attach values to answers. The questionnaire was also confidential which was made transparent to participants. Additionally, I only collected non-personally identifiable data in the questionnaire, which is a regulation by the *Baden-Württemberg* Ministry of Education.

5.9 Data analysis methods: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods

In this section I summarise how I analysed the data, I collected with the previously outlined methods. I divided this section into analysing qualitative, quantitative and mixed-methods data.

5.9.1 Analysing qualitative data

Qualitative data was gathered with researcher- and student-led focus groups, teacher interviews, curriculum document analysis and open questions of the student questionnaire. In this section I first describe how I prepared qualitative data for analysis and how I used NVivo to assist with data analysis. Second, I describe the two different qualitative data analysis approaches I used. I chose data analysis approaches that are grounded in my philosophical assumptions and allow me to gain in-depth understanding of participants' experiences. The first approach I used was reflexive thematic analysis to gain in-depth insights into participants' experiences in relation to my research questions. The second approach I used was quantitative content analysis using three citizen frameworks to gain further insights into participants' emerging citizenship activities and experience of citizenship education. I did not use quantitative content analysis because I found reflexive thematic analysis lacking, instead I used this approach because it allowed me to systematically apply citizen frameworks. Finally, there is a section on how student-researchers analysed their focus group data.

5.9.1.1 Preparing qualitative data for the analysis and using NVivo

I first immersed myself into the data through listening to and transcribing audio recordings as well as reading through transcripts, questionnaire responses and

curriculum documents (Wellington, 2015). While transcription of teacher interviews and focus groups was necessary to conduct different types of analysis, I acknowledge that through the transcription process, some aspects of the data changed or got lost as it altered their form from oral to written language (Cohen et al., 2018). To capture some insights from spoken language, I created annotations on NVivo while listening to audio recordings. In addition, I added the notes I made during interviews and focus groups as annotations to transcripts. Furthermore, the spoken text was transcribed as accurately as possible by using special cases to, for example, indicate unfinished sentences, pauses, facial expressions, laughs, hesitation sounds, fillers, or silence. After the transcription process, all qualitative data (focus group and interview transcripts, participant responses to open questions in the questionnaire, curriculum document) were imported into NVivo to conduct different types of analysis. For curriculum documents, I also completed Wellington's (2015) "table for interrogating documents" (p. 216) (see Appendix J). During the process of immersion and transcription, key terms and particularly ambiguous terms were added, defined, and translated in a glossary.

I used NVivo to assist with qualitative data analysis because of several reasons. Firstly, I collected large amounts of qualitative data (about 14 hours of audio recordings, 300 pages of documents, questionnaire responses, field notes). NVivo allowed me to store and manage different types of data (audio and text) digitally and in one place. In addition, the software allows for cross referencing between different data sets. Secondly, I collected data from a range of different participants who I could store as cases on NVivo and compare using a participant classification sheet. Software features such as matrix coding queries allowed for comparison of participants and my created codes. Thirdly, NVivo has the capacity to create diagrams like word clouds and thematic maps, to visually display data which helped with analysis and reporting findings. Additionally, word frequency counts and matrix table queries enabled a comparison of participants, files and codes, helping with a deeper understanding of the data and exploring relationships between variables. Finally, NVivo made tasks easier and less time consuming because of its special features such as hotkeys for transcription, quick retrieval of participant quotes and frequent code modification.

There are also potential issues with using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Firstly, using CAQDAS can distract researchers from the actual task of data analysis as it takes time to get to know and use the software. To

speed up the process of getting to know NVivo, I attended a range of taught university courses and self-paced online courses which allowed me to get to know the program before I started my own analysis. Secondly, using CAQDAS may hamper researchers' reflexivity as software can oversimplify multifaceted problems, can be used unthinkingly, and may force researchers into a certain way of analysing data, often more positivist in nature (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013; Woods et al., 2016). To counteract this, I transparently described how I used the software for data analysis. I also used the pronoun 'I' when outlining the use of NVivo to highlight that I conducted the analysis, rather than the software (Paulus et al., 2017). Finally, it is important to acknowledge "...that qualitative software does not substitute the researcher's analytical capacities to assign meaning, identify similarities and differences, establish relations..." (García-Horta & Guerra-Ramos, 2009, p. 152).

5.9.1.2 Using thematic analysis: Generating codes and themes

The first data analysis approach I used was thematic analysis with a focus on reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013, 2019, 2022). In reflexive thematic analysis the researcher has an active role in interpreting data and constructing knowledge, influenced by prior experience, theoretical constructs, and ideological assumptions. Braun and Clarke (2013) suggest six steps for analysing qualitative data, which guided my data analysis process (see Table 5.4). I did not follow step six, which refers to report writing, as recommended by the authors because I decided to report my findings using a mixed-methods approach. Thus, step six was excluded from the table and the subsequent description.

Step 1	Data familiarisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> transcribing active, critical and analytical reading note-taking reflecting on expectations and own experiences
Step 2	Code generation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> coding inclusively, comprehensively and systematically codes can be semantic or data-derived codes can be latent/implicit or researcher-driven
Step 3	Theme generation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> coding is finished when codes are rich and comprehensive creating themes is an active process not just frequency is important but that themes have shared patterns across data sets themes should be unified by central points rather than 'bucket themes' that summarise all ideas in a category
Step 4	Theme review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> checking whether the theme works in relation to the coded data (Does it fairly represent data?)
Step 5	Theme naming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> defining the themes and refining the specificities of each theme the themes should represent the overall story of the data

Table 5.4: Conducting reflexive thematic analysis, adapted from Braun and Clarke (2013)

As follows, I describe how data analysis steps two to five were conducted in this research. Step one, data familiarisation, was already described in Methodology section 5.9.1.1.

Step 2: Code generation

I carried out step two with the help of NVivo by creating codes for all focus group and interview transcripts, qualitative questionnaire answers and curriculum documents. These codes were guided by research questions 1, 3a and b. I describe how I addressed research question 2 in Methodology section 5.9.1.3. Because I was interested in participants' experiences of five citizenship spaces at school and six citizenship spaces beyond school, I pre-structured my coding to reflect these spaces (see Figure 5.4). Within each space I coded all data on citizenship activities in a citizenship activities folder and all other data regarding this space in an additional folder (see form class in Figure 5.4). To code citizenship activities I followed the definition proposed in Literature review section 2.4.



Figure 5.4: Coding framework to structure qualitative data

Coding was not a straightforward process, instead it was marked by going back and forth between creating new codes, merging codes and creating parent codes. I used the following strategies to code comprehensively and systematically. Firstly, at regular intervals throughout the coding process, I looked at all participant comments belonging to a code to decide whether they appropriately represented this code. Sometimes, it was necessary to add sub-codes to provide a more nuanced description of a code while other times codes were merged to increase clarity. Secondly, I created several concept maps from the codes that addressed specific research questions. This visualisation technique helped me to understand the relationships between codes and whether other relationships were possible. Finally, I participated in weekly data

analysis meetings with PhD colleagues who were in the process of analysing their data. During these meetings, we discussed codes and data visualisations which helped me to reflect on my practice and my role in the coding process. I coded the German data in English, which helped me to gain deeper understanding of what my participants said, as I had to find appropriate language to represent their statements in form of a code. Refer to Methodology section 5.7 for more information on translation in this research.

Steps 3 to 5: Theme generation, review, and naming

I carried out steps three to five with the help of NVivo, Excel and using different visualisation techniques. In line with Braun and Clarke (2013), when identifying patterns across my coded data, I focused on what is most meaningful to my participants rather than numbers which were more important in quantitative content analysis, described in Methodology section 5.9.1.3. During these steps, I moved from codes to candidate themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006): “A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (p.82). Instead of creating “bucket-themes” which contain all codes related to a topic, I aimed to create themes with a “central organising idea” (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p.224). This process involved several visualisations using paper, post-its and drawing concept maps. Once I identified candidate themes, I created an Excel sheet for each candidate theme. On this sheet, I copied all codes along with participant comments that were part of this theme which allowed me to identify nuances of the theme by creating sub-themes (see Figure 5.5).

Party politics: Negative perceptions	
Negative opinions of politicians	
Focus group	Maria, 10: Das war letztes Jahr mhm wegen der, (k) wegen dem Artikel 13, weil da irgendwie ein Upload Filter kommen sollte
Focus group	Gideon, 9: Also ich finde man sollte den Politikern auf jeden Fall nicht vertrauen, weil die labern oftmals ziemlich viel Müll,
Focus group	Jens, 9: Also ich schreib manchmal auch was im Chat und ich folg auch anderen Politikern auf Instagram. Manche Politiker
Focus group	Patricia, 9: Also ich denk mal da könnte man wenn dann müsste man direkt mit den Politikern sprechen, andererseits glaut
Focus group	Patricia, 9: Also ich denke schon das man den Politikern schreiben künnte, die Frage ist nur wieder ob sie es überhaupt les
Focus group	JS: (lacht), ok... ja ok, wie siehts denn aus so in Parteien oder politischen Organisationen, hat da schonmal jemand eine Erf
No previous involvement/ contact with politicians and parties	
<i>Age</i>	
Focus group	Constantin, 10: Ich hab genauso wie die anderen auch noch nicht so richtig mich mit Parteien auseinander gesetzt. Das ha
Questionnai	Simon, 10: Ich würde schon gerne wählen gehen allerdings bin ich was das angeht noch minderjährig und darf es nicht, au
Teacher inter	Teacher: Ok. (Pause) Über die unteren beiden. Joa ok. Aber wie gesagt diese mittlere Geschichte mit den Politikern, das fin
<i>Interest</i>	
Focus group	Katja, 8: Also Politiker hab ich jetzt selbst noch nicht getroffen mhm also klar tut mich die Politik ein bisschen mhm intere
Questionnai	Lisa, 10: Ich folge keinen politischen Menschen auf sozialen Medien da sie mich da nicht interessieren
Questionnai	Klara, 8: Einer politischen Gruppe im internet beigetreten, weil ich mich wenig an der Politik interessiere.
Questionnai	David, 8: Politischen gruppen im Internet beigetreten: mich hat so etwas nie interessiert.
Questionnai	Arian, 10: Keine Lust einer Gruppe beizutreten zu wenig interesse meinerseits.,
Teacher inter	Teacher: Ja also, wenn da irgendso ei Schlipsträger den man noch nie gesehen hat, der nur alle 4 Jahre an so ner Litfassäu
Teacher inter	Teacher: Mhm allgemein würd ich fast sagen eher weniger (Pause) Also ich find tatsächlich, das hab ich aber auch damals
Teacher inter	Teacher: Oder halt die meisten, und des ist schon so, natürlich ich seh ja als 13 jähriger seh ich nen 50 jährigen ja scho
<i>Being informed</i>	
Focus group	Maren, 8: Also bei Politikern da bin ich jetzt nicht so... weiß nicht so viel Bescheid, hab noch nicht so viel darüber gelernt.
Focus group	Milena, 8: Ja also ich find halt einfach nur, dass dass man irgendwie so machen müsste, sollte, dass sich eben die jüngerer
Do not feel heard	
Focus group	Killian, 9: Mhm ich find halt, dass halt oft die Politiker immer nur auf die Erwachsenen hören oder so. Und wenn mal wirkli
Focus group	Theo, 8: Schon ja, aber eben das Interesse, das sie haben, sie haben ein Interesse an uns, aber sie fragen uns nicht darüber
Questionnai	Malia, 10: Politiker persönlich kontaktiert. Bisher habe ich das nicht gemacht, da das nie wirklich richtig ernstgenommen w

Figure 5.5: Example of a candidate theme on Excel

As displayed in Figure 5.5, the example candidate theme is called “Party politics: Negative perceptions” and the sub-themes are “negative opinions of politicians”, “no previous involvement/contact with politicians/political parties” and “do not feel heard”. I also compared data collection methods and some information about participants, such as gender and year, which was helpful to understand whether nuances were only relevant to sub-groups of participants or certain data collection methods. Moving away from codes and going back to participant comments was particularly important during theme generation because the codes were translated versions of participant comments and, thus, may have misrepresented underlying meanings. After I decided on the final themes, I started to write the findings sections of this thesis, which helped me to further review themes.

I considered three issues with using thematic analysis in this research. Firstly, due to an emphasis on the researcher in the data analysis process, the analysis might be criticised in terms of lacking reliability and validity. To counteract this, I provided a thick description of my data analysis process, as well as transparency by discussing my underlying values (see Methodology section 5.2). Secondly, the focus on single

participants might get lost because this data analysis approach focusses on themes across the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2013). I mitigated this by cross-checking my created themes with different participants to make sure the themes are inclusive. In addition, I added further data analysis techniques using NVivo that allowed a focus on participants such as comparing participants and codes with matrix coding queries. Finally, Braun and Clarke (2013) suggest that reflexive thematic analysis might be criticised as a weak theoretical framework because of its flexibility in terms of methods and theoretical underpinning. To add more substance to the theoretical framework, I detailed my theoretical stance (see Methodology section 5.2) and data analysis process as done in this section.

5.9.1.3 Using quantitative content analysis: Working with citizen frameworks

Quantitative content analysis is not comprehensively defined in the literature, instead, it is to be seen as a version of conducting qualitative content analysis by reporting qualitative data in form of numbers (Cohen et al., 2018). I used quantitative content analysis in addition to reflexive thematic analysis, which is typically used as a stand-alone analysis approach, to gain insights into three theoretical citizenship frameworks including the proposed framework of emerging citizenship dimensions, Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) three types of citizens and Bennett's (2003) two types of citizens. As follows, I explain how I used quantitative content analysis to explore these three frameworks in qualitative data sets.

Proposed framework of emerging citizenship activities

Quantitative content analysis helped me to gain in-depth understanding of the seven proposed emerging citizenship dimensions and the extent to which they were taken up by participants. To apply the theoretical framework, I followed three steps which I conducted separately with focus group transcripts, qualitative questionnaire responses and the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum. Firstly, I coded all data related to citizenship activities. During this step, I used the proposed definition of citizenship activities (see Literature review section 2.4) to decide which activities to include in the analysis. Secondly, I assigned codes to all citizenship activities in form of the seven emerging and seven traditional citizenship dimensions, using the definitions from the proposed framework (see Literature review section 2.6) and an Excel table (see Table 5.5 showing focus group coding excerpts).

<i>Code/ citizenship activity</i>	<i>Participant quotes</i>	<i>Online Offline</i>	<i>Unofficial Official</i>	<i>Individual Collective</i>	<i>Justice-oriented Personally-responsible Participatory</i>	<i>Issues-based System-based</i>	<i>Glocal National</i>	<i>Sporadic Regular</i>
Attend local council meeting	Bruno, Y9: I was at a local council meeting once. JS: Did you go there with someone you knew? Bruno: My father	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	1 0	1 0

Table 5.5: Coding excerpts from focus group data

To assign emerging and traditional citizenship dimensions, I looked at each code and related participant comments and assigned either the number 1 if they were characterised by this dimension or the number 0 if they were not characterised by this dimension. After the initial coding process, I adjusted the numbers to represent the frequency of each code. Some codes included participant statements that lacked information which meant they could not be assigned all dimensions. I used the data from assigning dimensions to compare the frequency of participants' uptake of the seven emerging and traditional dimensions. Results were displayed using thematic maps and bar graphs. Comparing the frequency of uptake of each citizenship dimension, based on qualitative data, can be considered problematic. This is because questionnaire and focus group data do not necessarily provide information on each participant's uptake of the seven dimensions but rather on the citizenship dimensions that participants talked about. However, by using different data collection instruments, different question types and follow-up questions, I assumed that participants at least shared the most relevant of their citizenship dimensions. In addition, quantitative content analysis is criticised for its narrow focus on numbers instead of participants' narratives. The quantitative content analysis used in this research, however, was used as an additional analysis method to gain insights into specific frameworks, which then allowed a more targeted thematic analysis, instead of exclusively focussing on frequency. Finally, after assigning emerging and traditional dimensions to citizenship activities, I examined each of the seven emerging dimensions. I did this by conducting thematic analysis on all participant comments for each context in NVivo, using some strategies outlined by Braun and Clarke (2022), including active and critical reading, note-taking, comprehensive coding, and creating patterns through categorising and connecting codes using mind maps.

Bennett's and Westheimer & Kahne's and citizen frameworks

I also used quantitative content analysis to explore the types of citizens that underpin participants' perception of 'good citizenship' and are promoted by *Gemeinschaftskunde*, through applying Westheimer and Kahne's and Bennett's citizen frameworks to the data. To apply the frameworks, I followed similar steps as outlined in the previous section. I conducted these steps separately with focus group transcripts, qualitative questionnaire responses and the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum. With these steps I make a methodological contribution to the literature, since citizen frameworks are frequently used in the literature but there is a lack of in-depth explanations of their use in data analysis (see for example Leung et al., 2014; Zamir & Baratz, 2013). Firstly, I decided that I wanted to code citizenship perceptions rather than participants. I argue that due to people's complex experiences, a person can be characterised through more than one citizen type. In addition, I decided that individual citizenship perceptions could be characterised by one citizen type within each model rather than permitting overlap. While in reality there might be overlap between the citizen types, I decided to not allow for this in the coding process to make the analysis manageable. Based on these decisions, I coded all data related to participants' perceptions of good citizenship and experience of *Gemeinschaftskunde*. To create transparency and consistency, I recorded evidence of the coding and decision-making process. Secondly, I assigned codes to citizenship perceptions in form of Westheimer and Kahne's three types of citizens and Bennett's two types of citizens, using the frameworks outlined in the literature review (see Figure 4.3) and an Excel table (see Table 5.6 showing focus group coding excerpts).

<i>Codes</i>	<i>Participant comments</i>	<i>Westheimer and Kahne</i>				<i>Bennett</i>		
		<i>Justice-oriented</i>	<i>Participatory</i>	<i>Personally responsible</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>Actualising citizen</i>	<i>Dutiful citizen</i>	<i>None</i>
address issues they are concerned about	<p>Maren: They shouldn't always just complain and then do nothing. If they complain, they should say something or collect signatures or tell the municipality that they don't agree with how they're doing it.</p> <p>Jona: ...if [a citizen] doesn't like something in politics, he should get some followers and change something, because otherwise there won't be any progress.</p>	2	0	0	0	2	0	0

Table 5.6: Coding excerpts from focus group data

To assign citizen types, I looked at each code and related participant comments and assigned either the number 1 if they were characterised by this type, or the number 0 if they were not. After initial coding, I adjusted the numbers to represent the frequency of each code. Some codes included participant statements that lacked information which meant they could not be assigned all types. I used the data from assigning citizen types to compare the frequency of participants' perception of the different types and their representation in citizenship education approaches. I displayed results using thematic maps and pie charts. Finally, after assigning the citizen types, I examined each type by conducting thematic analysis on all participant comments for each citizen type in NVivo, using some strategies outlined by Braun and Clarke (2022), including active and critical reading, note-taking, comprehensive coding, and creating patterns through categorising and connecting codes using mind maps.

5.9.1.4 Student-researcher data analysis process

All data sets, except for student-researcher focus groups, were exclusively analysed by me. I decided to ask student-researchers to analyse the data they collected from their peers to ensure continuity as the student-researchers also developed their own questions and collected the data. Furthermore, I expected student-researchers to have a different perspective than me regarding their collected data in their role as young people. The reviewed literature suggests planning data analysis with young people that is enjoyable, utilising their prior experiences, providing them the freedom to make some of the decisions but without overwhelming them and making sure to adhere to ethical requirements (Coad & Evans, 2008; Fleming, 2010; Holland et al., 2010; Kirby, 1999, 2004; Lushey & Munro, 2015). These recommendations underpin the way I initially planned student-researcher data analysis in this project as well as the alternative strategy I used. I initially planned to conduct student-researcher data analysis as two half-day face-to-face workshops. I had to move data analysis, online, however, due to social distancing requirements because of the Covid pandemic. I met six of the seven student-researchers for a 60-minute Zoom session in March 2021. One participant missed the meeting. The data analysis session is outlined in Appendix M and is summarised as follows.

The session was divided into three parts. The first part was an informal chat regarding participants' experiences of data collection and an initial viewing of transcripts. To adhere to ethical requirements, I anonymised transcripts and only provided transcripts to student-researchers who collected the data. I also asked

student-researchers to delete anonymised transcripts from their devices after the session. In the second part, I introduced data analysis principles and the data analysis process using a worksheet. In the last and longest part of the session, participants completed worksheets that guided them through the data analysis process. Student-researchers were put into breakout rooms with peers while they completed the data analysis worksheets, so they could discuss issues. The data analysis worksheet is attached in Appendix N. I decided to use a worksheet which guides peer-researchers through the analysis as worksheets are familiar to students from their schoolwork. I also decided to pre-structure focus group transcripts into sections relating to research questions to not overwhelm participants with the task of coding, identifying patterns and developing themes. This also helped to conduct data analysis in a relatively short time. An example transcript is attached in Appendix N.

Results suggest that student-researchers' data analysis was superficial, providing a summary of their transcripts rather than data analysis. Thus, after thorough consideration, I decided to exclude student-researchers' data analysis from the findings chapters in this thesis. I still included my analysis of the data that student-researchers collected which was overall reliable and in-depth, offering unique perspectives on the research questions. I argue that the following reasons caused the student-researcher analysis to remain superficial. Firstly, I move the data analysis session online because of the Covid pandemic, which restricted me from entering Anderberg middle school. This meant I had to restrict my data analysis methods to virtually available tools including a Microsoft Word document which students could annotate using the highlighter function. Annotating a digital worksheet while discussing results with peers on a Zoom call, was challenging for student-researchers as they had limited experience working with Word and no previous experience in analysing transcripts. Secondly, the Covid pandemic also delayed my data collection which meant that student-researchers were preparing for their exams during this time. Thus, instead of two half-day workshops, I decided to conduct data analysis in a 60-minute Zoom session. One hour, however, did not allow student-researchers to gain in-depth understanding of their transcripts and analyse them in terms of all three research questions. A way to address this could be to select one focus area for the analysis such as one research question or one citizenship space such as municipal participation. Finally, while using a worksheet helped to structure student-researchers' analysis it appeared to restrict their creativity in the data analysis process.

Overall, the data that student-researchers collected was rich, reliable and added a unique perspective to this research. Using a worksheet to scaffold student-researchers' data analysis, however, led to superficial summaries of the collected data rather than in-depth analyses. I argue that this attempt at student-researcher data analysis, adds value to the literature by offering reflections on a novel virtual approach and the reasons it was unsuccessful. This can help other researchers in their decision-making to select co-production data analysis approaches. These results will be disseminated along with suggestions on why the previously outlined approach was unsuccessful and suggestions for improvement, at the 2023 Political Studies Association (PSA) Annual Conference.

5.9.2 *Analysing quantitative data*

This section outlines the analysis of quantitative data, which was collected with the student questionnaire.

5.9.2.1 Preparing quantitative data for the analysis and using SPSS and Excel

I first familiarised myself with the data through reading questionnaire responses. I then imported the data from Qualtrics into SPSS, followed by cleaning the data, which involved six steps. Firstly, I deleted irrelevant data and qualitative data, leaving 132 variables for analysis. Secondly, I changed incorrect data formats, such as numbers stored as text. Thirdly, I checked for duplicates and deleted responses created during previewing the survey. Fourthly, I addressed structural issues such as correcting the spelling of participants' text entries so I could group them and assign values to them later. I also re-named variables to create better readability as SPSS saved variables in form of questionnaire questions which were too long to be useful inside a table. Finally, I recoded some Likert-Scale data to reflect the wording of questions.

After cleaning up data, I made decisions regarding the removal of cases with missing data which can impact the accuracy of data analysis (Cohen et al., 2018). Intentionally leaving blanks seems to have been the main reason for missing questionnaire data as I used a reminder function if participants skipped questions, thus, making it unlikely that questions were overlooked. Furthermore, more data was missing towards the end of the questionnaire suggesting that participants experienced fatigue towards the end. I had to decide between removing all cases with missing data or keeping all cases and remove cases when analysing individual questions. Because of the large number of responses with missing data (43 out of

115 cases) and because of the variation of missing data, I decided not to remove all cases. I decided this because the removal would have seriously impacted my already lower than expected sample size. Thus, I only removed a total of 9 cases where the only given data was on participants' background or non-sensical.

I used SPSS as a data analysis tool because it allowed me to import the data directly from Qualtrics converting the data with little effort of manual cleaning. SPSS also allowed me to conduct multiple descriptive analyses such as frequency counts, calculating descriptive measures such as standard deviation and exploring correlations through crosstabs. SPSS is also user friendly and comparatively easy to learn in a short amount of time. In addition to SPSS, I decided to use Excel tables which allowed me to compare individual aspects of the data separately, make simple calculations such as calculating percentages and using different visual representations.

5.9.2.2 Descriptive analysis

Due to the case-study nature and small sample of this research, I analysed and reported quantitative data descriptively rather than inferentially. In descriptive analysis, data is organised and described as opposed to making inferences and predictions based on the data (Cohen et al., 2018). The purpose of this research was not to make representative statements but rather to provide an in-depth description of participants' citizenship activities and experiences. I also analysed quantitative data in terms of the research questions, citizen typologies (Bennett, 2003; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b) and emerging citizenship dimensions. As follows, I summarise how I descriptively analysed multiple-choice, Likert-scale and ranked questions.

Multiple-choice questions

I used multiple-choice questions predominantly to gain insights into participants' background characteristics including age, form class, gender, and national group. I analysed multiple choice questions by calculating percentages which were displayed in form of frequency tables, bar graphs and pie charts in the thesis.

Likert-scale questions

I used a wide range of Likert Scale questions to gain nuanced insights into participants' experiences including their uptake of citizenship activities, their

political interest, different types of self-efficacy and their experiences of *Gemeinschaftskunde*. An example of a Likert Scale question is displayed as follows.

How interested would you say you are in politics? With politics I mean a wide range of issues and activities including, for example, party politics, decision making in the community or fighting against injustice.

- Very interested
- Quite interested
- Hardly interested
- Not at all interested

(Questionnaire Question 6)

I used the following strategies to analyse and visualise Likert Scale data. While the strategies named in this section are structured in a certain order, it should be acknowledged, that I went back and forth between the strategies during data analysis. Firstly, I made sure the scales reflected the numbers that were assigned on SPSS, and recoded variables if necessary. In terms of question 6, for example, SPSS numbered the answers: very interested=1, quite interested=2, hardly interested=3 and not at all interested=4. I recoded the answers, so they reflect the text, into: very interested=4, quite interested=3, hardly interested=2 and not at all interested=1. To do this, I used the ‘recode’ function on SPSS. Secondly, I combined some variables to represent a category. I, for example, combined the variables ‘taking part in student-council decisions’ and ‘making decisions about how school is run’ to represent the category ‘school decisions’. To do this, I used the ‘transform’ function on SPSS. Creating categories helped me to draw comparisons between citizenship spaces such as participants’ engagement in ‘school decisions’ and the ‘form class’. Thirdly, I created tables that provided further insights into Likert-Scale items. While I ran some inferential statistical tests to get to know the data better, I decided to exclusively report descriptive statistics, particularly, frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviation, as illustrated in Figure 5.6.

Political interest					Statistics			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Political interest		
Valid	Not at all interested	10	9.4	9.5	9.5	N	Valid	105
	Hardly interested	65	61.3	61.9	71.4		Missing	1
	Quite interested	21	19.8	20.0	91.4	Mean		2.28
	Very interested	9	8.5	8.6	100.0	Median		2.00
	Total	105	99.1	100.0		Std. Deviation		.753
Missing	System	1	.9					
	Total	106	100.0					

Figure 5.6: Descriptive statistics regarding ‘political interest’, created with SPSS

Not all questionnaire questions were answered by all participants which is why I decided when I calculate percentages, they will refer to those participants who answered a question rather than all participants (n=106). SPSS refers to this as ‘valid

percent’, as displayed in Figure 5.6. I included the number of participants who answered a question in the graphs in the findings chapters. Fourthly, I used Excel to create visual representations. I often created several visual representations of a data table to get to know the data better. As part of this step, I renamed and combined some Likert-Scales to make them more accessible for the reader. I, for example, changed the Likert scale: ‘almost always’, ‘often’, ‘sometimes’ and ‘never’ into regular (including ‘almost always’ and ‘often’), sporadic and never. Finally, I compared different Likert-Scale variables with each other and with multiple-choice variables to understand how they might be correlated. I compared variables on SPSS and Excel. On SPSS, I predominantly used the crosstab function to do this. On Excel I compared different tables and visual representations, as illustrated in Figure 5.7.

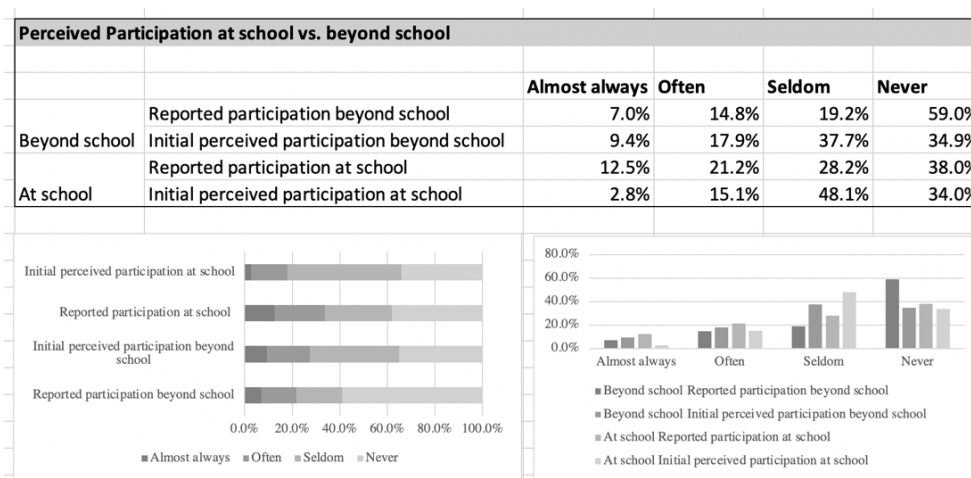


Figure 5.7: Comparing ‘perceived and reported citizenship participation’, created on Excel

Ranked questions

I used two ranked questions in the questionnaire which were both based on citizen typologies by Westheimer and Kahne (2004b) and Bennett (2003). A shortened version of a ranked question is displayed as follows.

Read the following items and rank them in their order of relevance to your *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. You can select up to 5 items, starting with 1 (most relevant item).

In *Gemeinschaftskunde* we learn...

...how to vote in elections (DC)

...about political issues that matter to us (AC)

...about rules and to obey them (PR)

...how to organise community events to care for those in need (P)

...how to seek out and address areas of injustice (JO)

(Questionnaire Question 34)

The brackets indicate which citizen type each statement refers to. This information was not displayed to participants. To analyse ranked data, I used the following steps. Firstly, I removed all answers with missing or incorrect values which typically

resulted in a much smaller participant sample. The high number of answers I had to exclude indicates that ranked questions were difficult to complete. The most common mistakes included participants using the number 1 five times instead of numbers 1-5, using less than five votes and scoring two statements with the same number. Secondly, I recoded the values so that 5 indicates the statement most relevant to participants' citizenship education lessons, and 1 least relevant of the chosen statements. Thirdly, I used several different analyses for this question such as calculating the percentage of unvalued votes each statement received (see example 1) or calculating the percentage of the Top 3 valued votes (see example 2), as illustrated in Figure 5.8.

Experience of citizenship education in terms of two citizen models														
Bennett						Westheimer and Kahne								
Dutiful			Actualising			Personally-responsible			Participatory			Justice oriented		
how to vote	how to partici	how to access	about politici	how to affect	how to access	about rules a	how to act re	how to volun	how to organ	how governn	how to active	how to seek c	how to form	how to critical
	1			1	1						1		1	

Experience of citizenship education in terms of two citizen models														
Bennett						Westheimer and Kahne								
Dutiful			Actualising			Personally-responsible			Participatory			Justice oriented		
how to vote	how to partici	how to access	about politici	how to affect	how to access	about rules a	how to act re	how to volun	how to organ	how governn	how to active	how to seek c	how to form	how to critical
				5							3		4	

Figure 5.8: Different options for analysing ranked questions, using Excel

Fourthly, I calculated the percentage of votes each citizen type received which allowed me to comment on the type of citizenship education, in terms of Bennett's and Westheimer and Kahne's models, participants experienced in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. Finally, I visualised results using pie charts, bar graphs and hierarchy charts.

5.9.3 Mixed Methods: Bringing qualitative and quantitative data sets together

I integrated quantitative and qualitative methods throughout the research instead of bringing them together only at the data analysis stage, which is an important aspect of mixed methods research (Creamer, 2018). Moreover, different data collection methods answered individual aspects of my research questions instead of separating research questions into quantitative and qualitative. Data collection instruments also informed the design of sub-sequent data collection instruments. Throughout data analysis, I integrated methods through the following strategies. Firstly, I analysed data by research question rather than data collection method. This meant that I compared quantitative and qualitative findings at an early stage which influenced subsequent analysis. When I developed a theme based on qualitative findings, for example, I checked whether this theme occurred in the quantitative data as well. Similarly, if I encountered a puzzling correlation in the quantitative data, I looked at

what participants in focus groups, interviews or the qualitative questionnaire discussed in terms of this. Secondly, I used mind maps and joint displays, to compare findings from different data sets (Bazeley, 2018; Fitzpatrick, 2016). When jointly reporting qualitative and quantitative findings, I made sure not to report frequencies because of the unknown overlap of some questionnaire and focus group participants. I also decided to report qualitative and quantitative findings together in the findings section of this thesis, rather than having separate chapters. To avoid quantitative data overshadowing the rich qualitative data, I predominantly started with qualitative data and described this data further by using descriptive evidence from quantitative data sets.

5.10 Summary

A review of literature (see Chapters 2-3) indicated a gap of in-depth qualitative research on young people's experiences of citizenship education, and the range of their citizenship activities, particularly at schools and in rural communities. I addressed this gap through methodological choices, summarised in this chapter. I decided to conduct a mixed methods case study at Anderberg middle school, which is a mid-sized *Realschule*, in the small rural municipality Anderberg, located in the Black Forest in *Baden-Württemberg*. The mixed-methods design of this research included eight researcher-led focus groups (n=26), four student-led focus groups (n=9) and a questionnaire (n=106) with Year 8-10 students. In addition, I carried out eleven teacher interviews and analysed eight curriculum documents. I analysed qualitative data using thematic and quantitative content analysis. For quantitative data I conducted descriptive statistical analysis. Qualitative and quantitative data were also analysed together using mind maps and thematic maps. In the three consecutive chapters (Chapters 6-8) I summarise results from analysing data.

6 Findings Research Question 1: Citizenship activities at school and in (rural) communities

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters I summarised gaps from reviewing literature and highlighted the contributions this project can make to address these gaps (Chapters 2-4). I also introduced the research questions and methodological approaches (Chapter 5). In this chapter, I introduce the participants and summarise findings regarding research question 1: Which citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students part of at school and in their communities? To address this question, I summarise findings from across all data sets including student focus groups (n=35), teacher interviews (n=11) and the student questionnaire (n=106). To illustrate findings from thematic analysis, I share participant quotes. Participant quotes from students include participants' names, the school year they attended at the time of data collection, 'FG' when their comment was made in focus groups and 'Q' when their comment was made in the questionnaire. I excluded teachers' pseudonyms to protect their identity due to the small sample, as discussed in Methodology section 5.7. To illustrate findings from descriptive analysis, I share numerical data in form of percentages, graphs and tables. I also share mixed-methods findings through mind maps and thematic maps. Additionally, I summarised how the Covid pandemic impacted participants' uptake of citizenship activities and introduce foundational activities which are those activities that do not meet my definition of citizenship activities but can lead to the uptake of citizenship activities. In this chapter, I exclusively share results which related to the literature in a separate discussion chapter (see Chapter 9). The structure of this chapter is displayed as follows.

6.2 The participants

6.3 Conceptual gap of key concepts between participants and the researcher

6.4 Which citizenship activities are participants engaged in at their school?

6.5 Which citizenship activities are participants engaged in in their (rural) communities?

6.6 Participants' foundational activities

6.7 Impact of the Covid pandemic on participants' citizenship activities

6.8 Summary

6.2 The participants

The data shared in this chapter was collected from three different groups of participants: focus group, questionnaire and teacher interview. Findings on the background of each of these three groups is summarised in this section to put the results into context.

6.2.1 Focus group participants

Overall, 35 participants attending Year 8-10 at Anderberg middle school, took part in focus groups. Of the 35 participants, 26 took part in researcher-led focus groups and 9 took part in student-led focus groups. Due to the conversational nature of focus groups and the group setting, the collection of background data was limited to gender, year, form class, hometowns and citizen ideals.

Findings suggest an almost equal participation of female (n=18) and male (n=17) participants. I attributed focus group participants' gender whereas questionnaire participants self-report their gender. Participant numbers from Year 8 (n=7) and 10 (n=10) were distributed almost equally, while participants from Year 9 (n=18) were overrepresented. Participants attended a total of nine different form classes and were taught by five *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers.

Of those participants who shared their hometown (n=21), most participants lived in small villages¹⁴ (57%) or small towns¹⁴ (38%). Only one participant lived in a medium-sized town¹⁴. The geographical area focus group participants live in, can be described as successful rural regions characterised by high incomes, high tax revenues, low percentages of early school leavers, good broadband coverage, and lacking access to public transportation (Sixtus et al., 2019).

In terms of participants' citizen ideals, findings suggest that overall participants preferred dutiful ideals (dutiful, personally-responsible) to actualising citizen ideals (actualising, justice-oriented). Dutiful citizen ideals are characterised by obeying rules and engaging in duty-based citizenship activities such as elections. Actualising citizen ideals are characterised by engaging in issues-based citizenship activities and in private spaces such as the supermarket or online. In terms of citizen models, I

¹⁴ Village (<7,000 residents), small town (7,000-25,000 residents) and medium town (25,000-60,000)

found that participants particularly expressed views related to Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) personally-responsible citizen which characterised 57% of all focus group participant statements on good citizenship. Figure 6.1 compares participants' citizen ideals, calculated through quantitative content analysis (see Methodology section 5.9.1.3). For more information on the types of citizens refer to Literature review section 4.5.5.

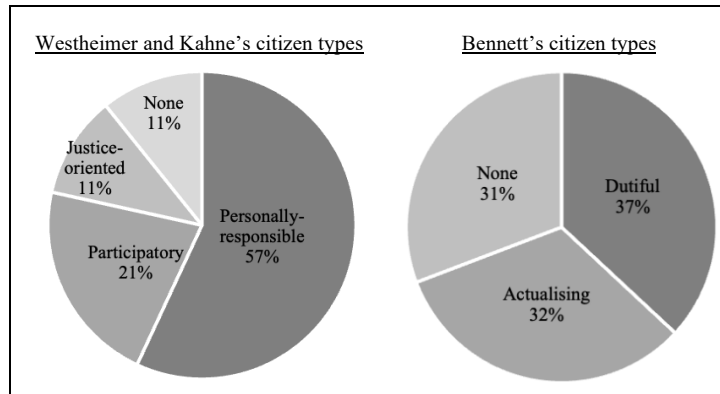


Figure 6.1: Focus group participants' citizen ideals

6.2.2 Questionnaire participants

Overall, 115 participants attending Year 8-10 at Anderberg middle school took part in the student questionnaire, with 106 valid responses included in the analysis. Overall, 29 questionnaire participants had been involved in previous parts of the research including focus groups (n=24) and as student-researchers (n=5). Due to German data protection regulations, I could not connect participants' responses from the questionnaire and focus groups. Thus, focus group and questionnaire findings are reported individually whenever the focus is on frequencies. There were slightly more male (53.5%) than female (43.6%) participants in the questionnaire. In addition, two students identified as non-binary and other. Questionnaire participants attended eight different form classes in Year 8 (n=43), Year 9 (n=36) and Year 10 (n=27). Participants were 13 years (15.1%), 14 years (30.2%), 15 years (31.1%) and 16 years (21.7%) old at the time of the questionnaire. In addition, one participant was 17 and one participant did not share their age.

In terms of hometowns, most participants came from villages¹⁴ (75.2%) and small towns¹⁴ (23.8%). Only one participant came from a medium-sized town¹⁴. Overall, questionnaire participants came from 15 different hometowns. In line with focus group findings, participants predominantly live in successful rural villages and towns, in the catchment area of the school.

In terms of participants' nationality, 76.2% identified as German and 23.9% had migration background. The term 'migration background' was translated from the German word *Migrationshintergrund*, which is commonly used to discuss nationality in Germany. In this thesis, I define migration background through participants identifying themselves as a nationality other than German or as a nationality other than German together with German. The percentage of young people with migration background in this research is below the percentage for *Realschulen* in *Baden-Württemberg* with 30.3% and Germany with 39%¹⁵ (Mediendienst Integration, 2022; Statistisches Landesamt Baden-Württemberg, 2021). Apart from German, participants identified as Turkish, Croatian, Italian and Serbian.

In terms of socio-economic background, results indicate that most participants perceived their families to have an average to high (59.6%), or high (21.2%) socioeconomic background as opposed to low to average (19.2%). None of the questionnaire participants described their socio-economic status as low. In addition, most participants thought their families could afford about the same (55.3%) or more (33%) than other families, with only 11.7% of participants stating their families could afford less. This overall, high perceived socio-economic background confirms the previously outlined statistical evidence for Anderberg (see Methodology section 5.4.2). I also asked participants about their perceived value differences with the people they interact with at and beyond school, which provided insights into value conflicts participants might experience in their daily interactions. Results suggest that more participants (44.5%) thought they had similar values to the people they interact in comparison to participants who thought they did not have similar values (7.7%). Additionally, 47.9% of participants were undecided. Results also indicate that participants experienced slightly more value differences beyond school than at school. The value differences participants mentioned included their views on government Covid pandemic responses, the environment, social justice issues such as racism and political parties.

¹⁵ This percentage is based on all school types because there is no data on migration background for Germany (Mediendienst Integration, 2022)

Findings on participants’ political interest¹⁶ suggest that two thirds were ‘hardly interested’ in politics, followed by some participants who were ‘quite interested’ (20%), ‘not at all interested’ (9.5%) and ‘very interested’ (8.6%). It should be acknowledged that measuring political interest is a contested issue in the literature (see for example Soler-I-Martí, 2015). The issues participants wrote about in qualitative questionnaire responses include a wide range of topics, as displayed in Table 6.1.

<i>Environment</i>	<i>Local community & clubs</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Human rights</i>	<i>Other</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • electric cars • rubbish • climate change • organic farming • veganism • fair prices for farmers • animal cruelty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • helping kids • helping elderly • making community nicer • events • club funding • club events • club equipment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • making school nicer • student well-being • teachers • funding • events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inequality • poverty • fair trade • BlackLivesMatter • lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (LGBTQ) rights • headscarf ban 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Covid pandemic • European data protection act (Artikel 13) • elections • US elections

Table 6.1: Issues discussed by questionnaire participants

Finally, in terms of participants’ citizen ideals, findings indicate a preference for duty-based citizen ideals (personally-responsible, dutiful) as opposed to actualising citizen ideals (justice-oriented, actualising). Findings on the tested citizen models indicate that, similarly to focus group results, participants preferred Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004) personally-responsible citizen (see Figure 6.3). The values in Figure 6.2 refer to the percentage of valued votes each citizen type received in questionnaire question 19 (see Appendix L). The values in Figure 6.2 are based on the responses of 79 questionnaire participants only, because many participants did not complete this question in the way it was intended. For more information on the types of citizens refer to Literature review section 4.5.5 and for more information on how I identified participants’ citizen ideals, refer to Methodology section 5.9.2.2. It should be noted that participants often did not fully agree with one type of citizen but rather agreed with individual statements from across citizen types and models.

¹⁶ I measured political interest by asking: “How interested would you say you are in politics? With politics I mean a wide range of issues and activities including, for example, party politics, decision making in the community or fighting against injustice.”

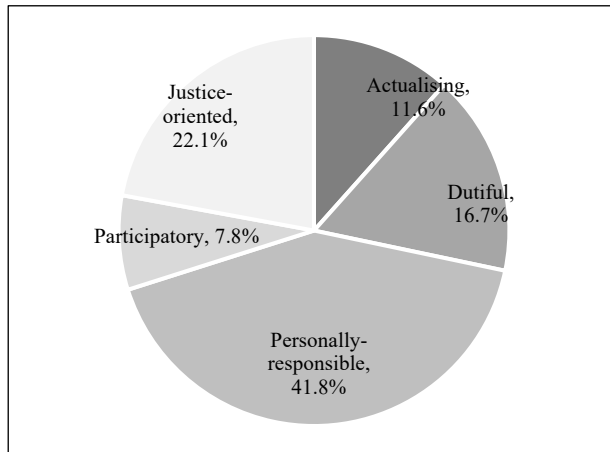


Figure 6.2: Questionnaire participants' citizen ideals

6.2.3 Teacher interview participants

Overall, 11 teachers from Anderberg middle school took part in teacher interviews. Five participating teachers were female, and six teachers were male. Participating teachers were form class teachers in Year 8 (n=5), 9 (n=3) and 10 (n=1) and taught citizenship education (n=4), geography (n=4), WBS (n=3), history (n=3), AES (n=2), and ethics (n=1). Several teachers had head of department positions and other special experiences at Anderberg middle school including insights into the social curriculum, work placements, social work placements, the student council and the local council. Participating teachers were also from a range of different career stages including one early career (less than 3 years of teaching experience), three mid-career (3-10 years of teaching experience) and seven senior (more than 10 years of work experience).

6.3 Conceptual gaps of key concepts between participants and the researcher

Throughout conducting focus groups and interviews, and carrying out descriptive and thematic analysis, some conceptual gaps between participants' and my perception of key concepts were evident. Perception differences particularly affected the concepts 'citizenship activities', 'citizenship spaces at school' (form class, volunteering, service, school decisions, activism) and 'citizenship spaces beyond school' (municipal, online, activism, party politics, private, politics and art). Differences were, for example, evident in participants' questionnaire responses. In an initial question about their engagement in citizenship activities, for example, more than a third of participants suggested they had never engaged in citizenship activities

at school (34.0%)¹⁷ or in their communities (34.9%)¹⁸. After providing a range of different citizenship activities to choose from, however, only one participant overall had never been engaged in any citizenship activity at school or in the community. One reason to explain this difference is that participants have a narrower definition of citizenship activities than me. Another reason is that participants did not think of some of their citizenship activities at that moment and that citizenship activity examples I provided, triggered participants' memories.

I also found evidence of a perception gap in focus group conversations. Participants often initially said they were not engaged in a citizenship space but then discussed several citizenship activities, after I probed them through using polls or follow-up questions. This is illustrated in the following excerpt.

- JS:¹⁹ ...Do you do anything privately to get involved in politics? It might be that you try to influence decisions or that you see an injustice somewhere and say I want to do something about it and get involved....
[pause]
I think the thing you told me the other day would also fit in there, with the hair.
- Louisa: I donated my hair. So they make the wigs out of real hair and they then pass them on to a cancer ward...
- JS: So that's an example of how you can get involved in the private sphere. Does anyone have anything else to share?
- Patricia: I don't know if it's part of it but in my opinion animals in slaughterhouses and people who work there aren't treated well and that's why I don't eat meat anymore.
- JS: Yes. Does anyone do anything when they go shopping, for example, buying or not buying something...?
- Emil: ...If I see a fair-trade version of the product I want to buy, then I prefer to buy fair-trade...

(Researcher-led focus group, Y9)

As evident in this excerpt, giving examples and asking questions, helped participants to remember more citizenship activities they had done before. I, for example, asked

¹⁷ This data is based on Question 20: "Have you participated in citizenship activities at school in this school year and the previous school year? With citizenship activities, I mean all voluntary activities that you do as a member of the school. This can include helping, planning events, making-decisions, being a leader, being critical. Choices: almost always, often, seldom, never"

¹⁸ This data is based on Question 26: "Have you participated in citizenship activities outside school in the past 2 years? With citizenship activities, I mean all voluntary activities you do as a member of groups (incl. online), your community, nation, the EU and the world. Activities can include helping, planning events, making decisions, being a leader, being critical. Choices: almost always, often, seldom, never."

¹⁹ JS is the acronym I chose for myself in this thesis.

Louisa to talk about a citizenship activity she had told me about during a break at school, a few weeks prior to the focus group. Language such as “I don’t know if it’s part of it” was often used in focus groups, such as by Patricia in the previous quote. This indicates that participants were not sure about what different citizenship spaces entail. The above excerpt also illustrates how interviewing teachers might help to bridge this conceptual gap by gaining additional perspectives on young people’s citizenship activities.

Differences in perception might have also resulted from providing participants with wide definitions of citizenship activities. I provided definitions at the start of focus groups and for questions 20 and 26 of the questionnaire (see Table 6.2).

Focus groups	Questionnaire Q 20	Questionnaire Q26
Citizenship activities include all activities citizens do in their community ²⁰ . Citizens are all people who live in a community. You are citizens too.	Citizenship activities are all voluntary activities that you do as a member of the school. This can include helping, planning events, making-decisions, being a leader, being critical, etc.	Citizenship activities are all voluntary activities you do as a member of groups (incl. online), your community, nation, the EU and the world. Activities can include helping, planning events, making decisions, being a leader, being critical, etc.

Table 6.2: Definitions of citizenship activities provided to participants

As evident in Table 6.2, the definitions I provided in the questionnaire were more detailed than for the focus group because questionnaire participants were not able to ask clarification questions. While using a wide definition of citizenship might have increased the conceptual gap, this was crucial for the research as my goal was to explore all citizenship activities participants did and, thus, I did not want to limit participants’ responses with a narrow prescription of the concept of citizenship activities. I highlighted conceptual gaps throughout this thesis to achieve transparency.

²⁰ I only included “community” here as opposed to “school and community” because I provided this definition at the start of focus group Part A which focused on participants participation in their communities. I anticipated that including school could confuse participants and, thus, lead to less focussed answers.

6.4 Which citizenship activities are participants engaged in at their school?

In this section, I share findings on participants' citizenship activities at school. Findings are shared in form of seven themes, developed using thematic and descriptive analysis. I decided to display the findings according to themes rather than citizenship spaces (form class, school decisions, volunteering, service, activism) because there was overlap between spaces. Nevertheless, I conceptualised citizenship spaces using mind maps where they come up within the themes (highlighted in bold in the themes). All citizenship activities, included in this section, meet the proposed definition (see Literature review section 2.4).

Participants engaged in all proposed citizenship spaces at school (6.4.1)

The **form class** is as a space for decision-making and being heard (6.4.2)

School **service** and form classes are spaces to develop collective identity (6.4.3)

Participants have low agency in **school decisions** (6.4.4)

Most **volunteering** at school is done through service roles and clubs (6.4.5)

Anderberg middle school student are perceived as non-**activists** (6.4.6)

Most citizenship activities at school are initiated by teachers and school (6.4.7)

6.4.1 *Participants engaged in all proposed citizenship spaces at school*

Participants reported engagement in a wide range of citizenship activities across all proposed citizenship spaces at school. Overall, apart from one questionnaire and one focus group participant, all participants engaged in at least one citizenship activity at school during the past two years, at the time of data collection. The thematic map (see Figure 6.3) displays all school related citizenship activities participants discussed in focus groups and qualitative questionnaire. I only included activities in the thematic map that participants engaged in during the previous two years and that meet the proposed definition of citizenship activities (see Literature review section 2.4). I display citizenship activities only, rather than adding frequency values of how many participants reported engagement in them. This is, firstly, because the goal of focus groups was on exploring the range of citizenship activities that participants participated in rather than how many participants engaged in each citizenship activity. As a result, not all participants were asked whether they did each of the discussed activities, which means I cannot comment on their frequency. Secondly, there was some overlap between focus group and questionnaire participants which could lead to repeated listing of the same participants' citizenship activities.

Form class				Volunteering		
decide on class tests	decide on graduation hoodie	decide on lesson topics	decide on prom	collect rubbish at school	draw picture for school diary	draw picture for school-website
decide on the seating plan	decide on form class excursions	raise issues with class rep	take part in class votes	help with school diary	make school nicer with art	help at open day as student mentor
complain about absence of IT teacher	complain about teacher	suggests things to teachers	paint the classroom	put up computer screens at school	recycling	help to raise money at Christmas market stall
organise bake sale	plan form class events	collect rubbish in the community		help with 50 year celebration of the school	help with school events	make online videos for open day
organise graduation hoodie	paint tunnel in the community	volunteer to become class rep		help with open day		
participate in bake sales	raise and donate money for good cause	vote class rep		help with school band at christmas church service	play at school event with music club	help with student council face mask-project
School decisions			Activism			
distribute student council issues to class	work as class rep	work as student rep	complain about absence of IT teacher	complain to school leadership about school issue	discuss Covid rules with school leadership	discuss issues with school rep
work in student council	vote student reps	complain to school leadership about school issue	complain about teacher	make suggestion to school member	raise issue with class rep	refuse to change clothing
discuss Covid rules with school leadership	make suggestion to school member	make suggestion to student council	complain to bus company	make suggestion to student council	suggests things to teachers	
			Service			
			member of school diary club	work as student first aid officer	member student newspaper	
discuss issues with school rep	take part in school decisions through class reps		work as student mentor	work as homework volunteer	train as homework volunteer	

Figure 6.3: Focus group and questionnaire participants' reported citizenship activities at school

As evident in Figure 6.3, participants reported engagement in citizenship activities across all proposed school citizenship spaces, namely form class, volunteering,

school decisions, activism, and service. Participants discussed the widest range of citizenship activities in the form class, which includes form class representation and decision-making, participating for the form class and participating with the form class. The second widest range of citizenship activities was discussed in the volunteering space, which includes helping with school events, projects, school equipment and school services. The third widest range of citizenship activities was discussed in the school decision and activism spaces. School decisions include decision-making through elected roles like student and class representatives, in decision-making bodies like the student council, and suggestions by non-elected students. Activism includes refusing to do something, making suggestions, discussing issues and complaining about something. Finally, the smallest range of citizenship activities was discussed in the service space which includes membership in school clubs and working in service roles like homework volunteers. It should be noted that the five spaces overlap. ‘Making suggestions to school members’, for example, was discussed by participants in relation to both, school decisions and activism. I decided to include citizenship activities in multiple spaces whenever they were discussed in relation to multiple spaces. The issue of overlap is addressed in the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions (see Literature review section 2.6) by attributing multiple overlapping dimensions to citizenship activities, rather than categorising citizenship activities.

Participants’ uptake of citizenship activities at school differed between spaces (see Figure 6.4). I measured uptake in the quantitative part of the student questionnaire. The values, displayed in Figure 6.4, are mean values of the citizenship activities in the table below the bar graph. The n-value in brackets identify how many questionnaire participants answered each question. There was some overlap between citizenship spaces. The variable ‘making suggestions to school leadership’, for example, is included in the activism and school decisions space. I allowed for overlap between spaces and followed the same categorisation as with qualitative data (see Figure 6.3). In addition to the uptake of citizenship spaces, I also measured their frequency by allowing questionnaire participants to report whether they did a citizenship activity regularly, sporadically, or never²¹.

²¹ Participants were provided the options: almost always, often, seldom and never. I decided to use the options: almost always and often to represent the concept of ‘regular’. The option seldom represents the concept ‘sporadically’.

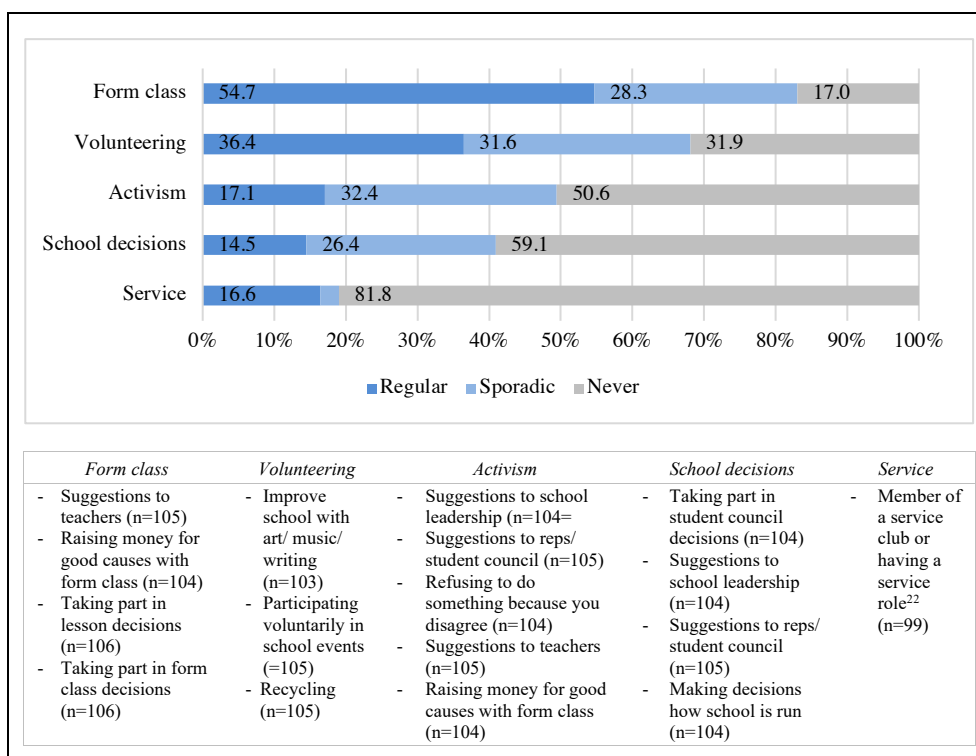


Figure 6.4: Questionnaire participants' reported engagement in school citizenship spaces

As evident in Figure 6.4, the uptake of citizenship activities at school differed notably in terms of different citizenship spaces. Form class and volunteering were the most taken up spaces while activism, school decisions and service had a lower uptake. There were also noteworthy differences in the frequency of uptake. Participants were more likely to participate regularly in service, form class and volunteering spaces than sporadically. In terms of school decisions and activism, however, participants were more likely to engage sporadically than regularly. Findings also suggest that uptake and frequency of citizenship activities differ according to individual citizenship activities, which is further discussed in the following sections.

6.4.2 *The form class is a space for decision-making and being heard*

Participants' citizenship activities in the form class can be divided into four areas (see Figure 6.5). Firstly, form class representation includes volunteering as and voting for class representatives. Secondly, participation for the community, includes

²² The item 'being a member of a service club or having a service role' was calculated when I analysed the questionnaire by using the item 'being a member of an extracurricular club' and excluding all cases that were not included in the concept of a service role such as foundational clubs like music club.

all form class activities that provide a service to the community. Thirdly, participation for the form class, includes all citizenship activities participants did to benefit the form class. Finally, form class decision-making includes decisions on form class events, lessons and raising issues with the class representative or teachers.

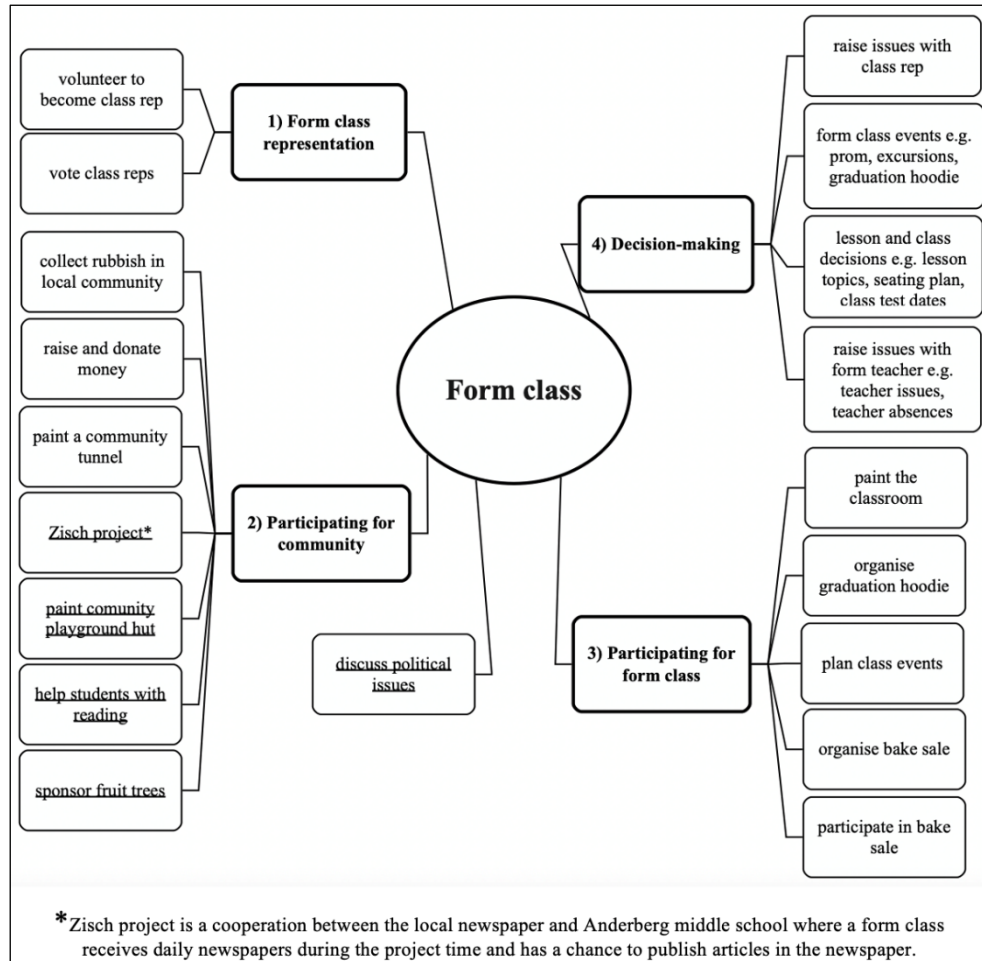


Figure 6.5: Participants’ reported citizenship activities in the form class

Figure 6.5 includes all form class citizenship activities, discussed by participants across all data sets meeting the proposed definition of citizenship activities. The grouping of citizenship activities is a result of thematic analysis. I underlined those citizenship activities that were exclusively discussed by participating teachers as they often suggested activities students do in general, rather than focused on Anderberg middle school. It also highlights those activities not mentioned by participating students, which might indicate their lower relevance to students.

In terms of uptake, quantitative questionnaire data suggests that the form class was the most taken up and most regularly taken up school citizenship space. I measured participants’ uptake of five citizenship activities in the quantitative questionnaire (see Figure 6.6). This data is based on analysing questionnaire Likert scale questions.

I did not measure all citizenship activities participants discussed in focus groups but rather a selection. The numbers in Figure 6.6 refer to the grouped citizenship activities in the mind map in Figure 6.5. Findings suggest an overall high uptake of form class citizenship activities with more than half of questionnaire participants participating in each of the four activities. While form class and lesson decisions were predominantly carried out regularly, making suggestions to teachers was done more sporadically. Additionally, voting a class representative should have been done by all participants because this is an annual activity at Anderberg middle school.

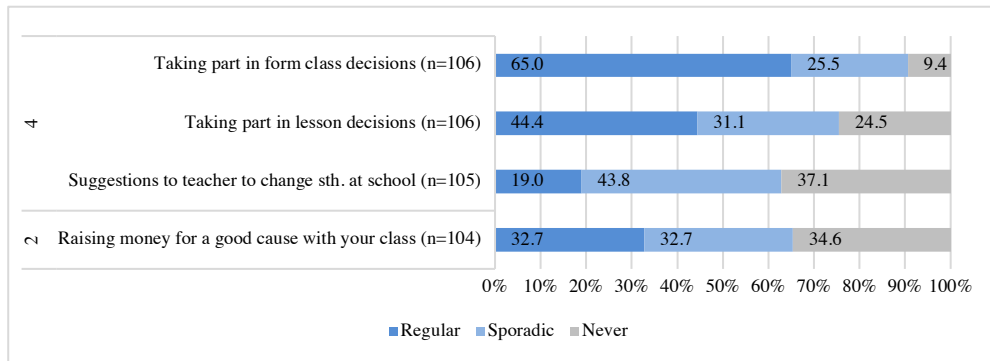


Figure 6.6: Quantitative questionnaire participants' reported uptake of citizenship activities in the form class

Thematic analysis indicates that form classes are spaces where participants reported they can make decisions and have a feeling of being heard. Phrases and words such as “decision-making power”, “decided together” and “we talked about it”, were used to express this experience of being heard. Further nuances of making decisions and being heard in the form class are discussed as follows.

Form teachers encourage and react positively to student participation

Form teachers encourage students to participate in decisions and react positively to student participation. This was, for example, discussed by Valentina (Y8/Q), suggesting: “I turned to the teachers with suggestions and my experience with that was good because the teachers reacted openly and kindly and I did it because I felt my suggestions were meaningful and important”. Participating teachers also made examples of actively including students in decision-making, particularly in their form classes, evident in the following teacher comment.

...I have to say it is actually common in classes that a lot of people take part in decisions and discussions such as about the seating plan...In the classes I teach, if I have things that I can put up for discussion, then a lot of people have good arguments, instead of saying no I disagree...

Students include each other in decisions in the form class

Students themselves also seem to make sure that other students are included in decision-making in their form classes. This was most discussed with the example of the graduation hoodie. This is a tradition at German schools whereby students in their final school year design a hoodie with a personalised message which they wear during their last year before graduation and often also during final exams. The negotiation about the design of the graduation hoodie came up in several focus group discussions and the questionnaire, indicating this to be an important decision made by the form class. The process of decision-making about their graduation hoodie was, for instance, described by Zoe (Y10/Q): “Graduation hoodie: it affected everyone, that's why everyone said something and tried to make their opinion heard. In the end we all worked together”. Other participants suggested that they perceived this process as more difficult and that as an outcome of this negotiation not everybody might be satisfied: “Voting for the graduation hoodie was very exhausting, nobody was satisfied and I had a headache at the end of the lesson :)” (Arian, Y10/Q). These statements also show that decision-making processes might be experienced differently by different participants and might also differ according to form classes. These findings also indicate the significant role of the form class for making democratic experiences.

Even power-relationship between form teachers and students

Participants suggested that there are even power relationships between teachers and students in the form class and that problems are solved by discussing them. This was described by Alina (Y10/FG) saying: “I agree that everyone has the opportunity to participate and also has a lot of power with their decision. A teacher’s opinion counts almost as much as the students’ in my opinion.” This equal power relationship was only discussed by two Year 10 students from the same form class, which indicates that the experience of power in the form class might be linked to form teachers. It could also mean that older students experience more decision-making power in their form classes. Quantitative questionnaire data suggests that there was a slight, non-statistically significant²³, difference in the way participants from different form classes and years participated in their form class, as evident in Table 6.3.

²³ Statistical significance was tested by running an ANOVA linear regression test on SPSS.

	8Q	8S	Year 8	9U	9W	9V	Year 9	10X	10Y	10Z	Year 10
mean	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.0	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.0
std.	.19	.16	.12	.25	.37	.19	.36	.17	.21	.22	.12

Mean value based on 4-point-likert scale: 1=never, 2=seldom, 3=often, 4=almost always)

Table 6.3: Questionnaire participants' school citizenship activities by form class

Questionnaire data suggests that mean frequency of form class participation is highest in Year 10 and lowest in Year 9. In addition, there were differences between the frequency of engagement in different form classes. The standard deviation values, however, also suggest that participation in form classes was complex and there was high variation between students, particularly in Year 9. An equal power distribution in form classes was also discussed by teachers suggesting that they teach students to discuss and take a back seat in discussions and decision-making in the form class. It should be acknowledged that there were also participants suggesting unequal power-relationship between students and teachers at Anderberg middle school, this was however discussed in general rather than in connection to the form class, as for example illustrated by Patricia's (Y9/FG) comment.

But I think it's generally like that at school, even if it is always said that the students should not be treated differently, there is still a hierarchy, and you can tell that some teachers at least are above the students.

This experience of unequal power relationships might be related to a feeling of not being heard in school-decisions rather than form class decisions, which is further discussed in Findings section 6.4.4.

Participants experience results of their decision-making in their form classes

Some participants indicated that they could see the results of their participation in form class decisions and described their experience of participating as “positive” or “change-making”. This is illustrated by Maxi's (Y10/Q) comment: “I complained with classmates about a teacher who didn't teach classes. We got a new teacher”. While a positive outcome of decision-making cannot always be guaranteed by teachers and school leadership, it shows that this can be a positive learning experience for students. It should be acknowledged, however, that not all participants in my study reported the same experience of form class decisions. This is indicated by quantitative questionnaire results suggesting that several participants had never participated in form class decisions (9.4%), lesson decisions (24.5%) or made a suggestion to a teacher (37.1%). Not engaging in citizenship activities in the form

class might be related to personal preference, as pointed out by Sebastian (Y8/Q): “Conversations with the class. I usually just sit there and listen to what the others are suggesting and if there is a vote, I vote” or being satisfied with the way things are at school. A further finding resulting from thematic analysis suggests that some participants experienced a sense of collective identity in their form class. As this was a theme also identified in the service space this is described in the following section.

6.4.3 *School service and form classes are spaces to develop collective identity*

Participants’ engagement in service can be divided into service clubs and service roles (see Figure 6.7). The distinction between clubs and roles was made due to the way they are conceptualised at Anderberg middle school. Service clubs are spaces students can join to provide a service to the school such as designing the annual school diary or the student newspaper. Service roles, on the other hand, are titles students can gain by taking part in training sessions which allows them to provide a service to the school. There are three different service roles at Anderberg middle school. Firstly, student mentors who help younger students in their core subjects and with homework tasks on one or more afternoons at school. This is a service role with a small remuneration. Secondly, student mentors are trained to help other students solve conflicts. They have weekly office hours at a room at school where teachers can send students who have conflicts with each other or where students can go on their own accord. Finally, student first aid officers are trained to supervise students who are feeling unwell until their caregivers arrive to pick them up. They also help at school events. Service roles that are based on being elected, which are student representatives and class representatives were excluded from the service space as their focus is on decision-making rather than service.

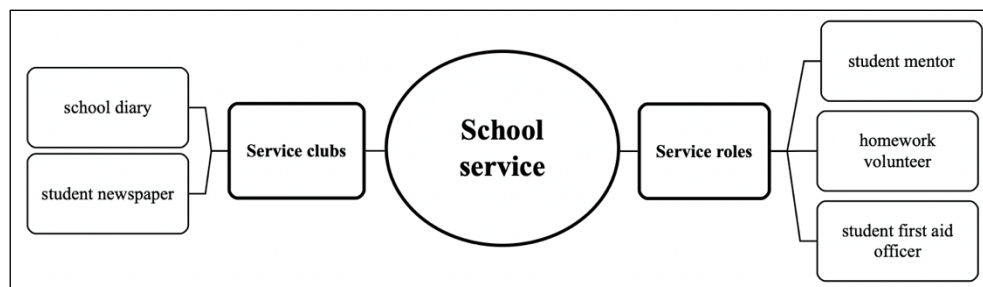


Figure 6.7: Participants' reported engagement in service at school

The service space was developed in this thesis to classify extracurricular activities into citizenship activities which I refer to as service in this thesis, and non-citizenship activities. While service roles and service clubs provide a service to the school, other clubs focus on developing a skill such as learning to play an instrument. Arguably,

the boundary between service and non-citizenship are blurred. The Anderberg middle school music club, for example, often helps at school events with musical entertainment. I, thus, assessed every extracurricular club and role, discussed by participants, to decide whether its main goal is service, which meant I labelled it a service or developing a skill, which meant I labelled it as non-citizenship. Refer to Findings section 6.6 for findings on the relationship between citizenship and non-citizenship activities.

In terms of uptake, school service was the third most frequently taken up citizenship space at school. Uptake of service clubs and roles was measured in the questionnaire by asking participants whether they had engaged in a range of service clubs and roles at school during the past two years. Findings from descriptive analysis are displayed in Figure 6.8.

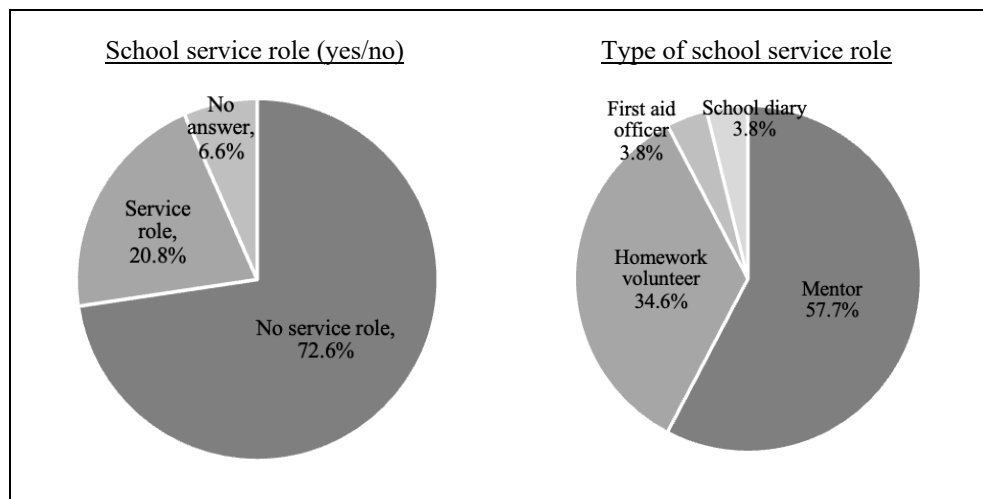


Figure 6.8: Questionnaire participants' reported engagement in service roles

As evident in Figure 6.8, 20.8% of all participants who answered the question about their engagement in school service (99 participants) were engaged in a service role at Anderberg middle school. Out of the service activities that were mentioned by participants, most service roles included being a student mentor (57.7%) and homework volunteer (34.6%). Some participants reported engagement in more than one service role, which is included in the data in the second pie chart. The high number of participants' non-engagement in service roles was exacerbated by the fact that the student mentor role is only available to students from Year 9 and 10. Furthermore, I did not explicitly ask participants about participating in the student newspaper, as student first aid officers and in the school diary, which was mentioned by participants in open text box answers in the questionnaire. In addition, depending on participants' concept of service, they might not have included some service roles

they were engaged in. As follows results from thematic analysis on school service are summarised.

Service roles are described as fun and participants identified with their roles

Participants often described engagement in service clubs and service roles as fun but also demanding as pointed out by Jan (Y9/Q).

...The training to become a student mentor was always a lot of fun, there was often role-play practice. Later, once the training was completed and the 'service' started, there were real disputes to settle. Once this was achieved and the result was visible, the whole training was really worth it.

Furthermore, findings from thematic analysis suggest that participants identified with their service roles and clubs. This was, for example, expressed by a student mentor who demonstrated that she cared about the well-being of the students she tutored beyond her role description and perceived herself as a role model for them.

I started mentoring Year 5 students this year...Many love to paint/draw, many also had interesting career aspirations...But many despair of the homework too quickly and would rather do something else...If they have questions or ask for support, you are always there, but not only that, you notice that when students are in a bad mood or are generally stressed (especially at this time), they often turn to us. We try to solve problems as best we can. We are role models for the younger ones as much as we can and we are also liaison between teachers/supervisors and students.

(Michele, Y10/Q)

Collective identity in form classes and service

Participants experienced a sense of collective identity through their engagement in service and form classes. Firstly, participants used language such as "we" and "with my class" to express collective identity. This was in contrast with other citizenship categories where participants rather used the personal pronoun "I" to describe their experience. Secondly, findings indicate that collective identity can extend to form teachers or other teachers. This was, for example, evident in Lotta's (Y8/Q) statement: "Together with the other students from my form class and the teachers, I have discussed which teaching topics are important to us...". Thirdly, collective identity was expressed by participants' efforts for their form class or service such as by raising funds or planning events and trips, through their classroom as a space of their identity, and clothing that sets them apart from other form classes such as the graduation hoodie. As previously mentioned, this also sometimes extends to teachers, mostly form teachers and other teachers with a high contact time in the class. Those teachers are, for example, consulted regarding painting the classroom or receive a graduation hoodie from their class. Finally, it should be acknowledged

that within this collective identity, participants did not engage in the same way but rather took on different roles ranging from voting on decisions, to more active roles including organising a bake sale.

6.4.4 Participants have low agency in school decisions

What counts as decision-making is ambiguous as school decisions range from direct forms such as voting on decisions in the student assembly to more indirect forms such as making suggestions to the student council. I decided to include all citizenship activities participants discussed in relation to school decision-making, which included both indirect and direct forms. Participants' decision-making at school can be divided into school decisions through elected roles and discussing and suggesting school issues through non-elected roles, as evident in Figure 6.9.

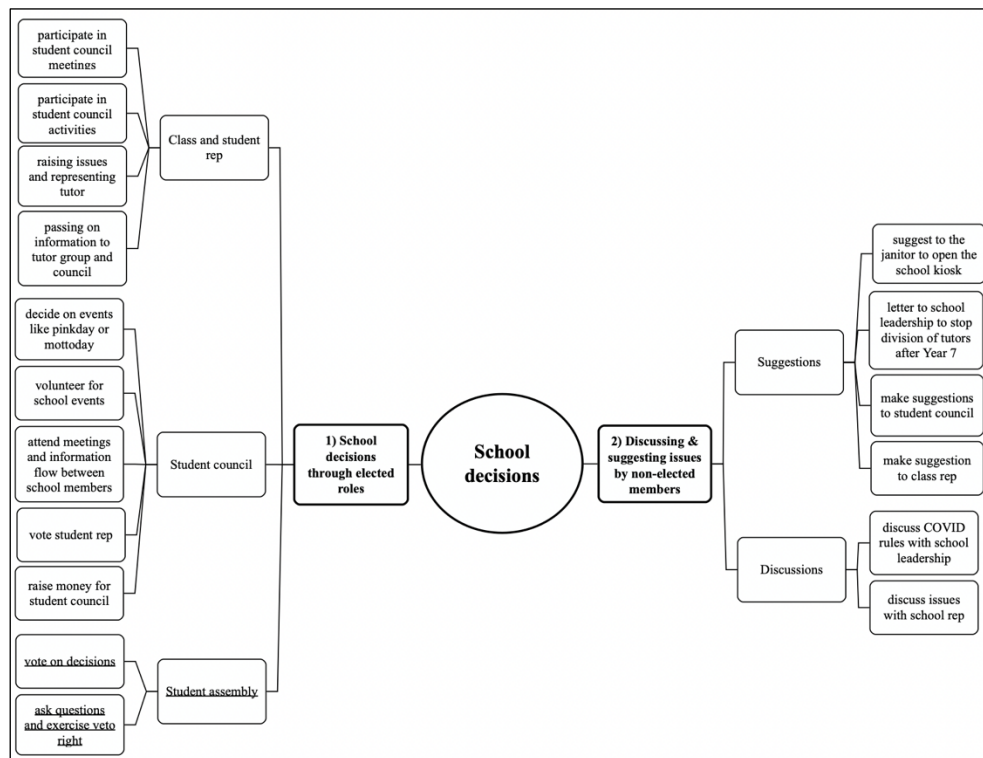


Figure 6.9: Participants' reported decision-making at school

Participants' reported citizenship activities through non-elected roles, include making suggestions to and discussing issues with different school members. Participants discussed three elected roles and bodies through which they made decisions, namely the student council, as class and student representatives and the student assembly. While the student council, being a class representative and being a school representative was discussed by all participants, the student assembly was exclusively discussed by teachers as a decision-making body. For background

information on the role of student decision-making bodies at schools in *Baden-Württemberg*, refer to Literature review section 3.3.2.

In terms of uptake, questionnaire participants' engagement in school decisions was the least taken up school citizenship space. School decision-making was measured with six items in the questionnaire (see Figure 6.10). The two items in category 1, provide insights into elected roles namely working as a class or school representative and volunteering as a school representative. The remaining items, category 2, were done both by participants in elected roles and non-elected participants. Student council decisions, for example were reported by 12 participants who worked as elected representatives and 12 participants who were not elected representatives. Interestingly a total of five participants, who worked as school or class representatives, reported to have never participated in school council decisions even though this is one of their main responsibilities. This indicates shortcomings of the student council which are further discussed throughout this section. Questionnaire findings also show an overall low and mostly sporadic uptake, apart from student council decisions which were done sporadically and regularly to the same extent.

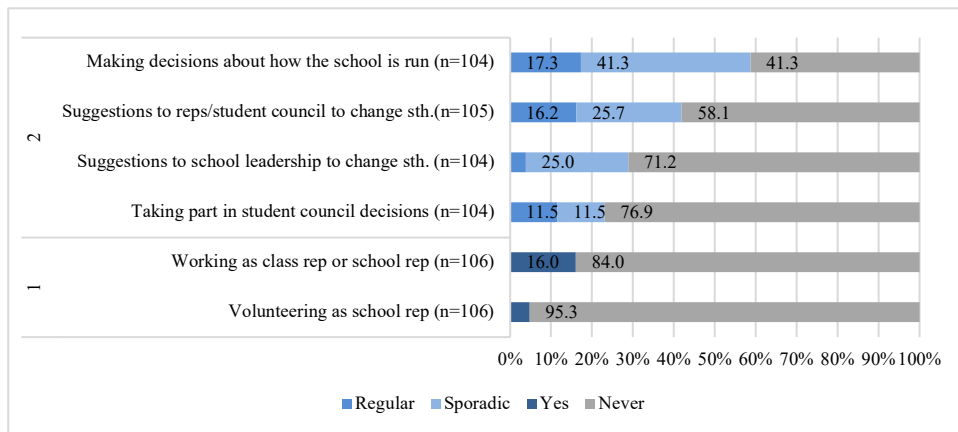


Figure 6.10: Questionnaire participants' reported engagement in decision-making at school

As follows, findings regarding school decision-making from thematic analysis are summarised, namely reasons for participants' low engagement in decision-making and the low decision-making powers of Anderberg middle school's student decision-making bodies.

Reasons for little to no participation in school decisions: Election barriers and low political efficacy

I identified two reasons for little or not participating in decision-making at school. Firstly, many of the already low number of school decisions were made by students in elected roles, thus not being open to all students alike. This issue was, for example, raised by Silas (Y9/Q), suggesting: "... as a normal student I have little say in school matters". This participant was also critical about accessing elected decision-making roles based on popularity.

...I volunteered as class representative but was not elected because I am not the coolest in the form class, even though I could do the job better than our current class representatives...The qualifications for the class representative are completely ignored. My goal is to become class representative next school year. If it doesn't happen, I will seriously consider joining a political party and becoming a politician. I want to do something for my country and the citizens.

One student also pointed out that due to the size of the school, not everyone could be a part of decision-making: "I think it depends, you cannot involve every student because there are just too many. Therefore, I think that you can actually decide something as a form class." (Magda, Y10/FG).

Secondly, some participants suggested they were little or not engaged at school along with statements indicating what is termed low external efficacy in this thesis, a belief that their school does not allow them to be part of decisions. External efficacy at school was measured in the questionnaire by asking participants about the extent of their agreement or disagreement with the statement: 'My school allows me to be part of decisions', as displayed in Figure 6.11.

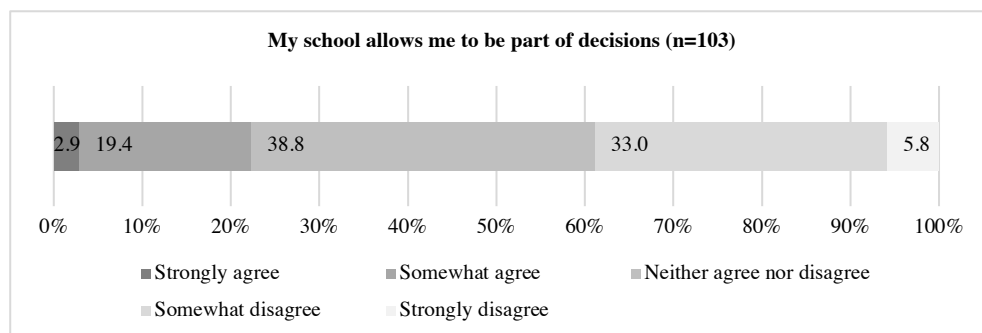


Figure 6.11: Questionnaire participants' views on whether their school allows them to be part of decisions

While participants' views on this question were complex, more participants (38.8%) disagreed that their school allowed them to be part of decisions than agreed (22.3%).

Low external efficacy was also discussed in qualitative data sets in relation to three different concerns. First, some participants reported negative experiences of not being heard with their suggestions at school or not being consulted. This is illustrated by the following comments.

I'm a class representative this year and my goal was to open this little kiosk, but of course also to represent the suggestions from the other students. Although I think the students have little to say at this school, I feel like it doesn't matter if you say something, it is not taken seriously...I have tried for 3 years for [the caretaker] to re-open the kiosk...I probably explained the problem to every teacher here and of course also discussed it in the student council and still nothing has happened.

(Emil, Y9/FG)

I would really like it if it could be made easier to complain about bigger things. So far that hasn't really happened, but in my opinion it is important that if something happens, it is easier to tackle it. So a new principal was hired ...We didn't even know who was a candidate for it, we didn't know who it was until the very end when it was already decided. As students, in my opinion, it is our right to know. The teachers didn't know either, I didn't think it was ok to keep it a secret...

(Sophie, Y10/FG)

This concern was also expressed by participating teachers.

...Where are they really allowed to have a voice? It has always been reduced a lot, right? You would wish for more, but then I always think to myself, where do they have the possibility at all?

...I wish there had been more opportunities. For example, regarding the multi-generational playground, the school and students have been largely ignored, in my opinion. And I do think that something else could have been done here...

The multi-generational playground, one of the teachers refers to, is on Anderberg middle school grounds and used by students during their recess. This teacher criticised the fact that Anderberg school students and also the school were not consulted during the development process and that this could have been a good opportunity for students to experience decision-making. In addition, some participants suggested that the pandemic seems to have further reduced the already low consultation of students at school, as illustrated by Annika's (Y10/FG) comment: "...In the student council, this year and the last six months because of Corona, we haven't really done much and we can't do much. But usually we do lots of sales and other things". A second concern in relation to external efficacy, discussed by participants, was a low perceived decision-making power of student decision-making bodies, further detailed as follows.

Anderberg middle school student decision-making bodies have limited decision-making power

Findings indicate that the main student decision-making bodies and student representative roles at Anderberg middle school only enable students to make insignificant decisions and instead focus on service, attending meetings and distributing information. These findings are unpacked as follows. Firstly, participants mostly discussed attending meetings, helping and service with a particular focus on events and to a lesser extent making less significant decisions like buying plants for the school. Words such as “helping” and “doing” were used by participants to describe their activities in the student decision-making bodies and in elected representation roles, as described by class representative Noel (Y9/Q): “I was able to help the class very often because I am very open and have done a lot for a better life in the class”. Similarly, teachers suggested that the main task of the student council is for students to organise events for other students, as evident in the following comment.

...In the end it's the students organising some activities mainly for other students at the school.

Secondly, some participating students and teachers seemed to be aware and critical of the limited involvement of student-decision making bodies and representatives. This is, for example illustrated in Sofie’s (Y10/FG) comment: “In the student council it was usually more like small things, less important things, like sales.” Similarly, some participating teachers seem to be aware of the student council’s singular focus on helping and events and want to expand the focus to more important (political) issues, as illustrated in the following teacher comment.

We should think about whether we’re going to do another project next year, socially or politically, or that we say once a year: ‘What are we doing? Not just beautifying the school building, not just selling plants, but where we can we have an influence?’

Students’ participation in decisions might be related to school leadership and whether they want to include students, as illustrated in this teacher comment.

...in my opinion, it always depends on the principal. [The previous principal] was willing to talk with student representatives or with the student council. Therefore, she allowed a relatively high amount of student decision-making...

Another teacher goes further, criticising that student councils as a concept are not aimed at including students in real decisions.

...I have never been liaison teacher. I have never been in the student council...As a result, I can only speak as a bystander Many ideas are thrown into the student council by the student council liaison teachers instead of

growing out of the student council... This is a criticism in our school but also in schools overall. Like: 'You have a student council because you have to, but don't let them do too much.'... I could imagine giving students their own budget that they can decide on by themselves. At the moment, the student council is discussing something and says we would like to do it but we need money for it. If adults then have the final decision, students' decision will naturally be devalued.

Similar comments were made about the student assembly and students' role within it. While student participants did not discuss the school assembly, teachers suggested this was the highest decision-making power for students at school and that students were not prepared to take part in this decision-making body. Reasons such as topical difficulty were discussed. Furthermore, teachers suggested that including students into decision-making at school would mean to teach them that they are welcome to be part of decisions, and to create an environment for students to be regularly part of school decisions. Moreover, participating students and teachers suggested that the already low decision-making capacity of the student council and student representatives had been further exacerbated by the pandemic by not allowing student council meetings to take place and making quick decisions without consulting students, as pointed out in the following comments:

There was less participation in the student council due to home schooling and alternating classes. I think an online student council would be an idea to fall back on.

(Lias, Y10/Q)

And they don't have any freedom of choice at the moment, so there was a question, for example, whether they have paper towels or hand dryers in the toilets. ... They are not allowed to have a say in the decision: 'The dryers spread the virus, so they are being removed and they will have paper towels from now on and that's it, full stop.'... So there is no tolerance...

(Teacher)

Finally, findings suggest that information does not just flow between the student council and form classes but that school leadership also uses the student council to pass on decisions to all students, as illustrated in the following teacher comment.

...the student council really is the extended arm, also backwards, also if something happens. A few years ago, the students' toilets were totally messed up and then of course it went backwards via the principal then via the teacher liaisons via the class representatives to the form classes. That worked relatively quickly, because the class representatives are also role models for the form class...

Participants' low involvement in school decision, as described in this section, is in opposition to the high number of decisions participants reported in their form classes. This raises the question whether the positive experiences in form classes encouraging

participation such as a collective identity and a feeling of being heard, could be applied to a whole school context? Furthermore, participants' low involvement raises concern as schools are key political socialisation agents and, thus, not allowing students to fully experience inclusion in decisions constitutes a missed opportunity for citizenship education.

6.4.5 *Most volunteering at school is done through service roles and clubs*

Participants' engagement in volunteering at school can be divided into helping with events and projects and helping with school equipment and school services, as evident in Figure 6.12. Helping with events and projects included raising money, helping at school events, and contributing to school competitions. Helping with school equipment and school services included helping in school clubs, setting up school equipment and keeping the school clean.

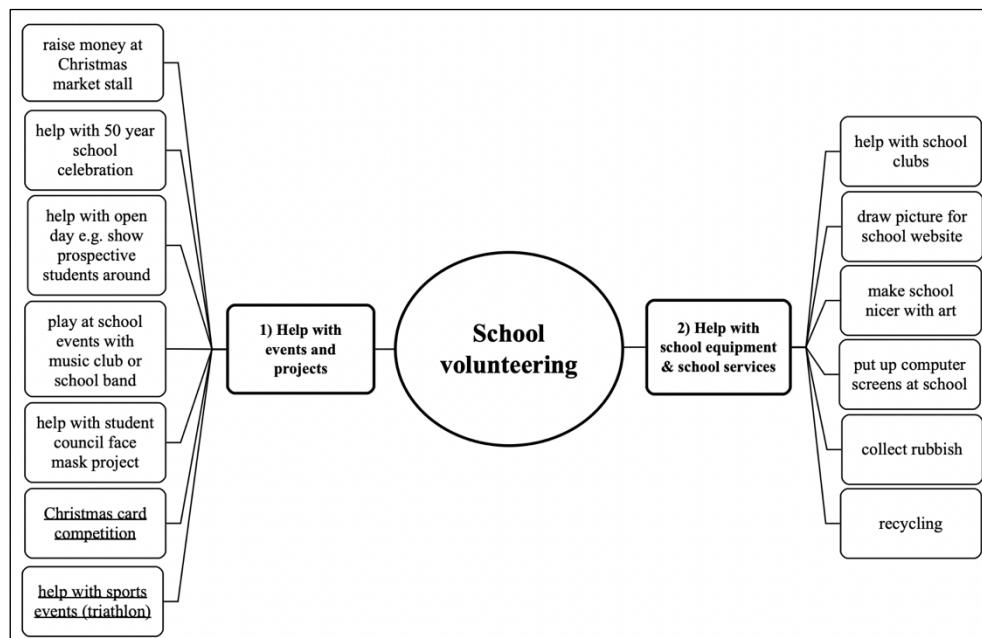


Figure 6.12: Participants' reported engagement in volunteering at school

In terms of uptake, volunteering was the second most taken up citizenship space at school, according to questionnaire results. Whether a citizenship activity in the volunteering space is more likely done sporadically or regularly depends on the activity, as evident in Figure 6.13. 'Recycling', for example, is more likely to be done regularly by questionnaire participants, while 'volunteering in school events' and 'using art and music to improve the school' are more likely to be done sporadically. This might be explained by the fact that Anderberg middle school has paper recycling bins in every classroom which are emptied by students on a weekly

basis, thus encouraging regular participation. School events and art or music projects, on the other hand, occur less frequently at school.

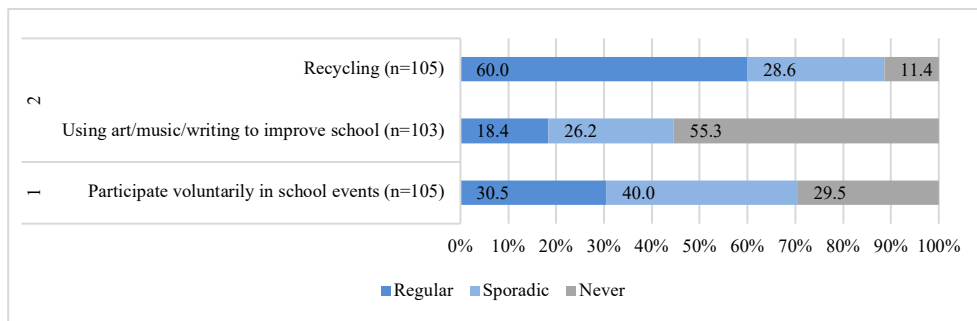


Figure 6.13: Questionnaire participants' reported engagement in volunteering at school

As follows, I summarise results on school volunteering from thematic analysis.

Participants in clubs and with special roles are more engaged at school

Participants who work in service roles, elected roles, service clubs and foundational clubs, participate in more citizenship activities at school than other participants. This was measured by comparing the overall relative mean of citizenship activities participants in special roles and school clubs participated in, with the citizenship activities of other participants. Findings are displayed in the bar graph in Figure 6.14. Below the bar graph is a table outlining the different roles and clubs that were included in my definition of roles/clubs as well as the citizenship activities, included in the measure of school citizenship activities. I made sure that all included citizenship activities were accessible to all participants and not just participants in (elected) roles and clubs. Interestingly, this included taking part in student council decisions which were done to the same extent by elected representatives and other students.

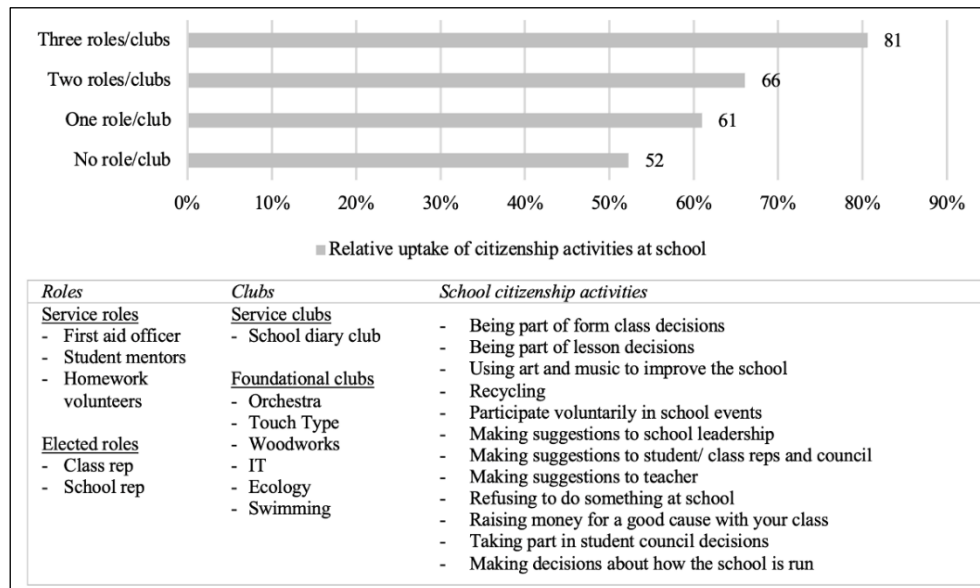


Figure 6.14: Comparison of citizenship activities by participants with no, one, two and three special roles and clubs

Results suggest that participants without a special role or school club membership during the past two years were engaged in a mean of 52.3% of citizenship activities at school, while participants with a special role or club engaged in a mean of 63.2% of citizenship activities. Furthermore, the more roles and school clubs, participants were part of, the more citizenship activities they were engaged in overall. A higher engagement of participants with special roles was also discussed in the teacher interviews, illustrated below.

...Of course, it is the class representatives who always participate, but also the student mentors, then there is participation via the student first aid officers, if there is a school event...

Reasons for more engagement as part of clubs and special roles: Responsibilities, access, information

As follows, I summarise three reasons why participants with special roles and in clubs might be more engaged in citizenship activities than other participants. Firstly, students engaged in service and elected roles might be more engaged in citizenship activities at school because these activities are part of their role. Engagement in a range of citizenship activities at school is often a pre-defined part of service and elected roles and clubs at Anderberg middle school, as discussed in this teacher quote.

...If they are in the student council, they do more. They participate in supervision activities, like the Year 9s who always supervised the Year 5s ...Helping with school events is mostly done by student council members ...at the school anniversary, for example, they did the catering and guided guests to their seats...

The supervision, mentioned by this teacher refers to a project in which class representatives from Year 9, look after students in Year 5 which includes being available during breaks if there are problems or accompanying students on field trips. Further citizenship activities that are part of elected roles include “distributing and presenting things from the student council to the class” (Rebecca, Y8/Q) and “raising money for the student council by selling cake...” (Elisa, Y8/Q). Some of the activities, included in student and class representative roles, are mandatory and described by students using the word “have to”. Similarly, service roles and extracurricular membership at Anderberg middle school include further engagement in citizenship such as the yearly open day during which all student mentors at Anderberg middle school guide a group of new students around the school and the school orchestra entertains prospective students and parents, as described by Henry (Y8/Q): “Open day as a student mentor and as a member of the school orchestra”. Findings also suggest, some participants perceived their roles to include certain activities such as for student representatives to volunteer in activities for the school, without necessarily being officially included in their role. This was for example evident in Ava’s (Y8/Q) comment: “I am the student representative and have always volunteered for service at every event”.

Secondly, some citizenship activities at Anderberg middle school are only accessible for extracurricular members, elected representatives, and students in service roles. Mika (Y10/Q), for example, describes helping with a school graffiti project, organised by the student council saying: “I helped with the graffiti for the science rooms. At that time, I was still the class representative and was in the student council”. The described project was part of a yearly student council sleep-over at school, which is only available to class and student representatives. This means that even if students without service and elected roles were interested in participating in these citizenship activities, they would not have access to them.

Finally, findings indicate that students with special roles and in extracurricular clubs might be more engaged because they are more informed about issues and activities happening at school. This was pointed out by Killian (Y9/FG) who is a class representative: “It's very exciting what you do there, you learn a lot, but it's also a lot of fun that you can help the school, to make it better”. This was also suggested by teachers who described this information flow as “being networked”.

...class representatives are also role models for the form class and students help them...I would say class representatives are well networked within the school.

6.4.6 *Anderberg middle school student are perceived as non-activists*

Participants' engagement in activism can be divided into refusing to do something, making suggestions, discussing issues, and complaining about something (see Figure 6.15). Refusing to do something included a participant refusing to change her clothing which was perceived as inappropriate by teachers. Suggestions were addressed to teachers, the student council, class representatives and the school janitor. Making complaints differed from suggestions in terms of the language participants used to talk about them as something negative or problematic they wanted to change.

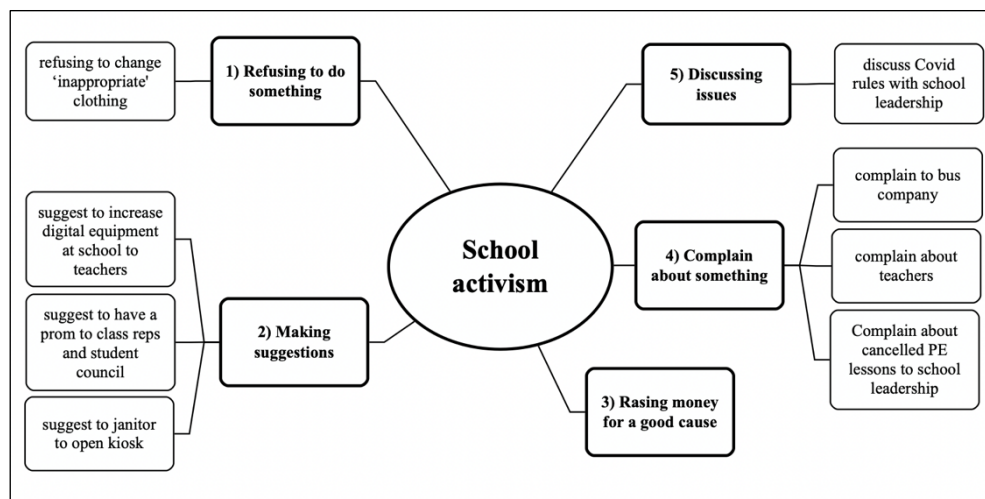


Figure 6.15: Participants' reported engagement in school activism

In terms of frequency, activism was the second least taken up citizenship space according to quantitative questionnaire data. There were more activist citizenship activities, discussed in focus groups, however, which might be related to the types of participants who volunteered to take part in the focus groups. There might have also been a conceptual gap between participants' and my perception of activism which could have caused a lower number of activist activities being raised by participants. Uptake and frequency of the school activism category was measured in the student questionnaire for five items namely raising money for a good cause, refusing to do something at school and making suggestions to different school members. The results are displayed in Figure 6.16.

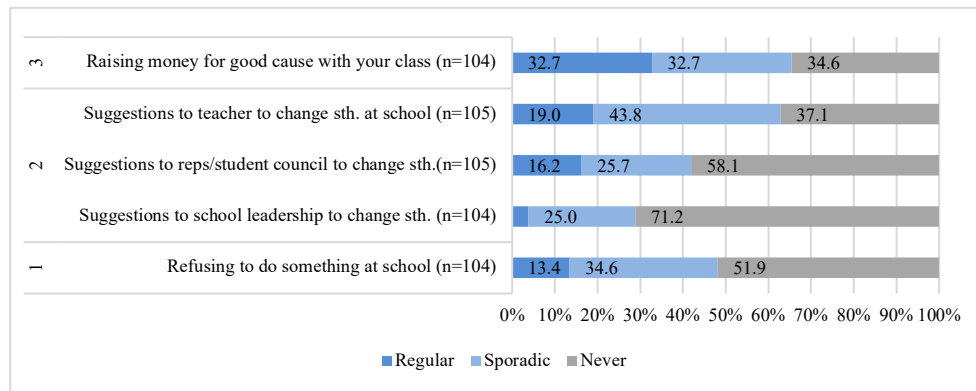


Figure 6.16: Questionnaire participants' reported engagement in activist citizenship activities at school

Findings suggest an overall low uptake of activist citizenship activities and that the uptake of school activism varies for different citizenship activities. Raising money for a good cause, for example, which is done in a form class context, had a higher uptake and was done more regularly than the other activities. This might be related to more time spent in the form class and thus having more opportunities to engage on a regular basis. It could also be related to a feeling of being heard in form classes, making it more likely for participants to engaged regularly (see Findings 6.4.2 for a detailed discussion). Furthermore, participants were more likely to make suggestions to teachers than class and student representatives and the student council. This might be related to the perceived shortcomings of the student council and student decision-making at Anderberg middle school as discussed in the previous section. Finally, participants were more likely to engage sporadically in activist citizenship activities than regularly.

Many participating teachers perceived Anderberg middle school students as non-activists, which is also reflected in the low number of school activist activities reported by participating students. Six aspects in relation to Anderberg middle school students' non-activism were discussed by participants, namely defiance, Fridays for future, age, time-investment, satisfaction, and opportunities, unpacked as follows.

Defiance

Participating teachers described participants as non-defiant, non-critical and non-political, as illustrated in the following teacher comment.

No, I don't see much there, I don't see middle school students [*Realschüler*] as terribly intellectual, critical of society. They usually do their thing, some are not even able to intellectually understand that there is something worthy of criticism, they sometimes don't realise what is going on here...

As evident in the quote, this teacher suggests that not being critical might be connected to an intellectual capability to understand issues at school which he does not think many students at Anderberg middle school possess. He also suggests this might be related to attending a *Realschule*, one of four school types of the German school system. Differences of students' citizenship activities in relation to the school types they attend is also discussed in the literature (Achour & Wagner, 2019). For an introduction to the different school types in the German school system, refer to Literature review section 3.3.1. Some student participants also perceived their generation as non-political, as illustrated in the following comment

I believe that our generation is not as intensely politically involved as other generations. It may well be that we are interested in politics, but I don't really think that any of us are going to protest or are really trying to change something ourselves. I don't know what's going on with others, but I don't think I'm that politically involved because even if it's Fridays for Future, I think it's good, but I haven't been there myself

(Lars, Y10/FG)

Fridays for Future

Non-activism was also discussed in relation to Fridays for Future protests which were at the time of the interview still ongoing in some German cities. On the one hand, participating teachers criticised that Anderberg middle school students were less involved in the Fridays for future protests than other neighbouring towns, as illustrated by the following teacher comment.

...Of course, we had some students who took part in Fridays for Future protests, but I wouldn't know about anyone who is still active now. And I think that's different in Wunderberg²⁴. In Wunderberg they still protest on Fridays or are still trying to do it virtually. I don't see that [in Anderberg], although I don't know if there's anything on the internet, I can't judge that. But I think our students, because they are further into the forest or the village, are a bit lax or not so political...

This comment indicates that non-activism is connected to geographical location and that activism is lower in rural areas, here referred to as "further into the forest or the village". Differences in terms of uptake of activist activities between urban and rural areas is also discussed in the literature, suggesting, for example, a higher uptake of protests in urban areas due to a better access and differences in political interest (Gensicke, 2014). On the other hand, findings suggest, that Anderberg middle

²⁴ Wunderberg is a pseudonym for a neighbouring city of Anderberg which is bigger with over 19,000 inhabitants and connected to a nearby metropolitan area by tram.

students might have been hindered to participate in Fridays for Future protests as illustrated by the following teacher comment.

...I of course also understood the perspective of school leadership who said they could also do it in the afternoon or even on Saturdays...I thought that was a shame. Because something could have developed there. I also thought that at our school it was seen very negatively, and the possibilities weren't acknowledged, so I didn't like the way it went

The comment highlights tensions at Anderberg middle school, at the time of the interviews between staff, school leadership and some students regarding students' missing classes to attend Fridays for Future protests. School leadership and staff were asked to enforce school attendance, as per constitution and request by the Ministry of Education (see Appendix O for a publicly accessible letter to principals providing guidelines to deal with student absences during protests). In terms of Anderberg middle school, this meant that if students missed a class, they had to bring a note from their parents. Missing classes without a valid note from parents can lead to a fine and if occurring repeatedly, an entry into students' annual reports. Furthermore, if students missed a class test without a valid parental note, they failed that test. Findings suggest that facing these consequences might have stopped some students from participating in protests, illustrated by the following comments.

... a Fridays for Future protest was nearby, but exactly when that happened, I was writing a class test and then the timing didn't work out...
(Sofie, Y10/FG)

And [teacher name] always says about Fridays for Future: 'We want the young ones to become active all this time. And now that they are being active, we are slowing them down again'.
(Teacher)

Findings also suggest that Anderberg middle school tried to engage students in the Fridays for Future movement outside of attending protests by organising an extracurricular club. Engaging students in this sort of activity was also suggested in the Ministry of Education letter to principals (see Appendix O). This extracurricular club, initiated by a teacher, however, was not popular with students as described in the following teacher quote.

...[Teacher name] tried to make an extracurricular out of it but there were 2 students out of 650 and the whole thing kind of fizzled out. This shows that our students are not particularly active. I was disappointed, I didn't start anything because it's difficult during school hours. The students aren't willing to come to school in the afternoons. [Teacher name] tried that, it was a good attempt, but it didn't catch on with the students.

While this teacher attributed the low uptake of this offer to students' inactivity, it might also be connected to the concepts of power, ownership and belonging. As

opposed to being inactive, students might not have attended this extracurricular activity because they did not experience belonging and ownership in it. This might be because the activity was developed with a top-down approach rather than initiated by students (for a discussion of teachers and the school initiating citizenship activities at school, refer to Findings section 6.4.7).

Reasons for non-activism: Age, cost, satisfaction

Participating teachers put forward three reasons for students to be non-activists. The first reason is age, as illustrated in the following teacher quote.

...they are still pretty young. At 15 or 16 years they are in their final year. Then they aren't that interested in protesting or doing something anymore, but more like getting their heads down and completing their exams. I sometimes think that's a pity...

A second reason is the cost of activism, as for example illustrated in this teacher quote discussing Anderberg middle school's (dis)engagement in the Fridays for future protests.

They could, *should* have done something. I discussed it a lot, I practically advertised it in my classes, in different subjects as something to do. But I think they saw relatively quickly that if I want to do something then I have to sacrifice my free time. Often they don't want to do that, because they're comfortable or they don't see the advantages. There have to be smaller steps, in my opinion, in order to experience that. So that they can experience success...

In addition to the cost of activism, this quote also points to a third reason, namely that students seem to be satisfied with the status quo, described as “being comfortable”, and thus may not feel the need to create change at school. This feeling of being satisfied with how the school is run, was also expressed by some student participants such as Debora (Y9/FG): “I didn't really feel like I was being treated unfairly, so I didn't have to stand up for anything”. Questionnaire participants were also asked whether they wanted to create change at their school. In line with findings from thematic analysis, more participants suggested they did not want to create change at school (45.7%) while fewer participants wanted to create change (27.6%) and 26.7% were undecided.

Opportunities and power-relationships

Findings indicate that students do not have enough opportunities to engage in activism and are prevented from engaging in activism because of the way they experience power relationships at school. This is illustrated in the following teacher comment.

...But maybe also because you don't raise them in that direction from an early age. Where do they have the opportunity? They're always reprimanded, and I think it has become extremely solidified over the years that they say: 'Well, what should I do?'...

Power relationships and how they can affect participants' engagement in citizenship activities at school are also discussed in the next section.

6.4.7 Most citizenship activities at school are initiated by teachers and the school

Findings suggest that participation in citizenship activities at school is often initiated and pre-organised by teachers and through the school rather than through students themselves. Overall, a total of 81% of citizenship activities identified in focus groups and 93% of citizenship activities mentioned in the qualitative questionnaire, were initiated by teachers and the school. Apart from activism, teachers' and the school's initiation of citizenship activities was mentioned across all citizenship spaces at school. As follows, four findings regarding this theme are discussed, namely teachers' direct encouragement of citizenship activities at school by approaching students, initiation of student participation through pre-organised events, initiation through elected and service roles and initiation within the student council.

Initiation by teachers directly approaching students

Engagement in citizenship activities is initiated through teachers approaching students directly to ask them to get engaged. Citizenship activities initiated by teachers included volunteering for events, as for example, suggested by Sam (Y10/Q).

...A friend and I were asked if we would be interested in helping at the open day because parents weren't allowed to come to school in person because of Corona. We were allowed to make a video together where we talked about the subject, WBS...

Similarly, a participating teacher suggested.

...there is the school triathlon and if I needed students to take part I could definitely go into my [form class] and say: 'Are we doing this?' I would definitely have 12 to 15 people who would say: 'Of course [teacher name] we will do this. When should we do it? Next week? Or the week after next?'...

Further citizenship activities initiated by teachers, included extracurriculars, as suggested by Maria (Y10/FG): "...I'm at best asked if I can do something. For example, the last time I was asked if I can help out a bit with the school diary" and form class activities, as suggested by Ruben (Y10/FG): "[Our form class teacher] comes up to us every now and then and asks if we'd like to do something". As evident

in the previous comments, initiating citizenship activities was often done by form class teachers, which might be due to the familiarity they often develop with students through the high contact time with their form class.

Initiation through pre-organised events

Participants also discussed being initiated into citizenship activities through pre-organised events such as the Christmas postcard event, as raised by the following teacher comment.

...they design things for festivities which they are really enthusiastic about, where they participate both in very large groups of students and small individual groups. They participate when there's a competition for the Christmas postcard campaign. They participate when they're asked for the school Christmas church service...

The Christmas card project refers to an annual tradition at Anderberg middle school where one student's drawing is turned into the school's Christmas card which is distributed to all students and teachers on the last school day before Christmas. As illustrated in this comment, analysis suggests that participants talked about students' involvement as helping in previously established events through activities such as designing a postcard, rather than initiating events themselves.

Initiation as part of special roles and clubs

Participants were also initiated into citizenship activities as part of elected roles such as student representatives, through the student council, through service roles like being a student mentor and through extracurriculars or foundational clubs. When talking about their engagement in citizenship activities, initiated by one of the previously mentioned roles, bodies and clubs, participants used words like "duty" and "have to", as evident in the following comments.

Usually we're on duty in the student mentor room to...mediate fights between two students...

(Tilbert, Y9/Q)

Bruno: We once helped with the 50th anniversary.
JS: What did you do for this?
Bruno: I'm not sure anymore.
JS: Was that in the gym? Was there catering and so on?
Debora: No, we just made drawings for that.
Bruno: That's right.
JS: Why did you help?
Bruno: Because we had to because of the student council.

(Focus group, Y9)

This top-down approach, where students participate in pre-established and initiated citizenship activities, was criticised by participants, as shown in this teacher quote.

I think that we could let the students become more active because all extracurriculars always come from above. We predefine something or rather we offer something. There are less offers that have developed from the bottom up, how it should be in a project ... when extracurriculars are offered, the students of course engage...

Findings also suggest, however, that this might not be the case for every extracurricular activity, as pointed out by a teacher in relation to the student newspaper: "...the ReadOrange²⁵...I would say that there is a lot of student participation. Students give a lot of direction".

Citizenship activities in the student council initiated by teachers

Even within the main student decision making body, Anderberg middle school's student council, many citizenship activities are initiated by teachers. While student participants mentioned similar student council activities as teachers, they did not discuss who introduced them. This was discussed by teachers who suggested that most activities the student council does, were initiated and pre-organised by teachers, as evident in the following comments.

...Pinkday²⁶ which [Teacher name] brought on board, is all about being tolerant in terms of homosexuality. That's how it started...

...I introduced the rubbish sorting system...I organised for a container to come once a week...everything we throw away is weighed and sold...

As evident in the previous comments, teachers used words like "organise", "bring on board" and "introduce" when talking about citizenship activities in the student council. Students, on the other hand, used words like "participate", "help" and "do" when discussing student council activities, as illustrated in the following comment.

...In the student council, this year and in the last 6 months, we haven't really done a lot and we can't do a lot, due to Corona, but otherwise we do a lot of sales and other things.

(Annika, Y10/FG)

Three reasons why student council activities might be initiated by teachers, were discussed in teacher interviews. First, participants suggest that students may be too young to initiate and organise student council activities, as indicated in this teacher

²⁵ ReadOrange is the name of the student newspaper of Anderberg middle school

²⁶ Pinkday is an international anti-bullying event that is celebrated at Anderberg middle school every year by organising a pink-themed fundraiser.

quote: "...Of course, we have relatively young students, that's why we always suggest activities...". A second reason, discussed in teacher interviews, was the types of students attending Anderberg middle school, referred to as clientele in the following comment.

...what I'd like to see, is more responsibility for students...many ideas in the student council are actually thrown in by student council teachers, instead of growing out of the student council itself. Maybe this is related to our clientele, I think there is more engagement at the *Gymnasium*. There are older students, of course. For our students it's hard but maybe also difficult for us to stand back and observe sometimes...

This statement is connected to the debate about differences between students from different school types in Germany, as explained in Literature review section 3.3.1. Achour and Wagner (2019), for example, suggest that age and school type might have an influence on young people's engagement in citizenship activities at school. The authors suggest that in their study, older participants were more engaged and that participants from the most academic school type, the *Gymnasium*, were also more involved in citizenship activities at school than students from other school types, including the *Realschule*. A third reason, discussed in teacher interviews, refers to appreciation and ownership of student involvement, suggesting if students' ideas are acknowledged and valued, students are more likely to initiate their own citizenship activities, as suggested in the following teacher quote: "...that you also use concrete ideas, and also name them, don't just include them but say: 'That was an idea of the students.' It's about appreciation too and that's what I think isn't done enough". Nevertheless, findings suggest that some students still identify with the activities done in the student council, even though they did not initiate them, as for example, suggested in the following teacher interview excerpt.

Teacher 1²⁷: I think if you were to say: 'Buy popcorn, for the popcorn machine.'...They would go to Penny and buy any corn. But if we say: 'Guys make sure that it's fair-trade corn.' Then they go and buy from *Alnatura* which is fair-trade. They do it but you have to really tell them.

Teacher 2: But then they are also proud of it, then they sell it and say 'fair-popcorn'.

Teacher 1: That's true, but it doesn't come from them...

Teacher 2: But then it is also important to them then.

Teacher 1: Afterwards, yes.

²⁷ I numbered participating teachers here to indicate that this was a conversation between two teachers. This excerpt was taken from the only interview I conducted with two teachers.

6.5 Which citizenship activities are participants engaged in in their (rural) communities?

In this section, I describe participants' citizenship activities in their (rural) communities. Findings are shared in form of six themes, developed using thematic and descriptive analysis. I decided to display findings according to themes, rather than citizenship spaces²⁸ (private, municipal, activism, online, party politics) because there was overlap between spaces. Nevertheless, I conceptualised citizenship spaces using mind maps where they come up within the themes (highlighted in bold in the themes). All citizenship activities, included in this section, meet the proposed definition (see section 2.4).

Participants engaged in all proposed citizenship spaces in (rural) communities (6.5.1)

Private citizenship activities were often done together with family and friends (6.5.2)

Municipal participation is often initiated by clubs and focuses on doing and helping (6.5.3)

Online citizenship activities mainly include accessing information and activism (6.5.4)

Activist citizenship activities often take place around personal grievances (6.5.5)

Low participation in **party politics** and negative attitudes towards politicians and political parties (6.5.6)

6.5.1 *Participants engaged in all proposed citizenship spaces in (rural) communities*

Participants were engaged in citizenship activities across all proposed community citizenship spaces. Overall, apart from one questionnaire and three focus group participants, all participants reported engagement in at least one citizenship activity in their communities. The participants who did not report engagement in citizenship activities may have also participated in citizenship activities but did not discuss this in the questionnaire or focus groups. The thematic map (see Figure 6.17) displays all community citizenship activities participants discussed in focus groups and the

²⁸ I excluded the proposed citizenship space “politics and art” because data analysis shows it overlapped with most other spaces, particularly online, private, and municipal. Thus, I decided to include art-based citizenship activities as part of other spaces rather than its own space.

qualitative questionnaire. I only included activities participants engaged in during the previous two years and that met the proposed definition of citizenship activities (see Literature review section 2.4). The same reasons, as previously described for school citizenship activities, underpin my decision to not include frequency of uptake in the thematic map in Figure 6.17, including my focus on exploring the range of participants' citizenship activities, and overlap between focus group and questionnaire participants. As evident in Figure 6.17, participants reported engagement in citizenship activities across all proposed community citizenship spaces, namely private, municipal, online, activism and party politics. Initially, I proposed one additional citizenship space, namely 'politics and art'. Focus group conversations showed, however, that participants mentioned citizenship activities to do with art within other spaces such as 'participating in a charity art exhibition' which was also discussed in the municipal space. Thus, I omitted this initial space of politics and art, and instead integrate any citizenship activities participants discussed in relation to this space in other spaces. Participants discussed the widest range of citizenship activities in the municipal space, which includes activities in community clubs including membership in service clubs such as the youth red cross as well as volunteering, decision-making and leadership roles. DLRG is an acronym for the German water live saving society. Participants also engaged in volunteering, decision-making and leadership roles outside of community clubs. The second widest range of citizenship activities was discussed in the activism space, including selective consumerism such as buying fair trade products, joining activist causes such as protests, and DIO activism, including removing anti-Covid posters from the local community. The concept of DIO activism is based on Pickard's (2019) Do-it-Ourselves politics, introduced in Literature review section 2.5.3. The third widest range of citizenship activities was discussed in the private space, including accessing and discussing political information, helping people in the community in a private capacity and keeping the environment clean by, for example, recycling. The fourth widest range of citizenship activities was discussed in relation to the online space, including participation in online discussions, accessing political information and raising awareness, for example, in social networks. The lowest range of citizenship activities was discussed in relation to party politics. Only four different citizenship activities were mentioned by participants, namely attending a local council meeting, voting in a junior election at school, following politicians on social media and complaining about community facilities to the mayor.

Municipal	decide on new balls in soccer club	teach children to swim at DLRG	teach soccer to children	teach gymnastics to children	membership DLRG	membership horticultural society	membership local fire brigade	membership tourism and beautification club
	participate in music club youth committee	membership youth red cross	help with events for horticulture society	help to prepare handball events for children	organise children church service	participate in charity concerts with music club	participate in dance events	collect rubbish in the community at club project
	participate in soccer council	take part in charity art exhibition	help with events for soccer club	participate in annual rubbish collection with music club	raise money for church with fair trade orange sale	deliver things from the church to old people	play music to retired citizens and at church	voluntary employee at conformation camp
	vote in church council election	help out with 'children and youth days' during confirmation	help with events for voluntary fire brigade	collect old christmas trees with soccer club	participate in the local community hall	help at village celebrations	help the elderly (initiated by community)	help with community projects
	buddy for new musicians	help out with retirement home church service during confirmation	help with youth church	distribute brochures for club	take part in community decisions	help with community youth projects	participate in community kids events	voluntary but paid work in community library
	help with ski courses	help with children bible event	help with youth church camp	raise money for club	collect paper rubbish as part of community project	help with village clean-up	work in the community youth centre	work as or train as a youth leader
Activism	comment on issues in social networks	complain about sexism on gaming platform	discuss issues below youtube videos	Private donate hair to cancer patients	raise money	waste less energy	discuss political issues with family or friends	find information about political topics
	raise awareness for blacklivesmatter online	remove anti-Covid posters from local community	report right-wing radical comments on instagram	help old people in the community (privately)	collect rubbish	listen to English music to learn about issues in the world	stay informed with political news regularly	watch news like Tagesschau
	share youtube videos	support LGBTQ community	be part of a social project on LGBTQ	meet people at retirement home to play games (privately)	recycling	read newspaper	watch parliamentary debates	watch political shows
	participate in a protest	sign online petitions	being vegan to help environment	Online find online political information	follow politicians on social media	follow Tagesschau online	watch live updates on Spotify	Party Politics attend local council meeting
	buy fair trade products	buy products with little or no plastic	do not buy factory farmed meat	watch online political videos	complain about sexism on gaming platform	report right-wing radical comments on instagram	share youtube videos	complain about community facilities to mayor
	buy organic products	do not buy products with palm oil	do not eat meat or pork	comment on issues in social networks	raise awareness for blacklives matter online	sign online petitions	discuss issues below youtube videos	discuss politics in different countries online
			influence parents to buy fair trade and organic products					participate at junior election at school

Figure 6.17: Focus group and questionnaire participants' reported citizenship activities in (rural) communities

As evident in Figure 6.17, there was overlap between some citizenship spaces, such as between private, online and activism. I included citizenship activities in multiple spaces but attempted to keep the categories as contained as possible to show their individual characteristics and to reduce repetition. I addressed the issue of overlap with the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions (see Literature review section 2.6), by attributing multiple contexts to citizenship activities, rather than assigning citizenship activities to categories.

Participants' uptake of citizenship activities differed between community spaces (see Figure 6.18). I measured frequency of uptake in the quantitative part of the student questionnaire. The values, displayed in Figure 6.18, are mean values of the citizenship activities in the table below the bar graph. There was some overlap between citizenship spaces. For example, 'connecting with an MP online to discuss issues' is included in the online and party politics categories. I allowed for overlap and followed the same categorisation as with qualitative data (see Figure 6.17). I also measured frequency by allowing questionnaire participants to report whether they did a citizenship activity regularly, sporadically, or never.

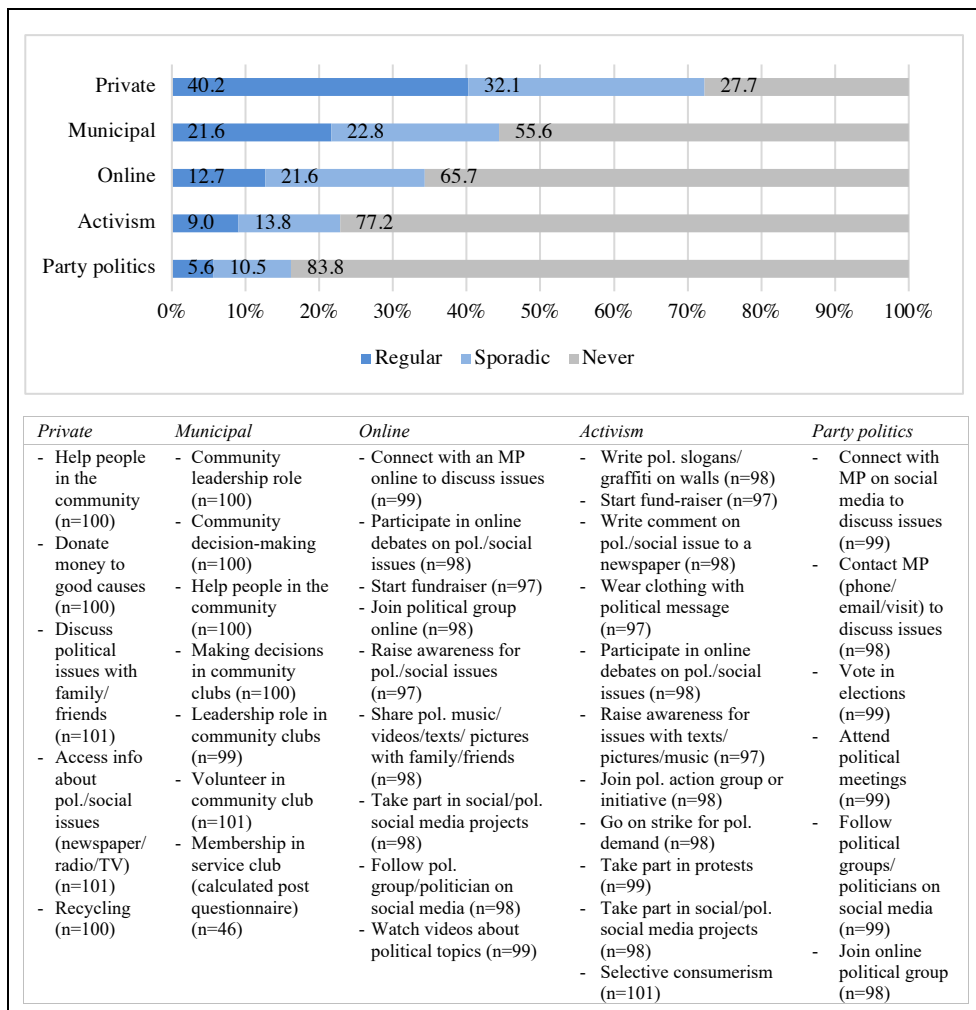


Figure 6.18: Questionnaire participants' reported engagement in community citizenship activities

There were noteworthy differences in the reported uptake of different citizenship spaces. The most taken up citizenship space was private, followed by municipal, online and activism while party politics was the least taken up space. In terms of frequency, findings suggest less remarkable differences between citizenship spaces than in terms of uptake. The most regularly taken up citizenship space was private which was the only space that was more likely to be taken up regularly than sporadically. Findings also indicate that uptake and frequency of citizenship spaces, differ according to individual citizenship activities, further discussed throughout the following sections.

6.5.2 Private citizenship activities were often done together with family and friends

Participants' private citizenship activities can be divided into four areas (see Figure 6.19). Firstly, accessing political information through different means including radio, TV, and newspaper. The citizenship activity 'watching *Tagesschau*' refers to

a popular public German news program that summarises the news of the day at regular intervals. I excluded all online citizenship activities from the private space to make the private space more distinct, even though online activities were often private. Secondly, discussing political information with friends. Thirdly, helping people in the community including donating and raising money, and helping senior citizens. Finally, citizenship activities carried out to keep the environment clean, including recycling and collecting rubbish.

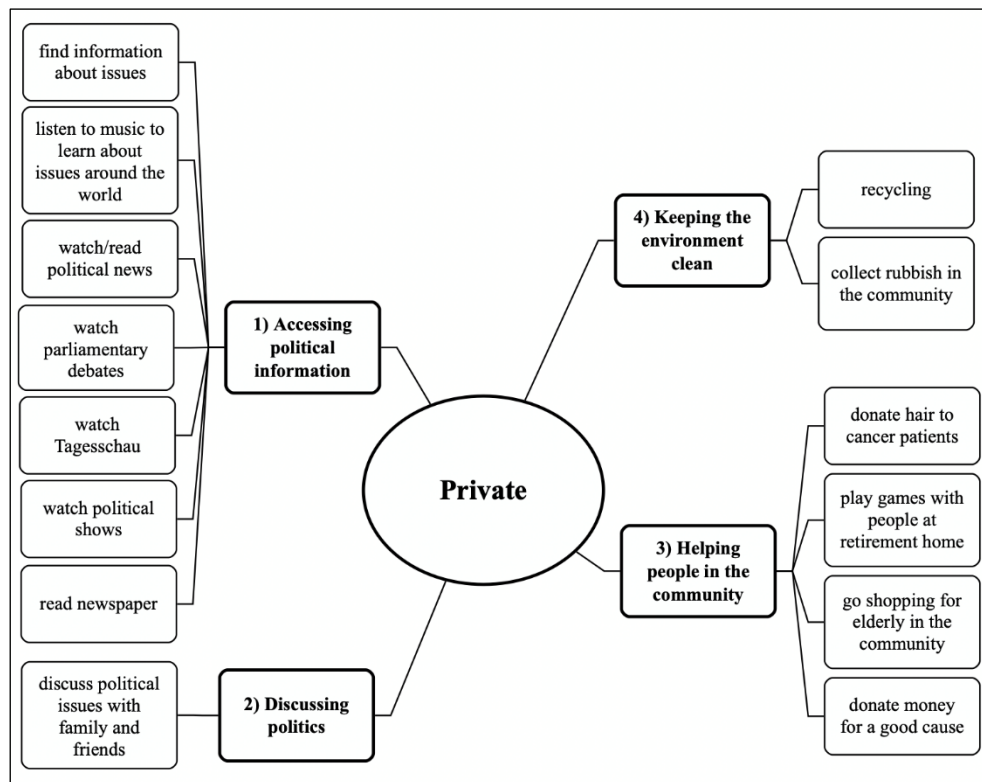


Figure 6.19: Participants' reported private citizenship activities

The private space was the most taken up and most frequently taken up citizenship space in comparison to other community spaces. I measured uptake in the questionnaire using five exemplary items (see Figure 6.20). Findings suggest an overall high uptake of private citizenship activities. The highest and most regular uptake was identified for recycling which was done by almost all questionnaire participants (93%) and by more than a third of participants (71%) regularly. This might be related to the fact that recycling is mandatory in the villages and towns my questionnaire participants are from. Similarly, accessing political information and discussing political issues with friends and family was done by most questionnaire participants and more regularly than sporadically. The items 'donating money to a good cause' and 'helping people in the community', conversely, were taken up less and more sporadically than regularly. It should be acknowledged that the item

‘helping people in the community’ might include both privately carried out and community-initiated citizenship activities.

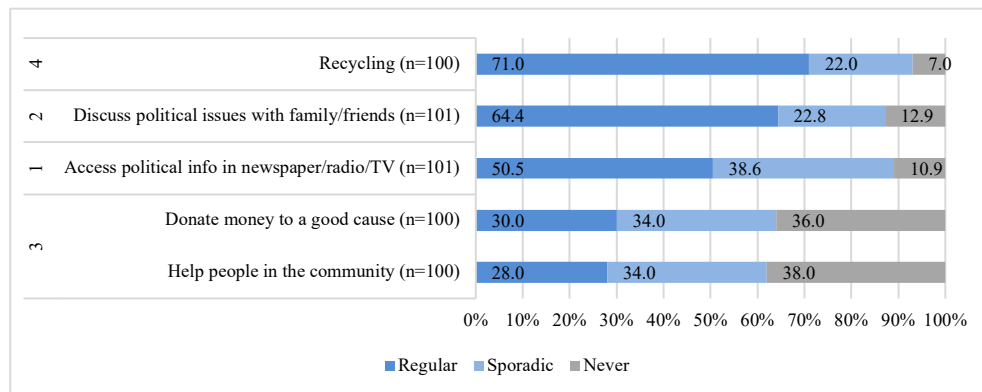


Figure 6.20: Questionnaire participants' reported private citizenship activities

As follows, I summarise thematic findings on the private space.

Private citizenship activities are often done with family and friends

Thematic analysis suggests that private citizenship activities were often done together with family and friends. When talking about their families, participants mentioned siblings, parents, and grandparents. As follows, I summarise four aspects, participants discussed within this theme. Firstly, participants reported participation with their families in three private areas, namely accessing political information, discussing political information, and looking after the environment, as evident in the following comments.

I often watched political videos and news with my parents.
(Rahel, Y8/Q)

I talked with my family and friends about the actions of the politicians during Corona.
(Ida, Y10/Q)

We make sure we recycle at home.
(Jascha, Y8/Q)

Secondly, private citizenship activities were done together rather than initiated by parents. This was evident in participants' language including “we”, “with” and “together”. Some participants even described that they initiated private citizenship activities for siblings such as Romy (Y8/Q): “I paid attention to recycling: especially at home when sorting rubbish. For example, when my sister put plastic in organic waste, I explained it to her”. Some private citizenship activities might have been initiated by families indirectly through establishing routines or rules. If a family, for example, pays attention to recycling at home, this might be taken up by their children

in return. This is also evident in terms of accessing news, as illustrated in this comment by Larissa (Y8/FG): “Yes, sometimes I watch the news too, when my parents are watching and I don't have anything to do”.

Thirdly, the German new program *Tagesschau* was often mentioned by participants in relation to their families. Watching *Tagesschau* might also initiate a space directly afterwards to discuss political issues and might provide topics to discuss for families, as evident in Ole's (Y10/Q) comment.

...After the news on TV, we often have discussions about the news topics. The main topic was Corona. For example, whether it's good that vaccinated people get advantages in everyday life. It was exciting to see how my family members and I shared different but also the same opinions.

Common topics participants mentioned when discussing political information with their families and friends included Covid regulations, environment-related topics such as the introduction of electronic cars and the general election in Germany, which coincide with topics discussed in the news at the time of data collection.

Finally, participants' reflection on private citizenship activities with their families were complex. Some participants described the process as enjoyable and beneficial, as evident in the comment by Kayla (Y10/Q): “Discussed political issues with family because it's important to talk about it. It was great because I got to know different perspectives and we actually have the same opinion.” Other participants, however, suggested they did not feel heard by their families, as described by Patricia (Y9/FG).

...if I talk to my family about it, there are a few who don't really take my opinion seriously if it's not theirs. Then they think: ‘She kind of talks about it, but she doesn't really know what's really going on.’ I don't think I know everything exactly, but I still think that you should take my opinion seriously.

As evident in Patricia's and Kayla's comments, whether the people who have a conversation share the same opinion, might play a role in the perception of the conversation. Findings also indicate that the way participants access news is complex, which is further discussed in section 6.5.4.

6.5.3 Municipal participation is often initiated by clubs and focuses on doing and helping

Participants' municipal citizenship activities can be divided into two areas, namely participation within community clubs and participation outside of community clubs (see Figure 6.21). A community club is defined in this thesis as a space where people within a community meet to pursue a common goal. Community clubs can be

divided in two types. Firstly, service clubs, which meet my definition of citizenship activities because they focus on providing a service to the community such as saving lives as part of the youth red cross. Secondly, foundational community clubs, which do not meet my definition of citizenship activities, as they focus on developing a skill such as the ability to play soccer in a soccer club. Within community clubs, participants discussed four areas of participation, namely membership in service clubs, volunteering, decision-making and leadership. Similarly, outside of community clubs, participants discussed volunteering, decision-making and leadership. Training to become or working as youth leaders in the community was discussed both within and outside of community clubs, which is why it was inserted in the mind map as a floating idea. For information on youth leaders in *Baden-Württemberg*, refer to Literature review section 3.4.2.

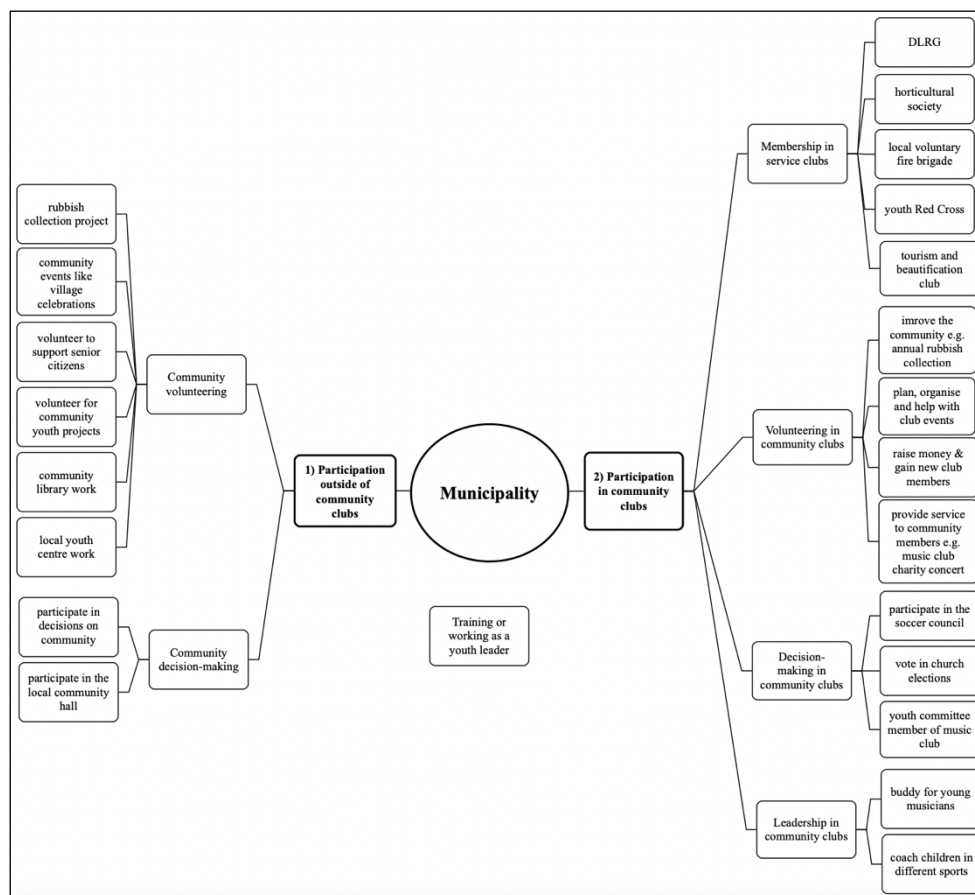


Figure 6.21: Participants' reported citizenship activities in the municipality

Quantitative questionnaire results suggest that municipal citizenship activities had the second highest uptake. I measured uptake and frequency of municipal citizenship activities in the questionnaire, using four citizenship activities within community clubs (2) and three citizenship activities outside of community clubs (1) (see Figure 6.22). Findings suggest an overall average uptake of municipal citizenship activities.

Results also suggest a variance in uptake in relation to different types of activities. The highest uptake was reported in terms of volunteering in community clubs and helping people in the community. The most regular uptake was reported in terms of service club membership. I calculated membership in service clubs, post-questionnaire by removing all responses that referred to foundational community clubs or were unclear because participants did not mention the type of community clubs, they participated in. This led to a lower total response number of 46 participants. Little engagement overall and more sporadic engagement was reported in relation to leadership roles in the community and clubs.

I also asked whether participants were engaged as youth leaders in their municipalities. Overall, 21 questionnaire participants trained as or currently worked as youth leaders. Interestingly nine participants, who said they trained as or worked as youth leaders, did not report participation in a leadership role in a community club or outside of a community club. This might indicate a gap between participants' and my understanding of leadership.

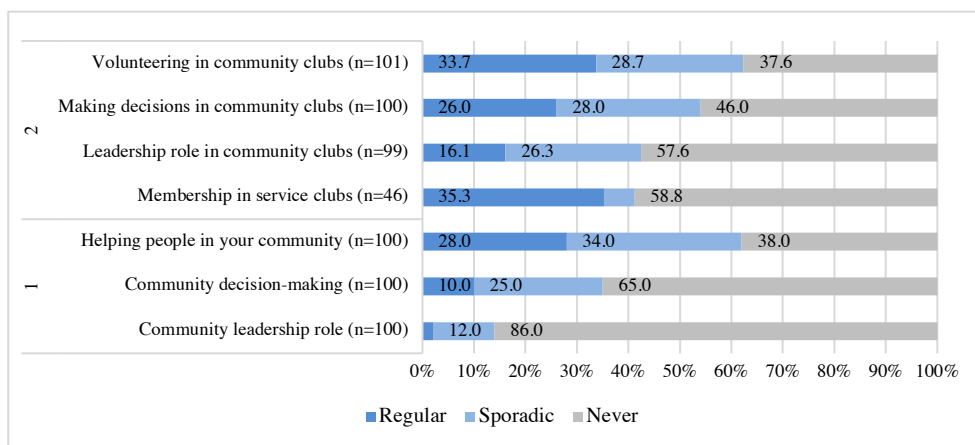


Figure 6.22: Questionnaire participants' reported uptake of municipal citizenship activities

Three findings in relation to municipal participation resulted from thematic analysis, summarised as follows.

Participants engaged in doing and helping in the municipality rather than decision-making and leadership

Participants predominantly discussed helping and doing activities in the community rather than being involved in decisions or leadership roles. Participants used language such as “do”, “help”, “work”, “participate” and action words such as “collect” when discussing their involvement in the municipality. This is illustrated by the following participant comments.

Help the elderly, initiated by the municipality.

(Frida, Y8/Q)

I worked voluntarily for the youth fire brigade.

(Philipp, Y9/Q)

This focus on “helping” and “doing”, rather than more significant contributions, was recognised and criticised by some participants. Participants suggested that they were not trusted to take on responsibilities in the community such as supervising a group of children. Being under-18 was discussed by participants as a common factor for being excluded from tasks with more responsibilities. Participants also suggested that as a result, they often were included in “unnecessary”, “boring” and “dirty” work which they worried might turn many young people away from community participation. This criticism is illustrated by the following focus group excerpt.

Johanna: Here, in Gahlin, for example, we have the problem that they don't really trust children...There's really nothing you could do here. And what you could do is just boring and unnecessary.

Sofie: Either you're a temporary worker or you just do something that's more or less the dirty work.

JS: Do you have an example?

Sofie: A big event, the *Backhausfest*, is where I said I'd help, but I can't really do anything on my own because there's always someone there to supervise, even if it's really only the easiest thing. So it just feels a bit like they can't give responsibility to a person when you're under 18.

Johanna: For example, you have to tidy up, or look for something, or take it somewhere, or do something that other people just don't want to do.

Sofie: I think if you really trusted someone who wanted to help, if you gave them responsibility, then more people would do it.

Johanna: It would also be much more interesting and exciting.

(Researcher-led focus group, Y10)

While there were only a few instances in my data describing participants' engagement in decision-making and leadership roles extending “doing” and “helping”, those participants who were involved in meaningful decisions and leadership described it as a positive experience. This is evident in the following comments.

Active in the youth centre, my ideas were carried out, there is solidarity, we listen to each another, a solution is found together.

(Lasse, Y10/Q)

I'm with the music club, I've been on the youth committee for half a year and I get a lot done there and I also do the youth leader training, I'm already in the teen church and try to convey the values there.

(Manuel, Y9/FG)

Describing a positive experience of meaningful community engagement was often related to participants talking about outcomes such as Lasse suggesting his “ideas were implemented” and Manuel suggesting he “gets a lot done there”.

Participation in the municipality is often initiated by community members or institutions

Findings indicate that participation in the municipality is often initiated and happens in pre-established citizenship activities. The high rate of initiated activities may also be related to the way I categorised data because I excluded private and activist citizenship activities from the municipal space which were typically not initiated, thus potentially overrepresenting initiated activities in the municipality. As follows, six findings in relation to initiated municipal citizenship activities are summarised. Firstly, participants discussed initiation through community clubs. Some participants reported taking up pre-established roles or citizenship activities, as illustrated by Valentina (Y8/Q): “I voluntarily registered at the DLRG and helped the children learn to swim...”. Other participants were directly invited by a club member to, for example, become a coach as suggested by Louisa (Y9/FG): “...because my neighbour runs the club...and then he asked me if I wanted to help out and then I accepted the offer”. Some participants reported a more active role in taking up pre-established roles in community clubs by actively asking to be involved.

I used to do gymnastics myself and I always found it interesting to help out like this and that’s why I made an effort. In Year 5 I asked my gymnastics teacher if she needed help and then I started and it was fun for me and I’ll continue to do that...

(Lilli, Y9/FG)

Secondly, there might be a connection between the villages participants are from and participants’ engagement in municipal activities. This was discussed in teacher interviews as illustrated by the following comment: “The two municipalities Anderberg and Namensberg have quite active football associations”. Differences between participants’ engagement in citizenship activities between villages were also evident in the questionnaire. I measured this by adding all municipal citizenship activities, participants in each village were engaged in, and compared the mean percentages of participation (see Figure 6.23). The numbers in brackets refer to the number of questionnaire participants who are from each village. Four villages were excluded because only one participant from these villages participated. It should be noted that could not judge where participants carried out their citizenship activities

as I did not specifically ask for that. A participant, for example, may live in Kinkenraden but help in a retirement home in Anderberg.

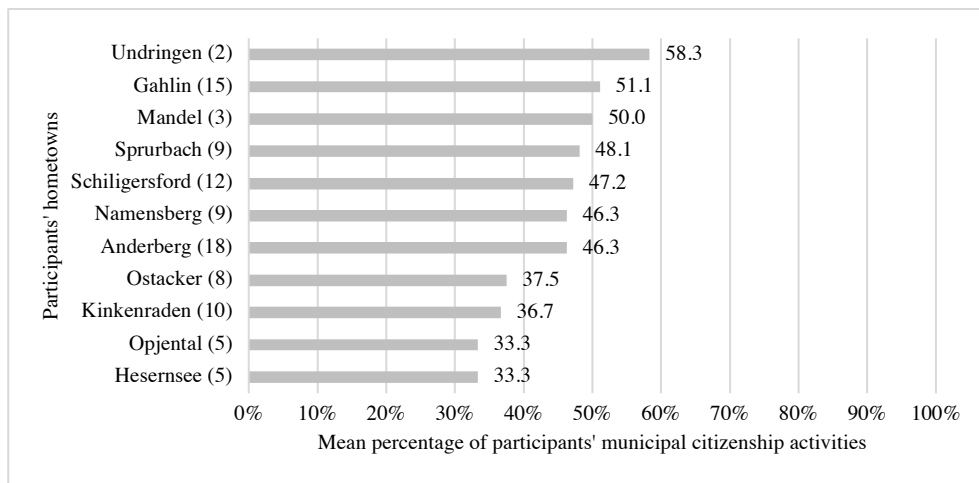


Figure 6.23: Reported municipal citizenship activities by questionnaire participants' hometowns

Thirdly, the so called “pre-confirmation period” initiated many participants into municipal citizenship activities. The confirmation is a Christian celebration to affirm one’s faith in God and to become an official member of a church community. In participants’ hometowns, all confirmands (young people, usually aged 14, who decide to take part in the confirmation) undergo several weeks of group training before they attend the confirmation ceremony. This usually involves being engaged in a range of municipal citizenship activities such as helping the elderly, raising money, and leading church children’s groups as described by participants.

I helped in the municipality as part of my confirmation.

(Nora, Y9/Q)

While I was doing my confirmation training, I was at children's day events from time to time and I helped if they needed any help with activities.

(Constantin, Y10/FG)

Fourthly, participants’ municipal citizenship activities were initiated in connection to Anderberg middle school. Participants described this in two different ways. First, Anderberg municipality initiated participants’ involvement by approaching Anderberg middle school, as described by a teacher: “...What we’ve been doing lately, with the student council is participating in a digital advent calendar, designed for the municipality of Anderberg”. Another example is the Anderberg youth church initiating cooperation with Anderberg middle school to involve students in municipal church activities, as described by a participating teacher: “...the representative from the local church comes to us from time to time and he often initiates something with students if there is something happening in the municipality”. This involvement of

the church into the school can also be regarded problematic as this can ideologically influence students. Second, Anderberg middle school sometimes initiates municipal activities such as painting community facilities in Anderberg.

Fifthly, participants' citizenship activities were initiated through pre-established municipal events, including village celebrations, municipal youth projects and municipal clean-ups. Participants did not describe how they were initiated but rather discussed a range of pre-established municipal events and projects they were part of in the past, as illustrated in the following comments.

I've often helped with events and celebrations.

(Milo, Y9/Q)

I participate in projects like village clean ups or culinary events.

(Mika, Y10/Q)

Not regularly, but when there are big projects, like *Backhausfest*, youth events and if I can help out, then I'll definitely help out.

(Sofie, Y10/FG)

Finally, initiated municipal participation was described by participants through training as or working as youth leaders. Youth leader training was offered to participants both through community clubs and outside of community clubs. Some participants, for example, discussed being initiated into becoming a youth leader by community clubs so they could perform a certain role within a club such as joining church youth camps as a leader.

I'm doing youth leader training at Anderberg youth church at the moment, or not so much at the moment because of Corona, but if it's allowed to continue again, I'll continue. Then I help a bit as an employee at the youth church. And next year, 2021, I am planning to go to a church children's camp as a supervisor...

(Jona, Y9/FG)

Participants often participate with children and teenagers in the municipality and describe it as a blend of work and social activities

Participants' municipal citizenship activities were often carried out with children or teenagers and in contexts described as "fun" and "social", as illustrated by Klara's (Y8/Q) comment, explaining why she decided to train as a youth leader: "I enjoy working with young people and my friends do it too, which means I can spend time with them". The importance of spending time with friends while engaging for the community was also discussed by participating teachers, illustrated as follows.

I'm involved in church youth work in my free time. We organise camps in the summer for which we need 15 employees, and we have 60 children. And

we have to prepare for that, we have to do that in May or April, we meet 3 times and we prepare things. Then the camp happens for a week around the clock. During that time, you don't sleep much, you always have to be there and you have to put your personal needs aside. And then we tidy up for one more day and then it's over. That's fun for them too, they have fun in this group of fifteen 18-year-olds. For them it's almost like two camps, one camp is for the children and the other camp is for those fifteen 18/20-year-olds who are out and about together...

6.5.4 *Online citizenship activities mainly include accessing information and activism*

I identified three areas for online citizenship activities (see Figure 6.24). Firstly, accessing political information, which includes finding political information online, watching political videos and following politicians and news programs online. The most named politician, followed by participants in social networks was Angela Merkel who was the chancellor of Germany at the time of data collection. Secondly, taking part in discussions, included submitting comments on social networking sites, discussing issues below YouTube videos, and discussing political issues with other people online. Finally, raising awareness, included a range of different activities including posting comments on platforms, signing petitions, and sharing videos. Participants discussed a range of issues including BlackLivesMatter, reporting right wing comments and sexism.

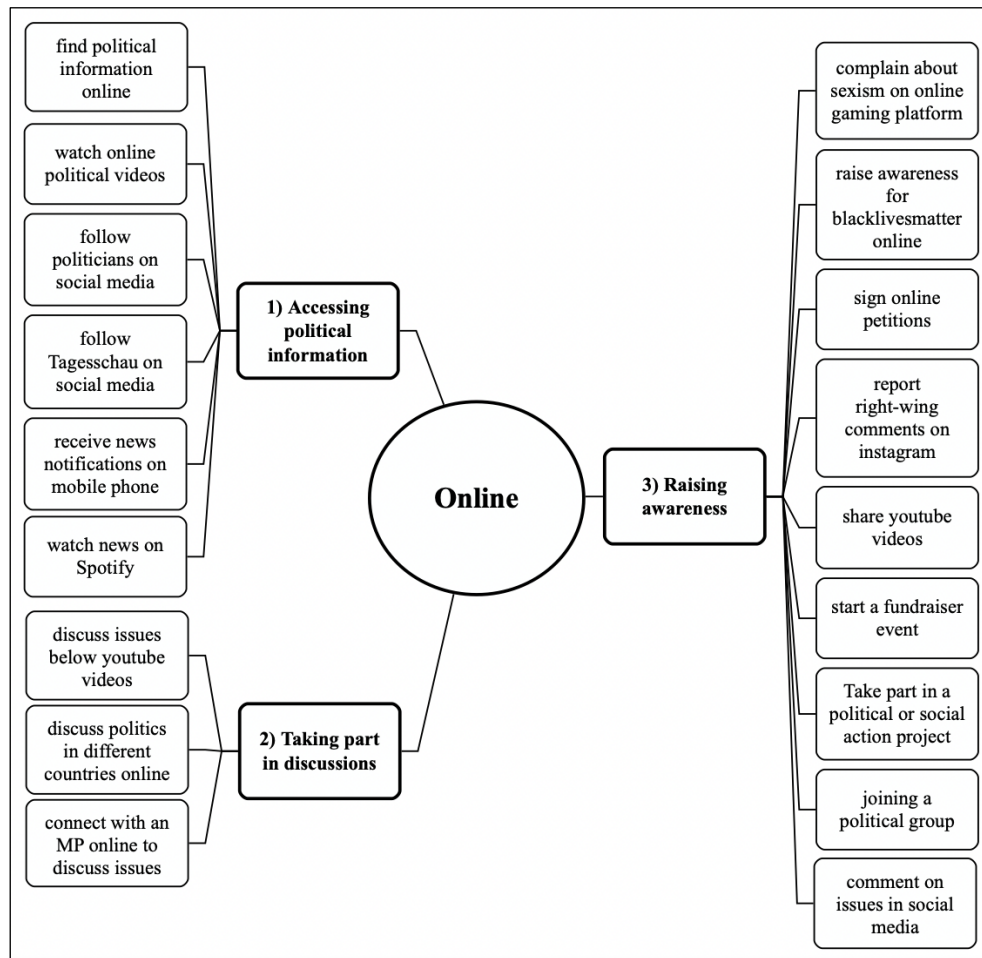


Figure 6.24: Participants' reported online citizenship activities

In terms of frequency, online citizenship activities were the third most taken up citizenship space. I also measured the uptake of individual online citizenship activities in the questionnaire using nine exemplary items (see Figure 6.25). Findings indicate overall low and more sporadic than regular uptake of online citizenship activities. Uptake also differs between online citizenship activities. I measured the highest uptake for ‘watching political videos’ and the lowest uptake for ‘connecting with a member of parliament online to discuss issues’.

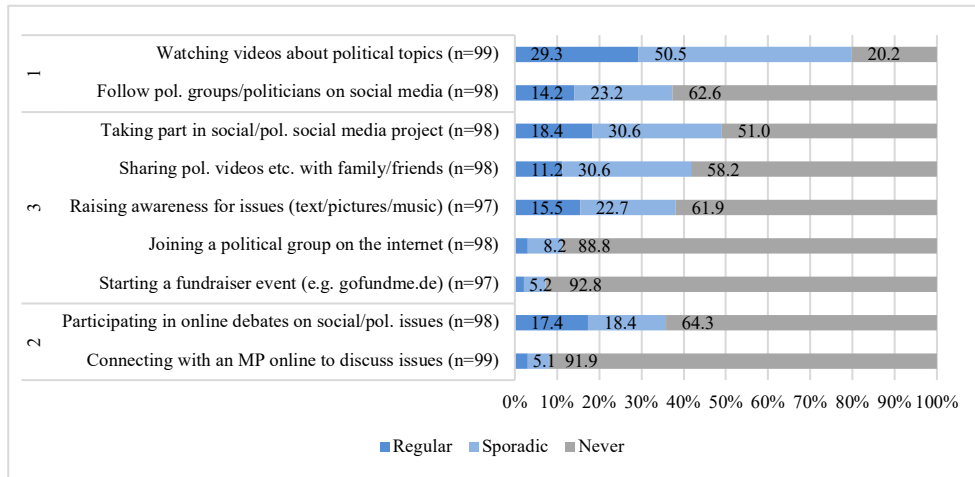


Figure 6.25: Questionnaire participants' reported uptake of online citizenship activities

The low overall low uptake of online citizenship activities was also reflected in focus group conversations. Many participants, for example, did not talk about online citizenship activities when initially asked, as illustrated in the following focus group excerpt.

JS: And online, have you done anything there to engage as a citizen?
 Tom: Online?
 [pause]
 Jonah: No, not really.
 Gideon: Maybe without realising it.
 (Researcher-led focus group, Y9)

One reason for this might be that participants do not define their online activities as citizenship, as pointed out by Gideon in the focus group excerpt. Often participants who initially suggested they were not engaged online, discussed their online citizenship activities after I probed them or their peers jogged their memory, which highlights the key contribution of in-depth, interactive qualitative methods for researching citizenship activities. Thematic findings indicate that accessing political information is a key part of participants' online citizenship activities, which is summarised as follows. I included findings on participants access to information both online and offline to allow for comparisons.

Participants access political information online and offline

Participants access information both online and offline. Participants' offline political information consumption included watching news programs on TV, particularly the German public news program *Tagesschau*, watching political debates, reading the newspaper, and listening to radio news. Participants online political news

consumption included watching the news on a wide range of different media channels. Participants also watched YouTube videos, received news notifications on their mobiles and read political information in social networks. While overall uptake of accessing political information differed according to individual activities, descriptive findings suggest that offline information was accessed more regularly than online information.

Participants access political information both in relation to issues and to stay informed in general

Participants discussed accessing political information in relation to issues and to be informed in general. The issues participants accessed information about included the Covid pandemic, the German *Queerdenker* anti-Covid protest movement, the EU data protection act *Artikel 13*, political decisions, elections, racism, ex-president Trump, and electric cars. Participants described the issues they accessed information on, using language like “social issues”, “political issues”, “political topics” and “current issues”. In terms of frequency, the Covid pandemic stood out as a significant topic. This might be because participants were at the time of data collection personally affected by Covid 19 decisions. Furthermore, participants’ increasing interest in Covid might have affected their general interest in politics and particularly political decisions. This is illustrated by the following participant comments

Discussing political issues with friends and family: Due to Corona, I almost always talk to my friends about government decisions at the moment.
(Malte, Y10/Q)

...[students’] interest has increased significantly, especially interest in politics, also because everyone always wants to know the current Covid rules, so suddenly politics is an issue that really affects them. When those people up there in Berlin [capital of Germany where the German parliament makes decisions] negotiate all the rules, the rules suddenly affect us the very next day.
(Teacher)

Other participants discussed ‘accessing information’ in more general terms to improve their political understanding or as a citizen duty, as opposed to finding information about specific issues, illustrated in the following focus group excerpt.

Patricia: I watch the *Tagesschau* on YouTube, they have a channel.
JS: What motivates you to do that?
Patricia: So that I know what's going on. Because I always thought I was well informed about things like that. Then at some point, when my parents were talking about politics, I really listened and then realised that I wasn't that well informed about politics after all. Then I decided to change that.
(Researcher-led focus group, Y9)

Participants access political information through public and private channels

Participants discussed accessing political information, on the one hand, through public news channels and, on the other hand, more privately. Firstly, in terms of public news channels, the German public news channel *Tagesschau*, was a popular way of accessing information for participants. The *Tagesschau* was accessed in a range of different ways including on TV, on the *Tagesschau* YouTube channel, through 60-minute summaries and by following the *Tagesschau* on Instagram. While it was widely accessed by participants, it was also criticised by some participants, such as Patricia (Y9/FG).

I think the *Tagesschau* is also pretty dry, it's more for adults. When you look at it you fall asleep from time to time. Not because the topics are boring, but because they are presented in a boring way. I sometimes compare it to school, if you have a teacher who conveys the topic in an exciting way then you like to participate, listen and you are better. You also get a better grade. If you have another teacher who teaches the same topic but only rattles it off very dryly, then it's just boring.

Participants also discussed following politicians on social media to stay informed, as illustrated in the following comment.

I follow the *Tagesschau* on Insta and I also follow Angela Merkel because I think maybe she sometimes posts information. I haven't been on her page often, more on the *Tagesschau*...

(Louisa, Y9/FG)

Secondly, participants discussed accessing political information through private channels such as Spotify, engaging with political information on social networks, and watching YouTube videos, as illustrated in the following comments.

I watch live updates and podcasts about Corona, they always put them on Spotify.

(Vincent, Y9/FG)

Comments on social networks: I criticised and corrected a statement that was completely wrong and racist. There was a discussion, but in the end I had more supporters who had the same opinion

(Zoe, Y10/Q)

...Youtubers, so when they talk about Corona or something like that, you can scroll down to the comments and it's always really funny to write something in there and there are different parties, some are for it, some are against it.

(Elena, Y9/FG)

Accessing political information through private channels was often connected to engaging in conversations such as commenting on statements in social networks or engaging in a discussion below YouTube videos. Participants also highlighted the importance of entertainment value of private political information, as pointed out by

Elena. In terms of YouTubers, participants mentioned watching videos by German YouTubers Luke Mockridge²⁹ and Gemischtes Hack³⁰.

Participating teachers are concerned about participants' avoidance of public political information, being influenced by ideological content and information access being guided by computer algorithms

Some participating teachers highlighted their concern with participants' access of political information. Teachers were concerned about participants' avoidance of public political information, being influenced by ideological content such as right-wing radical information, and exclusively accessing information guided by computer algorithms. These concerns are illustrated in the following teacher comments.

...Where do they get their information from? When I asked students where they get information from, their smartphones were of course the most important source and also some particular web pages. And of course, they don't access *Spiegel* or *Tagesschau*, instead they're informed informally [wild]. And this informal information flow is so complex...And the selection. If I am more interested in entertainment and stars, then I don't receive news about the newest constitutional petition but rather I get informed about who is pregnant from whom.

Politically motivated videos for the older ones. For example, AfD [*Alternative für Deutschland*, the German right-wing party], is also an issue and of course there is a lot of it floating around on the Internet. Quite a lot of students are very critical, but also a couple of students are very close to AfD ideologies...

When comparing participating teachers' and students' comments, there seems to be some disconnect between teachers' perceptions of students' access to political information and how students access political information. Students access more public political information through official channels such as the *Tagesschau* and by following politicians or reading the newspaper, than perceived by some teachers. Furthermore, students might not be as easily influenced by ideological online content as assumed by some participating teachers. This is indicated by Jens (Y9/FG): "...I follow politicians on Instagram. I always report some politicians who I don't like because they make weird political statements, for example right-wing extremist statements". This comment also raises the question about, how much of the (political) information that participants access, shapes their political opinions or citizenship activities. Jens' previous negative perception of right-wing radical

²⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/c/LukeMockridge>

³⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCcCX0YVe87JKzZy0wFcstdA>

ideologies, for example, seems to have been re-enforced through following right-wing politicians. Another key aspect of participants' online citizenship activities is activism, discussed in the following section.

6.5.5 *Activist citizenship activities often take place around personal grievances*

Participants' activist citizenship activities can be divided into three areas (see Figure 6.26). Firstly, joining activist groups or projects included on- and offline groups, protests, signing petitions, and going on strike. Secondly, offline DIO activities included offline citizenship activities to create change such as wearing clothing with a political message or selective consumerism. Selective consumerism was particularly frequently mentioned and included different consumer choices such as being vegetarian, buying fair trade and buying less plastic. It also included convincing family members to join selective consumer behaviours. Finally, participants engaged in online DIO activism including sharing political videos, using Instagram to raise awareness, and discussing issues on social media platforms. The DIO concept is introduced in Literature review section 2.5.3 and was also evident in in the private and online space.

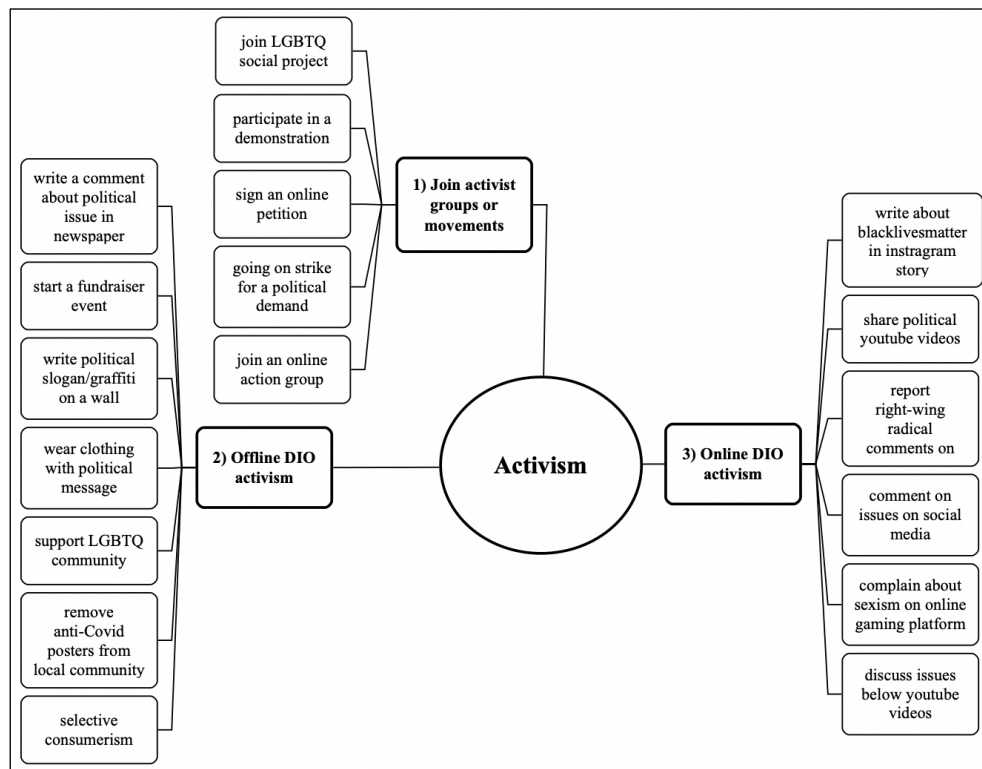


Figure 6.26: Participants' reported citizenship activities in the activist space

In terms of uptake, findings suggest the second lowest uptake of the activist space in comparison to other community citizenship spaces. I also measured uptake and frequency of activist citizenship activities in the questionnaire through four items

(see Figure 6.27). Results suggest low uptake of activist citizenship activities except for selective consumerism which was reported by 63.4% and taking part in action projects on social media which was done by 49% of questionnaire participants. In terms of frequency, all measured activist citizenship activities, were more likely to be taken up sporadically than regularly. One citizenship activity, namely ‘writing political slogans/graffiti on walls’ was exclusively taken up sporadically and, also only by 3.1% of participants overall. This might be related to the rural case study, as discussed further in this section.

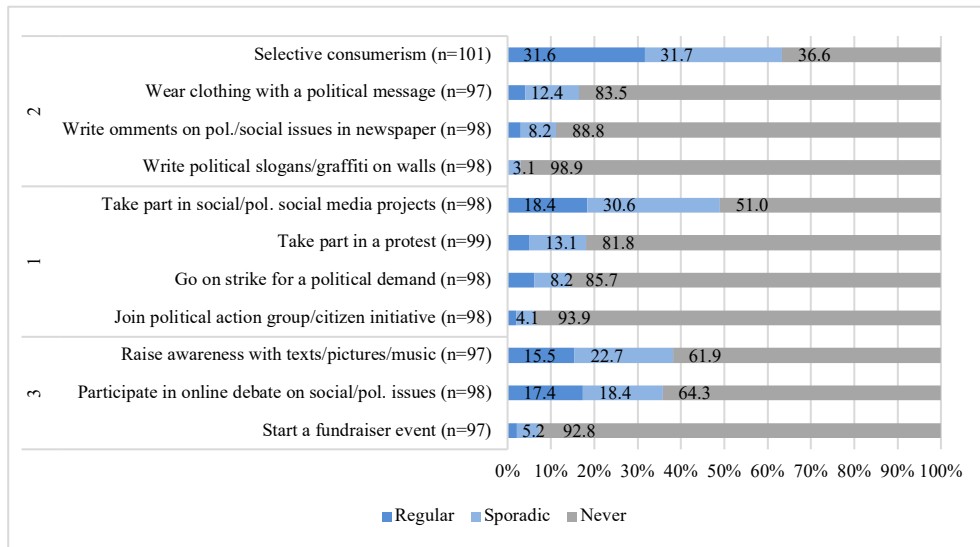


Figure 6.27: Questionnaire participants' reported uptake of activist citizenship activities

Findings from thematic analysis suggest that activist citizenship activities were often discussed in relation to personal grievances, further discussed as follows.

Engagement in activist citizenship activities is often related to personal grievances

Participants may be more prone to engage in activist citizenship activities when they are personally affected by an issue, as evident in the following focus group excerpt.

Student-researcher: Have you ever protested yourself?
 Ruben: No
 Student-researcher: But you think it is good, right?
 Lana: Yes.
 Ruben: If it's really something that concerns me, then I'd probably do it.
 (Student-led focus group, Y10)

...Personal things, if it affects them directly, I think they would be more active than if it concerns far away global issues.
 (Teacher)

The personal grievances participants discussed in relation to their engagement in activism, affected participants directly or their friends and family, as evident in the following comments.

I successfully participated in a social project, namely #LGBTQ+ since many people around me are not straight and I don't hate them because of that, I really like them, there is no reason not to support them :)

(Lotta, 8Y/Q)

I used to help out on the farm, so we always went to a farmers' protest. For the bad prices.

(Bruno, Y9/FG)

Other common personal grievances, discussed by participants, included Covid restrictions and the EU data protection act. Findings also suggest that participants' low engagement in activist citizenship activities is complex. A total of six concepts were discussed in relation to participants' low engagement in activist citizenship activities namely satisfaction, rural location, age, power relationships, the Covid pandemic and competing priorities.

Satisfaction

Being satisfied with one's circumstances was discussed in teacher interviews as a factor to reduce young people's engagement in activism, as they might not feel a need to create change, through comments such as: "They're satisfied. They've got everything. What are they supposed to rebel against, there's really no reason". Participants' satisfaction with their community and private resources is also supported by findings from descriptive analysis. Questionnaire participants were, for example, more likely to disagree (49.1%) with the statement "I want to create change in my community" than agree (19.2%). It should be acknowledged, however, that other factors such as low external efficacy and a (perceived) unequal power relationships between young people and other community stakeholders, might have influenced participants to state that they did not want to create change in their community.

Rural location

Participants' predominant rural hometowns were, firstly, discussed by participants in relation to restricted access to activist causes. Participants, such as Zoe (Y10/Q), indicated that they cannot access activist causes because of their rural location: "Protests are mostly in a city that is not easy for me to get to. In addition, there are more people who want to provoke instead of creating change". Secondly, some participants suggested that there might be different standards for acceptable activist

behaviour in rural communities than urban communities. This was, for instance, raised by a teacher in relation to spraying political graffiti, suggesting: “In my opinion, painting a political slogan on the wall would be a scandal in Anderberg”. Finally, participants suggested that some activist issues may be less prevalent in rural areas than urban centres, as pointed out in the following teacher comment.

...if they want to go to Fridays for Future protests, they have to go to Sendringen³¹ at least and also maybe it's not that organised here. I don't know how the local organisations operate here, how well they are organised. I think that it's just not so common here...

Age and power-relationships

Age was another factor, discussed by one participant, Mara (Y8/Q) in relation to low activism, as evident in her comment on protests.

I didn't take part in protests, for example the BlackLivesMatter protest, because my parents don't agree with it yet. When I'm older I could imagine participating in various protests, but I'm still unsure if they will achieve anything.

This comment also raises the issue of power-relationships because Mara's access to activism was not just restricted by her age but also by her parents as gatekeepers.

Political efficacy

Political efficacy was another factor discussed by participants in relation to low or non-activism. With political efficacy I mean participants' belief that they can make a change in their community or in Germany. Low political efficacy is for example evident in the following focus group excerpt.

Student-researcher: If you had the chance to organise something like Fridays for Future in your community, would you do it? Generally speaking?
Larissa: I would because it's important to do something against climate change. Whether it has any effect is something else.
Lena: That's how it is for me too. If I were to do it in my community, I don't think that many people would come.

(Student-led focus group, Y8)

The concept of low political efficacy is also evident in questionnaire findings with most participants disagreeing with the statements “I can create change in my community” (64.1%) and “I can create change in Germany” (75.5%). Low political

³¹ Sendringen is a pseudonym for a city with around 60,000 inhabitants that is the closest large city, to Anderberg middle school with a distance of around 40 kilometres.

efficacy might also be connected to negative perceptions of politicians and political parties, further discussed in Findings section 6.5.6.

Competing priorities

A final factor, discussed by participants in relation to low or non-activism, was having competing priorities which might leave no time or interest for engaging in activist causes, as evident in Lars' (Y10/FG) comment regarding the Fridays for Future school strikes and school attendance.

I think that our generation definitely does something for it, many of them. But there are definitely people who aren't that interested in it, or maybe they just don't go to a protest. I, for example, thought it was good that they did it, but I didn't go to a protest, mainly because it usually happened while I was at school.

Some participants also mentioned the pandemic as a barrier to attend activist causes such as protests because they wanted to protect vulnerable family members.

6.5.6 Low participation in party politics and negative attitudes towards politicians and party politics

Participants' engagement in party politics can be divided into four areas (see Figure 6.28). Firstly, contacting politicians, which was done on- and offline. Secondly, voting in elections, which participants discussed in terms of junior elections at school, local elections, and church council elections. While participants are restricted to vote in general elections in Germany, they can vote in municipal elections. This can only be done by young people aged 16 which includes some Year 10 students at Anderberg middle school. Thirdly, joining political groups, which was done exclusively online. Finally, staying informed about party politics, included attending local council meetings, following politicians online and watching parliamentary debates on TV, here referred to as '*Bundestags* debate' which is the name of the German national parliament meetings.

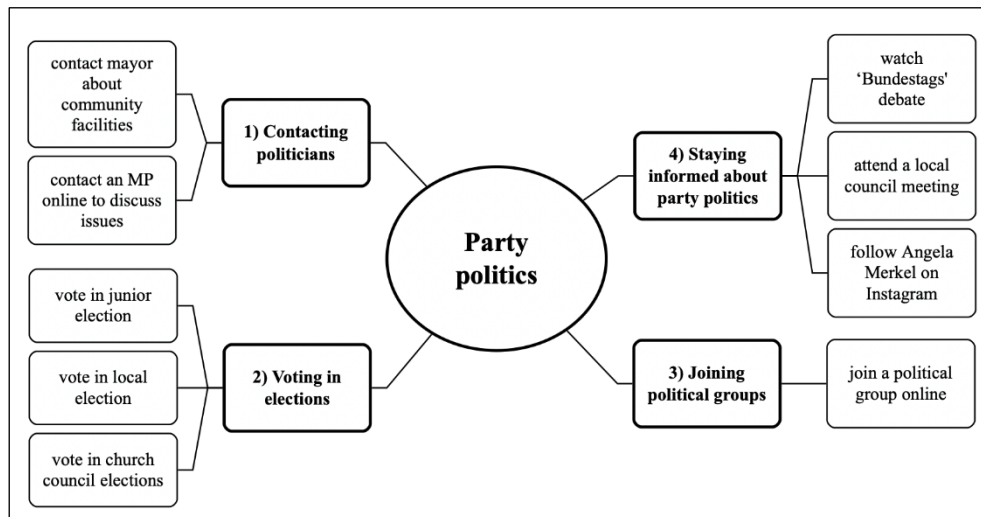


Figure 6.28: Participants' reported citizenship activities in the party politics space

In terms of uptake, party politics was the least taken up space in comparison to other community spaces. I also measured uptake and frequency of uptake of party politics in the questionnaire with six items (see Figure 6.29). Results suggest overall low uptake of citizenship activities in the party politics space. The highest uptake was reported for following a political group or politicians on social media. All citizenship activities in the party politics space were taken up more sporadically than regularly.

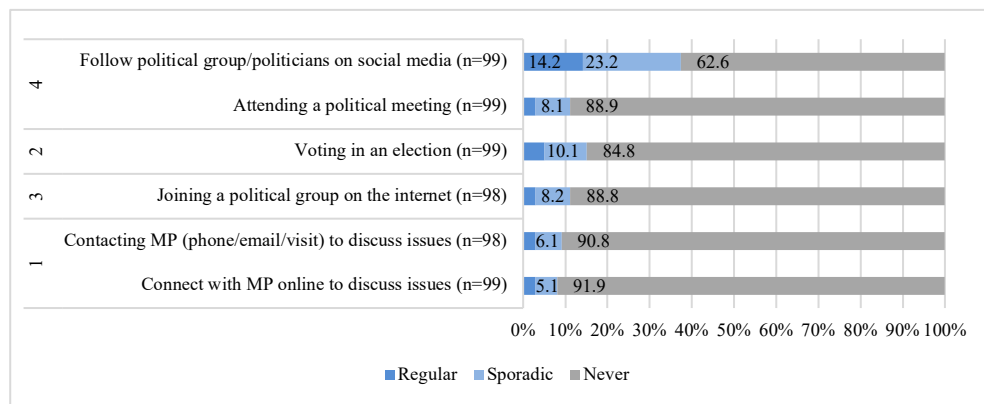


Figure 6.29: Questionnaire participants' reported uptake of party politics citizenship activities

Results from thematic analysis suggest a negative perception of party politics but also a recognition of the importance of political processes such as voting and party membership for decision-making, further discussed as follows.

Negative opinion of politicians

A negative opinion of politicians was discussed by participants in relation to individual experiences such as political issues that participants perceived were not

well dealt with by politicians. This includes the EU copy right law (Artikel 13) as indicated by Maria (Y10/FG).

...Article 13, there was supposed to be an upload filter that restricts and harms the user more than the company. Before then, if you take a picture and post it on the Internet, then because the picture can then also be stolen, you as the creator have the [hesitates] so as the creator you will have a lot more problems because the upload filter does not check this properly. I don't remember exactly, but a lot of experts agreed that what the EU wanted, wouldn't work. So everyone except for politicians was against it.

Maria's negative experience of the outcome of a decision on the EU upload filter, seems to have had a lasting negative effect on her perception of politicians. This contrasts with the issue itself, which Maria seems not to be sure about anymore. While participants did not explicitly discuss this in their comments, the way they are informed about political issues might also affect their perception of politicians. Maria, for example, suggests that "everyone except for politicians were against the upload filter" which could indicate a singular focus on anti-establishment media promoting a negative perception of politicians. The role of media consumption in participants' development of negative perceptions towards politicians was also evident in Jens' (Y9/FG) comment: "...I follow politicians on Instagram. I always report some politicians who I don't like because they make weird political statements, for example right-wing extremist statements". Jens' statement indicates that he follows some politicians based on a negative perception which is then re-enforced every time this person makes a right-wing comment on social media.

Little first-hand experience with politicians and party politics: Access, interest, information

The previously discussed negative perceptions might also have been re-enforced by not having met politicians in person and being involved in party politics. Many participants in focus groups and the questionnaire suggested they had never met politicians or had first hand experiences with political parties. Participants discussed three reasons for this. Firstly, age-restrictions that prevented them from joining political parties. This includes access barriers such as not being allowed to vote before they turn 18 which as a result caused some participants to lose interest, as suggested by Constantin (Y9/FG): "I haven't really dealt with political parties. But that has more to do with the fact that I'm not yet allowed to vote properly. I think you can vote in certain areas at 16 but only really at 18. And that's why I dealt with it less". Secondly, some participants were not interested in party politics, as indicated by David (Y8/Q): "I've never been interested in joining political groups on the

internet". Low interest in party politics and subsequent non-participation in this citizenship category might also be related to age differences between participants and politicians, illustrated by the following teacher comment.

A 50-year-old is a grandpa, for a 13-year-old. And purely in terms of age they feel no connection with that person...And that's why politics is so uninteresting for children. Because it's the old people doing their thing and not speaking the same language as children.

Besides the age difference, participants also suggested politicians' appearance and the language they use, might be connected to participants' disinterest in politicians and party politics. Finally, a lack of learning about party politics could lead to disengagement in party politics. This was raised by Milena (Y8/FG) suggesting young people should be taught more about getting involved in party politics and discussions.

In my opinion they should support young people to participate more. They should be informed better. Because if we say something political, then it's always like: 'You don't know what you're talking about anyway' or 'You have no idea what you're saying anyway'...

Participants do not feel heard by politicians

Participants also discussed a feeling of not being heard by politicians. Firstly, participants suggested that politicians preferred to listen to adults not young people, as illustrated by Killian's (Y9/FG) comment.

In my opinion politicians often only listen to adults. They should also get children's perspectives so that they understand young people's opinions. Because we only know what adults think about something. But what us, young people, think of it sometimes doesn't interest them at all. I disagree with this because we should get much more involved in politics.

Secondly, participants suggested that politicians make incorrect assumptions about young people's interests and needs, as pointed out by Theo (Y8/FG).

They have an interest in us, but they don't ask us whether we really want it that way. For those who don't know us, they can't know what exactly we want. For example, we want fewer lessons, and instead they say: 'Children would definitely want more lessons'. So I think they're interested, but I think they should maybe let us vote [*Abstimmung*, not necessarily in elections] and then find out what the children and young people want.

Finally, participants suggested that politicians exclude young people from party politics by not raising their interest to participate, as illustrated in the following teacher comments.

...[the low] participation in party politics or political activism is very sobering for me. It is almost a declaration of bankruptcy. What political groups keep propagating like: 'We involve children and young people', actually in reality does not happen at all. Children and young people are quite

willing to get involved, that's not the issue, but it's more that they are not allowed to do it adequately.

...I always think the politicians don't involve young voters much. I always think they have potential and they could do something like a political debate only for young people.

Party politics is valued by participants

While participants in this study participated little or not at all in party politics and shared a negative perception of politicians, they still valued party politics as a system and suggested they wanted to get involved later. This was particularly discussed in relation to elections and joining a political party, as evident in the following quotes.

You usually know before what the problems are. Then you can look at the elections to see which council member is looking at what and what your own values are. Then you can also talk to them to see what they say about it. I think if you talk to people who are in the higher ranks, then you can achieve a lot more.

(Jordan, Y9/FG)

I haven't been involved yet, but I want to help with the left party [*Die Linke*], there are youth groups [hesitates] and maybe someday I'd like to get involved.

(Sofie, Y10/FG)

6.6 Participants' foundational activities

What counts as citizenship activities in this thesis was guided by the proposed definition (see Literature review section 2.4). Thematic analysis of all activities that did not meet the proposed definition of citizenship activities, suggested the presence of so-called foundational activities. Foundational activities is a concept, developed in this research. The concept includes activities that do not fit the proposed definition of citizenship activities but provide a foundation for participants to engage in citizenship activities in the future. This is, for example illustrated in the following comments.

We organised the school's 50th anniversary together. We (me and the music group) entertained the people there with the school orchestra.

(Lotta, Y8/Q)

...I teach the little ones a bit of gymnastics. It's always been a bit of a dream of mine to do that.

(Louisa, Y9/FG)

While being in the music or gymnastics club does not meet the definition of citizenship activity, volunteering at the school anniversary by entertaining people

and voluntary coaching is a service to the school or community and, thus, a citizenship activity in this thesis. These comments suggests that participants' club membership initiated them into service and, thus, encouraged them to take up a citizenship activity. Participation in clubs may also help young people to develop democratic skills such as described in the following teacher quote.

...I would say that community clubs add value to the community. People meet, we do something for others. If there's a music club, then they pay a conductor and teach 10- or 12-year-olds. They sit opposite each other and learn to pay attention to each other, like: 'When his music starts then I have to start my piece' and 'When do I have to start so it fits well together?' That is already adding value to the community...

All foundational activities, participants discussed at school and in participants' communities across data sets, are displayed in Figure 6.30. Participants' engagement in foundational activities can be divided into foundational clubs and organisations, developing democratic skills, and being involved.

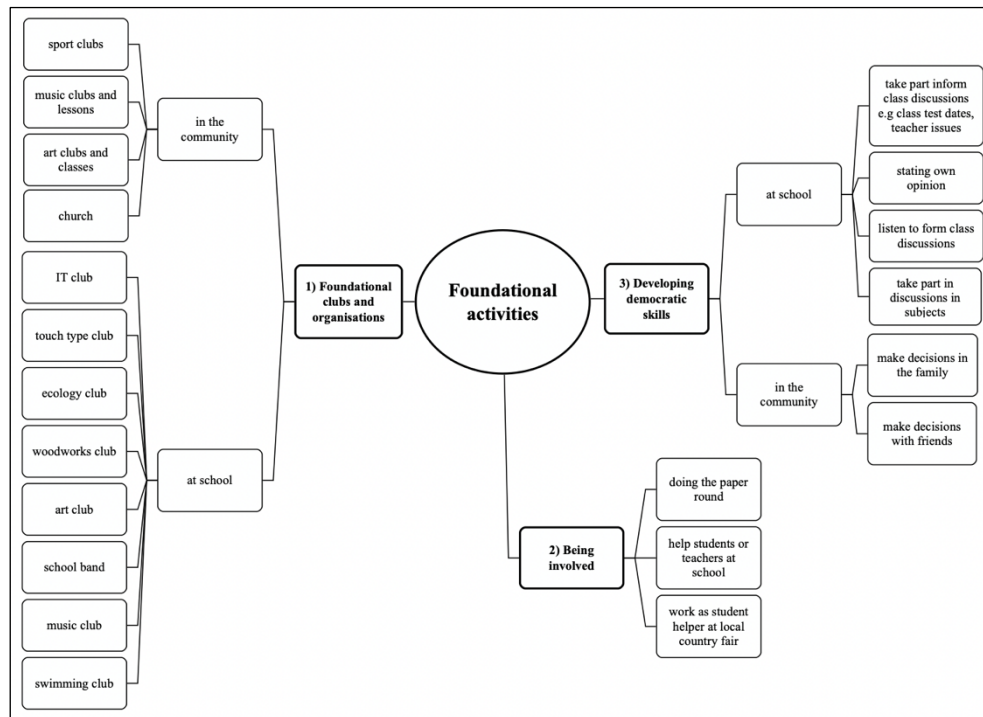


Figure 6.30: Participants' reported foundational activities at school and in the community

In terms of uptake, results suggest overall high and regular uptake of foundational activities. I measured five foundational activities in the quantitative questionnaire (see Figure 6.31). Results suggests that apart from 'foundational school club membership' and 'foundational community club membership', all foundational activities were taken up by more than 90% of questionnaire participants. In addition, all foundational activities were taken up more regularly than sporadically.

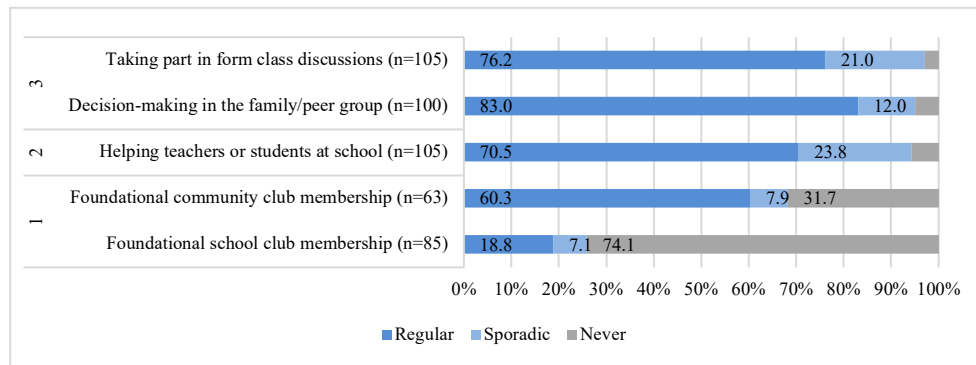


Figure 6.31: Questionnaire participants’ reported uptake of foundational activities

This high and regular uptake of foundational activities might be explained by their comparably low cost, effort, and risk. An exception to this explanation, are school and community clubs which were described as time intensive by some participants by using words like “often” and “several events” and “every week” as for example illustrated by Ines’ (Y10/Q) comment: “I was a co-coach in the soccer club for children. I trained the kids, prepared training, made arrangements with parents, helped with the set-up and clean-up for matches (voluntary)”. Furthermore, there is a gap between community and school club participation with higher participation in the community. A reason for this gap could be a wider offer of clubs in the community and a direct competition between community and school clubs which might mean that when participants are in a community club, they might not have time to engage in a school club. In the municipality, most questionnaire participants reported engagement in a sports club, followed by church and music club membership. At school, most questionnaire participants reported engagement in the IT club followed by the school orchestra, wood works, touch type, ecology, and swimming.

6.7 Impact of the Covid pandemic on participants’ citizenship activities

The findings, reported in this thesis, have been affected by the Covid pandemic as participation in citizenship activities was influenced through social distancing measures and lockdown phases. To account for and examine these differences, I asked participants about their participation in citizenship activities in the past two years to also include participation before the pandemic and I asked questionnaire participants whether and how the pandemic affected their citizenship participation.

Results³² suggest that the pandemic affected participants differently and that there were differences in terms of individual participants, and citizenship modes, spaces, and goals. Less than half of the participants reported a decrease of their citizenship activities at school (17%) and beyond school (40%) during the pandemic. A few participants suggested that they engaged in more citizenship activities because more issues came up (6%), they were more interested in politics (5%), and they increased their online participation due to social distancing requirements (4%) during the pandemic. More than a quarter of questionnaire participants suggested that the pandemic has not affected their citizenship activities at school (26%) and beyond school (32%). These findings should be considered when interpreting the results of this research.

6.8 Summary

Results of this chapter suggest that participants engaged in a wide range of citizenship activities across all proposed school citizenship spaces (form class, school decisions, service, volunteering, activism). Differences could be observed in terms of the frequency of uptake with high and more regular than sporadic engagement in the form class and school volunteering and less overall and more sporadic engagement in activism and school-decisions. Findings indicate six themes. Firstly, the form class is perceived as a space for decision-making and being heard. Secondly, form classes and school service are perceived as spaces to develop collective identity, Thirdly, findings indicate low student agency in school decisions. Fourthly, most volunteering at school was reported in service roles and school clubs. Fifthly, Anderberg middle school students were perceived as non-activists by participating teachers. Finally, most citizenship activities at school were initiated by teachers and the school. Results also suggest that participants engaged in a wide range of citizenship activities in their communities across all proposed five citizenship spaces (private, municipal, online, activist, party politics). Differences were identified in terms of the frequency of uptake of different spaces. While there was high and regular uptake of the private citizenship space, there was lower and more sporadic uptake of municipal, online, activist and party politics spaces. I identified five themes in terms of participation in (rural) communities. Firstly, private citizenship activities were often done with family and friends. Secondly,

³² Only 75% of questionnaire participants have answered both questions about the influence of COVID on their citizenship activities at and beyond school.

municipal participation was often initiated by clubs and focused on doing and helping. Thirdly, online citizenship activities predominantly included accessing information and activism. Fourthly, activist activities were often reported around personal grievances. Finally, there was overall low uptake of party politics and participants discussed negative attitudes towards politicians. In addition to citizenship activities at school and in communities, results indicate that participants were engaged in activities that do not fit my definition of citizenship activities but can lead to future uptake of citizenship activities which I termed foundational activities. The Covid pandemic has impacted participants' uptake of citizenship activities in different ways including raising interest for political issues and reducing opportunities for participation. In the following chapter, I summarise results on participants' engagement in emerging citizenship spaces.

7 Findings Research Question 2: Citizenship activities in emerging dimensions

7.1 Introduction

In the previous findings chapter, I introduced the participants of this research and summarised their participation in foundational and citizenship activities at school and in their (rural) communities. In this chapter, I share results of exploring the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions with qualitative researcher-led focus group (n=26) and questionnaire data (n=106). This chapter addresses research question 2: Which citizenship dimensions do Year 8-10 students participate in? The framework was exclusively explored with qualitative data sets because the framework requires in-depth qualitative data on the spaces, modes, goals, and frequency of citizenship activities, to be applied. I excluded student-led focus group data from the analysis because it was not focused on the seven emerging citizenship dimensions. I also excluded teacher interview data and curriculum data because in this chapter I aimed to gain insights exclusively from young people as experts on their own experiences. The structure of the chapter is outlined as follows.

7.2 Comparing the uptake of the seven emerging citizenship dimensions

7.3 The *glocal* citizenship dimension

7.4 The unofficial citizenship dimension

7.5 The sporadic citizenship dimension

7.6 The issues-based citizenship dimension

7.7 The individual citizenship dimension

7.8 The online citizenship dimension

7.9 The justice-oriented citizenship dimension

7.10 Summary

7.2 Comparing the uptake of the seven emerging citizenship dimensions

In this section, I share results of comparing the relative frequency the proposed seven emerging and seven traditional citizenship dimensions, discussed by participants in focus groups and the questionnaire. Qualitative questionnaire data and focus group data does not necessarily provide information on how many citizenship activities

each participant did but rather on the citizenship activities participants talked about or wrote about. By using different data collection instruments, different question types and follow-up questions, I assume that participants at least shared the most relevant of their citizenship activities. In addition, both data sets were checked for how many citizenship activities each participant did to comment on the relevance of the results for the sample. In total 86 citizenship activities were identified in the focus group data and 101 citizenship activities in the qualitative questionnaire data. On average, the 26 focus group participants took part in five citizenship activities each, with one participant not having participated in any citizenship activity, and one participant having participated in the highest number of 11 citizenship activities. A total of 14 out of 106 questionnaire participants have not participated in any citizenship activity while most participants (85) took part in one to five citizenship activities. The highest number of citizenship activities per person were nine, which were done by one questionnaire participant.

Figure 7.1 and Figure 7.2 show the relative number of questionnaire and focus group participants who reported involvement in the proposed emerging and traditional citizenship dimensions. Data are based on assigning the seven emerging and traditional dimensions to all citizenship activities discussed in focus groups and the questionnaire. As explained in Methodology section 5.9.3, I reported questionnaire and focus group data separately when I use frequency because of the overlap of participants who took part in both the questionnaire and focus groups.

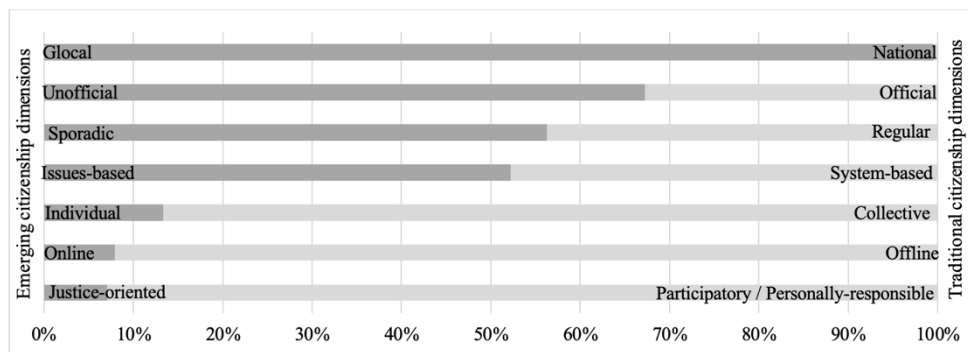


Figure 7.1: Questionnaire participants’ relative uptake of emerging and traditional citizenship dimensions

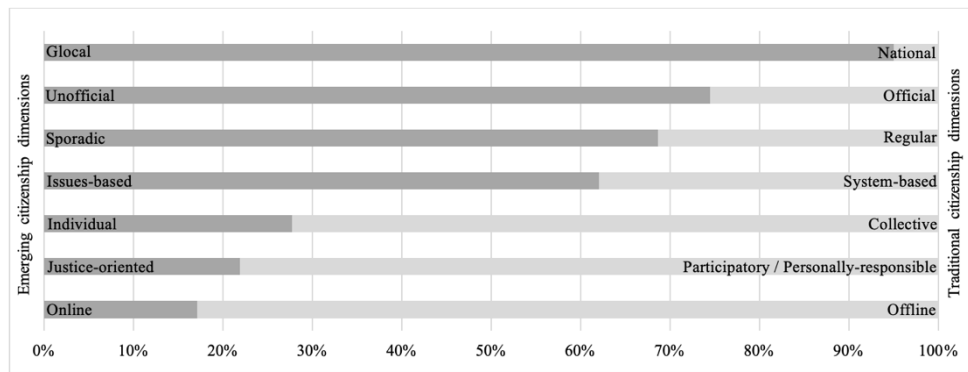


Figure 7.2: Focus group participants' relative uptake of emerging and traditional citizenship dimensions

Results show that participants' citizenship activities were characterised by all proposed emerging dimensions but to varying degrees. While there was more participation in glocal, unofficial, sporadic, and issues-based dimensions, participants engaged less in individual, online and justice-oriented dimensions. When comparing data from focus groups and the questionnaire, some differences are evident. Firstly, results from the questionnaire and focus groups align in terms of the emerging dimensions that characterised more of participants' citizenship activities (glocal, unofficial, sporadic, issues-based) and the emerging dimensions that characterised less of their citizenship activities (individual, online, justice-oriented). This appears to confirm the reliability of the proposed framework, and chosen data collection and analysis approaches. Secondly, the comparison shows that emerging citizenship dimensions are slightly more pronounced in the focus group data than in the questionnaire. This might be explained by differences in the data collection processes. While I used similar data collection steps in the questionnaire and focus groups, I was able to use more tailored follow-up questions in focus groups. These follow-up questions particularly aimed at gaining in-depth understanding of participants' emerging citizenship dimensions. It should be acknowledged, however, that in both the questionnaire and focus groups, I used a range of open questions and encouraged participants to share citizenship activities within both emerging and traditional citizenship dimensions. Finally, the comparison shows that twice as many citizenship activities in focus groups were characterised by being justice-oriented than in the questionnaire. This might be explained by the difference in participants between the questionnaire and focus groups. Due to the higher commitment needed for focus groups than the questionnaire, which was conducted during a lesson, I argue that more students with a commitment to social justice might have been recruited for the focus groups.

As follows, participants' engagement in all emerging citizenship dimensions is further detailed. I particularly focused on describing the modes, spaces, frequencies, and goals of participants' citizenship activities. I summarised some identified themes in tables along with participant comments while I reported others in-text. As described in the methods section of this paper, I developed the themes through in-depth thematic analysis of focus group and questionnaire data while percentages reflect participants uptake of the citizenship dimensions, I identified through qualitative content analysis.

7.3 Glocal citizenship dimension

The glocal dimension includes all citizenship activities that address local or global issues and/or are carried out at a local or global level. There was a high percentage of glocal citizenship dimensions in the questionnaire (99.6%) and focus groups (83.9%). Participants discussed the glocal citizenship dimension through a combination of issues and citizenship activities at their school, their local communities, and their global communities, as illustrated in Table 7.1.

Themes	Participant quotes
School	Milena, Y8/FG: "...we were separated in Year 7 into the new subject options. So, I wrote a letter with the class to the principal that it should be organised differently..."
Local community	Ava, Y8/Q: "...since Corona, I've been doing shopping for the old people in our village."
Global	Emil, Y9/FG: "...if I see a fair-trade version of the product I want to buy, then I prefer to buy fair-trade because then I've done something good..."

Table 7.1: Focus group and qualitative questionnaire excerpts on glocal citizenship

Findings suggest that there were overlaps between school, local community, and global means to address issues. This is evident in the example of buying a fair-trade product which could be a local activity since it happens in the local supermarket. It could also be considered global, however, since fair-trade is a global label and impacts people who live around the world. Thus, glocal is a particularly useful label for citizenship dimensions that are increasingly intertwined.

7.4 Unofficial citizenship dimension

The unofficial dimension includes all citizenship activities that are not directly supported, driven, or invited by the state. Findings from this study indicate that unofficial citizenship dimensions were meaningful to participants, which is evident

in the high percentage of participants' unofficial dimensions discussed in the qualitative questionnaire (67.2%) and focus groups (74.5%), as opposed to official dimensions. Furthermore, a total of 41.5% of questionnaire and 30.8% focus group participants were exclusively engaged in unofficial citizenship activities, as opposed to official or a combination of unofficial and official citizenship activities. Findings suggest that participants were engaged in unofficial citizenship activities in a wide range of spaces including their form classes, extracurriculars, community clubs, churches, social media, and familiar spaces such as the supermarket. The spaces within which participants engaged in unofficially, are illustrated in Table 7.2 along with participant comments.

Themes	Participant quotes
School: form class, extracurriculars & events	Tilbert, Y9/Q: "We supervised the new Year 5s during open day and showed them the different rooms."
Community: clubs, church & events	Lotta, Y8/Q: "I'm in the community music club, we had several performances before Corona, including charity concerts. I also took part in the annual litter pick..."
Online: social media, gaming sites, news sites & chatrooms	Milena, Y8/FG: "...when BlackLivesMatter happened, I put something about it in my story just to spread it a bit... that was on Instagram... I just said that people should share that."
Familiar spaces: supermarket, at home & peer groups	Maxi, Y10/Q: "My family and I don't buy anything with palm oil or that is factory farmed. And mostly only organic. Because we believe that those who can afford it should do so."

Table 7.2: Focus group and qualitative questionnaire excerpts unofficial citizenship

As evident in Lotta's comment in Table 7.2, unofficial citizenship activities were often described as a combination of engaging in hobbies and learning skills, with service such as offering up one's time to raise money at a charity concert. The citizenship activities that participants were commonly engaged in within unofficial spaces included helping at school and in the community, accessing and discussing political information, engaging in justice-oriented causes, and making unofficial decisions such as choosing equipment for their sports club. Participants' common public citizenship activities were being part of formal school decisions such as in the student council, followed by being engaged in service organisations and formal community decision-making.

7.5 Sporadic citizenship dimension

I defined sporadic as citizenship activities that happen at irregular intervals. Sporadic engagement appears to characterise my participants' citizenship activities. This is for example evident in the high percentage of citizenship activities identified in the qualitative questionnaire (56.3%) and focus groups (68.6%) that were sporadic as opposed to consistent. Participants discussed the sporadic dimension by describing citizenship activities they engaged in sometimes, once a year, once and for a while (see Table 7.3).

Themes	Participant quotes
Sometimes	Manuel, Y9/FG: "...sometimes I watch parliamentary debates..."
Once	Louisa, Y9/FG: "I donated my hair. So they make the wigs out of real hair and they then pass them on to a cancer ward..."
Once a year	Hanna, Y8/Q: "We had a community club in Kinkenraden. And sometimes, I think every year in summer there is an event ... we used to have a stall there as a club and sold things there."
For a while	Constantin, Y10/FG: "While I was doing my confirmation training, I was at children's day events from time to time and I helped if they needed any help with activities."

Table 7.3: Focus group and qualitative questionnaire excerpts on sporadic citizenship

Participants described sporadic engagement in a wide range of spaces. Firstly, online where participation was almost exclusively done sporadically. Secondly, participants engaged sporadically at school. While their engagement in school volunteering and school events was often described as sporadic, engagement in school service roles and the student council was more likely described as regular. Thirdly, participants described sporadic participation in their community which mainly included volunteering and decision-making. Engagement in community service clubs, on the other hand, was often described as regular which might be explained by the requirement of regular training times which need to be done by coaches for example. Finally, participants described sporadic engagement in familiar spaces such as the supermarket, their families and peer groups. Furthermore, sporadic engagement was often linked with issues-based participation, as illustrated by Martin's (Y9/Q) comment, suggesting that his participation ended when the issue was resolved: "... We had a teacher with whom the class had a problem. As the class representative, I spoke to the teacher and also our form teacher and now it's better." There were only few instances of citizenship activities that were carried out always which included consumer choices such as being vegan.

7.6 Issues-based citizenship dimension

I defined the issues-based dimension as citizenship activities that focus on issues or events as opposed to membership in organisations. Many participants in my research participated in issues-based citizenship activities with a total of 52.2% of questionnaire and 62.0% of focus group citizenship activities labelled as issues-based. Participants were interested and engaged in a heterogenous range of issues including the environment, human and animal rights, children and elderly, community and school resources, school issues and political and social topics (see Table 7.3). System-based citizenship activities, on the other hand, were mostly related to being a member in extracurricular and community clubs or having a service role, such as being a student first aid officer.

Themes	Participant quotes
Environment: climate change, resources, rubbish	Katja, Y8/FG: "...I tend to buy organic. So whenever I'm in front of the egg shelf, I make sure that they're organic or there's an organic label on it because then I also feel more comfortable when I buy it."
Human & animal rights: poverty, racism, LTBTQ, sexism, animal cruelty	Helena, Y9/Q: "I support the LGBTQ+ community and often have discussions with people who say that LGBTQ+ is not good, the same with the headscarf ban, racism etc."
Children & elderly: events, projects, helping, mental wellbeing	Patricia, Y9/FG: "I help with children's Bible days that are held every year...I look after the children for 3 days."
Community & school resources: club and school funding, beautifying school & community	Mika, Y10/Q: "I helped with the graffiti in the science rooms..."
School issues: teachers, digitalisation, school changes	Finn, Y8/FG: "...IT was an option subject and, because our teacher is sick so often, we never have IT and I'll definitely get onto the teachers from time to time and ask if we can have a substitute teacher because it's really stupid that we haven't had IT for 8 weeks..."
Political & social topics: elections, data protection, right wing extremism, Covid	Luke, Y9/Q: "I watched videos about anti Covid ideologies [<i>Querdenkerbewegung</i>]."

Table 7.4: Focus group and qualitative questionnaire excerpts on issues-based citizenship

Issues-based activities were related to sporadic engagement with participation ending when issues had been resolved. Issues-based activities were also related to the glocal dimension as most citizenship activities participants were engaged in, were related to school, local and global issues.

7.7 Individual citizenship dimension

I defined individual citizenship activities as being carried out alone, usually so one does not have to adjust one's ideals to fit collective values. Individual participation may target collective issues such as climate change. The individual citizenship dimension did not appear to be as significant to my participants as the collective citizenship dimension. This was for example evident in focus groups and the qualitative questionnaire where only 13.4% of the citizenship activities discussed in the questionnaire and 27.7% of citizenship activities discussed in focus groups were labelled individual as opposed to collective. Furthermore, only four out of 106 questionnaire participants and no focus group participants, were exclusively engaged in individual citizenship activities. Instead, more than half of questionnaire participants and almost a third of focus group participants were exclusively engaged in collective citizenship activities. Most individual citizenship activities were carried out beyond school (over 85%) as part of community volunteering, recycling, accessing political information and justice-oriented causes (see Table 7.5).

Themes	Participant quotes
Community volunteering & recycling	David, Y8/Q: "I thought it was good to recycle the rubbish because it also helps the environment."
Accessing political information	Simon, Y10/Q: "I watch political videos that tend to make fun of something, where you have to laugh, otherwise regular news to find out what is currently going on in the world."
Justice-oriented causes	Anna, Y9/Q: "I'm vegan now. Maybe that's helping the environment".

Table 7.5: Focus group and qualitative questionnaire excerpts on individual citizenship

While the citizenship activities displayed in Table 7.5 were carried out alone, they were not entirely separate from other people. For instance, David's and Anna's citizenship activities were carried out in relation to the environment which is a collective issue. In addition, the citizenship activities displayed in Table 7.5, were not carried out individually by all participants in my study. Political news, for example, was often watched together with other family members.

Most collective citizenship activities took place in small familiar groups, followed by activities done in big groups such as protests, while only a few collective citizenship activities were done with one other person (see Table 7.6). Form classes, extracurricular groups and community clubs were the most common spaces for collective citizenship activities. Only a few of participants' citizenship activities

were carried out with family and friends and in loose networks such as digitally networked activism.

Themes	Participant quotes
Small familiar groups	Rebecca, Y8/Q: “I talked a lot about political decisions and elections, especially with my family, and I’ve found that there are many opinions on this subject.”
Big groups	Bruno, Y9/FG: “I used to help out on the farm, so we always went to a farmers’ protest. For the bad prices.”
Pair	Johanna, Y10/FG: “...there were ping-pong tables everywhere in the playgrounds and then they got rid of them for something else that was so unnecessary. Everyone used to have fun with these ping-pong tables. Then my father and I kind of talked to the mayor...”

Table 7.6: Focus group and qualitative questionnaire excerpts on collective citizenship

7.8 Online citizenship dimension

The online dimension was defined as a space for and a mode of citizenship activities. The online citizenship dimension was less meaningful to participants than offline participation. This is evident in the low number of citizenship activities in my data characterised online with only 7.9% of citizenship activities in the qualitative questionnaire and 17.2% in focus groups. Furthermore, only four questionnaire participants and two focus group participants were engaged exclusively in online citizenship activities. Instead, most participants were exclusively engaged in offline citizenship activities and some participants were engaged in a mix of online and offline citizenship activities. One reason for the low participation in the online dimension might be a difference between my own and participants’ concept of online citizenship activities. Eleven participants from five focus groups, for example, could not think of an online citizenship activity they were engaged in, when first asked. While I prompted participants further, by making examples of online citizenship activities, there might still be some activities participants did not think to mention. In addition, this study focussed on a school context where most citizenship activities took place offline.

Most citizenship activities in the online dimension included accessing political information and following politicians on social networking sites. The *Tagesschau* and YouTube were discussed by participants as their main sources for accessing political information and news. Participants also participated in online activism, including signing online petitions, and raising awareness through participating in discussions on social networking sites. Participants used a wide range of platforms

for their online citizenship activities including YouTube, Instagram, discord, Spotify and Anderberg middle schools' website (see Table 7.7).

Themes	Participant quotes
YouTube	Elena, Y9/FG: "...Youtubers, so when they talk about Corona or something like that, you can scroll down to the comments and it's always really funny to write something in there and there are different parties, some are for it, some are against it."
Instagram	Louisa, Y9/FG: "I follow the <i>Tagesschau</i> on Insta and I also following Angela Merkel because she sometimes posts information. I haven't been on her page that often, more like that on the <i>Tagesschau</i> ."
Discord	Sofie, Y10/FG: "...there was a server on Discord [a public server from a game community] and a few things happened there that weren't quite right, it was something to do with sexism...we got together with about 200 people to tell the organisers that it's not ok. And that has changed, but it took a month or two before we even got through."
Spotify	Vincent, Y9/FG: "I watch live updates and podcasts about Corona, they always put them on Spotify."
School website	Milena, Y8/FG: "I recently drew a picture for the school website for an advent calendar..."

Table 7.7: Focus group and qualitative questionnaire excerpts on online citizenship

As illustrated in Elena's and Sofie's comments in Table 7.7, there was an overlap between participants' engagement in citizenship activities and participants' hobbies such as gaming and having fun.

7.9 Justice-oriented citizenship dimension

I defined justice-oriented citizenship activities as initiating or participating in demanding a systematic change, individually or as part of a collective. Justice-oriented citizenship activities appeared less meaningful to participants with only 21.9% of the citizenship activities discussed in focus groups and 7.0% of the citizenship activities mentioned in the qualitative questionnaire, labelled justice-oriented. Furthermore, all participants in the focus groups and all but two questionnaire participants mentioned either exclusively personally responsible/participatory citizenship activities or a mix of personally responsible/participatory and justice-oriented citizenship activities as opposed to exclusive engagement in justice-oriented activities. Low participation in justice-oriented activities might be due to differing definitions of justice-oriented between participants and myself. To counteract this conceptual gap, I used an accessible question by asking: "Have you ever changed something that you were unhappy with?" Furthermore, participants were prompted with examples of justice-oriented activities, such as the Fridays for Future protests.

Most citizenship activities within the justice-oriented dimension took place online and in the community with only a few citizenship activities taking place at school. The most common justice-oriented citizenship activities included raising awareness in social networks followed by selective consumerism, protests, and speaking up or refusing to do something (see Table 7.8).

Themes	Participant quotes
Raising awareness in social networks	Elisa, Y8/Q: "I dealt with the topic of BlackLivesMatter and my experience with it was that it was nice to show people that it doesn't matter what skin colour they have and sometimes you had to talk about this topic with people."
Selective consumerism	Patricia, Y9/FG: "I think that animals in slaughterhouses and people who work there are not treated well and that's why I don't eat meat anymore."
Protest	Leni, Y9/Q: "Farmers' protests: It was really amazing how many were there and fought and still no one cares about it."
Refusing to do something & speaking up	Magda, Y10/FG: "Many teachers have often told me that it is not okay to wear cropped tops. I was often threatened that I would have to wear the school sweater or something. And I've never done that before because I disagree with that...I also think that I'm not responsible if others can't keep their eyes to themselves."
Petition	Jens, Y9/FG: "I often take part in online petitions if I'm interested, for example against Article 13. I signed it but I have the feeling that the petition against Article 13 was completely ignored."
Events	Annika, Y10/FG: "...we did this Pinkday, I think that was a very good thing..."

Table 7.8: Focus group and qualitative questionnaire excerpts on justice-oriented citizenship

7.10 Summary

In this chapter I explored the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions with in-depth qualitative data. The framework offered unique insights into the overlapping emerging dimensions characterising participants' citizenship activities. I suggest that this is more illustrative of young people's heterogeneous experiences than using citizen typologies which did not fully reflect my participants' experiences who were often engaged in multiple overlapping emerging and traditional citizenship dimensions. In terms of the seven emerging dimensions, results suggest that glocal, unofficial, sporadic, and issues-based dimensions were particularly relevant to participants while the importance of online, individual, and justice-oriented citizenship dimensions could be reassessed by future studies, particularly with young people from rural communities and with high socio-economic backgrounds. Results also suggest that many participants were exclusively engaged in unofficial citizenship dimensions at school and in their communities

which could lead to a marginalisation of their voices as many impactful political decisions are currently still done in official spaces such as in the student council or through elected community leaders. Results from this chapter are further reflected in terms of existing literature in Discussion Chapter Nine. In the following chapter, I summarise results on the value of citizenship education for participants' uptake of (emerging) citizenship activities.

8 Findings Research Question 3: Citizenship education and citizenship activities

8.1 Introduction

In the previous findings chapters I described participants' citizenship activities at school and in their communities (Chapter 6) and summarised results from exploring the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions with qualitative data (Chapter 7). In this chapter, I build on the previous two chapters by exploring the value of citizenship education on Year 8-10 students' uptake of citizenship activities through the lens of curriculum documents, Year 8-10 students and teachers. Thus, this chapter addresses research question 3: What is the value of Year 8-10 citizenship education for students' uptake of citizenship activities? Throughout this chapter I present findings from focus groups (n=35), teacher interviews (n=11), the questionnaire (n=106) and a range of curriculum documents. The chapter outline is displayed as follows.

8.2 How does the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum support Year 8-10 students in taking up citizenship activities?

8.3 How do Year 8-10 students and teachers perceive the value of citizenship education regarding students' uptake of citizenship activities?

8.4 Summary

8.2 How does the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum support Year 8-10 students in taking up citizenship activities?

In this section, I summarise findings regarding the value of citizenship education on students' uptake of citizenship activities and particularly emerging citizenship activities, through the lens of the newly developed citizenship education curriculum, *Gemeinschaftskunde*, in Germany. Findings are illustrated using quotes from the curriculum which were translated to English from their original German version. As follows, I summarise those aspects of *Gemeinschaftskunde* that promote the uptake of citizenship activities and highlight missed opportunities, through five themes, illustrated below.

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum encourages citizen participation (8.2.1)

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum promotes political knowledge, current political issues, and participatory skills (8.2.2)

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum promotes pedagogies for active and practical learning (8.2.3)

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum advocates dutiful and actualising citizen ideals (8.2.4)

Citizenship activities are also encouraged in related subject curricula (8.2.5)

8.2.1 The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum encourages citizen participation

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum encourages students to participate as citizens. This is conveyed in four ways. Firstly, the key goal of the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum states that students should become citizens who are *mündig*. The German word *mündig* has no direct translation in English and encompasses but is not limited to the meanings ‘coming of age’, ‘maturing’, ‘being responsible’, ‘being independent’, and ‘making one’s own decisions’. The term *mündig* includes not just the ability to form independent political judgments but also an element of action, as described in the curriculum.

The political system in Germany can only function according to democratic principles if it is supported and shaped by citizens who are politically *mündig*. Enabling students to think and act democratically is the most important task of political education, but also of the school as a whole.

(KM BW, 2016a, p.3)

Secondly, the curriculum defines four competencies to support students to become *mündig* which are analytical, judgement, method, and action competencies. The action competency is singled out as being the most important competency out of the four, further indicating that the curriculum advocates citizen participation.

Action competency: The primary goal of political education is the promotion of citizens who are *mündig* and who intervene politically and thus “intervene [*einmischen*] in their own affairs” (Max Frisch). Political education does not only extend to the areas of analysis and political judgement, but also includes simulative and practical political action.

(KM BW, 2016a, p.5)

Thirdly, participating in citizenship activities is also part of two of the six pedagogical approaches put forward by the curriculum. The first pedagogical approach is problem orientation and refers to analysing political issues, evaluating political decisions and problem solving. The curriculum refers to problem

orientation in relation to acting, by stating: “Politics deals with solving problems that affect the general public and create pressure to act” (KM BW, 2016a, p.10). The second pedagogical approach is called action orientation which proposes that students should participate in political action through: “...planned simulative, productively creative or real political action (for example extracurricular learning venues)” (KM BW, 2016a, p.10).

Finally, the curriculum frequently uses language related to participation including terms such as “acting” (85), “co-creation” (44), “participation” (38) and “co-decision-making” (36) which were all among the 21 most named words in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum. The numbers in brackets refer to the number of occurrences of the words in the curriculum.

While encouraging students to participate in citizenship activities is mentioned across the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum, the activities are rarely specified in terms of their nature. This often leaves teachers with the task of interpretation, as evident in the following *Gemeinschaftskunde* achievement objective (AO).

Students can demonstrate how school decisions are made using a case study (school assembly, teachers’ assembly) and can, with guidance, evaluate students’ participation opportunities beyond the case study.

(KM BW, 2016a, p.27)

As illustrated in this excerpt, only two specific participation opportunities at school were explicitly included in this AO which are the school assembly and the teachers’ assembly. Other participation opportunities at school will have to be determined by individual teachers and might, thus, range considerably. Giving teachers some autonomy to decided aspects of an AO can be helpful to take local aspects into consideration such as current issues in the local community or their school environment which might differ between geographic locations. Not specifying the types of citizenship activities that should be taught, however, can also lead to omitting key aspects of young people’s participation as further discussed in Findings section 8.2.2.3.

8.2.2 The Gemeinschaftskunde curriculum promotes political knowledge, current political issues, and participatory skills

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum also advances students’ participation in citizenship activities by teaching political content, about political issues, and participatory skills, summarised as follows.

8.2.2.1 Political knowledge

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum aims to increase students' understanding of the concepts: society, rights, polity, and international relations. Each of these concepts is taught through one to four AOs, which are further defined through descriptive statements. An overview of all summarised *Gemeinschaftskunde* AOs, is displayed in Table 8.1. In brackets behind each AO is the school year in which it is taught at Anderberg middle school which is decided by school *Gemeinschaftskunde* departments. As evident in Table 8.1, most topics are taught at Year 7 at Anderberg middle school because the highest contact time is given to Year 7 students who have two weekly *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons.

Year 7-9	Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coexistence in social groups (Y7) • Living in a world of media (Y7) • Family and society (Y7) • Immigration to Germany (Y8)
	Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children's rights (Y7) • Youths' rights, responsibilities and the legal system (Y7) • Constitutional rights (<i>Grundrechte</i>) (Y8)
	Polity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation at school (Y7) • Politics in the municipality (Y8) • Political decision-making in Germany (Y9)
	International relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace and Human Rights (Y9)
Year 10	Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsibilities and problems of the welfare state (Y10)
	Polity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political decision-making in Germany (Y10) • The European Union (Y10)

Table 8.1: Topics for Years 7-10 *Gemeinschaftskunde*

AOs may (indirectly) affect students' uptake of citizenship activities as they aim to increase students' political content knowledge which is helpful to participate in many citizenship activities such as engaging in political discussions. Refer to Appendix F for a table including more detailed versions of *Gemeinschaftskunde* AOs.

8.2.2.2 Current political issues

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum also promotes learning about current political issues through one of its pedagogical principles, called *Aktualität* which can be translated to timeliness. The issues that are selected for lessons, according to the curriculum, should concern students in their current life stage and be interesting and relevant now and for their futures. Selecting these issues is the teachers' responsibility but might also be pre-determined by *Gemeinschaftskunde* textbooks.

8.2.2.3 Participatory skills

The term participatory skill refers to all skills participants learn that help them to engage in citizenship activities, such as ‘learning how the school representative is elected’. A range of participatory skills are promoted through the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum, summarised as follows in terms of participatory skills at school, in communities and in emerging citizenship dimensions.

Participatory skills related to students’ participation at school

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum particularly promotes participatory skills related to school decision-making, neglecting other citizenship categories, as evident in the thematic map in Figure 8.1, which shows all school-based citizenship activities in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum. I structured the citizenship activities, displayed in Figure 8.1, according to the proposed school citizenship spaces, allowing for a comparison of the types of citizenship activities promoted in the curriculum with participants’ experiences (see Figure 6.3). I exclusively include the range of citizenship activities in the thematic map in Figure 8.1, rather than how often each activity was mentioned, because the amounts of times a citizenship activity is mentioned in the curriculum, might not necessarily say something about its significance.

School decisions			Other	School activism
describe and evaluate how decisions are made at school	describe laws that regulate student decision-making at school	describe how decisions are made in the school assembly	learn about students' co-creation opportunities at school	describe and evaluate conflicts solution strategies at school
			School service	Form class
describe and evaluate how class representatives are elected	describe and evaluate how school leaders are elected election	describe and evaluate school representative participation opportunities	describe how student mentors can solve conflicts	describe how decision are made in the class council "Klassenrat"

Figure 8.1: School citizenship spaces in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum

As evident in Figure 8.1, the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum teaches a wide range of opportunities for students to participate in decisions at their school including school elections and the school assembly. Most of the activities, the curriculum promotes in terms of school decision-making, however, are restricted by elections which means not all students have access to them. There is only one citizenship activity for each of the other citizenship categories at school, including activism, form class and school service, and no citizenship activities in relation to school

volunteering. The activity listed under other: ‘learn about students’ co-creation opportunities at school’, might include additional school-based citizenship activities, which are for teachers and textbooks to decide. When comparing school-based citizenship activities promoted by the citizenship curriculum (see Figure 8.1), with participant’s citizenship activities (see Figure 6.3) differences are evident. While the curriculum focuses predominantly on school decision-making, participants discussed the widest range and highest uptake of citizenship activities in form classes and volunteering.

Participatory skills related to students’ participation in their communities

In terms of community participation, the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum focuses on party politics, neglecting other spaces such as online, as illustrated in the thematic map in Figure 8.2.

Party politics					Activism	
describe decision-making process in Germany	describe how citizens can participate in the EU	describe how laws are made	describe political institutions and political processes	describe how laws are initiated through citizen initiatives	describe the right: freedom of assembly	
describe municipal decision-making processes	compare the positions of different political parties	describe principles of a constitutional state	describe childrens' rights			
describe how elections work	explain municipal processes for the integration of immigrants	describe UN organisations and decision-making processes	describe youth participation in municipal councils	describe how to participate in EU decisions	describe the right: freedom of expression	describe how petitions are made
					describe the right of resistance	
Private			Municipal	Other		
explain the influence of media on youth and political opinions	describe how NGOs protect human rights	describe how NGOs and companies protect children's rights	describe the significance of civic participation for democracy	describe participation opportunities in Germany		
get to know different media for political information	describe how consumers can protect children's rights		describe community conflicts and solution strategies	Online	explain how political opinions are formed by social media	

Figure 8.2: Community citizenship spaces in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum

As evident in Figure 8.2, the curriculum promotes a wide range of party politics activities including describing political institutions in municipalities, Germany, the

EU and globally. Most of these activities, however, cannot be done by students in Year 8 to 10 which might promote the image of young people as future citizens as opposed to young people as citizens right now. In addition to party politics, the curriculum also promotes participatory skills related to activism including petitions, citizen initiatives and constitutional rights. Online modes, of activism, which were particularly popular for the participants in this research, are mostly absent from the curriculum. The curriculum only promotes one online citizenship activity overall namely using digital media to form one's opinion. The unofficial citizenship activities promoted in the curriculum, include consumer choices, accessing political information and learning about the role of NGOs to protect people's rights. Finally, the curriculum promotes two municipal citizenship activities. Additionally, the activity listed under 'other', namely 'describe participation opportunities in Germany', might include additional activities which are up to teachers and textbooks to decide. When looking at the language used in the AOs, it is evident that the language promotes learning about citizenship rather than through citizenship, predominantly stating "describe", "get to know" and "explain" as opposed to "practice", "do" or "act". This appears to be in contrast with the many instances in the curriculum promoting active and practical pedagogical approaches, as outlined in section 8.2.3.

Participatory skills related to students' participation in emerging citizenship dimensions

In terms of the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions, findings suggest that the citizenship activities, promoted in the curriculum, were more likely from traditional than emerging citizenship dimensions and differed in terms of the seven dimensions in comparison to focus group results. Figure 8.3 compares citizenship activities characterised by emerging and traditional dimensions from the curriculum and focus groups. I decided to exclusively include citizenship activities mentioned in the curriculum and focus groups rather than information on how often they were mentioned by participants. I decided this because I was interested in the range of activities the curriculum promotes rather than the frequency of how often they are promoted which might not necessarily be connected to their importance in the curriculum.

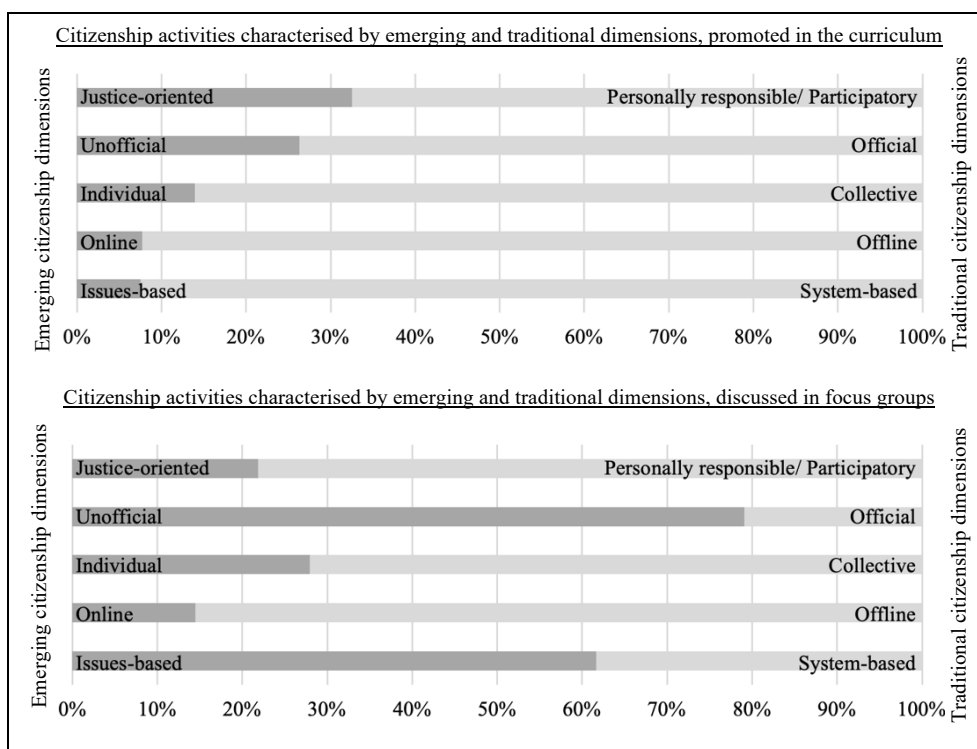


Figure 8.3: Citizenship activities from traditional and emerging citizenship dimensions, promoted in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum and discussed in focus groups

As evident in Figure 8.3, I excluded the dimensions ‘sporadic’ and ‘glocal’ because the curriculum did not offer sufficient information on these dimensions. Results from comparing the citizenship activities, promoted in the curriculum and discussed in focus groups, suggest that there are differences regarding the dimension unofficial /official and issues-based/system-based. While focus group participants were more likely to engage in unofficial and issues-based citizenship activities, the curriculum rather promoted official and system-based activities. These results indicate a difference between the citizenship activities relevant to students and the citizenship activities promoted in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum. It should be acknowledged, that the low number of issues-based citizenship activities promoted in the curriculum might also be due to the way the curriculum is structured which focuses on teaching competencies and providing a choice for teachers to select issues, based on their school and community contexts.

8.2.3 The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum promotes pedagogies for active and practical learning

Students’ uptake of citizenship activities is also promoted through pedagogical approaches in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum. By creating active and practical learning experiences and including students in decisions about their learning,

students can make positive experiences with democracy and participation. This might encourage them to get engaged beyond their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons at school and beyond school. Pedagogy in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum that promotes student agency is described as follows. Firstly, the curriculum promotes a perception of students as knowledgeable and able to make decisions about their own learning. This is illustrated in the following curriculum quote.

As the subject of the learning process, students are involved in the selection of political topics and questions. The planning of lessons is based on the prior knowledge of the students. Students are thereby recognised as knowledgeable instead of unknowing.

(KM BW, 2016a, p.9)

Secondly, the curriculum suggests that students should be able to form their own opinions based on the political knowledge and skills they acquire in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. This is illustrated in the following curriculum quote.

Political questions and problems must be examined from different perspectives in the classroom. Assessing the problems and perspectives is students' responsibility.

(KM BW, 2016a, p.10)

This is particularly important in terms of Germany's historical context and is also part of the German constitution, in form of the Beutelsbach Consensus. This law suggests that issues that are controversially discussed in society should also be discussed from multiple perspectives in the classroom and teachers are not allowed to impose their opinions on students (LpB BW, 1976). Finally, there are several instances in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum suggesting that lessons should include practical learning experiences, including role plays, excursions, expert interviews and conducting surveys. This is illustrated in the following quote.

Political education extends not only to the areas of analysis and political judgement, but also includes the level of simulative and practical political action.

(KM BW, 2016a, p.5)

While the previously outlined aspects of the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum appear to promote active and practical learning, this is not reflected in AOs which predominantly include language reflecting passive learning such as "find answers to", "learn about", "understand", "describe" or "analyse" instead of active language such as "critically question", "practice", "do" or "simulate". This is problematic since the AOs particularly influence the topics and pedagogical approaches teachers select for their lessons. Further pedagogical aspects promoting the uptake of citizenship activities are summarised in section 8.2.5.

8.2.4 *The Gemeinschaftskunde curriculum advocates dutiful and actualizing citizen ideals*

There is evidence of dutiful and actualising citizen ideals, promoted in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum with all explored citizen types, namely Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004b) personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented citizen, and Bennett’s (2003) dutiful and actualising citizen, identified in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum. Refer to Literature review section 4.5.5 for a summary of the citizen models. The citizen types, examined in the curriculum, are illustrated in Table 8.2, using quotes from the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum. All quotes were taken from the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum front matter (p.3-11) which outlines the citizen ideals, underpinning the curriculum.

Model	Type	Quotes from the <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> curriculum
Westheimer and Kahne	Personally-responsible citizen	The internalisation of basic democratic values and attitudes based on constitutional rights and human rights, such as non-violence and civil courage, is essential. (p.3)
	Participatory citizen	Considering the many different interests of a pluralistic society, democracy needs peaceful political and legal conflict resolution models and the broad engagement of citizens (civil society). A vibrant democratic society is inconceivable without civic engagement (e.g., service). (p.7)
	Justice oriented citizen	The primary goal of political education is to promote responsible citizens who intervene politically and thus "intervene [<i>einmischen</i>] in their own affairs" (Max Frisch). (p.5)
Bennett	Dutiful citizen	Based on solid specialist knowledge, students develop skills to be able to orientate themselves in the complex world of politics. They must be able to analyse political processes and decisions, to judge them based on criteria and as a result, act politically in a reflected manner. (p.3) A vibrant democratic society is inconceivable without civic engagement (e.g., service). (p.7)
	Actualising citizen	Analysis and judgment skills are closely linked. Based on a well-founded analysis, students should develop their own positions on political questions and problems. (p.5) The subject <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> aims to develop <i>mündige</i> citizens who are also consumers and, as such, should act in a self-determined and responsible manner. (p.4)

Table 8.2: Citizen types and evidence from the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum

While I found evidence of all explored citizen types in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum, most citizenship activities the curriculum promotes as part of its AOs can be described as dutiful citizen activities. This is evident in the focus on party politics and formal school decision-making and through language associated with passively acquiring knowledge such as “describe”, “explain” and “find answers to”, as opposed to language indicating active learning and critical reflection.

8.2.5 *Citizenship activities are also encouraged in related subject curricula*

Initially, I exclusively focused on the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum (KM BW, 2016a), the democratic learning handbook (KM BW, 2019a), and the teachers' curriculum guide (KM BW, 2016g). Participants, however, suggested that additional curricular documents might be significant for students' uptake of citizenship activities which is why I decided to include the geography (KM BW, 2016d), history (KM BW, 2016e), WBS (KM BW, 2016f), AES (KM BW, 2016b), and ethics (KM BW, 2016c) curricula. Refer to Appendix I for a summary of these curriculum documents and why I included them.

8.2.5.1 Teachers' curriculum guide

The teachers' curriculum guide provides general educational guidelines for teachers to work with individual subject curricula. This guide promotes students' uptake of citizenship activities in four ways. Firstly, preparing students for their rights and duties as citizens by developing judgement and decision-making competencies, is suggested as one of the key goals of the curriculum (KM BW, 2016g, p.8). Secondly, participation in citizenship activities is part of two of the six guiding principles (*Leitperspektiven*). The guiding principles must be a fundamental building block of each subject curricula. The guiding principles promoting uptake of citizenship activities are 'education for sustainable development' which promotes shaping a sustainable world and 'consumer education' which supports students to develop responsible consumer behaviour. Thirdly, the teacher's curriculum guide promotes engagement in citizenship activities by highlighting the importance of the Beutelsbach Consensus which suggests that students should be supported to analyse political issues in terms of their own interests and look for ways to influence issues considering their own interests. Finally, the teachers' curriculum guide suggests that schools should be spaces for experiencing democracy, which should happen across all subjects and should be characterised by actively including students in their own learning.

8.2.5.2 The handbook for democratic learning

The democratic learning handbook is an additional compulsory guideline that was sent to schools in 2019, three years after the first curriculum documents for Year 5 were released. The goal of this handbook is to help teachers to create democratic experiences for students throughout their school day, suggesting that political and democratic learning is not the task of the subject *Gemeinschaftskunde* alone (KM BW, 2019a). The handbook proposes four areas for democratic learning at school,

namely in individual subjects, as an extracurricular approach, through the school culture, and with external partners. The handbook for democratic learning can positively affect students' uptake of citizenship activities in three ways. Firstly, the handbook supports teachers in developing practical learning experiences for students which can have a positive effect on students' uptake of citizenship activities such as simulation games (p.47), volunteering for a local charity (p.43), starting a petition (p.42) or having regular class council meetings (p.39). Secondly, the handbook provides a list with questions on the democratic climate at school, which might be used by school leadership, teachers, and the student council to reflect on the extent to which students can participate at their school (see Appendix P). The handbook also includes suggestions on how to further develop students' agency at school, which can help to develop solutions to the reflection questions. Finally, the handbook provides an extensive list of external partners that offer democratic learning experiences including government agencies focusing on formal political participation but also NGOs focusing on service or activism. While the democratic learning handbook could have a positive impact on developing a democratic school culture and possibly students' uptake of citizenship activities, teacher interviews suggested that the document was not known to teachers and might be inaccessible due to its academic focus and lengths.

8.2.5.3 History curriculum

There are three aspects of the history curriculum that can promote participation in citizenship activities. Firstly, the history curriculum promotes an in-depth exploration of the concept of democracy including its early inception in Ancient Greece and its many struggles throughout history. This can, on the one hand, help students understand how democratic systems work and how they differ from other systems like dictatorships as illustrated in this history AO: "Students can characterise the tension between dictatorship and democracy in Europe and analyse the consequences for Germany" (KM BW, 2016e, p.32). On the other hand, it can help students to develop an appreciation for the democratic system and the ability of citizens to have a say in their country and communities. This is particularly important in terms of learning from German history, as indicated in the following history AO: "Students can analyse National Socialism [*Nationalsozialismus*], characterise it as a radical counterproposal to a parliamentary democracy and justify the responsibility resulting from National Socialist crimes" (KM BW 2016e, p.33). Secondly, the history curriculum promotes a historic understanding of current social and political conflicts, as indicated in this quote: "Students can explain conflict areas in non-

European contexts, from a historical perspective and assess the significance of the decolonization process after 1945” (KM BW, 2016e, p.39). Finally, the history curriculum promotes the development of critical media literacy, which is a key skill for citizens, particularly in an age of fake news. The history curriculum develops students’ media literacy by teaching the skills to access and judge a wide range of information including photos, paintings, statistical data, maps texts from different sources including archives, museums, libraries and online (KM BW, 2016e, p.13).

8.2.5.4 Geography and WBS curricula

Geography and WBS curricula might also be related to students’ uptake of citizenship activities in relation to three aspects. Firstly, both subjects promote learning about social, environmental, and political issues, relevant to young people including climate change, sustainability, and inequality, as illustrated by the following curriculum excerpts.

Students can explain the causes of climate change, and its consequences using polar regions as an example...

(KM BW, 2016d, p.26)

Students can describe disparate developments in the One World, explain migration as a consequence of these developments and assess measures for sustainable development.

(KM BW, 2016d, p.28)

Secondly, the geography and WBS curriculum promote learning about citizenship activities including selective consumerism and participating in activism in the workplace, as illustrated by the following curriculum excerpts.

Students can describe economic action and classify the possibility of sustainable consumption and renunciation (e.g., through a global product).

(KM BW, 2016f, p.14)

Students can explore the production and trade of a world-trade good in terms of spatial impact from a sustainability perspective and examine their own position as a consumer...

(KM BW, 2016d, p.30)

Students can describe opportunities for participation in the workplace (e.g., works council, youth and trainee representatives).

(KM BW, 2016f, p.26)

It should be acknowledged, that the latter citizenship activity is geared towards future citizenship, as middle school students who are not employed in a company, are not able to join a labour union.

Finally, the WBS curriculum might contribute to students' uptake of citizenship activities through a compulsory WBS exam, done by Year 9 students. This exam was introduced in 2019 as part of the curriculum initiative and replaces an interdisciplinary oral exam, students did in Year 10 as part of their school leaving exam. As part of this project, students work in teams to plan, create and present on an issue related to the subject WBS and one additional subject. The success of the project is not only measured through the presentation, but students are also assessed on the project process including their ability to work as part of a team which is observed by the WBS teacher. Completing this project might be beneficial for students' uptake of citizenship activities in two ways. Firstly, students get a chance to engage with a social, economic or political issue over a longer time period which might increase their interest in an issue which can result in getting engaged in this issue. Secondly, students can experience greater agency in this project-based learning than in more teacher centric lessons such as completing exercises in the textbook, as illustrated in the following handbook excerpt.

The project work is based on an understanding of teaching that is participatory, based on students' interests, demands holistic learning experiences and allows for gaining understanding of the subject WBS.

(KM BW, 2019b, p.3)

Integrating this project in a subject and allowing students to work on this during lesson time also helps to reduce inequalities in support students receive from their families to do well in this project and helps the assessment process to be refined to go beyond the outcome of the project. Observing students, however, during their completion of the project during class time might decrease students' agency in comparison to the way this project was formerly organised, happening in students' free time and without teacher observation. Teacher observation might add an unnecessary layer of unequal power dynamics to students' experiences.

8.2.5.5 AES and ethics curricula

AES and ethics curricula can also support students to take up citizenship activities. Both subjects are optional. AES is one of three subjects that students can choose after Year 6. The other options are French and technology. Ethics is chosen by parents for students in Year 5, with choices including Christian religious education and Catholic religious education. The subject choice can be reversed by students after Year 8 which is when young people in German gain religious maturity. The other two subjects are. Firstly, the subjects AES and ethics raise social and political issues which are related to the interests, participants shared in this research. These

issues include gender roles, inequality, sustainability and discrimination, as illustrated in these curriculum excerpts.

Students can explain unequal global trade relations and local effects (e.g., working conditions, child labour, overproduction, cheap products, environmental aspects).

(KM BW, 2016b, p.34)

Students can work out the causes and consequences of conflicts using examples and examine them in connection with ideas of peaceful coexistence (e.g., in relation to intolerance, injustice, conflicting values, prejudices, discrimination).

(KM BW, 2016c, p.35)

Secondly, both subjects promote AOs that teach students about skills to participate in the community. These skills include selective consumerism and providing a service to the community and school, as illustrated in these curriculum excerpts.

Students can describe social engagement at their school and explore the connection between engagement and active participation in a democratic society.

(KM BW, 2016b, p.13)

Students can present and discuss participation opportunities to ensure humane and fair living conditions in their own environments (e.g., related to consumption, social engagement, fair-trade).

(KM BW, 2016c, p.40)

Finally, the participatory skills, taught in AES are taught using practical approaches and by providing opportunities for student agency. This is, for example, done through a service project in which students select a community need and address this need through a service project. This is described in the following curriculum excerpt.

Students explore various forms of civic engagement and recognise the social importance of active participation in democratic communities for the individual and (world) community (active global citizenship). Students plan and implement a subject-related “learning through engagement” project.

(KM BW, 2016b, p.13)

The AES curriculum also encourages practical application of consumer skills through an AO that teaches students to make consumer decisions in the supermarket in respect to fair trade, organic production and recycling as described by the AES curriculum.

Students select, use and evaluate consumer goods through a sustainability perspective (organic products, fair-trade, recycling).

(KM BW, 2016b, p.35)

It should be acknowledged that AES has an advantageous position as a subject with a practical focus and high contact time, allocating AES teachers and students the

time and resources to buy materials for practical learning, such as cooking a meal or sewing a garment.

8.2.5.6 Social curriculum

Schools in *Baden-Württemberg* typically develop individual curricula that identify additional learning outcomes specific to their school. In the case of Anderberg middle school, these school curricula include a methods and social curriculum. The social curriculum supports students' uptake of citizenship activities in three ways. Firstly, Anderberg middle school social curriculum determines that each student must complete a three-day practicum at a social institution which might include an old people's home, a kindergarten, or an institution catering for disabled people. This practicum is then reflected on in students' religious education and ethics lessons. This practicum can affect students' uptake of citizenship activities by gaining an insight into some issues social institutions face such as understaffing or under resourcing which in turn can encourage action. Having had a first-hand experience in a social institution might also invite students to go back there to volunteer in the future. Secondly, the social curriculum includes an event on civil courage which is delivered by an external provider, namely the *Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung* [LpB] which is a regional citizenship education organisation. This event might positively affect students' uptake of citizenship activities as it provides practical training to help students take a stand against right wing extremism. Finally, the Anderberg middle school social curriculum states that at the end of Year 10 students might be awarded a prize for their social engagement. This is a certificate stating that this student has been particularly involved in social activities at the school which can be used by students for their application documents. Students are also recognised for their social engagement in form of a speech with a formal presentation of this certificate during their graduation ceremony. Acknowledging and celebrating social engagement in form of a prize can affect students' uptake of volunteering at school as it creates a culture of recognition of service. Limiting this decision to teachers only, however, might indicate a power imbalance and could be an area for reconsideration. The social curriculum appears to promote personally-responsible and participatory citizens through instilling values like civil courage and community service, as opposed to student activism. This missed opportunity for developing critical citizens is further discussed in Discussion section 9.6.3.

Curriculum documents are not directly translated into learning, instead they are mediated through teachers, what is possible in the school system, each individual

school, through the interaction between students and teachers’, and students’ previous experiences. So, while the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum and additional curricula documents promote the uptake of citizenship activities, this should not be regarded as a direct representation of what teachers teach or what students learn. Therefore, I discuss students’ and teachers’ perceptions of *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons and citizenship education at school, in the next section.

8.3 How do Year 8-10 students and teachers perceive the value of *Gemeinschaftskunde* regarding students’ uptake of citizenship activities?

In this section I describe participants’ perceptions of citizenship education in relation to students’ uptake of citizenship activities. I also explored participants’ perceptions of citizenship education using two models from the literature (Bennett, 2003; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b). I decided to describe teachers’ and students’ perceptions together in this section because their perspectives often aligned and overlapped. I pointed out throughout the chapter, when their perspectives differed. While I focussed on *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons when discussing citizenship education, participants frequently mentioned citizenship learning from beyond this subject, which is why I decided to also include sections on citizenship education in related subjects. I illustrate thematic findings using participant quotes and thematic maps. Findings from descriptive analysis are illustrated using graphs and percentages. This section is divided into the themes, illustrated below.

Is there a link between *Gemeinschaftskunde* and citizenship activities? (8.3.1)

Content: What do participants learn about citizenship activities in *Gemeinschaftskunde*? (8.3.2)

Pedagogy: How do participants learn about/through citizenship activities in *Gemeinschaftskunde*? (8.3.3)

Beyond *Gemeinschaftskunde*: Where else do participants learn about/through citizenship activities? (8.3.4)

How did the Covid pandemic impact participants’ learning about/through citizenship? (8.3.5)

8.3.1 *Is there a link between Gemeinschaftskunde and citizenship activities?*

According to quantitative questionnaire findings, participants were more likely to disagree than agree that *Gemeinschaftskunde* helped them to engage in citizenship activities. I measured this by asking participants to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the statement “*Gemeinschaftskunde* helped me to get engaged in

citizenship activities”. Results are displayed in Figure 8.4, differentiating between uptake of citizenship activities at and beyond school.

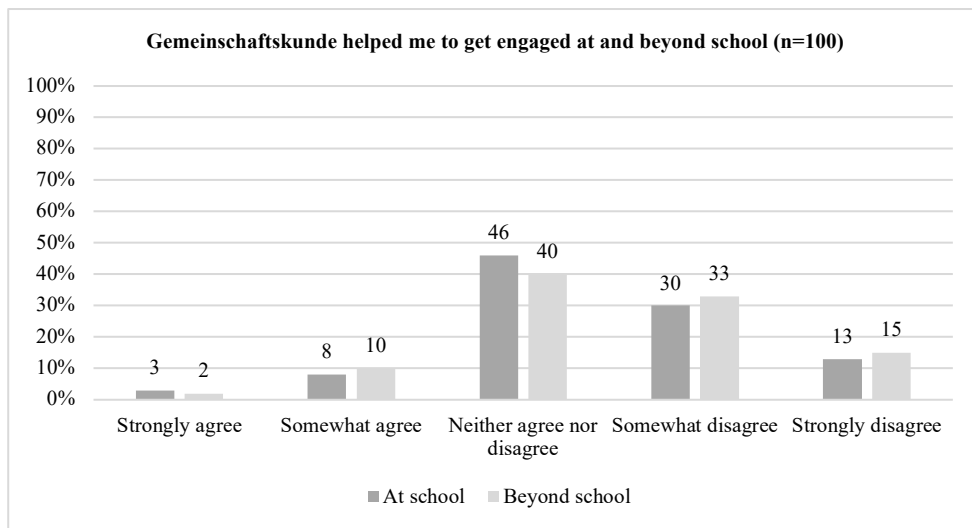


Figure 8.4: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of the link between *Gemeinschaftskunde* and citizenship activities

Almost half of the questionnaire participants disagreed that *Gemeinschaftskunde* was helpful to engage in citizenship activities, in comparison to around 10% who agreed with the statement. There was slightly more disagreement with the statement in terms of citizenship activities beyond school than at school. Moreover, disagreement with the statement was highest for Year 9 students while agreement with the statement was highest for Year 10 students. Year 8 students had the highest percentage of 'neither agree nor disagree'. Differences between years might be related to the topics participants discussed in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* classes at the time of data collection and the range of topics they have experienced in *Gemeinschaftskunde* so far, which should be widest for Year 10 students.

Thematic findings indicate an even more complex picture of the link between *Gemeinschaftskunde* and citizenship activities, illustrated in the model in Figure 8.5. I developed this model based on thematic analysis of focus group, interview and questionnaire data.

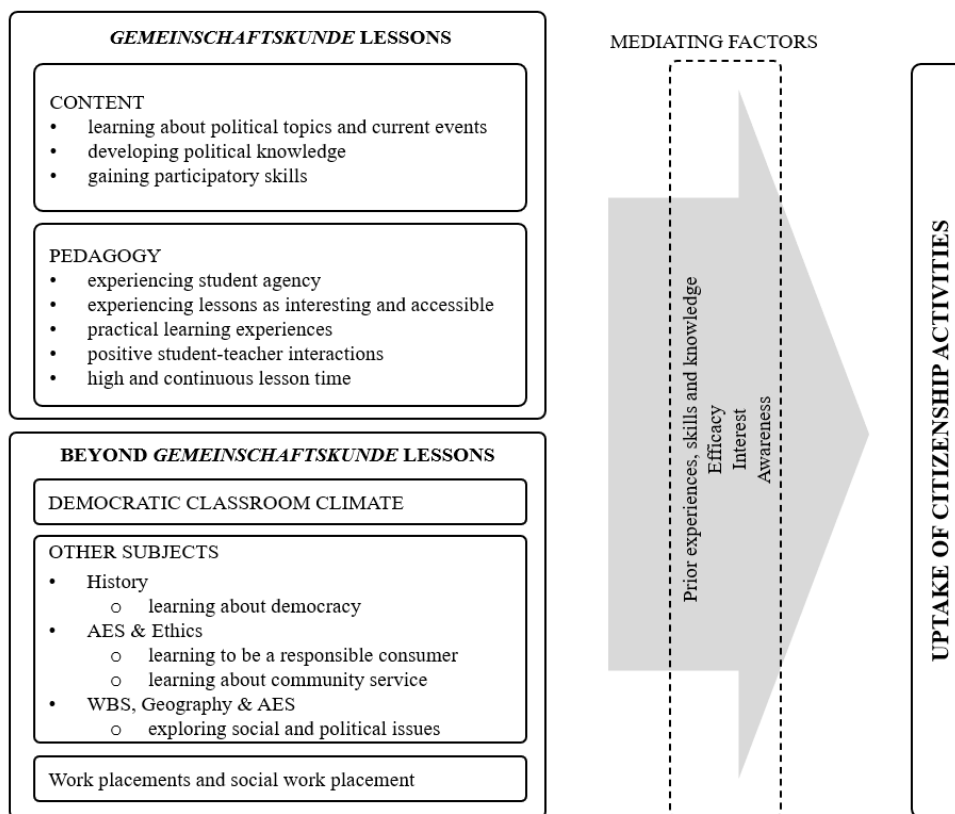


Figure 8.5: Modelling the link between citizenship education and citizenship activities

As evident in Figure 8.5, participants discussed multiple aspects that helped them to engage in citizenship activities, related to the content and pedagogy of *Gemeinschaftskunde*. In addition, participants discussed three factors that impacted their citizenship learning beyond *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. These factors included democratic classroom climate, work placements, social work placements and other subjects namely history, AES, ethics, WBS and geography. Citizenship education at school was sometimes described to directly affect uptake of citizenship activities, as displayed using the grey arrow. Sometimes, participants also described mediating factors that translate learning into citizenship activities. Mediating factors, discussed by participants, include prior experiences, interest, efficacy, and awareness, which are summarised in the next section. I used dotted lines to depict these mediating factors as they were not always part of participants' citizenship uptake.

It should be acknowledged that this model is a simplified depiction of the influence of school-based citizenship education on young people's uptake of citizenship activities. As argued in the literature, there are a multitude of complex and interrelated factors at play that translate citizenship education into action, including

contexts and factors both within and outside of schools such as socialisation agents, participants' gender, age, or socio-economic background, as well as the democratic culture within the school (see for example Onken & Lange, 2014). Thus, the goal of this model is to depict how participants in my study perceived the value of their citizenship education experiences on their citizenship activities, rather than making generalisable statements.

Mediating factors

Firstly, the value of *Gemeinschaftskunde* might differ between participants depending on their prior experiences. This was evident in Janne's (Y9/Q) comment: "I actually already knew the important things before [my *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons]". Thus, the subject might appear less valuable for this student. Similarly, the following teacher comment indicates that *Gemeinschaftskunde* deepens prior participation in the community, instead of initiating it.

...whether the subject [*Gemeinschaftskunde*] is actually in a position to get a larger number [of students engaged in citizenship activities] because they realise it is important from a logical point of view? I'm rather sceptical. Those who are already on their way, are guided, maybe empowered...

Secondly, *Gemeinschaftskunde* might develop students' awareness which in turn might influence citizenship action, rather than directly causing participants to take up citizenship activities. This is illustrated by the following teacher quote. I asked this teacher whether *Gemeinschaftskunde* can increase citizen participation: "If you look at citizen participation in the broadest sense like 'I think about it and engage with the idea', yes. But in a sense like 'I will then become active myself', no". While political awareness is not defined as a citizenship activity in this thesis, it can be considered as a mediating factor that can increase the likelihood of taking up citizenship activities.

Thirdly, *Gemeinschaftskunde* can increase interest in politics which might in turn increase engagement in citizenship activities, as illustrated in the following excerpt.

Student-researcher: ...Do you think *Gemeinschaftskunde* is making more people interested in politics?
Lars: Definitely. Because there you are made aware of some topics and if that interests you more, you look it up. So you do some research or start watching the news.

(Student-led focus group, Y10)

Particularly learning about topics and current events as well as high student agency were discussed in relation to developing interest.

Finally, *Gemeinschaftskunde* can increase different forms of efficacy which in turn can encourage participants to take up citizenship activities. Particularly an increase in internal efficacy was discussed by participants because of *Gemeinschaftskunde* learning. Political efficacy and external efficacy were discussed to a lesser extent. The following comments show evidence of the three types of efficacy in focus groups and the questionnaire, namely internal efficacy (I understand politics), external efficacy (I am allowed to be part of decisions) and political efficacy (I can create change).

Some things were explained to us and we were then able to have more of a say on political issues in everyday life.

(Example of internal efficacy, Nora, Y9/Q)

...our teacher encouraged us to engage a little more in politics, so that our voices are heard...

(Example of external efficacy, Maria, Y10/FG)

That you can achieve many things if you put your mind to it³³.

(Example of political efficacy, Tina, Y8/Q)

8.3.2 Content: What do participants learn about citizenship activities in *Gemeinschaftskunde*?

Findings indicate three factors related to the content of *Gemeinschaftskunde* that were relevant for participants' uptake of citizenship activities, namely political topics and current events, political knowledge, and participatory skills, summarised as follows.

8.3.2.1 Political knowledge

The value of gaining political knowledge for taking up citizenship activities, was pointed out by both, participating teachers and students. Firstly, political knowledge helps people to participate in discussions. This is suggested by Manuel (Y9/FG), saying: "If you have a political discussion with friends or completely different people, then you can join the discussion with the subject *Gemeinschaftskunde* or just in general with the knowledge gained from school". As indicated in this quote, the knowledge that is helpful to participate might not be restricted to *Gemeinschaftskunde* alone and might also be gained through other subjects or the

³³ This was an answer to questionnaire question 37: "In *Gemeinschaftskunde*, what (if anything) have you learned that helps you to participate in citizenship activities at school and beyond school?"

school culture. Secondly, *Gemeinschaftskunde* might help to gain “first insights” (Bruno, Y9/FG) rather than a comprehensive political background knowledge. Finally, participants talked about three aspects of the political knowledge they gained in *Gemeinschaftskunde* in relation to taking up citizenship activities. First, general political knowledge, which was described through language such as “general political knowledge” and “political information”. Second, rights, which includes learning about the court system and punishable offenses. One participant suggested that learning about Malala in terms of her rights was a valuable learning experience that might shape her engagement in citizenship activities, stating: “...I preferred lessons with the teacher in Year 8 to the teacher now. We also learned about Malala there, who made a big difference in my thoughts” (Zoe, Y10/Q). Third, political systems, which includes learning about democracy, federalism, politicians’ perspectives, understanding the concept of community and gaining an appreciation for political structures.

8.3.2.2 Current political topics

Current political topics were discussed by both, participating students and teachers. Firstly, findings indicate three citizenship activities that might be initiated by learning about topics and current events in *Gemeinschaftskunde*, namely accessing political information, creating change, and engaging in political discussions, as illustrated in the following quotes.

- JS: Is there anything, such as certain skills or knowledge, that would help you to get involved in and outside of school?
- Constantin: If you discuss a lot of current political topics in *Gemeinschaftskunde* and you find that certain topics, that are current at the moment, affect you a lot, then you get more insights from *Gemeinschaftskunde*. Then you can, if you are dissatisfied or satisfied with it, do more, say more and work to ensure that something is changed...
(Researcher-led focus group, Y10)

...when I teach *Gemeinschaftskunde*, I always try to include relatively current events and then there are many [students] who develop a further interest and watch videos and YouTube and so on at home. And then they often tell you in the next lesson: ‘But I also watched a documentary and there they said it happened like this’...

(Teacher)

Secondly, particularly those topics and current events that directly affect students and are interesting to them, are helpful in relation to taking up citizenship activities, as evident in the following quote.

In my opinion, when something comes up in *Gemeinschaftskunde* that is really interesting, which I found to be the case with many topics, then I

googled it at home because it interests me. But if it's just boring topics all the time, then I'll do it, but then I'm just not interested. Often in *Gemeinschaftskunde* we had four worksheets in a row, all of them almost the same. I thought, we don't have to discuss them because it's exactly the same again.

(Killian, Y9/FG)

As indicated in the comment, interest might not just depend on lesson topics but might also be related to pedagogical approaches. In this case, Killian described a negative experience of learning from worksheets. Pedagogical approaches in *Gemeinschaftskunde* that are related to the uptake of citizenship activities are further described in section 8.3.3. The political topics, participants were particularly interested in, according to findings from thematic analysis include BlackLivesMatter, Covid, discrimination, the environment, climate change, LTBTQ, racism, gender roles, and social justice issues.

8.3.2.3 Participatory skills

Participatory skills helped students to carry out citizenship activities. It should be acknowledged, that there is some overlap between participatory skills, political topics and political knowledge, as acquiring a skill might include learning about underlying systems, topics and concepts. Learning about elections, for example, includes getting to know the concept of democracy. Acknowledging this overlap, I decided to include all skills here that include theoretical and practical knowledge about the tools needed to carry out citizenship activities. Firstly, participants learned to form opinions, share their opinions with others, defend their opinions in front of others and to participate in discussions. This was, on the one hand, described as a skill and, on the other hand, as an attitude, illustrated in the following comments.

The way to have discussions and what things to consider during discussions (constitutional rights such as freedom of expression).

(Ole, Y10/Q)

You should definitely share your opinion.

(Simon, Y10/Q)

Ole's comment indicates that when learning about skills, participants rely on political knowledge such as the constitution. In addition to this theoretical component, findings indicate that participants benefit from practising participatory skills as suggested by Louisa (Y9/FG): "In *Gemeinschaftskunde* you sometimes discuss topics and I think that's an advantage if you know how this works, then you can communicate better...". Current events were often discussed in relation to forming opinions and participating in discussions.

Secondly, participants discussed learning skills related to party politics. These skills included voting in elections, joining political parties and attending court sessions. Similarly to opinions, participants discussed learning skills as well as attitudes, as evident in the following comment by Ines (Y10/Q).

It was explained to me how to vote which is very important to me personally because this is my chance to have a say in something big. I learned how an election works, what you have to pay attention to, that every opinion is important and that you are allowed to/should express it.

Findings also suggest that party politics skills were often discussed in relation to future citizen participation, as opposed to current engagement as citizens, as evident in the following comments.

I've learned how to vote but I'm not allowed to do that yet.
(Guido, Y8/Q)

We've also learned about the court and I think that it's practical if you have to go there at some point, that know what to do there.
(Lena, Y8/FG)

This perception of participants as future citizens was particularly frequent when participants talked about learning how to vote. This focus on skills that participants can only take up in the future could be seen as problematic as this might reinforce the idea of young people not being citizens yet. It should be acknowledged that not all skills, participants learned in relation to party politics were perceived for future citizenship exclusively, as this comment by Lars (Y10/FG) indicates: “I learned different ways to get involved in politics. I knew that you can attend a protest but I didn’t know before that you can join a political party as a child or teenager...”

Thirdly, participants suggested that learning about different ways to raise issues was helpful for their engagement in citizenship activities. The skills participants learned in relation to raising issues included starting petitions, creating and distributing posters and flyers in their local communities, and raising awareness online. In addition, participating teachers added learning about being critical consumers. Learning about raising issues was perceived as relevant for participants’ daily lives, as illustrated in Emil’s (Y9/FG) comment.

Last year we learned how you can get involved in the municipality and then how you can make the municipality aware of something like through leaflets or posters that you put up somewhere yourself. So I think you learn a lot in Gemeinschaftskunde, even things you need on a daily basis.

Finally, participating teachers raised an additional skill which was not discussed by students, namely learning how to access political information, as illustrated in the

following comment: “I think that's what you do in class, that you try to provide them with a few channels, so that they can get good information...”.

8.3.3 Pedagogy: How do participants learn about/ through citizenship activities in *Gemeinschaftskunde*?

Overall, pedagogical approaches used in *Gemeinschaftskunde* were discussed less by participants in relation to students' uptake of citizenship activities, than content. This might be because pedagogical approaches are underlying and less directly observable. Thematic findings suggest four factors related to *Gemeinschaftskunde* pedagogy that can positively impact uptake of citizenship activities. Additionally, I share findings regarding citizen ideals embedded in the pedagogical approaches of *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons.

8.3.3.1 Student agency

Experiencing student agency in *Gemeinschaftskunde* was related to students' uptake of citizenship activities. Participants particularly discussed agency in terms of being active and having a choice. This includes approaches such as having discussions, forming own opinions, making suggestions, and being included in different choices for their lessons. Participants' perception of agency is, for example, illustrated in the following focus group excerpt.

JS: Was there something that you learned in *Gemeinschaftskunde* where you then decided that you want to do that too?

Katja: Especially, for example, on Monday we had a lot of pictures and also suggestions about what to do. For example, collecting signatures, voting. Then we were allowed to pick out things that were most important to us and then we talked about it.

(Researcher-led focus group, Y8)

Katja's comment indicates agency as she described picking aspects that she was interested in. Her use of the phrase “we were allowed to”, however, also implies a power-imbalance in favour of her teacher indicating low agency. Low student agency was also evident in the data through the use of passive voice when participants described their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. Participants used phrases such as “we were taught”, “it was explained”, “it was shown to us” or “we were informed”. Approaches such as working with the textbook, doing worksheets, and completing exercises were mentioned by participants in terms of low agency, as indicated in the following comment.

...for us it was sometimes the case that when we did worksheets, nobody really wanted to, and then there were always lines [*Strafarbeiten*] given out.
(Jordan, Y9/FG)

8.3.3.2 Interest and accessibility

Experiencing *Gemeinschaftskunde* as interesting was also discussed by participants as a reason for increased uptake of citizenship activities while experiencing it as boring seemed to be related to lower uptake of citizenship activities. This is for example illustrated by the following participant comment.

Because [*Gemeinschaftskunde*] is not that informative, because it's not that interesting, I have the feeling that many people are less, even less interested in doing something political. If you really taught something interesting in class, I think a lot more people would get politically involved.

(Sofie, Y10/FG)

Participants discussed two aspects related to interest in *Gemeinschaftskunde*. Firstly, interest was related to topic selection and pedagogical approaches, as evident in the following focus group excerpt.

Student-researcher: Do you have more interest in politics through *Gemeinschaftskunde*?

Theo: No, not really. In *Gemeinschaftskunde* we talked very little about politics, but rather about things like peer pressure and youth groups and what young people are interested in. However, in my opinion, we should have done something about politics and maybe just discussed it and what people's opinions were. As it is now, everyone sits there and writes something about, I don't know, peer pressure and in the end, nobody is interested in politics anymore because you don't have to form your own opinion, because it never matters that you have to have your own opinion.

(Student-led focus group, Y10)

Secondly, accessibility might also be related to experiencing *Gemeinschaftskunde* as interesting or boring, illustrated in the following focus group excerpt.

JS: What I find interesting is that none of you are interested in the Syrian conflict and that's a big topic in your *Gemeinschaftskunde* textbook...

Manuel: ...I'm just not that interested in it because it's been going on like this forever.

Lilli: It doesn't really interest me either. It's a current topic, of course, but...you have to know so many things...I think it's a bit too complex for the *Gemeinschaftskunde* textbook. Some people who are very well versed in politics don't even understand it. I think they could have picked a better topic.

(Researcher-led focus group, Y9)

I do not propose that a topic such as the Syria conflict should appear interesting to students. Rather, I argue that topics that are too complex to be taught in the few available *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons, might cause students to feel overwhelmed and loose interest in the subject which can negatively impact their engagement in

citizenship activities. This was also acknowledged by participating teachers who indicated that many topics in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum were complex and difficult to access, as illustrated by the following teacher quote.

I think that institutional knowledge is also the most theoretical and inaccessible political topic we teach students. With the EU, for example, I don't even get it all to be honest. I have to read it 10 times to understand who has a say in it and how the results are achieved.

It should also be acknowledged that interest in *Gemeinschaftskunde* alone might not cause students to participate in citizenship activities but might rather be one of many factors encouraging young people to take up citizenship activities, as suggested by Manuel (Y9/FG): "I get most of my political stuff out of TV shows, or just online. In my opinion the subject *Gemeinschaftskunde* played a part, and it was also one of the reasons why I am so interested in politics now".

8.3.3.3 Practical learning experiences

Practical learning was connected to participants' engagement in citizenship activities. Participants mentioned a court simulation game and excursions to the local court and State Parliament of *Baden-Württemberg*, as examples of practical learning. While the simulation game and court excursions were mentioned by participating teachers and students, the excursion to the State Parliament was exclusively discussed by teachers which might indicate that participating students have not been part of an excursion to the State Parliament yet, did not consider this excursion as valuable for their participation or did not think of this at the time of data collection. Findings also indicate that the Covid pandemic prevented some practical learning experiences such as excursions to the local court. Furthermore, one teacher suggested that it was difficult to book an excursion to the State Parliament, which might prevent students from this learning experience, as illustrated in the following comment.

...I always think excursions are important. Unfortunately, I find it very difficult to get into the State Parliament [*Landtag*] with students. I have to register for it a year in advance, I think that's a no-go because I don't know in advance which classes I will have next year...I think there should be more opportunities. For example, they could assign their young politicians for this, they don't have to be MPs, they can just work at the State Parliament. That's always very, very impressive for the students and you bring politics closer to them with this...I think it would be really impressive if children or young people were in the State Parliament and talked to politicians. That would probably also break their inhibitions to approach politicians a bit.

8.3.3.4 Positive student-teacher interactions

Aspects of the personality of *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers might also influence participants' uptake of citizenship activities. Firstly, participants suggested that some

Gemeinschaftskunde teachers encouraged them to participate in citizenship activities, which seems to be positively related to participants' efficacy as discussed by Maria.

JS: Do you think there's a connection between *Gemeinschaftskunde* and how you get involved as a citizen?

Maria: I don't think so, at least for me. Of course, our teacher encouraged us to engage a little more in politics, so that our voices are heard. But, because we only really had *Gemeinschaftskunde* in Year 9, it does not really apply to me.

(Researcher-led focus group, Y10)

As illustrated in Maria's comment, while the teacher's encouragement might have affected her feeling of efficacy, the low contact time and late start to *Gemeinschaftskunde* reduced the impact of the teacher.

Secondly, participating teachers suggested that if they wanted to place greater focus on citizen participation in their lessons, this would mean other topics have to be shortened. This is exacerbated by the low contact time of *Gemeinschaftskunde*, and high volume of different topics included in the curriculum, as evident in the following teacher comments.

...if you want to increase citizen participation, I would say there should also be a clear change in the curriculum and focus. Because currently, it is one topic, one part only. Of course you can make more of it yourself, but then that comes at the expense of other things. So you might have to increase the weekly contact hours, but of course every subject wants that for itself...

...if I think about it, *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons only stay on one thing for a short time and then it's on again to the next thing...

Finally, the way teachers interact with the students in their class might have an impact on students' uptake of citizenship activities, as illustrated in the following comments.

In my opinion, there are no differences [before and after Corona] because it depends on the teacher. I preferred lessons with the teacher in Year 8...

(Zoe, Y10/Q)

...in my opinion, you have an influence. Of course, you must work on it so that the children take you seriously. If the children think [teacher name] is an arse, then you can tell them all sorts of things, then you have no influence. But when the children think that [teacher name]...means well with us, then they might think about what you are saying and then I think you have an influence. And if you allow for democratic rules and allow for an exchange of ideas, then maybe one of them will join a youth council one day...

(Teacher)

As suggested in the quotes, teachers' impact might occur in form of making a lesson more interesting which can increase political interest. Teachers' impact can also occur in form of increasing students' efficacy by involving them in decisions and making students realise they have agency. This teacher personality factor can be relevant beyond *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. As the quote also suggests however, teachers' impact is shaped by how they are perceived by students.

8.3.3.5 GK contact time

The amount and distribution of contact hours for *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons was discussed by participants in relation to uptake of citizenship activities. While this is a systematic factor, I included it into the pedagogical approaches section of this chapter because it affects the pedagogical approaches teachers are able to use. Schools have some flexibility regarding the assignment of lessons to each class. Schools are allowed to assign a total of five weekly *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons to Year 7 to 10 students. Schools can also decide whether they would like to offer a double lesson (90 minutes) of *Gemeinschaftskunde* for half a school year or a single lesson (45 minutes) for the whole school year. At the time of data collection Anderberg middle school offered 90 minutes for Year 7 and 45 minutes each for Year 8, 9 and 10.

As follows, three aspects that participants discussed in relation to *Gemeinschaftskunde* contact time and uptake of citizenship activities, are summarised. Firstly, due to the low weekly time allowance for *Gemeinschaftskunde*, learning does not happen at a deeper level which might negatively impact students' uptake of citizenship activities, illustrated by the following participant comments.

That's why it would be important that in Year 8, for example, you have longer, maybe two weekly hours *Gemeinschaftskunde* so that you can really discuss something. At the moment it's like when you start, it seems like the lesson is already almost over.

(Jordan, Y9/FG)

I think the contact hours are enough in terms of content, to get to know structures, to know that they exist. But I don't think it's enough to explore more deeply rooted connections, I think it's not enough to make connections with other subjects and to make deeper connections to what's happening in the municipality right now...

(Teacher)

Some teachers addressed low contact time by exploring issues beyond subject borders through projects or extracurricular activities, illustrated by the following teacher quote.

...I always think by using a cross-curricular approach, you can get a little deeper instead of staying so superficial. I always have the feeling that my lessons are too superficial, I don't really get to the point where you suddenly have their attention. And I'm sure that then about a third would be ready to get engaged...in an extracurricular club you can stick with it much longer, you can say let's do something.

Secondly, some participants criticised the distribution of *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons as a half yearly subject. Participants, such as Killian (Y9/FG), suggested that it is important to have *Gemeinschaftskunde* throughout the whole year to be able to discuss current issues as they come up, stating: "In my opinion, we should always have two double lessons [90 minutes] throughout the year. Because there is always something new happening in politics all year round". Furthermore, some participants suggested that *Gemeinschaftskunde* only truly started in Year 9 as they perceived Year 7 and 8 lessons to be unpolitical.

Honestly, maybe because I had really high hopes for it, but I'm very critical of *Gemeinschaftskunde* because I can hardly remember Year 7 and 8 *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. Maybe I can remember the topics we had but not what we learned about them. And I think having a focus on politics or expressing your own opinion, really only started in Year 9 for me. I don't know whether the reason was the material or whether it was simply our teacher. That's why I don't remember what we learned.

(Maria, Y10/FG)

In addition to content, material and teachers, participants also discussed students' developmental stages in relation to their experience of *Gemeinschaftskunde*. Constantin, for example, suggests that students might be able to participate in decisions better starting with Year 9.

...in my opinion *Gemeinschaftskunde* has definitely improved in Year 9. Because in the past, we didn't understand enough to be able to join the discussion. But now we are more mature, we understand more and we can get more involved in discussions about political issues.

Finally, due to the low contact time in *Gemeinschaftskunde*, important aspects of lessons such as having discussions and talking about current events, often could not take place. This is illustrated by the following comments.

In my opinion, [teacher name], for example, last year was relatively flexible when it came to group discussions. But if you had an hour more in the subject, you could do it more often and organise it better.

(Lars, Y9/FG)

...it's especially difficult if it's not your own form class. I rarely see them, once a week. Sometimes we talk about current events in addition to the standard topics. It's nice and then we also have discussions and share opinions, but we often don't really have time to get into what is actually happening here in the municipality...

(Teacher)

Having to prioritise certain topics over others in *Gemeinschaftskunde* because of time constraints was discussed by many participating teachers.

8.3.3.6 Citizen ideals

In this section, I share findings from applying Westheimer and Kahne’s (2004b) and Bennett’s (2003) citizen models to questionnaire participants’ perceptions of *Gemeinschaftskunde*. I measured participants’ perceptions of citizen ideals with questionnaire question 38: “Read the following 15 items. Rank them in their order of relevance to your *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. You can select up to five items, starting with 1 (the most relevant item)” (see Appendix L). Each of Westheimer and Kahne’s and Bennett’s citizen was represented with three items. Figure 8.6 shows a thematic map of the weighted percentage each citizen type was represented in the data (refer to Methodology section 5.9.2.2 for more information on how I calculated the presented percentages). I used the same shades of grey to indicate dutiful citizen ideals (dutiful, personally-responsible) and actualising citizen ideals (actualising, justice-oriented).

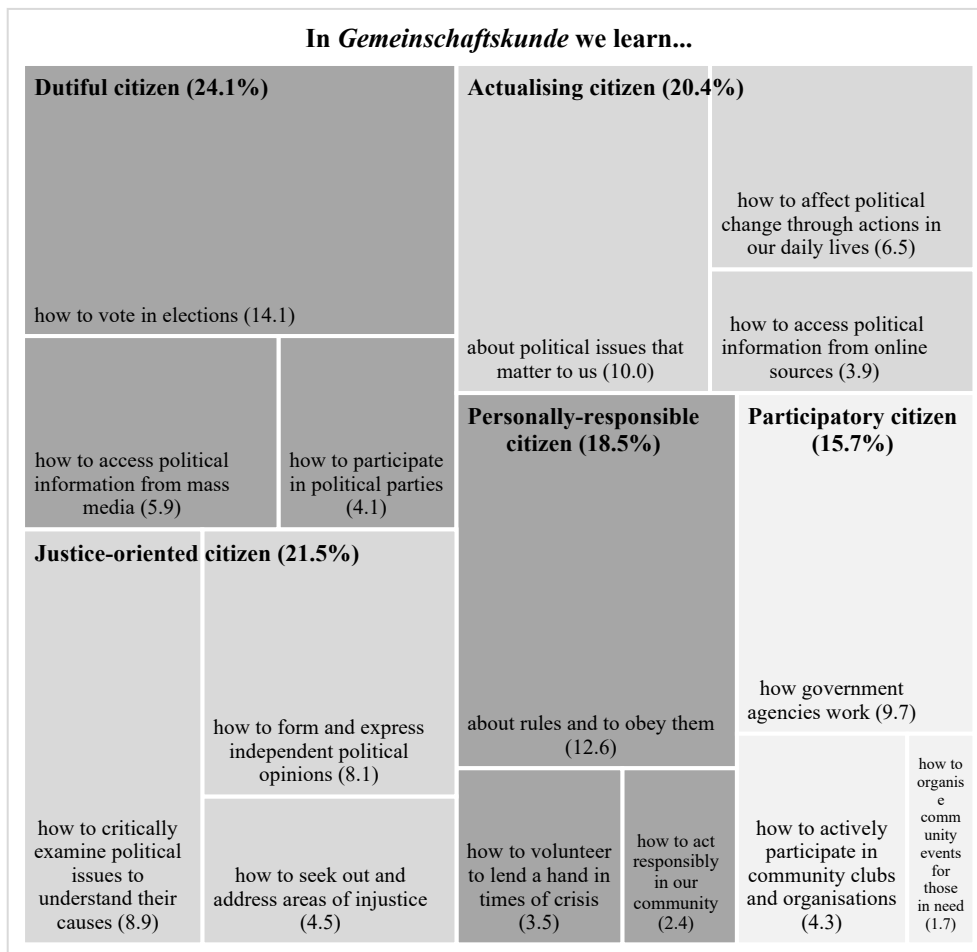


Figure 8.6: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons in relation to two citizen models

As follows, I summarise three aspects of the results regarding the tested citizen models. Firstly, there was evidence of all citizen types in the data. While there was variance between the statements within types, all types were represented roughly equally, with the highest representation of the dutiful citizen (24.1%) and the lowest representation of the participatory citizen (15.7%). It should be noted that the relevance of participating in elections might have been impacted by the German general elections which took part in September 2021, a few months after conducting the questionnaire. This could have raised participants' interest in elections and caused teachers to teach about elections more than they typically would. A second item that might have been influenced by current events is 'learn about rules and to obey them'. The pandemic might have raised the importance of this item for participants since rules such as social distancing and masking were important during this time. It should be acknowledged, that in reality there might be overlap between citizen types. I, however, decided to represent each type with three statements to make quantitative data analysis possible.

Secondly, there were some differences between participants in their support for different citizen types in relation to the school year they attended, as displayed in Figure 8.7. The displayed data refers to the percentage of valued votes which each of Westheimer and Kahne's and Bennett's citizen types, received from questionnaire participants in Year 8, 9 and 10.

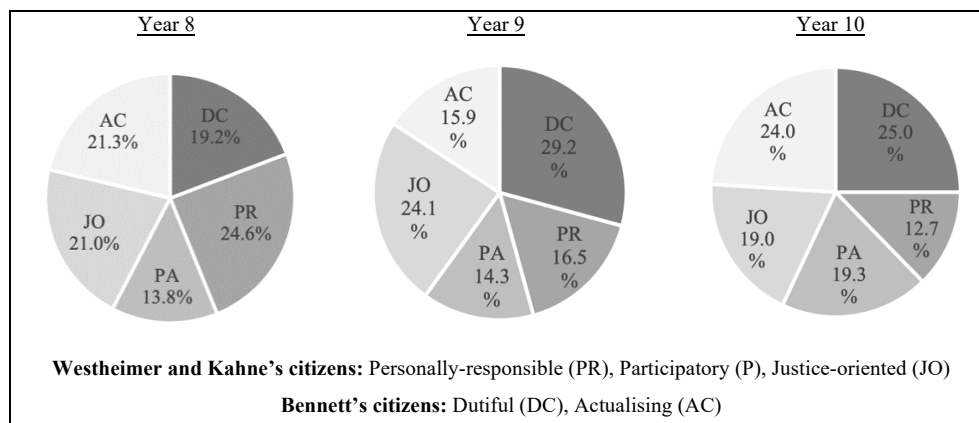


Figure 8.7: Questionnaire participants' support for the five citizen types according to school year

As evident in Figure 8.7 there are no considerable differences between Year 8, 9 and 10 students' perceptions of their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons in relation to the tested citizen models. One pattern, that can be observed is a decrease of perceiving *Gemeinschaftskunde* learning as personally-responsible from Year 8 (24.6%) towards Year 10 (12.7%). Differences between participants from different school

years might be due to experiences from their most recent *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons as well as all learning experiences participants had in *Gemeinschaftskunde* so far.

8.3.4 *Beyond Gemeinschaftskunde: Where else do participants learn about/through citizenship activities at school?*

I identified three additional school-based factors impacting participants' uptake of citizenship activities including democratic classroom climate, other subjects, work placements and social work placements, summarised as follows.

8.3.4.1 Democratic classroom climate

Democratic classroom climate can positively impact students' uptake of citizenship activities. Since democratic classroom climate was predominantly discussed beyond the subject *Gemeinschaftskunde*, particularly in form classes, it is summarised in this section rather than the previous one. The significance of the form class to develop democratic classroom climate might be due to the high contact time between form class teachers and their form class. This can increase trust between students and teachers which might encourage students to raise issues or take on leadership roles in the class. Due to their many contact hours, form class teachers might also be able to move lessons around to assign time to have in-depth discussions. As follows, three aspects regarding democratic classroom climate, discussed by participants are summarised. Firstly, participants were included in decision making in their form classes and other subjects at school which was described as an important aspect of creating democratic classroom climate, illustrated in the following quotes.

When we go on class trips we, for example,...write three options on the board...then we choose where we want to go, where the majority of the class wants to go, and then we go there.

(Hanna, Y8/FG)

With all due respect, there are certain colleagues who have a rather 'dictatorial management style'. They say: 'We will do what I say'. They contradict themselves when they teach the concept of democracy to students. I have to also allow for participation...For me it's completely natural that I always have discussions with students...And as a result, something might have to change. If they tell me: 'Hey we have a problem' or we might vote on something like when to do class tests, then I'll say 'Ok no problem, when is good for you?'...In my opinion, it's the little things where students notice: 'Oh I'm being taken seriously' and that's actually the core of democracy...

(Teacher)

As indicated in the previous quote, participating in classroom decisions can be a valuable encounter with living in a democratic community. Furthermore, findings

suggest that this democratic community can be initiated by both teachers and students, and in relation to a wide range of decisions, as described in the following quotes.

...for example, you notice that with our graduation sweater, that we try to take everyone's opinion into account, so that everyone feels comfortable in the sweater in the end.

(Magda, Y10/FG)

It differs between teachers but I think the way life in a class is, it's like a community. They have a lot more freedom to make choices, which groups they choose, where to share their opinion and who to hang out with.

(Teacher)

Secondly, having discussions was perceived as an integral part of democratic classroom culture. Discussions fulfilled different purposes in the classroom. They were, for example, used to explore political or social issues together and also initiated by students, as illustrated in the following teacher comment.

...[students] always want to know how I see it. For example, with vaccinations, that's a political topic all over the news, about vaccination opponents for example. And they want to know my position in this regard...

Political conversations were not only part of *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons but also occurred during form classes, as described in the previous comment, and during informal conversations in other subjects as, described in the following excerpt.

JS: Are there other subjects in which you learn about citizen participation?

...

Jona: Sometimes in technology, if we manage to distract [teacher name] enough so we end up talking with him about something completely different...

(Researcher-led focus group)

Discussions were also sometimes used by teachers to help students to develop democratic skills, as described in the following teacher comment in relation to being a form class teacher.

...if someone expresses an opinion, that you hear both sides or that you always hear all sides. It's very important that you don't straight away get frustrated by one side but allow that both sides are listened to, the plaintiff and the accuser. Or that when you make a statement, that you should always have arguments. They can bring them in the next lesson. That you listen carefully, that you pay attention so that you don't just say empty phrases like that. As a teacher, I think you have a really important job in this. And also as a role model, so they know, [teacher name] always wants to hear both sides.

Finally, not all classrooms were characterised by a democratic classroom climate. This might be related to teachers' attitudes to pedagogy, as previously suggested by a teacher stating that some teachers used a "dictatory" leadership style in the classroom. It might, however, also be related to the time teachers are able to spend with their class and other curricular and school demands on this time. Having different subjects in the same class, for example, helped to be more flexible with time, which could be used for having discussions or negotiating responsibilities in the classroom. Moreover, some teachers suggested that those teachers who are trained in *Gemeinschaftskunde* have a stronger focus on creating a democratic classroom climate, illustrated in the following teacher comment.

It also depends on the teacher or the subject. The maths teacher just teaches his formulas. How should you participate with your own opinion in this lesson?

Furthermore, teachers who teach their form class in *Gemeinschaftskunde* might be able to relate some of the first-hand participatory experiences that students make in the form class to political learning, illustrated in the following teacher quote.

...when I'm a form class teacher, I use some topics from the form class. For example, when we elect a class representative, we can first look at how an election works. What are elections for? Why do you share something about yourself before an election? Why don't you just vote blindly? But that's maybe because I'm a *Gemeinschaftskunde* teacher, if a maths teacher is a form class teacher, I don't know if it's like that...

It should be acknowledged, that democratic classroom climate may also be created in other subjects, as indicated by the following quotes.

I think we have an influence as a teacher or as a school...at least to the extent that if someone has objections, that you let them have their say and that you take them seriously. Like in art, you can you tell them: 'You can express yourself here and what you do is worth something'...

8.3.4.2 Other subjects

Participants discussed five other subjects, besides *Gemeinschaftskunde*, in relation to learning about taking up citizenship activities. Firstly, history was discussed in relation to learning from past experiences and concepts such as power, democracy and rights, as mentioned by Ruben (Y10/FG), who suggested that history can benefit students by "learning about past mistakes", likely referring to Nazi Germany. Learning about the concept of democracy was, for example, described in the following teacher comment.

...as a history teacher you are inevitably always dealing with democracy, and I'll probably even say more extensively than any *Gemeinschaftskunde* teacher because you also look at the roots of democracy. In

Gemeinschaftskunde you look at a finished product and you maybe don't critically question that...

Secondly, the subjects AES and ethics are also perceived as valuable for students' uptake of citizenship activities due to their focus on consumer education, community engagement and service. Furthermore, AES offers an avenue to be engaged in a service project, as described by a teacher who recounts sewing toys for children in a cancer ward with her AES students.

'Learning through social engagement' means that the students get involved in public life with projects...they do something, like sewing projects and then send them to people to bring them joy...It's steered by us, of course. We ask them: 'What could we sew for the old people? What could we sew for children with cancer?' But they don't really have the knowledge of what to do and how, so that's pretty much steered. But they really enjoy doing it, they have fun doing it. I went to Stuttgart with two students, we handed the toys they sewed over and afterwards they reported with real pride how happy the children were and how nice it was. I think they gain a lot from that.

While this teacher indicates that the project focuses on service and is controlled to a large extent by teachers, students nevertheless have an opportunity to be involved in a service project which could encourage future participation in service. Furthermore, this project might offer an opportunity for further discussion in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons to reflect on political aspects of the projects in addition to moral and social learning outcomes.

Finally, the subjects WBS, Geography and AES were often suggested by participants as spaces for exploring issues that are related to politics. Issues participants explored in these subjects included gender roles, climate change, sustainability and being consumers. One participant even suggested: "I think we talked more about politics in AES than we did the whole last year in *Gemeinschaftskunde*" (Sofie, Y10/FG). Most topics explored in these subjects, were part of the issues participants indicated to be most interested in.

8.3.4.3 School-initiated work placement and social work placement

Anderberg middle school's compulsory work placement and social work placement in Year 8, 9 and 10 were also discussed in relation to students' uptake of citizenship activities. While both types of work placements have the potential for political learning such as about workers' rights or staff shortages in the health sector, findings suggest that students' experiences were not reflected politically. This might be related to the fact that the social work placement is situated within the religious education and ethics subjects and the work placement is situated within WBS. Thus,

neither of the work placements is explicitly reflected on in *Gemeinschaftskunde* and instead reflected from a moral, economic or career angle rather than political, as indicated in the following teacher quote.

...in terms of the social work placement, I believe that students at least realised that it makes sense to do something. With the other work placement, however, it depends on the industry they are in. So someone who was at *Daimler* [car company], will not come back and want to get involved socially...But what I noticed is that if you talk to Year 10 students in ethics after they completed the social work placement, they're very good at theoretically arguing why you should get involved with certain groups...And I also experienced in the past that students who used to be at our school, got engaged in running errands for old people's homes, for example when Corona started...We don't only discuss the political causes with them, it's about the ethical reasons why is it important in society that the elderly are cared for, that children are taken care of and why the weak are supported in society? It's more about these things, not about the political background...

This raises the question why the work placement was removed from *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons and what could be done in the system as it is now to still reflect these experiences politically.

8.3.5 How did the Covid pandemic impact on participants' learning about/through citizenship?

The impact of the Covid pandemic on participants' experience of their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons was mainly measured in the qualitative questionnaire through the question: "Was there a difference between your *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons before and after Covid?". I also asked follow-up questions about participants' experiences of citizenship education during the Covid pandemic in focus groups and teacher interviews. As follows, results are summarised, followed by a reflection of what these results mean in relation to the applicability of the collected data beyond a pandemic context.

Overall, there were slightly more questionnaire participants (40 participants) suggesting there was a difference between their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons before and after the pandemic than participants who said there was no difference (31 participants). In addition, 35 questionnaire participants did not answer this question. Further analysis of this data suggests differences in perceptions between participants from different years and form classes. While a total of 70% of questionnaire participants from year 10 suggested there were differences between their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons before and after Covid, this was only supported by 41.7% of participants from Year 8 and 25.9% of participants from Year 9.

Experiences of *Gemeinschaftskunde* before and after the pandemic might also be related to form classes, as evident in Figure 8.8 which displays the percentage of questionnaire participants from Year 8, 9 and 10 who suggested there was a difference and was no difference between their citizenship education lessons before and during the pandemic

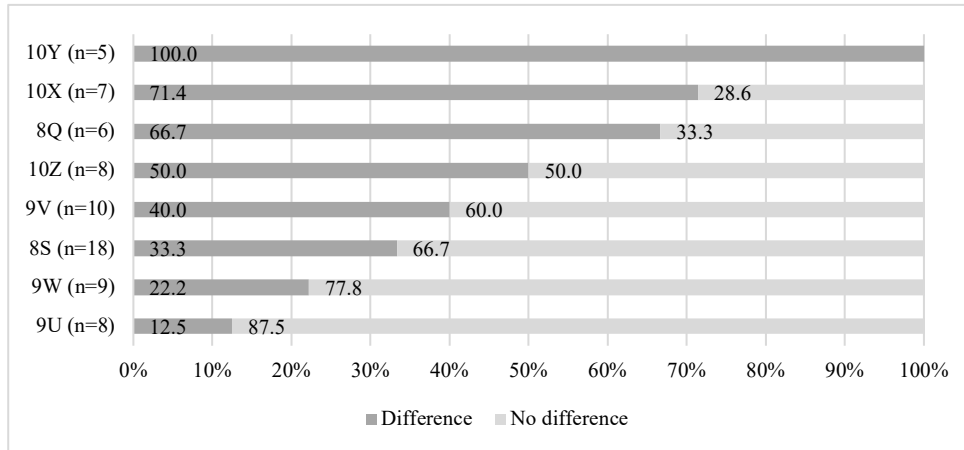


Figure 8.8: Questionnaire participants' perceptions of pandemic impact on GK lessons

As evident in Figure 8.8, there were marked differences between participants' perceptions in terms of the form classes they attended. Data suggests a high level of agreement in some form classes such as 10Y and 9U and more diverse perceptions in other form classes such as 10Z.

As follows, I summarise thematic results regarding the changes participants experienced in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons throughout the pandemic, which add more insights to the previously presented quantitative data. Firstly, findings suggest that the different setting for learning in *Gemeinschaftskunde* (mostly virtual classes on Zoom), made it more difficult for students to learn. Participants suggested that there was a lower lesson time overall, less time for each topic and less opportunities to ask questions, which made it more difficult to understand topics. Data also indicates that factors beyond *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons, might have impacted learning during the pandemic, such as participants' motivation. Secondly, the pandemic might have favoured pedagogical approaches associated with low student agency including completing exercises from the textbook. Pedagogical approaches related to high student agency, conversely, were chosen to a lesser extent, which might have been due to the online setting. Examples of low student agency during the pandemic included fewer discussions and fewer practical learning experiences. It should be acknowledged, that this does not apply to all participants,

such as Simon (Y10/Q), who suggested that teaching himself helped him to understand topics better. Finally, findings indicate that Covid and its political, social and economic impact has become a topical focus in students' *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons during the pandemic. While some participants perceived this development positively suggesting it raised their interest in politics, making politics more relevant to their everyday lives, others indicated that there was too much focus on the pandemic in their lessons. Overall, I argue that even though the pandemic affected participants' experiences of *Gemeinschaftskunde*, this data is applicable beyond a pandemic context as participants were encouraged to also share pre-pandemic experiences. It should be acknowledged, however, that students' experience of low agency in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons appears to have been overrepresented in the collected data.

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, I explored the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship activities through multiple perspectives including curriculum documents, participating students and participating teachers. In terms of the curriculum, *Gemeinschaftskunde* promotes participation directly through encouraging participants to take up citizenship activities, and by teaching political knowledge, current issues, and participatory skills. The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum also promotes students' uptake of citizenship activities indirectly, through pedagogical approaches that aim at increasing students' agency and offering practical learning experiences. Findings suggest, however, that not all citizenship activities are promoted to the same extent. There is a focus on formal engagement in school decisions and party politics, neglecting the wide range of informal citizenship activities that participants in this study were interested in, such as volunteering and activism. In terms of Year 8-10 students' and teachers' perceptions, *Gemeinschaftskunde* has the potential to positively affect young people's uptake of citizenship activities, particularly if lessons include gaining political knowledge, learning participatory skills and learning about current political issues. Furthermore, there is a positive effect on uptake of using pedagogical approaches that allow student agency, raise interest, enable practical and active learning, and a democratic classroom climate. While the pandemic was experienced by participants differently, it appears to overall overrepresent participants' experience of low agency in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. I will revisit some of these findings in the next chapter in which findings of this thesis are discussed in relation to existing literature.

9 Discussion

9.1 Introduction

The research presented in this thesis, has produced key findings which extend our understanding of young people's engagement in citizenship activities at school, beyond school and in emerging citizenship dimensions. The results also add new insights into the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship activities. In this chapter, I firstly, revisit the research gap, outlined in the literature review (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3). Secondly, I re-visit the research questions (Chapter 4) I set out to address in this thesis. Finally, I pick up key results from across all findings chapters (Chapters 5-7) and discuss them in relation to the literature.

This research set out to add new insights into four related aspects of existing literature on young people's citizenship activities and citizenship education, outlined as follows. Firstly, there is an on-going debate about how to conceptualise citizenship activities (Fox, 2014; Hooghe et al., 2014; Norris, 2002; O'Toole, 2010; Pickard, 2019; Theocharis & Van Deth, 2018; van Deth, 2001, 2014; Verba & Nie, 1972). This research adds to this debate by widening the conceptualisation of citizenship activities focusing on young people below the voting age who are a unique group in terms of being restricted from accessing some activities such as electoral participation, and with unique access to spaces such as schools and community youth clubs. My research further adds to the conceptualisation of citizenship activities by providing a definition that is empirically applicable with mixed methods data. The definition of citizenship activities, proposed in this thesis, states that citizenship activities aim at influencing governmental personnel or their actions, target community problems, have a political motive, provide a service to the community, or are related to community decision-making (Theocharis & Van Deth, 2018; Verba & Nie, 1972). The term community includes school, the local community, community clubs and online communities. Secondly, there is an on-going debate about democratic change and a resulting diversification of citizenship activities (Bang, 2005; Bennett, 2003; Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Ekman & Amnå, 2012; Flinders & Wood, 2018; Kersting, 2016; Norris, 2004; Pickard, 2022). While there are studies on individual aspects of emerging citizenship activities such as protests, online engagement, or unofficial citizenship dimensions, I contribute to this literature by developing a framework to look at emerging citizenship activities in a

holistic way and in relation to young people below the voting age. Furthermore, existing frameworks on emerging citizenship dimensions tend to classify citizens into types (Amnå & Ekman, 2014; Bang, 2005; Bennett, 2003) while I argue that due to the heterogeneity of young people, it is useful to have a framework that characterises the citizenship activities taken up by young people instead. Furthermore, the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions allows flexibility by allowing each citizenship activity to be characterised by multiple overlapping traditional and emerging citizenship dimensions. Thirdly, this research adds new insights into the citizenship activities of an under-researched group of young people in rural areas (Kleiner & Klärner, 2019). Finally, there is an on-going debate about the value of citizenship education on young people's uptake of citizenship activities (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017; Achour & Wagner, 2019; Davies et al., 2019; Keating & Janmaat, 2016). This research adds new insights into this debate by exploring the newly developed citizenship education subject *Gemeinschaftskunde* in terms of its value for students' uptake of citizenship activities at school, beyond school and in emerging citizenship dimensions.

Based on the previously outlined gaps in the literature, three research questions were developed, namely 1: Which citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students engaged in at school and in their communities?, 2: Which citizenship dimensions do Year 8-10 students participate in? and 3: What is the value of *Gemeinschaftskunde* regarding Year 8-10 students' uptake of citizenship activities? As follows, I discuss five key results of this research in relation to the literature. These results address the previously outlined gaps and research questions 1 to 3. The five key results are displayed as follows.

Participants take part in foundational activities which can lead to taking up citizenship activities (9.2)

Not all emerging citizenship contexts proposed in this thesis had high uptake by participants (9.3)

Participants report low uptake of official citizenship contexts which are characterised by low student agency (9.4)

Participants report low uptake of and barriers to join justice-oriented citizenship contexts (9.5)

The value of *Gemeinschaftskunde* for participants' uptake of citizenship activities: Strengths, weaknesses and missed opportunities (9.6)

9.2 Participants take part in foundational activities which can lead to taking up citizenship activities

Findings suggest the existence of a concept that captures participants' activities that do not meet my definition of citizenship activities but can lead to their future uptake. I refer to this concept as foundational activities as they were often described by participants as a foundation for further engagement in citizenship activities. Foundational activities identified in my data include membership in community and school clubs as well as developing democratic skills and being involved at school and in the community (see Figure 6.30). The concept of foundational activities is based on Rowe and Marsh's (2018) protopolitical sphere which I added new insights to through my research in the following ways. Firstly, I added further nuance to the concept, particularly in relation to young people and a rural context. Results of my research, for example, suggest that foundational activities often take place in community clubs, as part of community and school volunteering, in extracurricular activities at school, in the form class, and in family and peer groups. These findings extend the examples of the protopolitical spheres, made by Rowe and Marsh (2018), which mainly focus on online adult participation in the proto-political sphere (Rowe, 2015). Secondly, this research provides new insights into the factors that can turn young people's engagement in foundational activities into citizen participation. My results suggest that one such factor is encouragement to take up leadership or service roles from people within foundational spaces such as club coaches, teachers or family members. Encouragement can also come from a pre-existing programme such as community youth leadership training. A second factor, discussed by my participants, is a sense of belonging which encouraged participants to take up leadership roles within foundational spaces such as clubs. Finally, the concept of foundational activities can be useful in developing a definition for citizenship activities as it helps to outline what is part of the concept of citizenship activities and what might be excluded. As such it provides more nuances to the activities that are excluded from the concept of citizenship activities and shows that they are not all non-citizenship but can also be termed foundational as they lead into citizenship activities. The concept of foundational activities is also related to Ekman and Amnå's (2012) 'latent political participation' which are activities that can lead to future political participation but are not political in their current form including political interest, lifestyle politics and voluntary work. While latent political participation is related to the concept of foundational activities proposed in this thesis, the authors include a range of activities in the latent category that are citizenship activities

according to my definition of citizenship activities such as selective consumerism and volunteering in the local community.

9.3 Not all emerging citizenship dimensions proposed in this thesis had high uptake by participants

A new framework for exploring traditional and emerging citizenship dimensions was developed as part of this research. Before I share results of using this framework with qualitative data, I briefly summarise the framework. The framework consists of seven emerging and seven traditional citizenship dimensions which are to be seen on either end of a continuum from traditional to emerging dimensions, displayed using double arrows in Figure 9.1.

Traditional citizenship dimensions		Emerging citizenship dimensions
official	←→	unofficial
offline	←→	online
national	←→	<i>glocal</i>
collective	←→	individual
system-based	←→	issues-based
participatory, personally responsible	←→	justice-oriented
regular	←→	sporadic

Figure 9.1: Proposed framework for emerging and traditional citizenship dimensions

Given there is enough information, each citizenship activity can be characterised by each of the seven continua. The dimensions were selected based on reviewing current theories and empirical research on young people’s emerging citizenship activities, as outlined in the literature review (see Literature review section 2.5). Based on analysing empirical data, I operationalised each dimension to draw a line between emerging and traditional dimensions, so decisions could be made which dimensions characterised a citizenship activity (see Literature review section 2.6). It should be acknowledged, that the proposed framework is a model aiming to gain in-depth understanding of a range of emerging citizenship trends rather than represents the lived realities of all citizens alike. Furthermore, some dimensions labelled as ‘emerging’ in the framework may have existed for a long time such as justice-oriented activities, and some traditional dimensions may characterise recent citizenship activities such as the Fridays for Future protests being collective. Thus, when applying the framework with empirical data, the goal was not to judge whether

a citizenship activity is mainly emerging or traditional but rather to identify and further examine emerging citizenship dimensions.

Results from applying the proposed framework suggest that not all emerging citizenship dimensions were meaningful to my participants to the same extent. The dimensions glocal, unofficial, sporadic, and issues-based, on the one hand were frequently discussed by my participants and characterised more than half of all citizenship activities identified in my data. The dimensions individual, justice-oriented and online, on the other hand, seemed to be less meaningful to my participants and characterised less than half of all citizenship activities identified in my data. These findings regarding emerging citizenship dimensions add new insights into the literature, particularly in terms of the special focus of my study which are Year 8-10 students in a rural community in Germany. As follows, each of the emerging dimensions is discussed in relation to the literature (Chapter 2) and my findings (Chapter 7).

The glocal citizenship dimension

Glocal was defined in this thesis as all citizenship activities that address local or global issues and/or are carried out at a local or global level. Glocal also includes a mixture of global and local citizenship activities such as addressing environmental issues with local community clean-up projects at school. The term glocal in this thesis, thus, extends the way glocal is used in the literature which exclusively describes the combination of local and global citizenship (see for example Terren & Soler-i-Martí, 2021). I argue that this extended concept of glocal represented the heterogenous experiences of my participants better than a focus on the combination of local and global. Findings suggest that glocal citizenship activities constitute a meaningful emerging citizenship dimension to my participants. This is, for example, evident in the high percentage of citizenship activities that were characterised by being glocal, discussed by participants in the qualitative questionnaire (99.6%) and focus groups (83.9%), as opposed to the national dimension. My findings confirm the concept of the cosmopolitan citizen (Norris, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2005) who is interested in issues affecting more than one nation at a time and engages in a range of global contexts to address these issues. Participants in my research, for example, expressed interest in a wide range of global issues and debates, including the BlackLivesMatter movement, LGBTQ rights, the environment including climate change and the Covid pandemic, and addressed them with a range of global citizenship activities such as raising awareness in social media. My findings,

however, also indicate that cosmopolitanism does not fully describe participants' heterogeneous experiences of citizenship which were also strongly influenced by their local communities. The importance of local citizenship to my participants confirms research such as Harris and Wynn (2009) who suggest that their participants: "...demonstrated a deep embeddedness in their local worlds..." (p.332). A key aspect of my participants' engagement with local issues focussed on citizenship activities at school. Participants in my research were also interested and engaged in a combination of local and global issues such as the yearly Pink Day which is a school event that raises awareness for LGBTQ rights.

The unofficial citizenship dimension

The unofficial dimension includes all citizenship activities that are not directly supported, driven, or invited by the state. While teachers are employed by the state, I only characterised teacher-led activities as state-driven when they were based on an official law or regulation such as the carrying out a vote for class representatives. Findings indicate that the unofficial dimension was an important part of my participants' citizenship activities. This is evident in the high percentage of unofficial dimensions characterising citizenship activities my participants discussed in the qualitative questionnaire (67.2%) and focus groups (74.5%), as opposed to the official dimension. This result is consistent with existing literature arguing that young people are disengaged from official political processes including party politics and instead engage in unofficial citizenship activities (Bang, 2005; Bennett, 2008; Kersting, 2016; Norris, 2004; Malafaia et al., 2021; Pickard, 2019). Participants' disengagement from official political processes supports the concepts of post-politics and anti-politics suggesting that (young) citizens are disenchanted with political parties and official political processes and instead engage in unofficial and lifestyle citizenship contexts (Flinders et al., 2020). My data also supports the presence of Pickard's (2019) do-it-ourselves (DIO) activities which she defines as "entrepreneurial political participation that operates outside traditional political institutions through political initiatives and lifestyle choices in relation to ethical, moral, social and environmental themes with young citizens being at the forefront of such actions" (2019, p.390). Examples of these DIO activities in my data include the removal of anti-covid propaganda posters in the local community and raising funds for disadvantaged families as part of a school Secret Santa project. As the latter example illustrates, many DIO activities in my study were related to school participation. As opposed to Pickard's (2019) suggestion of young people being the forefront of DIO activities, my participants were rather involved as participants than

initiators which is further examined in Discussion sections 9.4 and 9.5. Additionally, Bang's (2005) everyday makers were evident in my data. Bang characterises everyday makers as doing it themselves, where they are, for fun but also because it is necessary, part time, and with the system if need be. While Bang suggests that everyday makers might work with the system if need be, they are generally sceptical of political processes and political parties and thus prefer to operate in the unofficial space. I was able to identify citizenship activities in my data that were characterised by this concept of everyday making, as illustrated in Sophie's (Y10/FG) comment.

I've been picking up rubbish a few times. I got rubbish bags from somewhere. So I went to the town hall and they gave me rubbish bags there, I went there on my own and then walked around in Schleisee and picked up rubbish.

In contrast to Bang (2005) who argues that there are everyday makers, I argue that many participants in this research could not be classified into a type of citizen but rather engaged in both official and unofficial citizenship dimensions. A total of 65.4% of focus group participants and 30.2% of questionnaire participants reported engagement in both official and unofficial citizenship dimensions. Furthermore, in line with Bennett (2003), I argue that exclusive participation in the unofficial dimension might not be in the best interest of citizens as official citizenship activities, such as being in the formal student assembly or having a seat in the local youth council, currently still exercise high influence on political decision making in many democratic systems (Sloam, 2014). As such some young people could be marginalised from political processes, by exclusively engaging in the unofficial dimension which currently exercises low influence on political decisions. This applies to 41.5% of questionnaire and 30.8% of focus group participants who were exclusively engaged in the unofficial citizenship dimension as opposed to exclusive official and a mix of official and unofficial citizenship activities. The disengagement from official political processes is further examined in Discussion section 9.4.

The sporadic citizenship dimension

I defined sporadic as citizenship activities that happen at irregular intervals which includes once, once a year and sometimes. Sporadic engagement characterises my participants' citizenship activities. This is evident in the high percentage of citizenship activities identified in the qualitative questionnaire (56.3%) and focus groups (69.3%) characterised by being sporadic, as opposed to regular. The significance of the sporadic dimension for my participants supports citizen typologies put forward by the literature, characterised by sporadic engagement

including Amnå and Ekman's (2014) standby citizens, Bang's (2005) everyday makers and Bennett's (2003) actualising citizens. While the aforementioned typologies suggest that sporadic engagement is a characteristic of a type of citizen, my findings suggest that participants engaged in both regular and sporadic citizenship activities. In my study, for example, only 15.4% of focus group and 25.5% of questionnaire participants were engaged exclusively in sporadic citizenship activities as opposed to exclusively regular or a mix of sporadic and regular. Whether an activity is taken up sporadically or regularly, is more related to the space in which it takes place than the participants themselves. Participants' sporadic participation predominantly took place online, as part of events, in school and community volunteering, and citizenship activities within the family or peer group. Sporadic participation was also often discussed in relation to issues, suggesting that participation stopped once an issue was addressed or was perceived to have been addressed. Regular engagement, instead, was related to taking up service roles and formal decision-making processes at school.

The issues-based dimension

I defined the issues-based dimension as citizenship activities that focus on issues or events as opposed to membership in organisations. The issues-based dimension was an important feature of participants' citizenship activities. Overall, 52.2% of the activities discussed in the qualitative questionnaire and 62% of the activities discussed in focus groups were characterised by being issue-based. This result supports Norris' (2004) argument that cause-based political engagement is a significant aspect of young people's political participation. My results also suggest that participants constitute a heterogeneous group interested in a wide range of issues such as global concerns including racism and climate change, local concerns including youth community facilities, and school concerns including experiencing issues with a teacher. Interestingly, even though participants expressed interest in a wide range of issues, most participants suggested they were hardly or not at all interested in politics³⁴ (71.4%). One reason for this might be a narrow conception of what is included in the concept of politics by my participants (O'Toole, 2010; Sveningsson, 2016).

³⁴ The question used to assess political interest was: "How interested would you say you are in politics? With politics I mean a wide range of issues and activities including, for example, party politics, decision making in the community or fighting against injustice. (Choices: very interested, quite interested, hardly interested, not at all interested)"

The justice-oriented citizenship dimension

I defined justice-oriented citizenship activities as initiating or taking part in demanding systematic change, individually or as part of a collective. Justice-oriented citizenship activities appeared less meaningful to participants than personally-responsible/ participatory citizenship activities. This was evident in my data, suggesting that only 21.9% of the citizenship activities discussed in focus groups and 7% of the citizenship activities mentioned in the qualitative questionnaire, were labelled justice-oriented. Furthermore, all focus group participants and almost all questionnaire participants reported either exclusively personally-responsible/ participatory citizenship activities or a mix of personally responsible/ participatory and justice-oriented citizenship activities, as opposed to exclusive engagement in justice-oriented activities. While more than half of all questionnaire participants (67.9%) have not participated in any justice-oriented citizenship activity, this was only true for 34.6% of focus group participants. One reason for this could be that participants who decided to participate in focus groups were more interested in creating change. This could be one of the reasons they decided to sign up for the focus groups which were advertised to students as an opportunity to make their voices heard.

An overall low uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities is in line with literature looking at a wide range of contexts of young people's citizen engagement (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b; Wood et al., 2018). There is, however, also a growing body of research reporting a high uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities among young people. These studies often focus on specific samples of young people such as urban populations (Lam-Knott, 2020; Percy-Smith et al., 2019) or specific issues such as environmental protests (Pickard, 2019). I argue that five connected factors, related to my sample, may have further reduced the number of justice-oriented citizenship activities done by my participants, namely location, socio-economic background, values-gap, conceptual clarity and justice-oriented opportunities, discussed as follows. Firstly, the participants in this study live in rural villages, which can impact access to justice-oriented causes. Most protests, which are an example for justice-oriented citizenship activities, take place in urban areas and might be difficult to access for young people living in rural areas who can often only get to urban areas by car and/or with permission of their parents (Gensicke, 2014). In addition, some justice-oriented citizenship activities were regarded inappropriate in participants' rural areas because they were uncommon there such as political graffiti. Instead, as suggested by my findings as well as the literature,

personally-responsible/ participatory citizenship activities are encouraged in rural communities. Particularly engagement in community service such as volunteering for the local fire brigade is key for the functioning of rural communities (Gensicke, 2014; Simonson et al., 2022). Secondly, my sample is unique in terms of participants' high perceived socioeconomic backgrounds with most participants (80.8%) indicating they had average to high or high socio-economic backgrounds. While some research argues that young people with higher socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to participate in justice-oriented citizenship activities (Henn et al., 2021; Inglehart, 1971), my findings suggest that participants' satisfaction with their resources at home and at their school did not create the need to affect change with justice-oriented citizenship activities (Gaventa & Martorano, 2016; Hurrelmann et al., 2013). A third unique characteristic of my sample which might have influenced uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities is participants' overall perception of a low value gap between them and people around them. More participants at school (37.5%) and beyond school (51.5%) suggested that the people they interacted with had similar values to them as opposed to different values which was only suggested by 9.6% of participants regarding school and 5.7% of participants regarding beyond school. I argue that the low value difference participants experienced with the people with whom they interact may have also impacted the low uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities because it does not create the need to affect change based on value conflicts. Fourthly, conceptual clarity around the concept of justice-oriented citizenship activities may have impacted the number of reported justice-oriented citizenship activities. I alleviated this impact by using accessible language when talking about justice-oriented citizenship activities by asking whether participants had attempted to change a situation they were unhappy with at or beyond school. Furthermore, I provided a poll with justice-oriented citizenship activities in the questionnaire and focus groups, to trigger participants' memories of their experiences. Finally, participants were prevented from engaging in justice-oriented citizenship activities at school and in the community because of existing power-relationships, which is further examined in Discussion section 9.5. This low engagement in justice-oriented citizenship activities is problematic because critical citizens who can challenge the status quo are crucial in rapidly changing democratic societies faced by complex global problems including climate change, insecurity and misinformation. The contribution *Gemeinschaftskunde* and schools make to develop justice-oriented citizens, is further examined in Discussion section 9.6.3.

The individual citizenship dimension

I defined individual citizenship activities as being carried out alone, usually so one does not have to adjust one's ideals to fit collective values. Individual participation may, however, target collective issues such as climate change. The individual citizenship dimension did not appear to be as significant to my participants as the collective citizenship dimension. This was evident in my data with only 13.3% of the citizenship activities discussed in the questionnaire and 27.7% of citizenship activities discussed in focus groups being labelled individual, as opposed to collective. Furthermore, only four out of 106 questionnaire participants and no focus group participants were exclusively engaged in individual citizenship activities. In line with literature on lifestyle choices, including for instance boycotting, buycotting, recycling and veganism, most lifestyle choices in my data were carried out individually (Stolle et al., 2005). My findings also support literature on the collective and cosmopolitan aspect of individual lifestyle choices (Kyroglou & Henn, 2021). As argued by Kyroglou and Henn (2021), even though many lifestyle choices are carried out individually, they predominantly address collective and cosmopolitan issues such as environmental issues or animal cruelty. My findings also indicate the presence of loose social networks where individuals can express their concerns directly without formally joining a campaign with centralised leadership and are able to drop in and out, as described by Bennett and Segerberg (2012). Evidence of this was, however, limited in my data along with an overall low number of online citizenship activities. I argue that the unique characteristics of my sample and study focus may have further reduced the occurrence of individual citizenship activities. My study's focus on a rural community and school may have increased collective citizenship activities as participants predominantly discussed collective engagement in relation to school and community clubs which form a key aspect of rural communities (Gensicke, 2014).

The online citizenship dimension

I defined the online dimension as a space for (e.g., on Instagram) or mode of (e.g., accessing political information through online media) citizenship activities. My findings suggest that the online citizenship dimension was less meaningful to participants than offline engagement. This is evident in the low number of online citizenship activities in my data, with only 7.9% of citizenship activities in the qualitative questionnaire and 17.2% in the focus groups being online. Furthermore, only four questionnaire participants and two focus group participants were engaged exclusively in online citizenship activities. Instead, most participants were

exclusively engaged in offline citizenship activities and some participants were engaged in a mix of online and offline citizenship activities. These findings challenge literature on the significance of online contexts for citizenship activities to young people (Bessant et al., 2016; Tereshchenko, 2010). Instead, my findings indicate that the significance of the online dimension depends on individual citizenship activities and context. Participants in my study particularly discussed their online engagement in terms of accessing political information and some online activism, particularly raising awareness on social media. This is in line with findings from the 2019 Shell Youth Study suggesting that the internet plays an important role in young people's access to political and social issues particularly through social media channels (Albert et al., 2019). In contrast to teachers' concern about young people's avoidance of public news channels, participants in this study accessed news both privately and publicly, particularly through the German news channel *Tagesschau*. Watching the *Tagesschau* also sometime led to political discussions in participants' homes which is also reported by Harris and Wyn (2009) in terms of Australian news shows. I also found some examples in my data that support Bennett and Segerberg's (2012) concept of connective action of participants joining loose virtual networks with a common goal, such as raising awareness against online sexism on a gaming platform. It should be acknowledged, that the focus on school citizenship activities might have further reduced online citizenship activities in my data. My findings suggest, for example, that apart from a few, most citizenship activities at school were labelled offline. Finally, it should be noted that some participants were unsure about the concept of online citizenship activities and might not have named all activities they did online because they did not define them as citizenship activities. I alleviated the impact of this by using follow-up questions, a poll to trigger participants' memories of their online engagement during focus groups and the questionnaire and by using group conversations during focus groups to activate each other's experiences.

9.4 Participants report low uptake of the official citizenship dimension which is characterised by low student agency

As discussed in the previous section, and in line with the literature, my participants reported a low uptake of official citizenship activities (Davies et al., 2013; Farthing, 2010; Flinders et al., 2020; Harris et al., 2010; Sloam, 2014). I defined official citizenship activities as directly supported, driven, or invited by the state. Findings suggest that only a total of 32.7% of citizenship activities discussed in the qualitative questionnaire and 25.5% of the citizenship activities discussed in focus groups, were

labelled official. Some official citizenship activities carried out by my participants included engagement in service clubs such as the fire brigade, formal decision making in the community, particularly in their role as youth leaders, formal decision making at school such as in the student council, and accessing official news channels such as watching parliamentary debates.

Participants' low engagement in the official dimension raises concern, as official citizenship activities currently still exercise high influence on political decision making in many democratic systems (Sloam, 2014). While there was overall low engagement in the official citizenship dimension, my participants still regarded it as an important space for their (future) citizenship, for instance participants talked about their plans of voting in elections and joining political parties. This is also reported in the literature, suggesting that young people regard official citizenship activities as important and may take up political processes as needed (Dunlop et al., 2021; Henn et al., 2002; Malafaia et al., 2021). As follows, I first summarise and discuss the barriers for engagement in the official citizenship dimension that my participants raised as part of this study. Second, I discuss how adults and organisations have invited participants into the official citizenship dimension but without developing their agency.

Barriers for engagement in official citizenship activities

Findings suggest five barriers that prevented participants from engaging in key areas for official citizenship at their school and in their community. Firstly, participants were prevented from engaging in official school decision-making processes through election barriers. The three official venues for school decision making at Anderberg middle school are working as class representatives, having a seat in the student council and being in the school assembly. To participate in any of these activities, however, Anderberg middle school students must be elected as class leaders by their form class, which is predominantly based on popularity, according to participants and, thus, excludes many students. It should be acknowledged that the school counteracts the issue of popularity-based election by educating students around the expectations regarding responsibilities and characteristics class leaders should have. These expectations were discussed by the student council and published on Anderberg middle school's website and student newspaper. As indicated by participant comments in this research, however, popularity votes seem to still be an issue for students. Secondly, age barriers prevented participants from joining official citizenship activities such as voting in elections or joining political parties. This

caused some participants to lose interest in party politics because they were not able to affect direct change in this space. This barrier could be addressed by political change and ties in with the growing global movement on reducing the voting age (Huebner et al., 2021; Wagner et al., 2012). Thirdly, at the time I conducted this study, Anderberg and most of participants' hometowns did not have a local youth council which is one of the main ways young people can engage in official contexts in their community. There were plans to develop a youth council in Anderberg at the time of data collection which can be regarded as a step in the right direction. However, research points out that due to their nature, youth councils usually only involve a small number of young people in a community and their development should be carefully considered to ensure they are positive spaces where young people are involved in genuine decision-making (Bundesministerium für Familie Senioren Frauen und Jugend, 2020, p.494). Fourthly, overall participants were barely engaged in party politics. This is in line with current literature suggesting young people's alienation from party politics and politicians (European Commission, 2015; Gaiser, Krüger, et al., 2016; Harris et al., 2010; Hurrelmann et al., 2013). Reasons named by participants for turning away from party politics included a negative opinion of politicians which was often based on a feeling of not being heard by politicians (see also Harris et al., 2010), not personally having met a politician, and negative attitudes towards politicians often mediated through news stories. Finally, more participants disagreed than agreed with the statements: "I can make a change in Germany/ my community/ my school" and "Germany/ my community/ my school allows me to make a change", indicating low political and external efficacy, which can also negatively impact young people's uptake of citizenship activities (Bandura, 1977; Maurissen, 2018; Schulz, 2005). While some of the previously outlined barriers can only be addressed through systematic political changes, some of the barriers may be addressed through citizenship education (see Discussion section 9.6.4). In contrast to the previously outlined barriers, participants also suggested that they were invited to join some citizenship activities at school and in their community which is discussed as follows.

Young people's participation in citizenship activities is often invited and pre-organised by others without allowing agency to young people

Participation in citizenship activities was often invited and pre-organised by people other than the participants. Inviting participants into citizenship activities, particularly applies to the official citizenship dimension but was also discussed in relation to the unofficial dimension such as community and school volunteering, and

unofficial school and community club decision making. Participants were not encouraged to engage in justice-oriented citizenship activities (see Discussion section 9.5). In a school context, participants were invited to join citizenship activities through teachers' direct encouragement, through pre-organised events, through elected and service roles and within the student council. Beyond school, participants were invited to join citizenship activities through community clubs, pre-established community projects and community service roles such as youth leader training. Findings also suggest, however, that this invited participation was connected to low agency for participants. Participants discussed their low agency in different ways. Firstly, most of the participants who worked as or trained to become community youth leaders suggested they were not involved in community decisions. This could indicate what Hart (1997, p.41) refers to as 'manipulation', 'decoration', 'tokenism', 'assigned but informed' or 'consulted and informed' on his ladder of children's participation. Secondly, participants predominantly described their involvement in the student council as "participating" and "planning events" rather than "creating change" or "making decisions". This difference was particularly stark when comparing students and teachers' description of student council activities with students using words expressing low agency while teachers predominantly used words expressing high agency, as illustrated in the following quotes.

...In the student council, due to Corona we haven't really done a lot this year and the past 6 months but otherwise we do a lot of sales and other things.

(Annika, Y10/FG)

...What I introduced, was the rubbish sorting...I organised a container to come once a week to pick up our paper which is then sold...

(Teacher)

Some participants even explicitly suggested that they wished to be involved in more decisions that mattered. This inclusion of students in the student council without providing them with real decision-making power is also discussed in the literature, referring to student councils as akin to 'tokenism' (Leung et al., 2016). The student council is discussed further in relation to participants' engagement in justice-oriented citizenship activities in Discussion section 9.5. Finally, some participants described how they were not trusted to complete tasks that carried responsibilities when they engaged in community volunteering such as looking after younger children. Instead, participants suggested they had to do tasks they experienced as unnecessary and unpleasant. There were few instances where participants expressed agency in their citizenship activities which mainly occurred in the unofficial citizenship dimension which is further examined in Discussion section 9.6.2. While having agency in local

communities and at school is a right every young person should be guaranteed (*Convention on the rights of the child*, 1989), the extent of young people's agency depends on the context and should increase along with developing young people's participatory skills (Jerome & Starkey, 2022).

9.5 Participants report low uptake of and barriers to join the justice-oriented citizenship dimension

Findings suggest low uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities and instead high uptake of personally responsible/ participatory citizenship activities. I defined justice-oriented citizenship activities as initiating or taking part in demanding a systematic change, individually or as part of a collective. As suggested in section 9.3, the low uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities in my research might have been caused by the unique characteristics of my participants who are from rural villages and have high perceived socio-economic backgrounds. In addition to these background factors, participants discussed a range of examples that demonstrate prevailing power relationships and narratives of the non-activist young person in their communities and at school which impacted on their participation in citizenship activities. While prevailing power-relationships impacted on participants' engagement in a range of contexts, they particularly affected engagement in justice-oriented citizenship activities which by nature require power to be shifted. As follows, I describe three examples of how power imbalances and disengagement narratives affected participants' engagement in justice-oriented citizenship activities at and beyond school.

Fridays for Future

The Fridays for Future movement is a current example of a justice-oriented citizenship activity relevant to young people, with engagement reported globally (Teune, 2020, p.134). Findings suggest that participants from this study were prevented from joining Fridays for Futures protest. Participants, for example, were threatened by teachers and school leadership at Anderberg middle school that they would be fined for unexcused absences caused by attending protests as well as fail any class tests that were written while they attended protests. These threats were based on regulations, for example released in form of a letter to school principals by the *Baden-Württemberg* Ministry of Education on the 1st of January 2019 (see Appendix O). Literature suggests that there were marked differences in the way teachers and schools in Germany applied Ministry guidance in relation to Fridays for

Future school strikes, ranging from encouraging and finding ways for students to attend, to regulating students' attendance and using threats including fines and failing tests (Teune, 2020). It should be acknowledged that teachers are in a difficult position in relation to supporting student activism, highlighting a second layer of power relationships which put teachers in a lower position of power in relation to the state and the Ministry of Education in particular. The tensions teachers discussed in my research, which are also reported in the literature, are as educators on the one hand appreciating the importance of allowing young people to engage in protests and as state employees on the other hand being forced to uphold teaching standards and the law, including school attendance regulations (Dunlop et al., 2020). This tension is illustrated in the following teacher comment.

...with Fridays for Future, we said we'll support it, of course. But I also understood the perspective of the school leadership who suggested they could also do it in the afternoon or why isn't it possible on Saturdays?...Of course, I also thought that it was a pity, something could have developed here. In my opinion the movement was perceived quite negatively at our school and the opportunities weren't really seen. So, I didn't think the way it was done, was good.

As illustrated in this comment, while some participating teachers suggested they were in a difficult position in between students and school leadership, they did not mention underlying power relationships and tended to attribute regulations to school leadership rather than the Ministry of Education. As also evident in the teacher quote, not all participating teachers agreed with restricting students' engagement in the Fridays for Future protests. One participating teacher, for example, tried to offer an alternative venue for environmentally interested students to engage at school in form of an extracurricular activity which was, however, not taken up by Anderberg middle school students. It might not have been attended by students because a school-based teacher-led extracurricular activity is inherently different from a world-wide youth-led protest movement which is based on dissent rather than participation. Thus, it might not have been regarded by students as a replacement for participating in a protest. Overall, a small number of Anderberg middle school students attended a few Fridays for Future protests despite the challenges surrounding their participation and several participants reported discussing Fridays for Future protests and related issues in various subjects including *Gemeinschaftskunde*.

Anderberg middle school student council

Many participating students and some participating teachers did not perceive Anderberg middle school student council as a place for students to engage in justice-

oriented citizenship activities. This is concerning because the student council is the main student decision making body at Anderberg middle school. Instead of a space for students to affect change, the student council was perceived as a place for participating in regularly occurring events such as motto days, fund raisers and school sleepovers which were predominantly pre-determined by the school and teachers. This is also evident on the school website stating that the student council meets regularly to “take up current projects and to develop them, to represent the interests of the student body and to organise school events” (Anderberg middle school website). Some participating students explicitly criticised their roles in the student council suggesting that they would like to be involved in more meaningful and change-oriented decisions such as contributing to the decision on appointing the new school principal. The new principal was appointed without involving students in the decision-making process and without personally informing students of the outcome. Students were, instead, informed about the outcome through the local newspaper. A further issue in relation to power-imbalance in the student council, discussed by participants, concerns its funding which is controlled by liaison teachers who have the final say about allocating funds. Student members’ role within the student council on the other hand is to suggest and vote on student council events and activities, as illustrated in the following teacher quote.

...right now the student council is thinking about something, discussing something, saying we would like to do that but we need money for it and at that moment, when adults have to decide about the money again, then this decision is naturally devalued...

Liaison teachers’ being in charge of student council funds further limits students’ agency and shifts power to teachers and the school, away from students. Finally, there were instances where the Anderberg middle school student council was used by school leadership to enact school rules. The example provided by participants was that class representatives were asked to inform their classes that from now on everyone going to the bathroom had to pick up a key from the school office, to keep the school bathrooms clean which had been soiled in the past weeks. Instead of consulting class representatives about what should be done about the situation, they were asked to share a rule with their form classes that had been decided by the teachers’ assembly. This is referred to as manipulation by Hart (1997) which is on the bottom of his ladder of children’s participation and belongs to what he terms non-participation because “adults consciously use children’s voices to carry their own messages” (p.40).

Non-activism narrative

Many participating teachers believed that Anderberg middle school students and young people in general were not engaged nor interested in taking up justice-oriented citizenship activities. Participating teachers stated participants' high socio-economic backgrounds, rural location, young age and vocational focus of Anderberg middle school as reasons for students' disengagement in justice-oriented citizenship activities. This narrative of non-activist young people is in line with some current media from around the globe, particularly in relation to recent Fridays for Future protests led by young people, labelling young people as "opportunistic", "truants" or "uninformed" (Alexander et al., 2022). In line with the literature, I argue that in addition to the previously mentioned instances of power-imbalance, this narrative can further hinder young people's uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities (Davies et al., 2013). This is because adults, teachers and politicians might not see a need to include young people in justice-oriented citizenship activities if they perceive them to not have an interest in these activities. It should be acknowledged that not all participating teachers agreed with this narrative and rather suggested that young people were socialised into non-activism and/or were not provided with sufficient opportunities to engage in justice-oriented citizenship activities at school and in their community. One reason that students might not have been socialised into carrying out justice-oriented citizenship activities at school, evident in this research, is that providing a space to students to create change takes a lot of time and might not yield (the expected) results, as illustrated in the following teacher comment.

...democracy, getting involved, is for young people and children often done by observing. That is not at all a critique of the children themselves but rather of us adults for not letting them get involved...You've probably already experienced it at school yourself, it's like: 'Before I let them do it and it won't work, I'll just do it myself'...

In addition, some justice-oriented citizenship activities might be actively prevented by teachers and the school because they oppose existing school rules such as unexcused school absences as part of the Fridays for Future protests.

9.6 The value of *Gemeinschaftskunde* for participants' uptake of citizenship activities: Strengths, weaknesses and missed opportunities

The newly developed subject *Gemeinschaftskunde* contributes to participants' uptake of citizenship activities. This was particularly discussed by participants in relation to gaining political knowledge, learning about current issues, and acquiring participatory skills, for example, through engaging in discussions. However,

findings also highlight issues and missed opportunities in *Gemeinschaftskunde* and other areas of the school, to support students' uptake of citizenship activities. As follows, I outline those aspects of *Gemeinschaftskunde* that were valuable for participants' uptake of citizenship activities and those aspects that hindered their uptake of citizenship activities in five themes, displayed below.

Community participation is important to participants but not reflected in *Gemeinschaftskunde* (9.6.1)

Participants' high uptake of the unofficial citizenship dimension is not reflected in *Gemeinschaftskunde* (9.6.2)

Gemeinschaftskunde encourages different types of citizens but there is a need for more justice-oriented participation opportunities at school (9.6.3)

Gemeinschaftskunde could benefit from more democratic classroom climate (9.6.4)

Participants ask for more practical and active learning in *Gemeinschaftskunde* (9.6.5)

9.6.1 *Community engagement is important to participants but not reflected in Gemeinschaftskunde*

Findings suggest an overall high engagement of my participants in their municipalities with more than 80% of questionnaire participants reporting engagement in at least one community citizenship activity and more than 50% of questionnaire participants reporting engagement in four or more community citizenship activities. This is considerably higher than the average community participation reported in representative literature from Germany such as the volunteering survey 2019 which suggests that 42% of 14 to 29-year-olds were engaged in volunteering in the past year (Simonson et al., 2022). This difference might be explained by the unique characteristics of my sample. Literature, for example, suggests higher community participation in rural municipalities (Antes et al., 2022; Kleiner & Klärner, 2019) and by people with higher socioeconomic backgrounds (Simonson et al., 2022). Furthermore, this gap might be explained by differences in the concept of community engagement. While the volunteering survey predominantly focuses on official areas such as being in a community club council (Simonson et al., 2022), my definition of community engagement includes a wide range of official and unofficial citizenship activities accessible to young people (see questionnaire question 27, community activities, Appendix L). Community engagement was discussed by my participants in the form of volunteering, decision-making and leadership roles both within and outside of community clubs. While

participants were highly engaged in their municipalities, findings indicate that *Gemeinschaftskunde* misses opportunities to support young people to reflect on their existing engagement. As follows, I discuss these missed opportunities and reflect on these findings in light of a current policy suggestion to re-instate a mandatory social year for young people in Germany.

Reflecting on students' existing community participation and encouraging future community participation is a missed opportunity in Gemeinschaftskunde

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum focuses on teaching young people about party politics, neglecting other participatory contexts including community participation. A curriculum analysis, conducted as part of this research, suggests only two instances in the curriculum that explicitly focus on community participation, namely: “describe the importance of...civic participation for the preservation of democratic societies” (KM BW, 2016a, p.32) and “analyse the decision-making process in a given municipal conflict and explain how citizens can influence it...” (KM BW, 2016a, p.30). I argue that the vagueness of these learning objectives can make it difficult for *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers to decide which community citizenship activities might be relevant for their students and, thus, which community citizenship activities and contexts to include in their lessons. Therefore, I argue that in addition to these two learning objectives, citizenship education lessons should offer the opportunity for students to reflect on the community participation they have already done which could achieve the following three benefits. Firstly, discussing participants' existing community engagement is an opportunity to access social and political issues that are relevant to students which can help with lesson engagement and motivation (Davies et al., 2019). This reflection can also include voluntary school participation which is an area where most of my participants were engaged.

Secondly, many participants in this research tended to describe their community engagement as a duty, something related to their hobbies, a social activity or doing something ‘good’. There were only few instances of participants talking about social or political motivations and effects of their engagement. This constitutes a missed opportunity for political learning which could offer an important venue for young people to understand underlying problems of issues and think about ways to address them (Jerome & Starkey, 2021; Wohnig, 2016). This can also help students to think beyond their community participation, about the reasons why it is necessary such as community underfunding or human rights issues which can raise students' awareness for justice-oriented citizenship activities. I believe that the current process for

reflecting participants' social work placements within the school subjects ethics and religion at Anderberg middle school is also part of this missed opportunity. This is because participating teachers suggested that the social work placement was mainly reflected in terms of ethical questions rather than underlying political processes which could be extended in *Gemeinschaftskunde*.

Finally, reflecting students' community engagement in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons can increase students' belief in their capacity as current citizens. I argue that the focus of the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum on party politics and many citizenship activities that are either inaccessible for the students or only accessible in their future, can increase students' belief that they are future citizens rather than current citizens. This supports research arguing that citizenship education often labels young people as "citizens-in-waiting" (Verhellen, 2003) and "tends to prepare young people for future citizenship without acknowledging their experiences and their existing citizenship rights" (Osler & Starkey, 2003, p.245). Future citizenship was discussed by participants in relation to voting and joining political parties. An inaccessible citizenship activity participants discussed, was the student council which is restricted by being voted class representative. I argue that helping students to reflect on the citizenship activities they are already engaged in and are currently accessible to them, including many community activities, can increase students' confidence in themselves as current citizens. This can also positively affect students internal, external, and political efficacy by reflecting on the impact they already had as citizens in their roles as youth leaders, community club coaches and in community events.

Re-instatement of a mandatory social year in Germany should not be based on age
The previously outlined findings on participants' engagement in citizenship activities in their municipalities can also provide insights into the debate about the re-instatement of a mandatory social year for young people in Germany, that resurfaced in June 2022. This debate was sparked by an interview with the German president Frank-Walter Steinmeier during which he proposed to re-instate a mandatory social year which had been abandoned in 2011. The mandatory social year was part of a German policy which forced every person in Germany to either engage in the military or a social institution for one year once they turned 18. The reasons behind this policy are manifold and include, for example, economically motivated aims to alleviate staff shortages in the social sector and a means to increase young people's support for democracy (Schaaf & Franz, 2022). Based on the

findings outlined in this section, I argue that the decision about who should be required to engage in a mandatory and poorly paid social year, should not be made based on age and that forcing young people to carry out a social year might even harm young people's uptake of community citizenship activities. Firstly, the literature and findings from my research suggest that there is already high engagement of young people in community volunteering (Simonson et al., 2022). Furthermore, the literature suggests that young people's involvement in volunteering is comparable to other age groups with 14–29-year-olds showing the second highest involvement with 42% in comparison to 30–49-year-olds with 45.7%, 50–64-year-olds with 40.6% and 65+ year-olds with 31.2% (Simonson et al., 2022). Secondly, re-instating the mandatory social year might add to the (false) narrative of the unengaged young person which can be harmful for young people's self-efficacy and thus negatively impact their uptake of community citizenship activities (Thiessen, 2022). Schaaf and Franz (2022) even suggest this could turn young people into the "scapegoat of society" (p.5). Finally, this proposed policy can be considered an encroachment on young people's self-determination rights (Behr et al., 2002). This is particularly concerning since, as previously discussed, young people are already affected by unequal power-relationships in their participation in society. Unequal power-relationships should also be considered in terms of the practical application of the social year and the roles young people would have within social institutions. Results from my research, for example, suggest that young people were often given tasks that did not carry responsibility and that were perceived as unnecessary when they engaged in the community. This could lead to negative experiences of volunteering in the community and, thus, exacerbate young people's disengagement instead of increasing it.

9.6.2 Participants' high uptake of the unofficial citizenship dimension is not reflected in Gemeinschaftskunde

In line with the literature, my findings suggest that participants had a high uptake of unofficial citizenship activities (Bang, 2005; Bennett, 2003; Norris, 2004; Pickard, 2022). Participants discussed four areas for unofficial engagement. Firstly, unofficial citizenship spaces at school included form classes, extracurriculars and events. Secondly, in their communities, participants were engaged unofficially in clubs, churches, and events. Thirdly, participants discussed unofficial citizenship spaces online including social media, gaming sites, news sites and chatrooms. Finally, participants reported unofficial engagement in familiar spaces including supermarkets, at home and in peer groups. This wide range of unofficial citizenship

activities, discussed by my participants, is often overlooked in research on young people's citizenship activities because studies use narrow definitions of citizenship activities (see also O'Toole, 2010; Pickard, 2019). I argue that unofficial citizenship spaces were meaningful to my participants because they often described a sense of belonging, collective identity, and a feeling of being heard within these spaces. As follows, I firstly discuss the concepts of belonging and collective identity in relation to unofficial citizenship spaces. Secondly, I discuss why learning about the unofficial citizenship dimension constitutes a missed opportunity in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons.

Participants often experience collective identity, belonging and feeling of being heard in the unofficial citizenship dimension

Participants in my study experienced a sense of belonging, collective identity, and a feeling of being heard in a range of unofficial citizenship contexts. Belonging and collective identity was, firstly, expressed through language such as “we” or “with my class”. Secondly, it was expressed through shared spaces and clothing such as the graduation sweater or beautifying aspects of the school and the community. Finally, collective identity and belonging was expressed through collective efforts for shared causes such as raising funds for the form class or community club and engaging in social justice causes such as standing up against sexism within an online gaming platform. A feeling of being heard was described by participants by being actively included in decisions and experiencing the outcomes of these decisions as well as by being given responsibility. The importance of being heard and action being taken based on young people's voices, is also suggested in the literature (Lundy, 2007). It should be acknowledged, that participants did not experience belonging, collective identity, and a sense of being heard in all unofficial spaces. Many participants, for example, suggested that some adult family members did not value their opinions and that they were rarely entrusted with tasks that carry responsibility when they helped at community events. Furthermore, participants carried out different roles within collective identities with some participants being more active, taking on leadership roles while others preferred to take on less-active roles including, for example, being part of discussions and votes. In line with the literature, I argue that participants' experience of belonging, collective identity, and a sense of being heard, positively affected their uptake of unofficial citizenship activities (Davies et al., 2013; Pickard, 2022). Positive effects of belonging on engagement were also reported in formal settings, as for example described by Walther and colleagues (2020) as part of the Gothenburg Youth Representation

forum (p.74). Based on the previously outlined findings and literature, I argue that the concepts of belonging, collective identity, and a sense of feeling heard are important conditions for successfully including young people in citizenship activities. In terms of the case study reported in this thesis, these concepts may help to address low engagement in official community and school contexts such as the student council. These concepts may also be helpful for shaping the municipal youth council that is currently being developed in Anderberg.

Learning about the unofficial dimension constitutes a missed opportunity in Gemeinschaftskunde

The unofficial dimension only characterised 26% of all citizenship activities taught in *Gemeinschaftskunde*. This is in misalignment with the high number of unofficial citizenship activities, participants discussed in focus groups (79%). This finding supports literature suggesting that while citizenship education focuses on teaching about dutiful citizenship ideals and activities, young people increasingly support actualising citizen ideas and participate in the unofficial dimension (Bennett, 2003). Unofficial citizenship activities, taught in *Gemeinschaftskunde*, include learning about school conflicts and how to address them, about petitions and protests, how to use social media to form political opinions, about the roles of NGOs to protect children's rights and about selective consumerism. While some aspects of participants' engagement in unofficial citizenship activities are addressed in *Gemeinschaftskunde*, I argue that there are key omissions. These omissions include unofficial decision-making and leadership roles in form classes and extracurricular clubs, unofficial citizenship activities in community clubs, churches and community events, online participation in social media, gaming sites and chatrooms and citizenship activities in peer group. I believe that these omissions were made by the curriculum due to a narrow definition of citizenship activities which omitted a range of unofficial spaces. Literature also indicates that governments in the German context might not be interested in citizens' participation in political decision-making processes beyond the participation that is required by law and legitimises the government (Royo et al., 2011). Thus, unofficial citizenship activities might not be encouraged by the government which is reflected in the curriculum. In line with Bennett (2003), I argue that including the previously discussed unofficial citizenship activities in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons can be done without necessarily increasing the current content-load of the curriculum, by focussing on issues and connecting learning about unofficial citizenship activities to students' prior experiences in these spaces. As suggested with community volunteering (see Discussion section 9.6.1),

helping students to reflect on their existing engagement in unofficial spaces can help to increase students' interest, motivation, confidence, and efficacy.

9.6.3 *Gemeinschaftskunde encourages different types of citizens but there is a need for more justice-oriented participation opportunities at school*

The *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum encourages a range of different citizen types including Westheimer and Kahne's (2004b) personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizen, and Bennett's (2003) dutiful and actualising citizen. This is also reflected in participants' perceptions of *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons, suggesting that they experienced all previously mentioned citizen types in their lessons. While this contrasts with some literature suggesting that citizenship education curricula and lessons often focus on educating personally-responsible and participatory citizens, omitting education for justice-oriented citizenship (Akar, 2016; Leung et al., 2014; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b; Wood et al., 2018), this finding supports literature from Germany, arguing that focusing on justice-oriented citizenship activities is related to German history (Kenner, 2020; Lange & Heldt, 2021). Teaching young people to critically analyse issues to understand their causes and learn how to exercise dissent are important strategies to prevent young people from becoming indoctrinated as was done during the Nazi regime in Germany (Lange & Heldt, 2021). The importance of justice-oriented citizenship is also reflected in the constitution, underpinning the German school system, particularly in the Beutelsbach Consensus. This law suggests that citizenship education is not allowed to overwhelm students from a particular standpoint, should teach about controversial topics showing a range of different angles and should give weight to the personal interests of students and give them room to influence society by following those interests (LpB BW, 1976).

While my findings suggest that participants were taught about a range of citizen ideals in *Gemeinschaftskunde*, findings indicate that participants were not able to carry out many justice-oriented citizenship activities at Anderberg middle school. This is a missed opportunity to support young people to become the active and critical citizens needed in a rapidly changing world, faced by complex global issues. Participants reported a range of barriers they experienced when wanting to engage in justice-oriented citizenship activities. These barriers include the school's intervention in students' participation in Fridays for Future protests, and the student council which exclusively encourages passive engagement such as helping at events,

raising money, or passing on information instead of creating change. In line with the literature, I argue that not just teaching *about* justice-oriented citizenship activities, but actively inviting young people to engage in justice-oriented citizenship activities at school is an important task of *Gemeinschaftskunde* and the school as a whole (Breslin & Dufour, 2006; Davies et al., 2019; Dewey, 1915; Jerome & Starkey, 2022; Kenner, 2020; Wood et al, 2018). The importance of considering the school and community context in providing citizenship education is also highlighted by Biesta and Lawy (2006), suggesting: "...citizenship education should focus on young people-in-context and on the social, economic, cultural and political context(s) in which they live their lives" (p.75). Thus, instead of exclusively considering citizenship education as teaching skills and content to young people, the authors argue for a shift to learning democracy through practicing citizenship activities. The authors also argue that schools can be one space for young people to learn democracy which includes, for example, providing opportunities to engage in justice-oriented citizenship activities. It should be noted that in addition to creating spaces for young people to engage and teaching participatory skills, young people's voices should be heard, and appropriate action should be taken based on their voices (Lundy, 2007).

While there are benefits to including young people into justice-oriented citizenship activities at schools, as previously outlined, this also presents challenges to established decision-making processes and power relations at school, which must be acknowledged and addressed (Black & Mayes, 2020; Jerome & Starkey, 2022; Kenner, 2020). According to Black and Mayes (2020), some of these pre-existing power structures at schools are deeply rooted in the minds of teachers, students, and other stakeholders. This can make the process of acknowledging power-relationships and attempting to change them an emotional process, particularly for teachers who will have to shift some of their power to students (Black & Mayes, 2020). Advice on how teachers can develop students' agency is, for example, discussed by Jerome and Starkey (2022). The authors recommend that developmental factors should be considered when shifting power to young people suggesting: "Children's capacity to exercise agency develops over time and differs between contexts and so the teacher must be sensitive to the changing balance over time and tasks" (p.4). In addition, instead of a radical change of school decision-making processes and power-structures, Jerome and Starkey (2022) suggest 'thickening agency', appropriate to the context and young people's development. Agency is described by the authors as a continuum which can be increased from thin agency which is on one side of the continuum, to thick agency, on the other side of the continuum, by developing young

people's skills and by removing barriers restricting their participation. In terms of the research, described in this thesis, I argue that the student council constitutes a space where students' agency should be thickened. I suggest that this can be done by re-considering the election barriers that prevent many students from participating in the student council. Another barrier that could be addressed, is access to student council funds and whether this could be transferred to students. Thickening students' agency in the student council should also include increasing students' agency skills by, for example, providing those students who manage student council funds with training. *Gemeinschaftskunde* could also contribute to acquiring agency skills such as practical learning on how to implement change at school, grounded in an issue that participants are concerned about. Increasing students' agency should also be a key part of initial teacher education and ongoing professional teacher development, to support teachers with this challenging and potentially emotional process.

9.6.4 Gemeinschaftskunde could benefit from more democratic classroom climate

An understanding of democracy and participating in a democracy is a key learning outcome of the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum. Learning about democracy is part of the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum vision, pedagogical approaches, and several AOs such as "students explore how democracy can be secured and protected" (KM BW, 2016a, p. 30). The concept of democracy was also explored in related subjects such as history, focusing on its historical development and democratic threats during national socialism in Germany. Finally, democratic learning is encouraged through the compulsory democratic learning handbook (KM BW, 2019a). While the democratic learning handbook includes useful learning experiences for students, results from this study suggest that the handbook was not used by teachers because they were not aware of its existence. In addition, that the handbook might be unwieldy because of its 60 pages and academic focus. Literature indicates that the significance placed on democracy by the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum, might be related to Germany's history (Lange & Heldt, 2021).

While the curriculum promotes democratic learning as a concept, participants did not always experience a democratic classroom climate in *Gemeinschaftskunde*. A democratic classroom, however, can be valuable to develop young people's citizenship skills and positively affect their uptake of citizenship activities (Davies et al., 2019; Kahne et al., 2013; Weinberg, 2020; Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022). A democratic classroom "...engages students in building a strong classroom

community, taking responsibility in cocreating curriculum, and engaging in critical dialogue on issues that impact their lives” (Collins et al., 2019, p.1). While some participants suggested they were part of discussions about issues they cared about in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons, most participants were not involved in decisions about the content or methods used in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. Form time, on the other hand, was often described by participants as spaces to develop “classroom community” and “cocreating curriculum”. The democratic classroom climate, described in form time might be related to the fact that form class teachers spend a lot of time with their class and thus are able to build positive relationships (Collins et al., 2019). In addition, form time might lend itself more easily for cocreating curriculum as it is not restricted by pre-described curriculum content or driven by assessments. Furthermore, Anderberg middle school assigns two form teachers to Year 8 to 10 classes which allows even more time to build relationships and negotiate rules and activities. Nevertheless, in line with some participating teachers, I argue that not establishing a democratic classroom climate in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons constitutes a missed opportunity to learn about democracy and develop students’ agency, which, as previously discussed, is positively related to the uptake of citizenship activities.

9.6.5 Participants ask for more practical and active learning in Gemeinschaftskunde

Active and practical learning is included in the pedagogical considerations of the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum, stating that students should “actively deal with political questions and problems in school contexts through planned, simulative, productively creative, or real political action (e.g., at extracurricular learning venues)” (KM BW, 2016a, p. 10). Focus groups and qualitative questionnaire findings indicate that participants experienced some active and practical learning in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons, including discussions about social and political issues and some excursions to extracurricular learning venues including the local judicial court. Participants also suggested that they wanted to be engaged in more discussions and excursions in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons and that these pedagogical approaches helped them to get engaged in citizenship activities. Participants, for example, suggested that practicing political discussions helped them to feel more confident in joining discussions outside of school. Participants also suggested that by having visited a court before, they felt more confident in going there in the future. This positive effect of active and practical learning experiences on the uptake of citizenship activities, and particularly justice-oriented citizenship

activities, is also well documented in the literature (Davies et al., 2019; Dewey, 1915; Freire, 1920; Geboers et al., 2013; Lundy, 2007; Quintelier, 2010; Weinberg, 2020; Wood et al., 2018). Literature also warns, however, that some active learning such as service learning, can lead to ‘minimal’ (McLaughlin, 1992), personally-responsible (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004b) citizenship activities that do not go beyond the surface of issues and require highly skilled teachers, as illustrated by the following quote.

Teachers...(need) a highly developed skill set to encourage students' emotional engagement (in order to counter tokenistic, technocratic, and minimal social action for credit-harvesting), yet to avoid emotional coercion and at the same time to promote in-depth understandings of social issues in a way that interrogated the very ‘roots’ of the problem and encourage sustainable social actions. A commitment to critical transformative forms of social action...is essential to prevent the drift in active citizenship programmes toward muted and apolitical versions of social action.

(Wood et al., 2018, p.266)

Moreover, findings suggest that not all participants had previously experienced active and practical pedagogical approaches. Instead, many participants reported to be engaged in passive learning, completing exercises from their textbooks, and doing worksheets. Findings suggest that these approaches caused participants to lose interest and, in some cases, become even less likely to participate in citizenship activities in the future. The negative effect of passively completing exercises from textbooks on developing the capacity to take up justice-oriented citizenship activities is also suggested in the literature (Akar, 2016; Freire, 1970; Weller, 2009; Wood et al., 2018).

Findings also indicate that most participating teachers were aware of the positive effect of active and practical pedagogical approaches but suggested they experienced barriers that prevented them from using these approaches in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. These barriers included contact hours, curriculum content density, access to extracurricular learning venues and the Covid pandemic, discussed as follows. Firstly, participating teachers suggested that short lessons of 45 minutes made it difficult to have discussions with their classes or to visit extracurricular learning venues. In addition, the low contact time also made it difficult for teachers to build relationships with their *Gemeinschaftskunde* classes, which are important to foster effective discussions. This was particularly raised by participating teachers who taught their classes only in *Gemeinschaftskunde*. The low contact time was counteracted by some teachers through using project days at school to explore a political issue which allowed them to spend between one and three full

school days on an issue. Other teachers reported making connections with other subjects they taught in the same class to explore an issue from different disciplinary angles. Particularly the subjects history, geography, ethics, AES and WBS appeared to be suitable for an interdisciplinary exploration of political and social issues. Secondly, participating teachers suggested that the high density of content in the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum created additional pressure to pass on information which frequently had to come at the expense of active and practical learning which is often more time-intensive than passive pedagogical approaches such as working with the textbook or using worksheets (Lehner, 2020). Thirdly, participating teachers suggested that it was difficult to access some extracurricular learning venues such as the regional parliament, which asked teachers to book their visit so far in advance that they are not yet aware of the classes they will teach. In light of the disconnect between young people and politicians, reported by participants in this study, I argue that visiting the regional parliament could be a valuable experience for participants to bridge this disconnect. Finally, findings indicate that the Covid pandemic exacerbated the used of passive learning approaches which might have been caused by moving lessons to virtual settings.

9.7 Summary

In this chapter I revisited gaps identified in the literature, followed by an in-depth discussion of key findings in relation to the reviewed literature in five themes. Firstly, I discussed the concept of foundational activities which often led to taking up citizenship activities. Secondly, I revisited each of the seven emerging citizenship dimensions and reflected on how my findings confirmed but also challenged concepts in the reviewed literature, with a particular focus on the rural location and high socio-economic background of my participants. Thirdly, I reflected on participants' low uptake of the official citizenship dimension and how this can marginalise young people's voices. Fourthly, I discussed participants' low uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities, how this might have been impacted by the case study's rural location, participants' high socio-economic backgrounds and power-relationships at school and in communities. Finally, I revisited the value of *Gemeinschaftskunde* on participants' uptake of citizenship activities and missed opportunities including focussing more on participants' community and unofficial engagement, and a need for more justice-oriented learning opportunities, more democratic classroom climate and more active and practical learning experiences. In

the next and final chapter, I summarise the findings of this research and highlight original contributions to knowledge, limitations, implications and future studies.

10 Conclusion and recommendations

10.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research was to gain in-depth insights into young people's citizenship activities at their school, in their communities and in emerging citizenship dimensions, through the lens of a rural municipality in Germany. This thesis also offered insights into understanding the role of citizenship education to support young people in taking up citizenship activities. In this final chapter, I summarise findings in relation to the three research questions, highlight original contributions to knowledge, discuss limitations of this research and make recommendations for policy and practice as well as for future studies. The structure of this chapter is displayed as follows.

10.2 Summary of findings

10.3 Original contributions to knowledge

10.4 Limitations of this research

10.5 Implications and recommendations for policy and practice

10.6 Recommended future studies

10.7 Final thoughts

10.2 Summary of findings

In this section, I summarise findings in relation to the three research questions.

10.2.1 Which citizenship activities are Year 8-10 students part of at school and in their communities?

To gain insights into Year 8-10 students' citizenship activities at school and in their communities, I proposed five school citizenship spaces and six community citizenship spaces, based on reviewing literature. Using these spaces, I developed and conducted focus groups, questionnaires and interviews to engage in conversations with secondary school students and their teachers from Germany. Findings suggest that participants are engaged in a wide range of citizenship activities at school and in their community. This finding supports research stating that young people are in fact engaged as citizens and counters disengagement narratives (O'Toole et al., 2003; Pickard, 2019). In terms of Year 8-10 students' citizenship spaces, findings confirm the proposed citizenship spaces at school (form class, volunteering, activism, school decisions and service), and in communities

(private, municipal, online, activism and party politics)³⁵. Findings also show differences among participants' uptake and frequency of uptake of citizenship spaces, as illustrated in Figure 10.1.

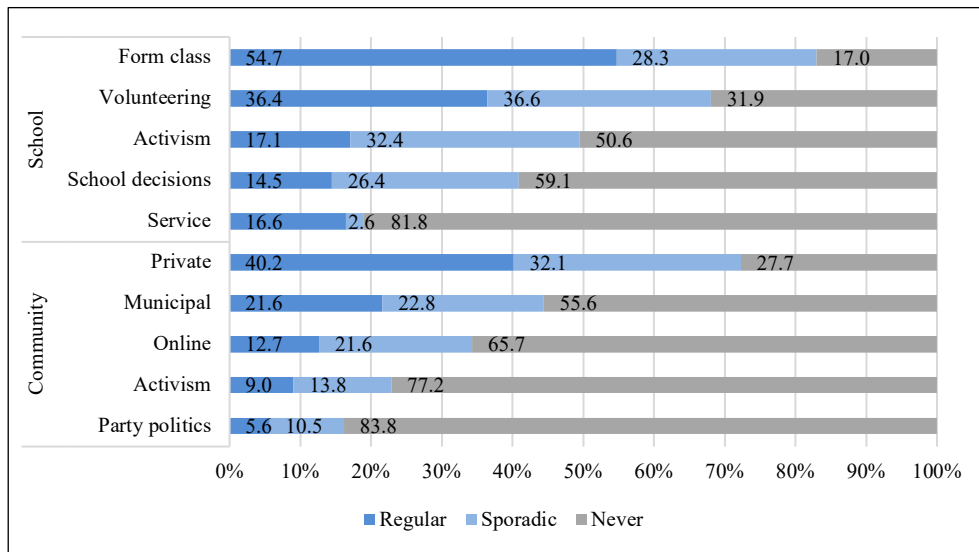


Figure 10.1: Year 8-10 students' frequency of uptake of the ten proposed citizenship spaces

On the one hand, form class and private citizenship spaces were relevant to young people, evidenced through overall high and frequent engagement and participant narratives, suggesting they were heard and involved in decisions in these spaces. Similarly, volunteering and municipal citizenship activities were taken up by many participants and helped those who participated within these spaces to develop collective identity. Municipal clubs also facilitated entry into citizenship activities through encouraging young people to volunteer or take on leadership roles. On the other hand, findings suggest lower engagement in school decisions and party politics which were experienced as spaces where young people have low agency and are not always heard. When comparing participants' engagement in different school and community spaces, it becomes evident that narrow definitions of citizenship and an exclusive reliance on pre-defined measures of citizenship activities, might underrepresent the wide range of young people's citizenship activities. This is particularly problematic when narrow definitions exclusively focus on party politics or formal school decisions, where young people seem to be disengaged.

³⁵ I removed one community citizenship spaces, namely arts and politics, which heavily overlapped with other spaces. Arts-based citizenship activities were, thus, reported as part of the other spaces.

10.2.2 Which citizenship dimensions do Year 8-10 students participate in?

To gain insights into Year 8-10 students' participation in emerging citizenship dimensions, I proposed a framework of seven emerging citizenship dimensions, based on reviewing the literature. I explored this framework with qualitative data gathered from engaging in conversations with Year 8-10 students from a secondary school in Germany in form of researcher-led focus groups and a questionnaire. Findings suggest that the framework offered a novel approach to explore young people's participation by describing overlapping emerging dimensions that characterise citizenship activities. While I identified all proposed seven emerging citizenship dimensions in the data, there were differences regarding their uptake, as illustrated in Figure 10.2.

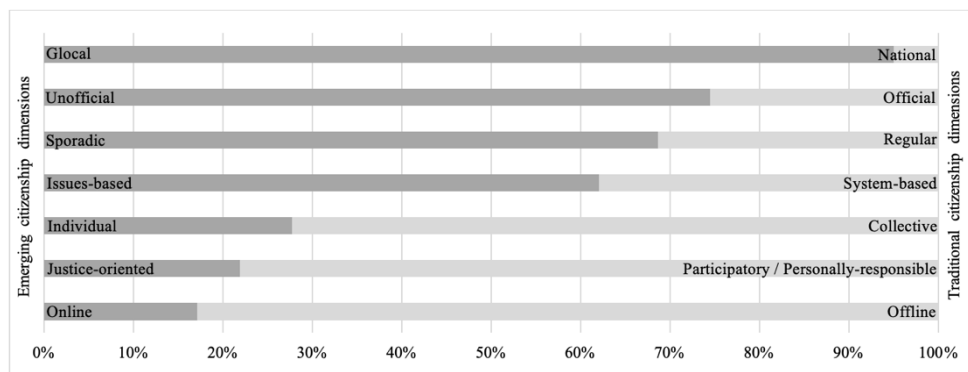


Figure 10.2: Focus group participants' traditional and emerging citizenship contexts

Results suggest that glocal, unofficial, sporadic, and issues-based dimensions were particularly relevant to participants while the importance of online, individual, and justice-oriented citizenship dimensions could be reassessed by future studies, particularly with young people from rural communities and with high socio-economic backgrounds. Results also suggest that many participants were exclusively engaged in the unofficial citizenship dimension at school and in their communities, which could lead to a marginalisation of their voices as many impactful political decisions are currently still done in official spaces, such as the student council or through elected community leaders.

10.2.3 What is the value of citizenship education for Year 8-10 students' uptake of citizenship activities?

I addressed this research question from three angles. Firstly, I analysed the newly introduced citizenship education curriculum (*Gemeinschaftskunde*) in *Baden-Württemberg*, to gain insights into the skills, content and pedagogical approaches promoted by the curriculum. Secondly, I engaged in conversations with Year 8-10 students from a secondary school in Germany through focus groups and a

questionnaire, to gain insights into their perspectives on the value of citizenship education for their uptake of citizenship activities. Finally, I conducted interviews with citizenship education and related subject teachers from the same school, to gain insights into teachers' perspectives on the value of citizenship education for their students' uptake of citizenship activities.

Findings suggest that citizenship education has the capacity to encourage young people to take up citizenship activities. Aspects of citizenship education that encourage young people to take up citizenship activities include gaining political knowledge, learning participatory skills, and learning about current political issues. In terms of pedagogical approaches, findings indicate success of approaches that allow student agency, raise interest, enable practical and active learning, are characterised by positive student-teacher interactions, and promote a democratic classroom climate. While findings suggest that many students experienced these aspects in their citizenship education lessons, this was not true for every participant and especially active and practical learning experiences decreased during the pandemic. Further barriers to experience the previously described learning approaches in citizenship education lessons, included overall low and irregular citizenship education contact time and deep-seated systemic power-relationships which make increasing student agency difficult for teachers and students.

Findings also indicate some missed opportunities in citizenship education with potentially positive effects on young people's uptake of citizenship activities. Missed opportunities included exploring the various ways students are already engaged in the community, during lessons which can help to emphasise young people's role as current citizens as opposed to future citizens. In addition, participants' high uptake of unofficial citizenship activities was not reflected in their *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons. Including these unofficial citizenship experiences in lessons could be, firstly, an opportunity to increase students' efficacy by acknowledging their current engagement as citizens. Secondly, this could be a venue to highlight limitations of exclusive participation in unofficial venues and promoting the uptake of some party politics citizenship activities as well, so young people can be part of official political decisions in their communities (Bennett, 2003). Findings also indicate that while different citizen ideals are promoted in *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons, there were not enough opportunities for participants to experience justice-oriented citizenship at their schools, which has implications for the extent to which they can become change-makers in the future. Justice-oriented citizens are particularly important in

today's world which is affected by rapid changes and complex global issues including climate change, insecurity and misinformation, and thus, needs young people who learn to be active citizens so they can intervene as “transformers of that world” (Freire, 1970, p.73).

10.3 Original contributions to knowledge

This research makes original empirical, theoretical, and methodological contributions to a timely debate in the youth studies literature, namely young people's political participation in changing democratic societies. In this section I summarise eight original contributions to knowledge, made with this research.

10.3.1 Extending existing definitions of citizenship activities tailored to young people below the voting age and in a rural context

This research contributes to the debate about the conceptualisation of citizenship activities (see for example Fox, 2014; Hooghe et al., 2014; O'Toole, 2010). I contribute to this debate by extending existing definitions of citizenship activities in terms of young people from rural communities and below the voting age, by focusing on the spaces relevant to and accessible to young people.

Citizenship activities aim at influencing governmental personnel or their actions, target community problems, have a political motive, provide a service to the community, or are related to community decision-making. Community refers to the school, local community, community clubs and online communities

(Adapted from Theocharis & van Deth, 2018; Verba & Nie, 1972)

Findings from this research suggest that by using this definition, I was able to capture a wide range of young people's citizenship activities, often disregarded in existing studies, particularly at school, and in the local community which appear to be key citizenship contexts for young people from rural areas (Kleiner & Klärner, 2019; Weller, 2009)

10.3.2 Proposing citizenship spaces at school and in (rural) communities

A further original contribution of this research was to explore the range of young people's citizenship spaces at school and in their communities. Based on reviewing literature, I proposed school and community spaces for young people's citizenship engagement and explored them with empirical data (see Figure 10.3).

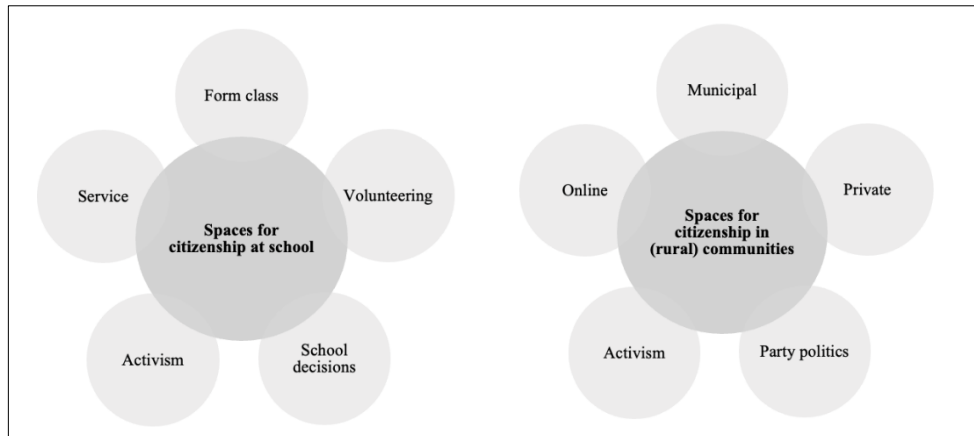


Figure 10.3: Ten proposed citizenship spaces and school and in (rural) communities

The proposed spaces extend available literature which predominantly focuses on single aspects of school or community citizenship spaces such as the form class (Brilling, 2012), school decisions (Leung et al., 2016), municipal activities (Simonson et al., 2022), private activities (Stolle et al., 2005), party politics (Busse et al., 2015; Klein & Papendorf, 2017) or activism (Pickard, 2019; Weller, 2009). The proposed spaces allow a flexible approach as they can be used as a starting point for the design of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods and because they can be modified to be used in other contexts. I disseminated preliminary findings on young people’s citizenship spaces at school at the Political Studies Association (PSA) Conference (Suppers, 2022b).

10.3.3 *Gaining empirical insights into citizenship activities of rural young people*

I also made original empirical contributions to knowledge by providing in-depth insights into the citizenship activities of young people from rural areas who are underrepresented in citizenship research, which often focuses exclusively on young people from urban areas (see for example Lam-Knott, 2020; McMahon et al., 2018; Pickard, 2022). Findings indicate that particularly uptake of justice-oriented and municipal citizenship activities were affected by a rural context. Factors such as access to justice-oriented causes like protests which predominantly take place in big cities, and some citizenship activities being regarded as inappropriate such as graffiti because they are less common in rural areas, limited participants’ justice-oriented citizenship activities. In terms of municipal participation, findings indicate regular engagement in community service activities such as the voluntary fire brigade due to their significance to rural areas. It should be noted that these empirical insights are context-bound as they were collected at one case study school in a unique rural

context. Nevertheless, I argue that, through the rich description of the case study and findings in this thesis, readers should be able to apply some results to other contexts.

10.3.4 *Gaining insights into young people’s emerging citizenship dimensions*

This research also makes original contributes to the debate about transformational changes to Western democratic systems, particularly to our understanding of the shift in citizens’ participation and an expansion of citizens’ participation repertoire (Flinders et al., 2020; Norris, 2002). This research also contributes to understanding these emerging citizenship dimensions in terms of young people below the voting age from rural municipalities. To explore these dimensions, I proposed a framework and explored it with empirical data (see Figure 10.4).

Traditional citizenship dimensions		Emerging citizenship dimensions
official	↔	unofficial
offline	↔	online
national	↔	<i>glocal</i>
collective	↔	individual
system-based	↔	issues-based
personally-responsible, participatory	↔	justice-oriented
regular	↔	sporadic

Figure 10.4: Proposed framework for traditional and emerging citizenship dimensions

This framework offered a novel approach to explore young people’s participation by describing overlapping emerging dimensions characterising citizenship activities. I suggest that this is more illustrative of young people’s heterogenous experiences than using citizen typologies (see for example Amnå & Ekman, 2014; Bang, 2005) which did not fully reflect my participants’ experiences, who were often engaged in multiple overlapping emerging and traditional citizenship dimensions. Moreover, the framework extends citizenship taxonomies (see for example Ekman & Amnå, 2012; Theocharis & van Deth, 2018) by looking beyond the type of activities at their modes, spaces, goals, and frequency, to understand their nature in more detail. I disseminated findings regarding the proposed framework through conference presentations at the Political Studies Association (PSA) and the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) conferences (Suppers, 2021c, 2021a), and an article published in the Journal of Youth Studies (Suppers, 2022c).

10.3.5 Methodological contribution to the application of citizen models with qualitative and quantitative data sets

This research also contributes by offering insights into the application of two citizen models (Bennett, 2003; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004b) with qualitative and quantitative data sets. While these citizen frameworks are frequently used in the literature (see for example Leung et al. 2014; Zamir & Baratz, 2013), research rarely defines how they were used during the analysis process and how different citizen types were identified in the data. I offer insights into using the frameworks with thematic analysis, quantitative content analysis and ranked questionnaire questions. I disseminated findings regarding the practical application of Westheimer and Kahne's citizen framework with qualitative data, together with a colleague at the Political Studies Association (PSA) conference (Hosoda & Suppers, 2022).

10.3.6 Methodological contribution to co-production with secondary school students

This research also makes a methodological contribution to the expanding field of co-production. While there is an increasing number of studies looking at how to include participants and particularly young people into the research process, co-production in a secondary school context and particularly including secondary school students in data analysis is rare (Campbell et al., 2019). This research, thus, makes an original contribution by including secondary students in the design, data collection and data analysis stage of the research. Furthermore, this research makes original contributions to a fully online application of co-production. It should be acknowledged, that the use of a worksheet to support student-researchers to analyse data was unsuccessful. Nevertheless, valuable lessons could be learned from this finding, which I am going to present at the Political Studies Association (PSA) conference in 2023.

10.3.7 Methodological contribution to conducting online focus groups with secondary school students

Since the Covid pandemic, there has been increasing interest in conducting research remotely to reduce infection risks. With this research I make original methodological contributions to conducting online focus groups with secondary school students. I particularly contribute through original applications of Zoom polls and breakout rooms during focus groups. I disseminated initial findings on conducting online focus groups at the 15th Research Students' Education Conference (RSEC) and a virtual Researching Youth Methods Seminar Series (Suppers, 2021b, 2022a).

10.3.8 Theoretical and empirical insights into the value of citizenship education on young people's uptake of emerging citizenship activities

This research also contributes to the debate about the value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship activities (see for example Geboers et al., 2013; Moxon & Escamilla, 2022; Weinberg, 2020, 2021). This research contributes to this debate by adding to the few existing studies that collect and analyse in-depth qualitative data on young people's experience of citizenship education and its value for their citizenship activities. Furthermore, this research contributes to our understanding of young people's and citizenship teachers' experiences of the newly developed citizenship education subject, *Gemeinschaftskunde*, in *Baden-Württemberg*. I particularly focused on the strengths, weaknesses and missed opportunities of the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum and lessons for young people's uptake of citizenship activities. I am in the process of disseminating findings on these strengths, weaknesses and missed opportunities in form of an article for a German practitioner's journal. In this article I am offering teaching activities to be used in *Gemeinschaftskunde* and related subjects which are informed by my findings. A draft of this article will be made available to Anderberg middle school free of charge as a means of fostering reciprocity and to allow for a timely dissemination of results.

10.4 Limitations of this research

In the previous section I outlined the original contributions to knowledge, I made with this research. In this section I acknowledge five limitations of the research.

10.4.1 The social and political context: The Covid pandemic and general elections

The social and political context within which research, particularly research on citizenship and political perceptions, is conducted, can have a marked impact on findings (see for example Barber & Ross, 2018; Ross, 2021). This research was particularly affected by the Covid pandemic which impacted participants' ability to access some citizenship activities and affected participants' interest in politics. Due to several home-schooling phases at the case study school, resulting from pandemic school lockdowns, participants' citizenship education lessons were also affected by, for example, an increase in passive pedagogical approaches. I included questions on how the pandemic affected participants' citizenship activities and experience of citizenship education, in focus groups and the questionnaire to capture the effect of the pandemic on my data. I also asked participants to reflect on their citizen

engagement and citizenship education lessons in the past two years, which also included pre-pandemic engagement. To achieve transparency, I discussed the impacts of the Covid pandemic throughout the thesis (see for example sections 5.5.1, 6.7 and 8.3.5). In addition, participants' responses were affected by the German general elections, which took place in September 2021, shortly after the pilot study focus groups and shortly before main study focus groups. The general elections may have increased participants' interest in voting and the importance of voting in participants' citizenship education lessons. I also reflected on this throughout the thesis.

10.4.2 Case study approach and generalisability

While I deliberately chose a case study method for this research to gain in-depth, contextualised and multi-perspective insights into participants' experiences, this approach limits generalisability of the results to other contexts. To allow the readers of this research to decide to what extent the results might apply to their context, I provided an in-depth description of the case study municipality, case study school, participants and findings of this research (Smith, 2018).

10.4.3 Dealing with conceptual gaps

Throughout this research conceptual gaps between participants' and my definition of key concepts were evident, which is a common issue, discussed in the literature (see for example Kennelly, 2011; O'Toole, 2010; Pickard, 2019; Sveningsson, 2016). Conceptual gaps occurred regarding the concept of citizenship activities, citizenship spaces at school and citizenship spaces beyond school. Furthermore, I expect there to be some conceptual gaps between the readers of this research and my own in relation to the seven emerging citizenship dimensions. Conceptual gaps affected this research by participants potentially not sharing some of their citizenship activities because they did not define them as such. Participants also shared activities which did not fit my definition of citizenship. The latter was unproblematic because I could exclude them from some analyses. To mitigate the effects of the first issue, I provided a wide definition of citizenship activities to encourage participants to share as many citizenship activities as possible and used polls and follow-up questions to encourage participants' to also share activities they may not have thought about initially. While I could have avoided some conceptual gaps by providing a detailed definition of citizenship activities, I consciously decided against this because in this research I was interested in gaining an understanding of the *range* of young people's citizenship activities.

10.4.4 Proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions: Using continua with empirical data

As previously discussed, I made an original contribution with the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions. The framework, however, is imperfect in terms of how I treat the seven continua with empirical data. While I perceive the seven emerging dimensions on continua, ranging from traditional to emerging, I treated them as binaries in the analysis. Furthermore, I decided not to allow a citizenship activity to be both traditional and emerging in terms of the same dimension. A citizenship activity, for example, could not be online or offline at the same time, which is problematic because in reality this is possible. I made these two decisions, to enable systematic and consistent data analysis. To mitigate the impact of this limitation, I made these decisions transparent when I described the framework (see Literature review section 2.6). I also defined each traditional and emerging dimension to allow me to make consistent decisions when assigning the dimensions to citizenship activities. Consistent decision-making was also achieved through keeping a record of my coding decisions (see Methodology section 5.9.1.3). Furthermore, while I initially named emerging dimensions ‘new’, I decided to use the word ‘emerging’ instead to express the continua nature of the dimensions as opposed to being binary concepts.

10.4.5 Co-construction: Analysing transcripts with secondary school students

While adding an element of co-construction to this research in form of student-led focus groups offered unique insights and made the research more participatory, this approach had some limitations. Firstly, not all student-researchers appeared to experience a sense of ownership over their focus groups, which might have been related to the fact that they were involved in the research at a late stage and had limited time to plan their question guides and focus groups. The issue of involving young people into research at a late stage is also discussed in the literature. While young people can feel more ownership when they are involved from the start in shaping research questions for a project, this makes the research unpredictable and might not be geared towards gaps in the literature which can be particularly problematic for a PhD project (see for example Fleming, 2010). Secondly, student-researchers’ involvement in data analysis resulted in a superficial analysis which I was not able to use for this research. It should be noted that student-researchers conducted ethical research, involved their focus group participants in some in-depth discussions and collected some rich data with unique insights. Thus, the limitation discussed here, solely relates to the data analysis part. I argue that two factors

negatively impacted student-researchers' data analysis. One factor was time, which was limited to a 60-minute Zoom session for the data analysis process. The second factor was the pandemic which meant data analysis had to be carried out using Zoom. Data analysis may have, however, benefitted from in-person opportunities such as using physical data analysis material like post-its, posters and highlighters.

10.5 Implications and recommendations for policy and practice

In this section, I summarise the implications of this research by making recommendations to policy makers, curriculum planners, teacher educators, local communities, schools, (citizenship education) teachers and students. Recommendations are presented in form of two themes, namely increasing young people's justice-oriented citizenship activities (10.5.1) and making citizenship education more responsive to young people's citizenship needs (10.5.2). Recommendations are presented in two themes, rather than in relation to individual stakeholders, because of their complexity which requires different actors to work together. I will publish these recommendations in a German practitioner journal. I aim for this publication to be accessible and practical to use for teachers including practical tips, discussion questions and resources teachers can use in their (citizenship education) classes.

10.5.1 Young people must be given access to and must be supported to participate in justice-oriented citizenship

Findings from this research suggest that participants had access to, participated in and were invited into a range of citizenship activities in their communities and their schools, with most of their citizenship activities being limited to minimal, personally-responsible and participatory citizenship. Today's rapidly changing democratic societies, that face complex global issues such as climate change, insecurity and misinformation, however, require active and justice-oriented citizens. Based on findings from this research, I make five recommendations to increase young people's maximal, justice-oriented citizenship. These recommendations are aimed at institutions and stakeholders at different school and community levels, and particularly apply to rural communities such as described in the case study in this research. Firstly, findings indicate that participants' lessons, and overall school participation constituted a missed opportunity for citizenship with teachers often having the decision-making monopoly. An exception to this was the form class where participants often negotiated issues with form-teachers and were part of

decisions. Thus, I recommend that teachers and school leaders reassess whether they can transfer some of the decision-making power at their schools, to their students. In terms of Anderberg middle school, the student council and *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons stood out as spaces with particularly low student agency and, thus, should be a focus for increasing student agency. Since transferring power to students can be a complex endeavour, teachers should be supported through professional development and increasing student agency should be a part of initial teacher education programmes. Furthermore, this teacher professional development should not only address the practicalities of increasing student agency at school but also teachers' emotions and systemic barriers in place that may prevent agency (see for example Black & Mayes, 2020; Dunlop et al., 2020). A useful approach for increasing student agency is the concept of 'thickening agency' which is the idea that students' involvement should be increased depending on their developmental stages and the tasks they can be involved with (Jerome & Starkey, 2022).

Secondly, I recommend that school leaders and teachers become more sensitive and responsive to existing student agency at their schools. In case of Anderberg middle school, this should include a more supportive approach towards students' engagement in Fridays for Future protests. While I acknowledge the complex position of school leaders and teachers within competing demands of ensuring students' school attendance and supporting students to become critical and active citizens, I argue that Anderberg middle schools' response could be improved in the future. Supporting students with their environmental concerns at school could be done by involving young people in conversations through the student council and by encouraging and supporting bottom-up, student-led climate change projects at schools and in the local community.

Thirdly, community decision-making constituted a further missed opportunity for involving young people as active, critical citizens. Based on the findings of this research, I recommend that local communities should make more connections with schools to involve young people in community decisions. Results indicate that there were already multiple interactions between the community and Anderberg middle school. These connections, however, predominantly encouraged volunteering for the community rather than being involved in community decisions. I also recommend that local communities encourage young people to ask for a youth council in their community. Furthermore, when a youth council is developed, I suggest young people should be partners in this process, following Hart's (1997) ladder of participation by

aiming for steps seven: “child-initiated and directed” and eight: “child-initiated and shared decisions with adults” (p.41), rather than creating youth councils that are tokenistic. Creating more ties with community leaders can also aid with counteracting young people’s disengagement from party politics based on their negative perceptions of politicians and political parties. Since currently most impactful political decisions are still made in the party politics space, I argue that *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers should help young people to establish relationships within this space. In addition to teachers’ efforts to connect with community leaders, I recommend that governmental bodies make it easier for schools and teachers to connect young people with party politics. This, for example, involves creating more opportunities for citizenship education classes to visit state or federal parliaments and meet members of parliament. This also includes making access easier and more flexible. Participating teachers, for example, suggested it presents a barrier for them to visit the parliament with their class if they were asked to apply for a visit a year in advance when they do not know yet which citizenship classes they will teach the following year. I suggest that with the advance of online video conferencing software, young people could also be connected with members of parliament through digital tours or having online meetings with members of parliament or municipal politicians. This could be organised in a similar way as the “Politics Project” (<https://www.thepoliticsproject.org.uk/>) in the UK, which is a non-profit organisation that connects politicians to school classes by running virtual calls, called digital surgeries, during which students have the opportunity to ask questions to members of parliament during lessons. I also recommend including this in citizenship teacher education courses. Engaging teachers in an excursion to the parliament or have a visit of politicians during teacher education courses can be a helpful way to overcome hesitations that may be felt by teachers in training. This is particularly important because research suggests that whether visits by politicians are beneficial to students, “...might heavily depend on the speaker’s comprehensibility, interactivity and attractiveness” (Quintelier, 2010, p.141).

Fourthly, formally excluding young people from political decisions and the narrative of young people as non-activist and apathetic, can harm young people’s uptake of justice-oriented citizenship activities by negatively affecting their efficacy. Thus, I recommend that policies that exclude young people from political decisions such as voting age restrictions, or policies that re-enforce harmful youth disengagement narratives such as the re-instatement of a youth voluntary year in Germany, should be carefully reconsidered, discussed as follows. Findings from this research suggest

that the current national election voting age restriction in Germany acted as a barrier to some participants' interest and participation in official political processes. Thus, in line with debates from across Europe, I encourage continuing the conversations about lowering the voting age (see for example Faas & Könneke, 2021; Huebner et al., 2021; Wagner et al., 2012) which have already led to establishing voting at 16 in most municipal elections in Germany and some German federal elections including *Brandenburg* and *Schleswig Holstein*. I also recommend that the current debate about re-introducing a mandatory volunteering year should not be tied to 'being young' as it will re-enforce (false) youth disengagement narratives which can act as a barrier to young people's engagement. Furthermore, results from this research suggest that participants are already engaged as volunteers in their community and at school.

Finally, I recommend considering the importance of foundational spaces for encouraging young people to take up citizenship activities. This means encouraging community leaders, school leaders and teachers to consider which foundational spaces can be created or supported in their institutions and how these spaces can help nurture young people's citizenship. This consideration should also include a reflection on which young people have access to these spaces and are nurtured to take up citizenship activities, to counteract reproducing inequalities. Key foundational spaces discussed in this research included community clubs, the form class and extracurricular activities at school. Findings indicate that particularly those foundational spaces that fostered a sense of belonging and where young people's voices were heard, were successful in encouraging young people to take up citizenship activities.

10.5.2 School-based citizenship education is essential for young people's justice-oriented citizenship but must become more responsive to young people's citizenship needs

While findings from this research suggest that a large portion of participants' citizenship and citizenship learning takes place beyond *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons in their communities and at school, I argue that school based-citizenship education is essential for their development as citizens. This is because *Gemeinschaftskunde* has the potential to help young people to reflect on the political dimension of their participation at school and in their communities. Reflecting citizenship activities politically is important to increase young people's belief in themselves as current

citizens and avoids young people's exclusive engagement in minimal, personally-responsible and participatory activities aiming at helping and volunteering without critically reflecting underlying issues and participating in impactful political decisions in their communities. While I argue that school-based citizenship education is essential for young people's justice-oriented citizenship, *Gemeinschaftskunde* lessons in their current state, are not fully responsive to young people's citizenship needs. This is, firstly, because *Gemeinschaftskunde* focuses on learning *about* citizenship which has led to an overcrowded curriculum, forcing teachers to move from one topic to the next without time to use active and practical learning such as engaging in regular discussions. Secondly, because *Gemeinschaftskunde* predominantly promotes traditional citizenship activities, especially in the party politics space while participants in this research reported most engagement in emerging citizenship dimensions especially in their communities. As follows, I make four recommendations to better align *Gemeinschaftskunde* with young people's citizenship needs. Firstly, in line with literature on curriculum planning, I suggest the citizenship education curriculum should be decluttered (see for example Lehner, 2020). Decluttering the curriculum is a particularly important step to allow teachers to use more active and practical pedagogical approaches, which often require more class time than passive learning. Active and practical pedagogical approaches in citizenship education lessons can be particularly important to develop skills for justice-oriented citizenship such as expressing one's opinion or being part of decisions. Based on this research, there are some topics in the Year 7 *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum which could be shortened, as some Year 7 topics were perceived as unpolitical and uninteresting. This includes, for example, achievement objectives "Living in a social media world" (KM BW, 2016a, p.16) and "Family and society" (KM BW, 2016a, p.18). While decluttering the curriculum can increase some learning for justice-oriented citizenship, I argue that this is not enough and should be combined with an increase in contact hours which can further allow teachers to use active and practical pedagogies. I suggest that contact hours should be increased from five to eight single lessons (45 minutes) which would allow a weekly double lesson (90 minutes) of *Gemeinschaftskunde* for Year 7, 8, 9 and 10. According to findings from this research, having double lessons throughout the whole school year allows teachers to use more practical and active learning approaches such as discussions and to pick up on current events happening throughout the school year. A further suggestion in line with this recommendation is to expand citizenship learning to additional school spaces such as form classes. Findings suggest that the form class and form times are already important spaces for

citizenship at Anderberg middle school. This is related to the fact that form class students spend much time together and many rules, events and interactions have to be negotiated in this space. Results, also suggest, however, that whether topics such as electing class representatives are discussed politically and used for political learning, depends on individual teachers and their subject expertise. Thus, I recommend assigning, where possible, citizenship education teachers to teach citizenship education in their form classes. This allows citizenship teachers to use citizenship related learning from form time, such as electing class representatives or class council meetings, for citizenship learning. A further option would be to support those form teachers who may not have in-depth expertise in citizenship education. This could be done by providing professional development and teaching material to form class teachers that helps them to reflect class decisions, class representative elections and other relevant topics, politically. Developing this material, however, should be an additional task a teacher at the school is paid for, rather than an added unpaid burden for *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers. This recommendation is grounded in a system in some UK schools where form class teachers receive teaching material that is developed by a teacher at their school and supports teachers to teach their students about current events.

Secondly, in line with literature, I recommend that *Gemeinschaftskunde* must be more responsive to the types of citizenship activities and citizenship dimensions young people are engaged in (Chou et al., 2017). In terms of the participants in this research these are emerging citizenship dimensions, especially engagement in their municipalities. As opposed to Chou and colleagues (2017), who recommend co-constructing new citizenship curricula with young people, I argue that young people's experiences can be included in existing curricula by encouraging students to reflect on their current citizen participation. This reflection could be initiated by *Gemeinschaftskunde* teachers using the proposed citizenship spaces (see Figures 3.3 and 3.7) as a starting point. This could also increase students' efficacy by showing them that they are already engaged as citizens in many ways. This means the role of citizenship education shifts from introducing young people to citizenship, to seeing young people as current citizens and helping them to reflect their citizen experiences politically. During these conversations, citizenship education teachers should also help students to reflect on the spaces within which most impactful political decisions are made, to ensure students can learn how they can make their voices heard.

Finally, I recommend that the current practitioner guidance on democratic education is useful to achieve many curricular goals for justice-oriented citizenship. Unfortunately results indicate that none of the teachers at the case study school has used the booklet because of its academic format and length, which does not fit into teachers' school days. Furthermore, the booklet has not been distributed widely with most teachers at the school never having received it. I, thus, suggest that a shorter, more accessible form of the booklet should be distributed to schools such as short videos, a website, or a short pamphlet with key points. To be transferred into the classroom, it would also benefit from offering practical applications to teachers such as resources that can be directly used with students.

10.6 Recommended future studies

In this section, I recommend four future studies based on reviewing literature and the results of this thesis.

10.6.1 Researching foundational activities

Findings of this research suggest that 'foundational activities', which are based on Rowe and Marsh's (2018) protopolitical sphere, is a valuable concept to understand how young people enter citizenship activities. Thus, I argue future research could explore young people's foundational activities, the contexts these activities occur in and how young people enter citizenship activities from foundational activities.

10.6.2 Using a wide definition tailored to participants when researching young people's citizenship activities

A wider definition of citizenship activities should be used when researching young people's participation. This is related to the previous implication, suggesting that young people are unique in the access and barriers they face to political participation which should be considered in deciding what to 'count' as citizenship. Findings from this research, for example indicate that young people are often engaged in adult-initiated citizenship activities, thus, only looking at activities that are done voluntarily, as for example proposed by Verba and Nie (1972), can limit results on the citizenship activities young people participate in. Thus, I recommend that future studies, such as future rounds of the ICCS study apply wider definitions of citizenship activities to avoid misrepresenting young people's citizen engagement.

10.6.3 Including a wider range of citizenship spaces when researching young people's citizenship activities

A wider range of citizenship contexts should be included in future research on young people's political participation. These contexts should be tailored to the young people involved in the research considering factors such as young people's age, socio-economic background, location, existing power-imbalances and how this may impact their access to citizenship activities. The ten citizenship contexts for young people's participation at school and in communities (see Literature review sections 3.3.3 and 3.4.3) offer a starting point to reflect on the range of citizenship contexts that might be relevant to young people, particularly those in a rural community attending secondary schools. Including a wide range of citizenship contexts into data collection instruments is important in order to fully reflect young people's nuanced participation and to avoid promoting an (incorrect) youth disengagement narrative.

10.6.4 Conducting further studies with the proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions

The proposed framework for emerging citizenship dimensions could be further explored in future research. It could, for example, be used to compare young people's citizenship activities in different countries or contexts such as from urban versus rural areas or from different socio-economic backgrounds. It should be acknowledged, however, that the data required to use the proposed framework needs to be qualitative and tailored to the framework. Thus, carrying out representative studies with the proposed framework could prove difficult and time-intensive. Future studies using the proposed framework could also gain further insights into the seven emerging citizenship dimensions.

10.7 Final thoughts

My interest in this topic has developed during my time as a secondary school teacher where I experienced a disconnect between the way young people engaged as citizens and the way their participation was framed in academic literature (focus on official spaces) and public discourse (disengagement narrative). In contrast to public and academic discourses, my experience indicated that young people were far from disengaged, instead they were passionate about many different issues affecting their current and future lives and engaged in a wide range of unofficial citizenship spaces at their school and in their communities. With this PhD research I was able to capture this unofficial participation, which is often overlooked in citizenship research

because it happens in less obviously political spaces. Additionally, my research has highlighted that many of these unofficial activities can be described as personally-responsible or participatory, rather than justice-oriented, aiming to challenge the status quo. This is problematic since justice-oriented citizens are fundamental to deal with the complex global issues such as climate change, misinformation and insecurity, facing our world currently and in the future. I argue that municipalities and schools are spaces where these justice-oriented skills should be developed by offering opportunities for young people to raise and decide on the issues they care about. Instead, my results suggest, that opportunities for participation in these spaces were often restricted to helping and planning events, rather than learning to be critical, making decisions and creating change. While the *Gemeinschaftskunde* subject offered some opportunities to develop justice-oriented citizen, I identified a range of missed opportunities, particularly in terms of active learning and fostering a democratic classroom climate. Thus, I argue our focus must shift from including young people in minimal, personally-responsible activities to offering opportunities for genuine, development-appropriate, justice-oriented agency in school and community decisions. This change must be facilitated by schools, teachers and teacher educators but also by community leaders and governments through reassessing some of the constitutional restrictions limiting young people's agency such as voting age restrictions. The inspiring conversations I had with young people who were passionate about a wide range of issues and teachers with a keen interest in developing critical citizens, make me hopeful, that given the suggested changes are addressed, we will see more 'citizenship-rich' communities and schools in the future.

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³⁶ Anderberg is a pseudonym for the case study municipality to protect the identity of research participants.

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12 Appendices

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A. Literature search: Young people's participation in a changing democracy

Search	Keyword set 1		Keyword set 2		Keywords set 3
1	citizenship OR citizenship activities OR political participation OR political activism OR political engagement OR civic engagement OR civic participation OR civic activism OR volunteering OR social movement	AND	youth OR young people OR adolescents OR teenagers OR secondary students	AND OR	changing democracy OR emerging OR new
2	citizenship OR citizenship activities OR political participation OR political activism OR political engagement OR civic engagement OR civic participation OR civic activism OR volunteering OR social movement	AND	youth OR young people OR adolescents OR teenagers OR secondary students	AND	unofficial OR informal OR private, sporadic OR irregular OR online OR internet OR justice-oriented OR activist OR radical OR individual OR personal OR issues-based OR cause-based OR glocal OR local OR global OR cosmopolitan.
3	Bürgerschaft OR politische Beteiligung OR politische Partizipation OR Bürgerbeteiligung OR demokratische Teilhabe OR demokratische Beteiligung OR soziales Engagement OR soziale Bewegung	AND	junge Menschen OR Jugend OR Jugendliche OR Teenager OR Schüler OR Schülerinnen OR Realschüler OR Gymnasiasten OR Hauptschüler OR Gemeinschaftsschüler	AND OR	veränderte Demokratie OR neu
4	Bürgerschaft OR politische Beteiligung OR politische Partizipation OR Bürgerbeteiligung OR demokratische Teilhabe OR demokratische Beteiligung OR soziales Engagement OR soziale Bewegung	AND	junge Menschen OR Jugend OR Jugendliche OR Teenager OR Schüler OR Schülerinnen OR Realschüler OR Gymnasiasten OR Hauptschüler OR Gemeinschaftsschüler	AND	informell OR privat OR sporadisch OR irregulär OR online OR Internet OR aktivistisch OR radikal OR Protest OR individuell OR persönlich OR themenspezifisch OR global OR lokal OR global.

B. Literature search: Young people’s citizenship activities at school and in (rural) communities

Search	Keyword set 1	Keyword set 2	Keywords set 3
1	Bürgerschaft OR politische Beteiligung OR politische Partizipation OR Bürgerbeteiligung OR demokratische Teilhabe OR demokratische Beteiligung OR soziales Engagement OR soziale Bewegung	AND	junge Menschen OR Jugend OR Jugendliche OR Teenager OR Schüler OR Schülerinnen OR Realschüler OR Gymnasiasten OR Hauptschüler OR Gemeinschaftsschüler
2	Bürgerschaft OR politische Beteiligung OR politische Partizipation OR Bürgerbeteiligung OR demokratische Teilhabe OR demokratische Beteiligung OR soziales Engagement OR soziale Bewegung	AND	junge Menschen OR Jugend OR Jugendliche OR Teenager OR Schüler OR Schülerinnen OR Realschüler OR Gymnasiasten OR Hauptschüler OR Gemeinschaftsschüler
3	citizenship OR citizenship activities OR political participation OR political activism OR political engagement OR civic engagement OR civic participation OR civic activism OR volunteering OR social movement	AND	youth OR young people OR adolescents OR teenagers OR secondary students OR primary school students
4	citizenship OR citizenship activities OR political participation OR political activism OR political engagement OR civic engagement OR civic participation OR civic activism OR volunteering OR social movement	AND	youth OR young people OR adolescents OR teenagers OR secondary students OR primary school students

C. Summary of literature on young people’s citizenship activities at school and in (rural) communities

Study name and references	Summary of study design, focus and participants
Youth Study <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> (Youth study BW) (Antes, et al., 2020)	The Youth Study BW used quantitative questionnaires with 2,311 young people aged 12-18 from almost all municipalities of <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> . It focussed on a wide range of youth related issues, including young people’s participation at school, in their municipalities and in politics.
Youth in rural regions in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> (Rural Youth Study BW) (Antes et al., 2022)	The Rural Youth Study BW includes a secondary analysis of the previously introduced Youth study BW, using only data related to rural regions (from 773 young people aged 12-18). It also includes additional representative quantitative data, from 1,409 young people aged 12-18 from almost all municipalities in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> .
Municipal Children and Youth Participation in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> 2018 (LpB BW, 2019)	This study used a quantitative questionnaire with municipal councils in 1,086 of the 1,101 municipalities in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> . The focus of the questionnaire was to find out how young people are included in municipal decisions.
International Civics and Citizenship Education Study 2016 (ICCS) (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017)	This study is the most comprehensive study on young people’s political participation in Germany. Unfortunately, it only includes participants from one German state, namely North-Rhine Westphalia, caused by the low importance Germany places on political participation studies in comparison to literacy, numeracy, MINT and IT (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017). The authors suggest, that due to the high number and similar characteristics of students in North Rhine Westphalia and Germany, the study results are also applicable to other German states (Abs & Hahn-Laudenberg, 2017). A total of 1,451 students aged 14, from 59 secondary schools in North Rhine Westphalia participated in the study. The study also allows a comparison to students from other countries.
Youth participation in Finland and Germany (Feldmann-Wojtachnia et al., 2011)	This study compares the opportunities at school and in communities, available to and taken up by young Germans and Finns. In the German, sample a total of 12,084 students aged 12-18, 631 teachers, and 422 school administrators and representative were surveyed in 42 communities in Germany.
Citizenship education at schools (Achour & Wagner, 2019)	This study explores the importance of school-based citizenship education for students. It also provides some insights into the way students participate in citizenship activities at school and in their communities. The study surveyed a total of 3,378 Year 9-13 students from across all school types and all federal states at 99 schools in Germany.
German volunteering survey 2019 (Simonson et al., 2022)	This representative survey is conducted every five years and focuses on voluntary participation in Germany. The survey defines volunteering as all activities that are carried out voluntarily with a focus on community benefit rather than personal gain. It was conducted across Germany, in form of telephone interviews with

	27,762 people from the age of 14. In addition to the volunteering survey 2019, I also reviewed a secondary analysis, using the data of the 2014 volunteering survey, focusing on volunteering in rural regions (Kleiner & Klärner, 2019).
UNICEF Questionnaire 2019 (UNICEF, 2019)	This is a non-representative quantitative study using an online survey with 12,009 young people below the age of 17 with a mean age of 13. Participants were asked about participation opportunities in their municipalities and their schools along a wide range of other topics.
LBS Children-barometer (Müthing et al., 2018)	This study reports data from a representative questionnaire, carried out every two years with young people aged 8-14 from all federal states in Germany. It was carried out in 2017 and includes results from 10,025 students from Germany. Next to a range of different topics this study asked participants about their engagement at school and in their municipalities.
FES Youth Study 2015 (Gaiser, Hanke et al., 2016)	This study focuses on young people's types of political participation. The quantitative part of the study consisted of a representative questionnaire with a total of 2,075 young people from Germany, aged 14-29. In the qualitative part, 20 young people characterised by high political participation, took part in in-depth qualitative interviews.
Shell Youth Study 2019 (Albert et al., 2019)	The Shell study is carried out every five years and explores a range of different topics relevant to young people in Germany. The 2019 Shell Youth Study includes only one topic relevant to this research namely societal participation (Chapter 2). The quantitative part of the Shell study reports representative interview results from 2,572 young people aged 12-25 using a standardised questionnaire. In addition, qualitative results are reported from in-depth interviews with 20 young people. In addition, to the 18th Shell study, I reviewed a secondary analysis of the 2002, 2006 and 2010 Shell Youth studies focusing on youth protests (Hurrelmann et al., 2013).
PARTISPACE Project (McMahon et al., 2018)	This study examined how young people participate in decisions in their communities with a focus on forms of participation. The project team supported young people aged 15 to 30 from cities in Bulgaria, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the UK to design and carry out participation projects which were evaluated and reported in a range of publications
Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) (Keating et al., 2010)	This study is a longitudinal exploration of citizenship education and young people's political participation at school and in their communities, from the UK. The study included a longitudinal survey, biennial cross-sectional surveys and longitudinal case studies with young people aged 11 to 18.

D. Types of rural areas in Germany, differentiated by development



Types of rural areas

Successful rural regions	Rural regions with isolated problems	"Disconnected" regions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • low SGB II dependency • high income • high tax revenue • low proportion of school dropouts • high life expectancy • few new residents (<i>Zuzüge</i>) • good broadband supply • low local supply (<i>Nahversorgung</i>) e.g., access to public transport 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • medium SGB II dependency • medium income • medium tax revenue • medium proportion of school dropouts • medium life expectancy • slight emigration • medium broadband supply • very low local supply 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high dependency on SGB II • low income • low tax revenue • very high proportion of school dropouts • low life expectancy • greater emigration • poor broadband coverage • very poor local supply

Source: Translated from Sixtus et al. (2019, p. 12-14)

E. Literature search: The value of citizenship education for young people's uptake of citizenship activities

Search	Keyword set 1		Keyword set 2
1	citizenship education OR civic education OR social studies OR character education OR political education	AND	citizenship OR citizenship activities OR political participation OR political activism OR political engagement OR civic engagement OR civic participation OR civic activism OR volunteering OR social movement
2	Gemeinschaftskunde OR politische Bildung OR Sozialkunde OR Gesellschaftslehre OR EWG	AND	Bürgerschaft OR politische Beteiligung OR politische Partizipation OR Bürgerbeteiligung OR demokratische Teilhabe OR demokratische Beteiligung OR soziales Engagement OR soziale Bewegung

F. Achievement objectives for Years 7-10 Gemeinschaftskunde

Year 7-9	Society	Coexistence in social groups (Y7)	Living in a world of media (Y7)	Family and society (Y7)	Immigration to Germany (Y8)
		Students can find answers to the questions: which role expectations young people are exposed to, which conflicts result from this...and how conflicts in families and social groups can be solved...	Students can find answers to the questions: how young people can deal with personal data responsibly, how media representations influence young people...and which legal provisions there are for the protection of personal data...	Students can find answers to the questions: which forms of coexistence are particularly promoted by the state..., which possibilities there are to overcome gender gaps..., which legal provisions there are that pursue this goal, and how the increasing pluralisation of life plans shapes society...	Students can find answers to the questions: how German society is structured..., what significance immigration has for Germany and how immigration policy should be designed...
		Children's rights (Y7)	Youths' rights, responsibilities & the legal system (Y7)	Constitutional rights (Y8)	
		Students can find answers to the questions: which legal provisions there are to protect children...and how children's rights can be realised...	Students can find answers to the questions: how the state protects youth in public spaces..., which principles a constitutional state must fulfil, why juvenile offenders are punished differently than adults..., and how legal regulations and conflict resolution patterns can ensure peaceful coexistence in Germany...	Students can find answers to the questions: which legal regulations protect constitutional rights (<i>Grundrechte</i>)...and what significance constitutional rights have for living together in Germany and for individuals...	
Year 7-9	Polity	Participation at school (Y7)	Politics in the municipality (Y8)	Political decision-making in Germany (Y9)	
		Students can find answers to the questions: which opportunities students have to bring their interests into the school decision-making process, how decisions are made at school..., which legal provisions regulate school life..., how individual school bodies work together..., and how procedures aid in solving conflicts of interest at school...	Students can find answers to the questions: which possibilities are there for citizens and young people to bring their interests into the decision-making process in the municipality, how power is distributed in the municipality..., how individual bodies within the community work together..., how processes and institutions contribute to the regulation and protection of peaceful coexistence in the municipality...and how the municipality deals with its limited financial resources...	Students can find answers to the questions: which possibilities citizens have to bring their interests into the political decision-making process...how the constitution regulates participation..., how participation procedures contribute to democratic and non-violent resolution of conflicts of interest, how democracy can be secured and protected...and how the media is significant for democratic societies...	
		Peace and Human Rights (Y9)			
Year 10	Society	Responsibilities and problems of the welfare state (Y10)			
		Students can find answers to the questions: how the provision of the welfare state is outlined in the constitution which different ideas there are on the implementation of welfare state provisions..., and how the welfare state is designed...			

	Political decision-making in Germany (Y10)	The European Union (Y10)
Polity	Students can find answers to the questions: how power is distributed among constitutional decision-making organs in Germany..., how individual institutions in Germany interact...and how procedures and institutions contribute to the regulation and protection of peaceful coexistence...	Students can find answers to the questions: what possibilities do citizens have to bring their interests into the EU political decision-making process, how power is distributed between EU institutions..., how individual institutions within the EU interact with the EU..., and how EU decisions affect the lives of citizens...

Source: Summarised from the *Gemeinschaftskunde* curriculum (KM BW, 2016a, p.15-41). The years in brackets refer to the year each achievement objective is taught at Anderberg middle school.

G. Researcher-led focus group outline

Background question

Please introduce yourself briefly by saying your name, which municipality you live in and how long you have attended Anderberg middle school.

Part A: Citizenship activities beyond school

- 1) How do you participate as citizens outside of school? Citizens are all people living in a community. You are citizens.
 - a) Breakout room discussion: Discuss this question in a breakout room
 - b) Whole group discussion: Share what you have discussed in the breakout rooms
 - c) Follow-up questions:
 - Can you tell me more about that?
 - Why are you participating in this way? What do you want to achieve with this?
 - What does this activity mean to you?
 - How much time does it take? For how long have you been doing this activity?
 - Is anyone else involved in this way?
- 2) How have you participated in the following areas? (Each area discussed in-depth with participants)
 - Participation in the community
 - Private activities
 - Party politics
 - Activism (creating change because you disagree with something or want to achieve something)
 - Activities related to art or music
 - Online activities
- 3) I will now share a poll with more activities. Please select those activities you have done in the past two years at school

Community activities

- Helping people in your community
- Participating in decision-making in the community (e.g., planning facilities for youth)
- Taking on a leadership role in your community
- Being a member of a community club or organisation (e.g., sport, music, church)
- Helping in a community club or organisation (e.g., raising money, coaching)
- Participating in decision-making in a community club or organisation
- Taking on a leadership role in a community club or organisation

Private activities

- Buying or not buying a product because of ethical or political reasons (e.g., fair trade)
- Decision-making in your family or peer group
- Donating money to a good cause
- Recycling
- Discussing political issues with your family or peer group
- Getting information about political issues from newspaper, radio or TV

Party politics

- Voting in an election (e.g., local election)
- Attending a political meeting (e.g., council meeting)
- Contacting an MP by telephone, email or personal visit to discuss an issue
- Connecting with an MP on social media to discuss an issue

Activism

- Joining a political action group (e.g., Greenpeace) or participate in a citizen initiative (e.g., Stuttgart 21)
- Writing an article/comment on a political or social issue to a newspaper
- Going on strike for a political demand (e.g., Fridays for Future)
- Taking part in a demonstration
- Writing political slogans/graffiti on walls
- Wearing clothing with a political message (e.g., T-Shirt, badge, bracelet)
- Starting a fundraiser event (e.g., gofundme.de)

- 4) Poll follow-up discussion of the activities in the poll
- Did you think of any other activities while filling out the poll?
 - Can you say more about the activities that you participated in?
 - Can you say more about the activities you did not participate in?

Part B: Good citizenship

- 1) We talked about how citizens participate. Now let's take a closer look at citizens.
- a) Breakout room discussion: Discuss this question in a breakout room
 - b) Whole group discussion: Share what you have discussed in the breakout rooms
 - c) Follow-up questions:
 - Can you tell me more about that?
 - What do you mean with...?
 - Why should a good citizen...?
- 2) I will now show you a slide with 5 statements. Take 2 minutes to read it. And then it would be great to have a discussion. E.g., Which do you like, which do you dislike? You can also like only a part of a statement.

The slide is titled "To be a good citizen, you should...". It contains five numbered statements in speech bubbles:

1. ... obey rules, be responsible and volunteer. (PR)
2. ... be critical towards politicians, participate when something is important to you (not just in elections) and participate in private activities. (AC)
3. ... vote in elections, trust politicians and participate in political parties permanently. (DC)
4. critically question political issues, fight injustice and know how to achieve change through democratic means. (I)
5. ... participate in community organisations, keep environment clean and know how the government operates. (P)

Note: I excluded the citizen types in brackets from participants' slide.

Follow-up questions:

- If you had to choose one statement, which one would it be?
- Which ones do you reject? Why?

- 3) Do you think there are differences in how younger and older citizens get involved? Explain.
- Do younger and older citizens have different characteristics?
 - Do they participate differently? How? Why?

Part C: Citizenship education

- 1) Now I would like to talk about your citizenship education lessons
What do you learn there?
Follow-up questions:
- Is it important to you to learn these things? Why (not)?
- 2) Do you think there is a connection between your citizenship education lessons and how you get involved (at and outside of school)?
Follow-up questions:
- How?
 - Explain.
- 3) What skills or knowledge would help you to get involved (at and outside of school)?
Follow-up questions:
- Why these?
 - Explain.
- 4) Are there any other subjects that can help you get involved?
Follow-up questions:
- Which subjects?
 - How do they help you get involved? What exactly are you doing there, that helps you to get involved?
- 5) What about AES? Are you doing something there to get involved?
Follow-up questions:
- Can you describe the experience?
- 6) Did the work experiences or social internships help you get involved?
Follow-up questions:
- How? Why not?
 - Describes the experience.

Part D: Citizenship activities at school

- 1) How do you participate as citizens at school? Citizens are all people living in a community. You are citizens.
- a) Breakout room discussion: Discuss this question in a breakout room
- b) Whole group discussion: Share what you have discussed in the breakout rooms
- c) Follow-up questions:
- Can you tell me more about that?
 - Why are you participating in this way? What do you want to achieve with this?
 - What does this activity mean to you?
 - How much time does it take? For how long have you been doing this activity?
 - Is anyone else involved in this way?

- 2) How have you participated in the following areas? (Each area discussed in-depth with participants, using follow-up questions from above where applicable)
- Participation in school decisions / representing the school
 - Participation in class decisions / representing the class
 - Extracurriculars
 - Volunteering at school
 - Activism (creating change because you disagree with something or want to achieve something)
- 3) I will now share a poll with more activities. Please click on those activities you have done in the past two years at school

Class decision making and activities

- Taking part in form class discussions
- Taking part in form class decisions (e.g., seating plan, rules)
- Taking part in decision-making in lessons (e.g., content, methods)

School decision making

- Taking part in student-council decisions
- Making decisions about how the school is run

Extracurriculars

- Participate in an extra-curricular group.

Voluntary activities

- Using art, music or writing to improve school (e.g., class graffiti project)
- Helping teachers or students at school
- Recycling
- Participating voluntarily in school events (e.g., open day)

Activism

- Making a suggestion to school leadership to change something at school
- Making a suggestion to the student council, class rep or school rep to change something at school
- Making a suggestion to a teacher to change something at school
- Refusing to do something at school because you disagree with it
- Raising money for a good cause with your class

- 4) Poll follow-up discussion of the activities in the poll
- Did you think of any other activities while filling out the poll?
 - Can you say more about the activities that you participated in?
 - Can you say more about the activities you did not participate in?

Conclusion

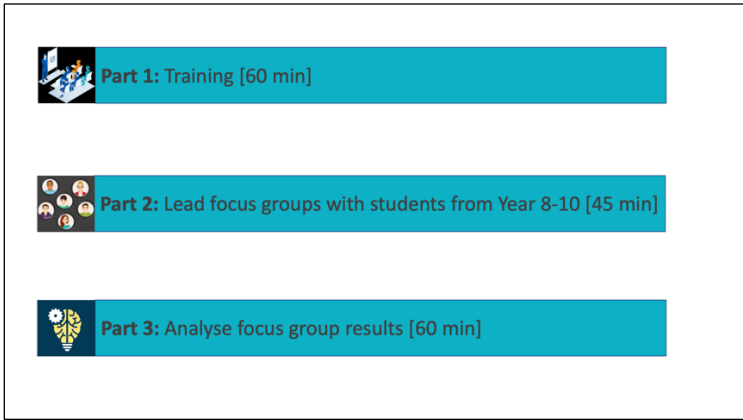
We are now at the end of our conversation. Is there anything else we haven't talked about, but seems important in relation to our topic?




Thanks for your participation. I really appreciate that you took this time. What will happen next:






- I will now listen to the audio file and write down everything we have said. You will receive pseudonyms for this.
- If you would like to comment on your statements, just write me a message on Edmodo, then I will send you your statements as soon as I have written them down. Then you can write a comment, maybe you meant something different or want to add something.

H. Schedule for student-researcher training

Available time:	60 Minutes
Location:	Zoom
Participants:	All student-researchers
Learning outcomes for this training session:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • understand the research goal • describe and use ethical principles to collect focus group data • lead a group discussion • develop questions for their focus groups
Participants can...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • practice focus groups • know strategies to deal with difficult situations during focus groups

Time	Activities and Slides
5 min	<p><i>Informal conversation and housekeeping</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please turn on your videos if you can. • Names? Do you know each other? You can call me Janina. • How are you? What's new at the RSA? How is it in Year 10? • Thank you for your interest and time. • If you have any questions write in the chat or call out • Do you have any questions before we start?
3 min	<p><i>Overview: Training, Focus groups and Data analysis</i></p> <p>Your participation consists of three parts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training (today) • Carry out focus groups with students from Year 8-10 (following weeks, 30-45 mins) • Data analysis (after focus groups, 60 mins) <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin-top: 10px;">  <p>Part 1: Training [60 min]</p> <p>Part 2: Lead focus groups with students from Year 8-10 [45 min]</p> <p>Part 3: Analyse focus group results [60 min]</p> </div>
3 min	<p><i>Goals of this session</i></p> <p>Discuss goals of this session (see slide)</p>

	<div style="text-align: center;"> <p>lead a focus group</p>  <p>After this training we are able to...</p> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>describe and use ethical principles</p> <p>develop questions for (and practice) focus groups</p> </div> <div style="width: 30%;"> <p>know strategies to deal with difficult situations during focus group</p> <p>understand the goal of this research</p> </div> </div>
<p>5 min</p>	<p>About this research</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This study is part of a doctoral thesis which includes 3 years of study at a university • In Year 1 I read other people's studies to find out what hasn't been done and what should be done. Based on my first year, I think that young people are mainly involved in these areas (see slide) <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin: 10px 0;"> <p style="color: #00AEEF; font-weight: bold;">About this research</p> <div style="display: flex; align-items: flex-start;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p> Doctoral research University of York</p> <p> I think:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - young people participate differently than other groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ unofficial ○ individual ○ online ○ sporadic ○ issues-based ○ justice-oriented ○ glocal </div> <div style="flex: 1; border: 1px solid gray; border-radius: 15px; padding: 10px; background-color: #f0f0f0; margin-left: 10px;"> <p style="text-align: center;">How do young people participate as citizens and which role does <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> play for their participation ??</p> </div> </div> </div> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Year 2 I talk to young people and analyse the conversations. We are now doing this with student group discussions • I decided to ask you for help because I think that can talk to your classmates better than me since you might have more shared experiences. I also think you have different perspectives and come up with different questions than I did. • Also, it's something new that not many have done before, so we're very innovative here. • You will later plan your own focus group questions. Focus groups should be around 45 minutes long and focus on the question in the box: “How do young people participate as citizens and which role does <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> play for their participation? Citizens are all people living in a community. You are citizens.” • Are there any questions so far?
<p>5 mins</p>	<p>Basic Ethical Principles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We will now talk about ethical principles. Ethical principles make sure that our focus group participants are safe in this research. Four principles are important for this research (see slide): • Voluntary participation:

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ All participants take part voluntarily, it is important to value their time and be prepared and friendly. ○ Participants can decide to not answer questions and leave the conversation at any time ● Voice recording: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ I would like to record the conversations so I can make transcripts for us to analyse after the conversations. The recordings are not there to check on you. ○ Participants agreed to the audio recording beforehand and I am the only one who has access to this recording later. ○ There is time to discuss individually whether you are ok with this recording during today's session ● Anonymity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This is really important. When agreeing to participate, each of you agreed to protect the identity of your participants. ○ We will have a meeting after the group discussion where we can discuss in detail all the statements of participants, but it is only ok during this session or with the partner you collected data with, to discuss something that took place during the discussions. ○ I will use pseudonyms for the participants after the interview in transcripts and publications. ○ If you feel like a participant shares information with you that might harm them, you or someone else, please share this information with me. Participants agreed that this information can be shared. ● Data protection: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ I will keep all audio files and transcripts in a safe place. I will ask you to destroy your notes after the focus groups and delete any transcripts that you will receive from me after we finished data analysis. ● Are there questions about any of this? <div data-bbox="416 1317 1142 1720" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin-top: 20px;"> <p>Ethical principles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">  Voluntary participation  Voice recording  Anonymity  Data protection  </div>
5 mins	<p><i>How can we lead a conversation?</i></p> <p>This section of the training was a conversation between the student-researchers and me. I prepared some topics (see slide) and asked student-researchers to share their ideas.</p>

Introduction:

- Who is speaking when?
- behaviour
- available time

relaxed atmosphere



Preparation:

- have questions ready
- think about the order of your questions

Leading conversations:

- include everyone
- stop students from taking over conversation
- no 'leading questions'

give participants time to think

authenticity

being objective

manage your expectations

20-30 min

Developing focus group questions

Student researchers divide themselves into the groups in which they want to collect data in. Then show an example of how focus group schedules can look like (see slides). Also re-share the research question for focus groups.





Then divide student-researchers into breakout rooms to work on their questions. Join the rooms to help with questions.

<p>Bürgerbeteiligungsstudie</p> <p>Einleitung (5)</p> <p>1. Einleitung: Was ist das noch für eine Studie, was ist das Ziel?</p> <p>2. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>3. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>4. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>5. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>6. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>7. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>8. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>9. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>10. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p>	<p>Gemeinschaftskunde Unterricht (7)</p> <p>1. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>2. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>3. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>4. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>5. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>6. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>7. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p>
<p>Bürgerbeteiligung (10)</p> <p>1. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>2. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>3. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>4. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>5. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>6. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>7. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>8. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>9. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>10. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p>	<p>Bürgerbeteiligung in der Schule (10)</p> <p>1. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>2. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>3. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>4. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>5. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>6. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>7. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>8. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>9. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>10. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p>
<p>Eigeneschen von Bürgern (7)</p> <p>1. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>2. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>3. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>4. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>5. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>6. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>7. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p>	<p>Ende (5)</p> <p>1. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>2. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>3. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>4. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p> <p>5. Einleitung: Was ist das Ziel der Studie?</p>

<p>Einleitung</p> <p>1. In welcher Ortsstadt wohnt ihr und seit wann geht ihr auf die RSK?</p> <p>2. Habt ihr generell Interesse an Politik oder nicht?</p>	<p>Politische Themen</p> <p>1. Welche gesellschaftlichen Themen beschäftigen euch?</p> <p>2. Welche anderen Themen beschäftigen euch?</p> <p>3. Interessiert ihr euch generell eher für Themen auf weltweiter, europäischer, nationaler oder kommunaler (also örtlicher) Ebene?</p>	<p>Bürgerbeteiligung</p> <p>1. Was könnt ihr gegen politische Themen, die euch beschäftigen unterstützen, (z.B. die Themen, die wir besprochen haben)?</p> <p>2. Was für eine Rolle spielt das?</p> <p>3. Beteiligt ihr euch in folgenden Bereichen? (Per post, in politischen Ausschüssen, in der Gemeinde, in Parteien oder pol. Organisationen, Aktivisten, wenn ihr mit pol. Entscheidung oder Zustand unzufrieden seid, Kontakt und Mensch, Online)</p> <p>4. Gibt es sonstige Wege wie ihr euch in Politik beteiligt, die sich von anderen Wegen unterscheiden? Welche?</p> <p>5. Umfrage 3: Schaut euch die folgenden gesellschaftlichen Tätigkeiten an. Hätt ihr schonmal bei diesen Tätigkeiten mitgemacht?</p> <p>6. Denkt ihr dass sich eure politische Beteiligung als junge Menschen von der Beteiligung älterer Menschen unterscheidet oder nicht? FF: Wie?</p> <p>7. Gibt es noch Bereiche, in denen ihr euch nicht beteiligt, wenn es euch um eure Stadt geht? FF: Warum? FF: Warum? FF: Warum?</p>
<p>Bürgerschaft</p> <p>1. Welche Eigeneschen solltet Bürger eure Meinung nach haben? (Es geht um alle Bürger also auch unter 18 Jahren)</p> <p>2. Umfrage 1: Welche der folgenden Eigeneschen, findet ihr am wichtigsten für einen Bürger?</p> <p>3. Was ist etwas wichtig?</p> <p>4. Was ist die oberste Sache überhaupt?</p> <p>5. Ist euch noch etwas anderes eingefallen?</p>	<p>Bürgerbeteiligung</p> <p>1. Wer trifft Entscheidungen an eurer Schule/ Klasse?</p> <p>2. Soll ihr an Entscheidungen beteiligt? Wie?</p> <p>3. Beteiligt ihr euch in folgenden Bereichen in der Schule? Wie?</p> <p>4. Umfrage 4: Hatt ihr euch in den letzten 12 Monaten an folgenden Tätigkeiten in der Schule beteiligt?</p> <p>5. Gibt es an eurer Schule AGs, in welchen ihr Bürgerbeteiligung habt?</p> <p>6. Welche AGs? Verbindung mit Bürgerbeteiligung, was?</p> <p>7. Welche AGs? Verbindung mit Bürgerbeteiligung, was?</p> <p>8. Welche AGs? Verbindung mit Bürgerbeteiligung, was?</p>	<p>Schluss</p> <p>1. Gibt es noch etwas über das wir noch nicht gesprochen haben, euch aber wichtig erscheint in Bezug auf unser Thema?</p> <p>2. Wie fandet ihr dieses Gespräch?</p>
<p>Gemeinschaftskunde</p> <p>1. Gibt es an eurer Schule Fächer, die euch dabei helfen in pol. Bereichen mitzuwirken (dabei dabei an eurem Gemeindefeld, Deutschland, Deutschland, Europa, weltweit oder online)?</p> <p>2. Wie viele Stunden pro Woche habt ihr dieses Fach?</p> <p>3. Was ist das genau richtig, so viel oder zu wenig?</p> <p>4. Geht es um Fach Gemeinschaftskunde auch um politische Themen, die euch interessieren?</p> <p>5. Hört euch Gemeinschaftskunde dabei in politischen Bereichen mitzuwirken?</p> <p>6. Was können euch dabei helfen in der Politik mitzuwirken?</p> <p>7. Welche Fähigkeiten/ Wissen/ Übung braucht ihr dazu?</p>	<p>Schule</p> <p>1. Wer trifft Entscheidungen an eurer Schule/ Klasse?</p> <p>2. Soll ihr an Entscheidungen beteiligt? Wie?</p> <p>3. Beteiligt ihr euch in folgenden Bereichen in der Schule? Wie?</p> <p>4. Umfrage 4: Hatt ihr euch in den letzten 12 Monaten an folgenden Tätigkeiten in der Schule beteiligt?</p> <p>5. Gibt es an eurer Schule AGs, in welchen ihr Bürgerbeteiligung habt?</p> <p>6. Welche AGs? Verbindung mit Bürgerbeteiligung, was?</p> <p>7. Welche AGs? Verbindung mit Bürgerbeteiligung, was?</p> <p>8. Welche AGs? Verbindung mit Bürgerbeteiligung, was?</p>	<p>Schluss</p> <p>1. Gibt es noch etwas über das wir noch nicht gesprochen haben, euch aber wichtig erscheint in Bezug auf unser Thema?</p> <p>2. Wie fandet ihr dieses Gespräch?</p>

4 mins

What to do in case of problems?

	<p>Reflection on the group work and answering questions, followed by a discussion of problems that might come up during focus groups and how to deal with them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the focus groups you can contact me through the chat or my email. • What do I do if participants are off-task or don't listen to you? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Explain your expectations at the beginning (when people can talk, how long the conversation will be, what the topic is) ○ I will also set these expectations when I approach participants for the research ○ You can turn off participants' videos or microphones in a serious case ○ Message me in chat if I can help with anything • In a very serious case, this is how you can end the call • I will be there 20 minutes before the start for some last-minute questions and I will be in a breakout room the whole time, managing who can come in the call. • I will also be there after the call to reflect or discuss issues <div data-bbox="416 873 1181 1299" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin-top: 20px;"> <p style="text-align: center; color: #00AEEF;">Troubleshooting</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">  write to Janina in the Zoom chat  Send participants in a Breakout room  End conversation (extreme case) <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 20px;">  </div> </div>
<p>5 min</p>	<p><i>Wrapping up</i></p> <p>Check whether the learning objectives were achieved by revisiting the second slide. Also discuss the next steps, when student-researchers are available, any other questions.</p>

I. Curriculum documents included in the analysis and rationale for their inclusion

Name	Doc. type	Description	Rationale for inclusion	Data analysed
<i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i>	Core subject curriculum	The citizenship education curriculum is a 48-page document outlining the vision, key competencies, pedagogical approaches, and achievement objectives for the compulsory subject <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> . <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> is offered at Year 7-10 at secondary schools in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> .	The <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> curriculum was the most important document for curriculum analysis as it sets out the principles, pedagogical approaches and achievement objectives for students' citizenship education.	Full document, except for Year 7 AOs
Teachers' curriculum guide (<i>Lehrkräftebegleitheft</i>)	Additional curriculum guide	The teachers' curriculum guide is a 26-page introduction to the secondary school curriculum for teachers. It provides background to the curriculum initiative and introduces key competencies, pedagogical principles, and school type specific information.	The curriculum guide was included in the analysis because it sets the overall principles and vision for learning at secondary schools in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> .	Full document
Democratic learning handbook (<i>Demokratiebildung</i>)	Additional curriculum guide	The democratic learning handbook, introduced in 2019, is a 67-page compulsory guide supporting teachers to implement democratic learning. It introduces the concept of democratic learning and how it can be implemented in school structures and across subjects. It also offers links to external partners for democratic learning.	I included the democratic learning handbook in the analysis because it is a compulsory guide for all teachers to provide democratic learning at school, across all subjects and interactions at school.	Full document
Economy/ career and study orientation (WBS) (<i>Wirtschaft/ Berufs- und Studienorientierung</i>)	Core subject curriculum	The WBS curriculum is a 44-page document outlining the vision, key competencies, pedagogical approaches, and achievement objectives for the compulsory subject WBS. This subject is taught in Year 7-10 at secondary schools in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> .	I included the WBS and geography curricula in the analysis because they used to be to be part of a subject cluster with <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> . In addition, focus group and interview participants suggested that a range of (current) political issues are raised in WBS and geography lessons which are relevant to students' citizen engagement.	Full document Full document except for Year 7 AOs
Geography (<i>Geografie</i>)	Core subject curriculum	The geography curriculum is a 44-page document outlining the vision, key competencies, pedagogical approaches, and achievement objectives for the compulsory subject geography. Geography is taught in Year 5-10 at secondary schools in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> .	I included the history curriculum in the analysis because focus group and teacher interview participants suggested that history lessons were related to students' citizen engagement particularly to understanding current political conflicts through a historical lens and by engaging with democracy throughout history.	Full document except for Year 5-7 AOs
History (<i>Geschichte</i>)	Core subject curriculum	The history curriculum is a 56-page document outlining the vision, key competencies, pedagogical approaches, and achievement objectives for the compulsory subject history. History is taught in Year 5-10 at secondary schools in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> .		Full document except for Year 5-7 AOs

<p>Everyday culture, nutrition, social issues (AES) <i>(Alltagskultur, Ernährung, Soziales)</i></p>	<p>Elective subject curriculum</p>	<p>The AES curriculum is a 60-page document outlining the vision, key competencies, pedagogical approaches, and achievement objectives for AES. This subject can be elected in Year 7 and is taught until Year10 at secondary schools in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i>. Students choose between French, technology and AES.</p>	<p>I included the AES curriculum because focus group participants suggested that they learned about (current) political issues in this subject particularly in connection to sustainability. Furthermore, AES includes a project focused on social engagement which appears relevant to students' uptake of citizenship activities.</p>	<p>Full document except for Year 7 AOs</p>
<p>Ethics (<i>Ethik</i>)</p>	<p>Elective subject curriculum</p>	<p>The ethics curriculum is a 68-page document outlining the vision, key competencies, pedagogical approaches, and achievement objectives for ethics. This subject can be elected in Year 5 and is taught until Year10 at secondary schools in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i>. Students choose between ethics, Catholic religious education and Christian religious education.</p>	<p>I included the ethics curriculum in the analysis because focus group and teacher interviews suggested that the subject raises (current) political issues for students, particularly in terms of social conflicts. In addition, at <i>Anderberg</i> middle school, the subject ethics is used to reflect students' experiences from their social work placement.</p>	<p>Full document except for Year 5-7 AOs</p>

J. Documentary Analysis – Table for interrogating texts

	Teachers' curriculum guide	Democratic learning handbook	<i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> curriculum
authorship	<p><u>Editor:</u> Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg (KM BW)</p> <p><u>Authors:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sönke Asmussen • Christa Engemann • Hans-Martin Schühle • Dr. Rüdiger Stein • Dorit Stribel • Jan Wohlgemuth 	<p><u>Editor:</u> KM BW</p> <p><u>Author:</u> Robert Feil (LpB)</p> <p><u>Academic guidance:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prof. Ulrich Eith (Uni Freiburg) • Prof. Oscar Gabriel (Uni Stuttgart) • Prof. Hans Werner Kuhn (Uni Freiburg) • Prof. Monika Oberle (Uni Göttingen) 	<p><u>Editor:</u> KM BW in collaboration with Landesinstitut für Schulentwicklung (<i>Federal school development institute</i>, now called <i>ZLS</i> and <i>IBBW</i>)</p> <p><u>Refereneeces from:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Max Frisch • Lawrence Kohlberg • Jean Piaget • Gerhard Himmelmann <p>No authors mentioned</p>
audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers and teachers-in-training at all public schools in Baden-Württemberg • School leadership, to make sure guidelines are implemented at their schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All subject teachers and teachers-in-training, especially citizenship teachers • Heads of department, to ensure curricular guidelines are implemented in their subject areas • Year 5-10 students at all secondary state schools in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> and their caregivers (implicitly as they are not expected to read the document) • School leadership, to make sure guidelines are implemented at their schools • Policy makers and researchers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> teachers and teachers-in-training • <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> head of departments, to ensure curricular guidelines are implemented in their subject area • Year 5-10 students at all secondary schools in <i>Baden-Württemberg</i> and their caregivers (implicitly as they are not expected to read the document) • Researchers and policy makers
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction to the 2016 curriculum • Comments about the 2016 curriculum • School type specific comments • How to use the USB stick (this is how the curriculum was distributed to teachers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreword from education minister, Dr Eisenmann • Relevance of democratic education • Determining factors for democratic education • Democratic competencies • Fields of action for democratic education • Further information and support offers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vision, key competencies and pedagogy • Subject-specific competencies • <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i> achievement objectives for years Year 7-10 • Glossary of common instruction words for the social sciences
Presentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interactive pdf document and online • A4 booklet for teachers to order (teachers received pdf version on a USB stick) • Easy to read and with pictures and diagrams 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A4 booklet given to teachers (not sure if all teachers received it though) • There is also an online pdf version on the KM BW website • Dense writing with diagrams and pictures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interactive pdf document and online • A4 booklet for teachers to order (teachers received pdf version on a USB stick) • Easy to read with diagrams, tables and cross references
Style	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Academic with references to educational science texts, e.g., Baumert (2002), Weinert (2001) • Dense and difficult language with long sentences which makes it difficult read for teachers who have limited time and often teach 3 or more subjects. • Repetitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very wordy at the start with lots of ambiguous language and difficult terms (might not be something easy to read for teachers during their busy school day) • Very academic vocabulary and type of writing • Confusing organisation of text, diagrams and pictures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wordy and lengthy introduction to the curriculum document • Ambiguous and dense language • Some good graphs that summarise and illustrate information well • Achievement objective table is very clear and concise with cross references to LPs, other subjects, skills

Production	Development of the curriculum included lots of transparency and opportunities for participation, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Systematic interviewing of experts • Trial of the curricula in all school types • Guidance from a group of representatives from society, economy, academia, religion and politics • Curriculum was not produced in a social vacuum but rather influenced by public discourse. Based on KMK guidelines for democratic education (October 2018, renewal of 2009 decision) • Developed by the above-named authors and a phase of consulting the public 		
Intention	Provides background knowledge for teachers on how to use the curriculum and to understand in which circumstances it was conceptualised	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increases focus on democratic education which was suggested by the 2009 and 2018 KMK decisions which are guidelines for all federal states in Germany • Provides guidelines to teachers of all subjects at <i>Baden- Württemberg</i> schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sets common standards for the individual subjects at public secondary schools in Baden-Württemberg. • Curriculum needed a change due to the new developments in society (see context)
Context	<p><u>Why curriculum reform?</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • last curriculum 2004 (12 years ago) • new developments in society and subjects, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ aging population: not all school locations can be sustained → re-conceptualisation of school types ○ migration ○ shortage of skilled workers in trade, IT, nursing and service ○ decreasing number of university freshmen ○ UN disability laws on inclusion integrated in Ba-Wu school law ○ KMK has made new agreements since last curriculum ○ Change to a focus on competencies (from focus on content) ○ PISA and TIMSS shock in 2000 (maths and reading skills), particularly for students with migration background and in lower socioeconomic areas were affected ○ Since 2000 many educational reforms due to bad PISA results including increased all-day schooling, movement between different school types, establishment of language support courses <p><u>Goal of new curriculum</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational justice: reduction of obstacles, movement between school types, individual support to allow for management of heterogeneity • Key principles of curriculum reform • First common curriculum which caters for different school qualifications (G, M and E) • Curriculum for Gymnasium relates to common secondary curriculum <p><u>Guiding principles:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BNE: education for sustainable development • BTV: education for tolerance and acceptance of variety • PG: prevention and health development • BO: career skills • MB: media education • VB: consumer education <p>(none of the guiding principle focuses explicitly on citizenship/participation?)</p>		
	See above	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2018 KMK guidelines regarding democratic education needed to be translated into the curriculum which was then published already so it was composed as a booklet and distributed to schools (Did every teacher get one of these?) • Context is also changes in our society (globalisation, migration, integration, digitalisation, individualisation, climate change) which makes democratic citizenship important 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gemeinschaftskunde became a new subject again after separating the previous (in the 2004 curriculum) subject cluster, <i>EWG</i> (economics, geography and <i>Gemeinschaftskunde</i>)

Source: The table was adapted from Wellington's (2015) table for interrogating documents. I analysed all eight curriculum documents with this table, but only excluded the above three exemplary curricula in this appendix.

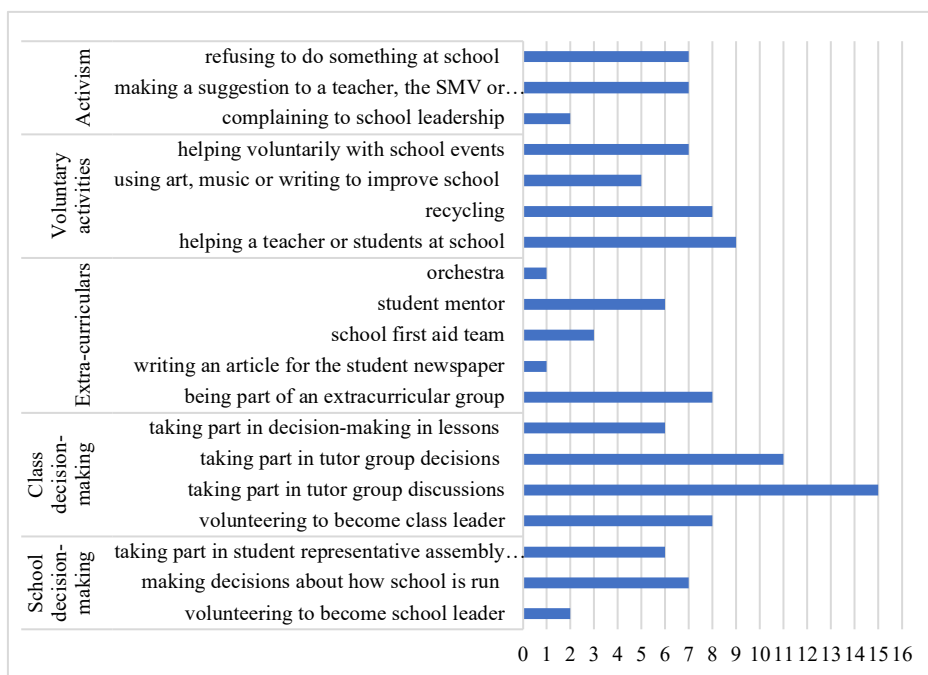
K. Teacher interview outline

Background

- 1) Can you tell me something about yourself and your role at the school?
 - Since when have you been at Anderberg middle school?
 - Student council, working groups, other roles? What are you doing in this role?
 - Which Gemeinschaftskunde (GK) classes this and last year? Which GK years have you taught in the new curriculum?
- 2) Can you tell me about your background as a citizenship education teacher?
 - Since when have you been GK teacher?
 - Which subjects have you studied at the university?

Part A: Citizenship activities at school

- 1) Let's start with citizenship activities at school. Based on your experiences, how do Year 8 to 10 students participate as citizens at your school?
Follow-up questions:
 - Can you say more about that?
 - Do you have an example?
- 2) I'm going to mention a few areas young people might engage in at school. Could you elaborate on these in terms of your school?
 - Participation in school decisions / representing the school
 - Participation in class decisions / representing the class
 - Extracurriculars
 - Volunteering at school
 - Activism (expressing opinion on a topic. It can be for or against something)
- 3) As you may know, I already talked to some Year 8 to 10 students. I would now like to show you the results of a small survey on "citizenship activities at school" that we did during the group discussions. The table below shows that the chart contains data from a total of 16 students from grades 8-10. Can you please look at the diagram and talk about your impressions?
Follow-up questions
 - Are you surprised? About what? Why?
 - Did you expect something else? What? Why?
 - How would you explain areas of high/ low participation? Using your experience.
 - Is there a connection between the activities and what students learn in GK?



Data collected from:

Year	girls	boys	Total number
10	6	1	7
9	1	4	5
8	3	1	4
Σ	10	6	16

Part B: Citizenship activities outside of school

- 1) Let's continue with citizenship activities outside of school. Based on your experiences, how do Year 8 to 10 students participate as citizens outside of school?
Follow-up questions:
 - Can you say more about that?
 - Do you have an example?

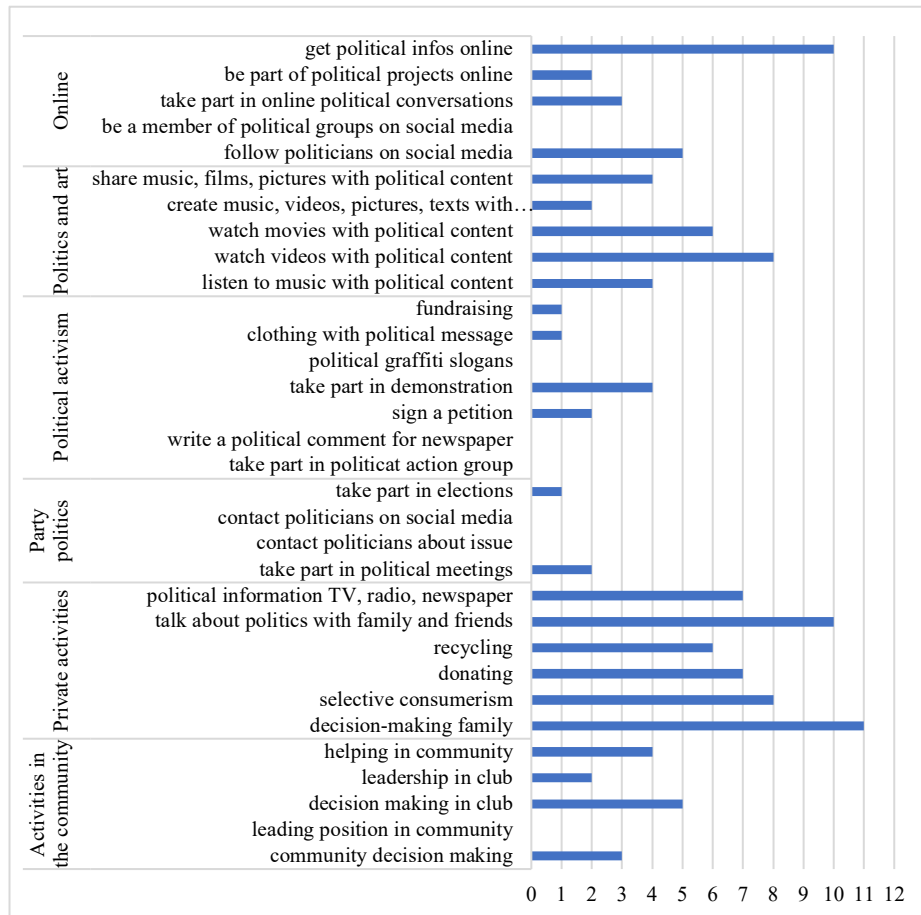
- 2) I'm going to mention a few areas young people might engage outside of school. Could you elaborate on these?
 - Participation in the community
 - Private activities
 - Party politics
 - Activism (expressing your opinion on a topic, it can be for or against something)
 - Activities related to art or music
 - Online activities

- 3) I would now like to show you the results of a further survey on "citizenship activities outside of school" that we did during the group discussions (see chart on following pages). The table below shows that the chart contains data from a

total of 12 students from grades 8-10. Can you please look at the diagram and talk about your impressions?

Follow-up questions:

- Are you surprised? About what? Why?
- Did you expect something else? What? Why?
- How would you explain areas of high/ low participation? Using your experience.
- Is there a connection between the activities and what students learn in GK?



Data collected from:

Year	girls	boys	Total number
10	3	0	3
9	1	4	5
8	3	1	4
Σ	7	5	12

4) Do you think that young people are participating in new ways as citizens compared to previous generations?

How?

Follow-up questions:

- Can you tell us more about that?
- Do you have an example?
- Why do you think it is like that?

Part C: Citizenship education

- 1) Based on your experience, which skills, values and knowledge can students learn in Year 8-10 citizenship education?

Follow-up questions:

- Can you say more about that?
- How are these things learned and taught?

- 2) Here are some terms from group discussions, curriculum and literature (the terms listed below are given on a PowerPoint slide). Could you say something about these in relation to your citizenship education lessons? Which are important, which perhaps less important, to what extent and why?

Discussions

Follow-up questions

- What role do they play in your GK classes? Why?
- What helps you / prevents you from including this?
- Who initiates discussions? Why?
- What are the discussions about?
- Are there differences in different years?
- Do you see a connection between discussions in GK classes and student participation?

Current topics

Follow-up questions

- What role do current topics play in your lessons? Why?
- What helps you / prevents you from bringing this in?
- Who initiates these current topics? Why?
- Which topics are discussed?
- Are there differences in the different grades?
- Do you see a connection between current topics in GK lessons and student participation?

Excursions

Follow-up questions

- Have you ever made excursions in grades 8-10 in GK? Which? Why (not)?
- What was your experience of it?
- Do you see a connection between excursions in GK lessons and student participation?

Course book

Follow-up questions

- What role does the textbook play in your GK lessons? Why?
- Are there differences between the grade levels?

Curriculum

Follow-up questions

- What role does the educational plan play for your GK lessons? Why?
- What prevents / helps you to consult the curriculum?

Democratic learning handbook

Follow-up questions

- Do you know the democracy manual?

- What role does it play in your GK lessons? Why?

Democracy

Follow-up questions

- What role does democracy play in your lessons?
- What helps you / prevents you from including this?

Citizen participation

Follow-up questions

- What role does citizen participation play in your GK lessons? Why?
- What helps you / prevents you from bringing this in?
- What kind of citizen participation is particularly important in your GK class? Why? Which not?
- Is new participation part of GK, as in my PPT?
- Differences in grade levels?

- 3) Do you think that the participation of Year 8-10 students in citizenship activities is related to citizenship education?

Follow-up questions

- Why (not)?
- How?

- 4) Can GK teaching increase citizen participation in and outside of school?

Follow-up questions

- How?
- Which teaching elements (techniques, tasks, topics) can increase / decrease participation?
- What kind of participation does GK support? What is more likely not to be funded?
- How would you help your students to get involved as citizens in and outside of school? What is stopping you?

Part D: Additional subjects and school work-experience

- 1) Do you think there is a connection between further subjects and young people's citizenship activities?

Follow-up questions

- Which subject(s)?
- Can you say more about it?
- Can you make an example?

- 2) Can (subject) increase young people's citizenship activities in and outside of school?

Follow-up questions

- How?
- Which aspect of this subject (pedagogy, activities, topics) can increase participation in citizenship activities?

- 3) Do you think there is a connection between internships (social internship and work experience) and participation in citizenship activities? How? Why not?

Optional Parts for additional specialist experiences

Social curriculum

- 1) Can you please talk about the social curriculum? Can you focus on Year 8, 9 and 10?
Follow-up questions
 - What are the main focuses?
 - How is the curriculum created?
 - Who is involved in the creation?
 - How do the pupils get the contents of the social curriculum conveyed?

- 2) Do you think there is a connection between the social curriculum and participation in citizenship activities of Year 8-10 students at and outside of school?
Follow-up questions
 - Why? Why not?
 - How?

- 3) Can the social curriculum increase participation in citizenship activities at and outside of school?
Follow-up questions
 - Why? Why not?
 - How?
 - What kind of participation?
 - New participation?

- 4) Can you please talk about the social internships at your school?
Follow-up questions
 - In which grade does it take place?
 - What offers are there for students?
 - In which subject is it reflected?
 - Do the social internships have a political component, in your experience?

- 5) Do you think there is a connection between the social internships and participation in citizenship activities of Year 8-10 students at and outside of school?
Follow-up questions
 - Why? Why not?
 - How?

- 6) Can the social internship increase participation in citizenship activities at and outside of school?
Follow-up questions
 - Why? Why not?
 - How?
 - What kind of participation?
 - New participation?

- 7) Do you know the handbook for democratic learning?
Follow-up questions
 - What role does it play in your teaching? Why?

- What role does it play for you as a class teacher and leader of the social curriculum? Why?

Student council experience

- 1) Can you please say something about your experience with the student council?
Follow-up questions
 - Tasks
 - Since when
 - Time commitment
- 2) Can you please comment on the role of class representatives at your school?
Follow-up questions
 - assignments in class?
 - tasks in school?
 - Duties beyond school?
- 3) Can you comment on the role of the student representatives in your school?
Follow-up questions
 - tasks in school?
 - Duties beyond school?
- 4) Can you please say something about the SMV and its role at the SMV?
Follow-up questions
 - What kind of decisions is SMV involved in?
 - What kind of decisions is SMV not involved in?
 - How often do you meet and how do the meetings work?
 - Motivation and participation of 8th-10th graders?
 - How often do students bring problems / topics to the SMV? What kind of topics are these mostly?
- 5) Do you think there is a connection between the involvement in the SMV and citizen participation in and outside the school?
Follow-up questions
 - How?
 - Why? Why not?
 - By what activities? Through which topics?
- 6) Do you think your involvement in the SMV can increase civic participation?
Follow-up questions
 - Why? Why not?
 - How?
 - Whose civic participation?
- 7) What would help you to get pupils more involved in the SMV / school in general?
Follow-up questions
 - Can you say more about it?
 - Can you make an example?

Local council experience

- 1) Can you tell me about your experience with the local council?

Since when?
Tasks?

- 2) Does the community collect data on the participation of young people?
Can you share this data with me?
- 3) What is the role / importance of civic participation of young people in the community?
Why?
- 4) What options are there in the community of Anderberg for Year 8 10 students to participate as citizens?
Can you say more about it?
Can you make an example of this?
Do young people take advantage of these opportunities? Why not)?
- 5) Is citizen participation initiated by young people?
What kind of participation?
On which topics / problems?
Why (not)?
- 6) Can you say something about the planned youth council in Anderberg?
Can you say more about it?
Examples?
- 7) What support would the community need to increase civic participation of young people (8th-10th grade)?
- 8) Is there a collaboration between the school and the community to involve young people more in civic participation?
Why (not)?
Can you say more about it?
Who should initiate this, how?

AES

- 1) Based on your experiences, what values, skills and knowledge can students acquire in AES?
 - Can you say more about that?
 - Can you make an example?
 - What work techniques and methods are used to learn these things?
- 2) Here are some terms from group discussions, curriculum and literature (The terms listed below presented to teachers on a PowerPoint slide)
Could you say something about them in relation to your AES classes? Which are important, which perhaps less important, to what extent and why? Focus on Year 8-10.

Consumer education

- What role does consumer education play in your AES teaching? Why?
- What kind of consumer education is it?
- What helps you / prevents you from bringing this in?
- Do you see a connection between consumer education in AES and student participation?

Participation in citizenship activities

- What role does citizen participation play in your AES teaching? Why?
- What helps you / prevents you from bringing this in?
- What kind of citizen participation is particularly important in your AES class? Why? Which not?
- Is new involvement part of AES, as in my PPT?

Co-existence in the community

- What role does this topic play in your AES lessons? Why?
- What helps / prevents you from bringing up this topic?

Project: learning through social engagement

- Can you tell us something about this project?
- Who is leading the project?
- Group, class or individual?
- What types of social engagement are suggested by the students?
- New participation?

Sustainability

- What role does sustainability play in your AES teaching? Why?
- What helps you / prevents you from bringing this in?
- Do you see a connection between sustainability in AES and student participation?

Social internship

- Can you tell me something about this internship?
- Who is running it? Who decides the positions?
- Is it compulsory or voluntary?
- How is it post-processed in AES? Why in AES?

- 3) Do you think there is a connection between AES and civic participation in and outside of school?
 - How?
 - Why? Why not?
 - By what activities? Through which topics?
- 4) Do you think learning and experiences from the subject AES can increase citizen participation?
 - Why? Why not? How?
 - Whose civic participation?
- 5) What would help you to get students more involved in general?
 - Can you say more about it?
 - Can you make an example?

Conclusion

Is there anything else we haven't talked about, but seems important in relation to my topic?

L. Student Questionnaire

The student questionnaire was created and distributed with Qualtrics. I indicated below where I used page breaks in the Qualtrics questionnaire. I used page breaks to structure the questionnaire and to avoid influencing participants answers by subsequent questionnaire information such as examples of citizenship activities. I also included question logic statements that indicate when I displayed questions based on previous answers.

PART A: INFORMED CONSENT

Please read the following information and tick all boxes if you agree to participate.

Participation is voluntary: This means there are no disadvantages for you if you decide not to take part in this questionnaire. In addition, you can choose not to answer any question throughout the questionnaire.

Anonymity and confidentiality: The information that you offer will be stored with a pseudonym. No information that identifies you will be collected.

Storing and using collected data: Information will be stored on a password protected computer. Anonymised data will be accessible to the researcher and her supervisor and be stored for 15 years after which time it will be destroyed. The collected data may be used anonymously in publications, presentations and online.

I confirm that

- I understood the information given to me about the research project and I understand that this will involve taking part as described previously.
- I understand that participation in this study is voluntary and that there are no disadvantages if I choose not to participate.
- I understand that my data will not be identifiable, and the anonymous data may be used in publications, presentations and online

PAGE BREAK.....

PART B: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Have you participated in previous parts of this study? Which part(s)?
 - Yes, group conversation, led by researcher
 - Yes, group conversation, led by peers
 - Yes, peer-researcher training
 - No
2. How old are you?
 - 13
 - 14
 - 15
 - 16
 - 17
 - Other _____
3. Which form class do you attend?
 - 8Q
 - 8S
 - 9U
 - 9V
 - 9W
 - 10X

- 10Y
 - 10Z
4. Which gender do you identify with?
- Male
 - Female
 - Non-binary
 - Other _____
 - Prefer not to say
5. In which community do you live?
- _____
6. Which national group do you identify with? You can select more than one.
- German
 - Turkish
 - Polish
 - Russian
 - Italian
 - Other _____
7. What is your mother's highest school qualification?
- No school qualification
 - *Hauptschulabschluss* or comparable
 - *Realschulabschluss (Mittlere Reife)* or comparable
 - *Höherer Schulabschluss (Abitur, Fachhochschulreife, Universitätsabschluss)* or comparable
 - Don't know
8. What is your mother's current occupation?
- _____
9. What is your father's highest school qualification?
- No school qualification
 - *Hauptschulabschluss* or comparable
 - *Realschulabschluss (Mittlere Reife)* or comparable
 - *Höherer Schulabschluss (Abitur, Fachhochschulreife, Universitätsabschluss)* or comparable
 - Don't know
10. What is your father's current occupation?
- _____
11. In your opinion, can your family afford more or less than most of the families of the people you are in frequent contact with?
- Much more
 - Somewhat more
 - About the same
 - Somewhat less
 - Much less

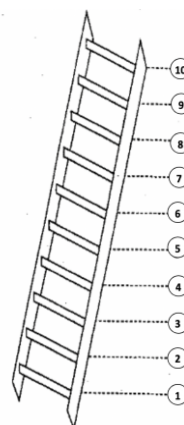
12. Imagine that this ladder pictures how German society is set up.

At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off - they have the most money, the highest amount of schooling, and the jobs that bring the most respect.

At the bottom are people who are the worst off - they have the least money, little or no education, no job or jobs that no one wants or respects.

Now think about your family. Please tell us where you think your family would be on this ladder.

Write the number in the box below that best represents where your family would be on this ladder.



13. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

"Most people I interact with at school have similar values as me."

With values I mean the way you think about social and political issues or the things that matter to you.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

14. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

"Most people I interact with outside of school have similar values as me."

With values I mean the way you think about social and political issues or the things that matter to you.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

15. Name examples of how other people's perspectives about social and political issues and other things you care about are different or similar to you (at school and/or outside of school).

Similarities _____

Differences _____

16. How interested would you say you are in politics?

With politics I mean a wide range of issues and activities including, for example, party politics, decision making in the community or fighting against injustice.

- Very interested
- Quite interested
- Hardly interested
- Not at all interested

17. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
I understand politics.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can create change at my school.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can create change in my community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can create change in Germany.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want to create change at my school.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want to create change in my community.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want to create change in Germany.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My school allows me to be part of decisions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My community allows me to be part of decisions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The political system in Germany allows me to be part of decisions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

PAGE BREAK

PART C: GOOD CITIZENSHIP 1/2

18. Please finish the following sentence with your ideas. You can write bullet points or sentences.

A good citizen is someone who...

PAGE BREAK

PART C: GOOD CITIZENSHIP 2/2

19. Which of the following items constitute a good citizen in your opinion? You can select up to five items. Please number them in the order of importance starting with 1 (most important).

Good citizens...

- _____ ... vote in elections (DC).
- _____ ... participate in political parties (DC).
- _____ ... trust politicians (DC).
- _____ ... are informed about political issues that matter to them (AC).
- _____ ... are critical towards politicians (AC).
- _____ ... affect political change through actions in their daily lives (AC).
- _____ ... volunteer (PR).
- _____ ... obey rules (PR).
- _____ ... respect the environment and other people (PR).
- _____ ... organise community efforts to care for those in need (P).
- _____ ... know how government agencies work (P).
- _____ ... actively participate in community clubs or organisations (P).
- _____ ... critically examine political issues to understand causes (JO).
- _____ ... seek out and fight injustice (JO).
- _____ ... form and express independent political opinions (JO).

Note: I included the tested citizen types in brackets behind each statement. This information was not shared with questionnaire participants.

PAGE BREAK

PART D: CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES AT SCHOOL 1/2

20. Have you participated in citizenship activities at school in this school year (2020/21) and the previous school year (2019/20)?

With citizenship activities, I mean all voluntary activities that you do as a member of the school. This can include helping, planning events, making-decisions, being a leader, being critical,...

- Almost always
- Often
- Seldom
- Never

Display This Question: IF Q20 = almost always, often, never

20a. Which citizenship activities at school have you participated in during this school year (2020/21) and the previous school year (2019/20)?

PAGE BREAK

PART D: CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES AT SCHOOL 2/2

21. Have you participated in the following citizenship activities at school during this school year (2020/21) and the previous school year (2019/20)?

	almost always	often	seldom	never
Class decision making and activities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking part in form class discussions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking part in form class decisions (e.g., seating plan, rules)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking part in decision-making in lessons (e.g., content, methods)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School decision making	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking part in student-council decisions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Making decisions about how the school is run	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Extracurriculars	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participate in an extra-curricular group. Name group(s) if applicable (Textbox)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Voluntary activities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Using art, music or writing to improve school (e.g., class graffiti project)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Helping teachers or students at school	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Recycling	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participating voluntarily in school events (e.g., open day)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Activism	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Making a suggestion to school leadership to change something at school	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Making a suggestion to the student council, class rep or school rep to change something at school	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Making a suggestion to a teacher to change something at school	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Refusing to do something at school because you disagree with it	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Raising money for a good cause with your class	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (Textbox)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

22. Choose at least one citizenship activity from the previous list that you have done and describe the experience in detail.

23. Choose at least one citizenship activity from the previous list that you have not done and explain why you have not done this activity (yet).

24. Is there a difference between the way you have participated in citizenship activities at school before and after COVID? Explain.

25. Tick all the activities from the following list that you have done during this school year (2020/21) and the previous school year (2019/20).

- Volunteering to become class rep
- Working as class rep
- Volunteering to become school rep
- Working as student rep
- Training to become homework volunteer
- Working as homework volunteer
- Working as student mentor
- A similar activity. Name the activity if applicable: _____
- None of the above activities.

Display This Question: IF Q25 = Working as class rep

25a Describe your experiences and activities in your role as class rep during this school year (2020/21) and if applicable the previous school year (2019/20).

Display This Question: IF Q25 = Working as student rep

25b Describe your experiences and activities in your role as student rep during this school year (2020/21) and if applicable the previous school year (2019/20).

Display This Question: IF Q25 = Working as homework volunteer

25c Describe your experiences and activities in your role as homework volunteer during the school year (2020/21) and if applicable the previous school year (2019/20).

Display This Question: IF Q25 = Working as student mentor

25d Describe your experiences and activities in your role as student mentor during the school year (2020/21) and if applicable the previous school year (2019/20).

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PART E: CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES BEYOND SCHOOL ½

- 26.** Have you participated in citizenship activities outside school in the past 2 years?
With citizenship activities, I mean all voluntary activities you do as a member of groups (incl. online), your community, nation, the EU and the world. Activities can include helping, planning events, making decisions, being a leader, being critical, ...
- Almost always
 - Often
 - Seldom
 - Never

Display This Question: IF Q26 = almost always, often, never

26a Which citizenship activities outside of school have you participated in during the past 2 years?

PAGE BREAK

PART E: CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITIES BEYOND SCHOOL 2/2

27. Have you participated in the following citizenship activities in the past 2 years?

	almost always	often	seldom	never
Community activities				
Helping people in your community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participating in decision-making in the community (e.g., planning facilities for youth)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking on a leadership role in your community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a member of a community club or organisation (e.g., sport, music, church) Name club(s) if applicable. (Textbox)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Helping in a community club or organisation (e.g., raising money, coaching)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participating in decision-making in a community club or organisation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking on a leadership role in a community club or organisation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Unofficial activities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Buying or not buying a product because of ethical or political reasons (e.g., fair trade)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decision-making in your family or peer group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Donating money to a good cause	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Recycling	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Discussing political issues with your family or peer group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Getting information about political issues from newspaper, radio or TV	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Party politics	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Voting in an election (e.g., local election)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Attending a political meeting (e.g., council meeting)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Contacting an MP by telephone, email or personal visit two discuss an issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Connecting with an MP on social media to discuss an issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Activism	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Joining a political action group (e.g., Greenpeace) or participate in a citizen initiative (e.g., Stuttgart 21)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing an article/comment on a political or social issue to a newspaper	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Going on strike for a political demand (e.g., Fridays for Future)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking part in a demonstration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing political slogans/graffiti on walls	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Wearing clothing with a political message (e.g., T-Shirt, badge, bracelet)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Starting a fundraiser event (e.g., gofundme.de)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Politics and art	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening to political music	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Watching videos about political topics	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Raising awareness for issues with texts, picture or music (e.g., TikTok videos or Instagram story)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sharing political music, videos, texts or pictures with family or friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Online activities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participating in an online debate on a social or political issue (e.g., below a YouTube chat)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking part in a social or political action project on social media (e.g., #blacklivesmatter)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Follow a political group/ politician on social media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Joining a political group on the internet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (Textbox)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

28. Choose at least one citizenship activity from the previous list that you have done and describe the experience in detail.

29. Choose at least one citizenship activity from the previous list that you have not done and explain why you have not done this activity (yet).

30. Is there a difference between the way you have participated in citizenship activities beyond school before and after COVID? Explain.

- 31.** Are you training to or have completed the training to become a youth leader?
- Yes, I am enrolled in the training to become a youth leader
 - Yes, I am already a trained youth leader
 - No

Display This Question: IF Q31 = Yes, I am a trained youth leader

31a What is your task as a youth leader and why did you decide to complete this training?

PAGE BREAK.....

PART F: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION 1/3

Display This Question: IF Q3 = 8Q, 8S

32a What do you like about your Gemeinschaftskunde lessons in this school year (2020/21)?

Display This Question: IF Q3 = 9U, 9V, 9W

32b What do you like about your Gemeinschaftskunde lessons in Year 8 and 9?

Display This Question: IF Q3 = 10X, 10Y, 10Z

32c What do you like about your Gemeinschaftskunde lessons in Year 9 and 10?

Display This Question: IF Q3 = 8a, 8b

33a What would you like to improve about your Gemeinschaftskunde lessons in this school year (2020/21)?

Display This Question: IF Q3 = 9U, 9V, 9W

33b What would you like to improve about your Gemeinschaftskunde lessons in year 8 and 9?

Display This Question: IF Q3 = 10X, 10Y, 10Z

33c What would you like to improve about your Gemeinschaftskunde lessons in year 9 and 10?

34. Is there a difference between your Gemeinschaftskunde lessons before and after COVID? Explain?

PAGE BREAK.....

PART F: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION 2/3

35. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
"Gemeinschaftskunde helped me to participate in citizenship activities at school."
 Strongly agree
 Somewhat agree
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Somewhat disagree
 Strongly disagree

36. To what extent to you agree or disagree with the following statement?
"Gemeinschaftskunde helped me to participate in citizenship activities beyond school."
 Strongly agree
 Somewhat agree
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Somewhat disagree
 Strongly disagree

37. In Gemeinschaftskunde, what (if anything) have you learned that helps you to participate in citizenship activities at school and beyond school?

PAGE BREAK.....

PART F: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION 3/3

38. Read the following items. Rank the items in their order of relevance to your Gemeinschaftskunde lessons. You can select up to 5 items, starting with 1 (the most relevant item).

In Gemeinschaftskunde we learn...

- _____ ... how to vote in elections (DC).
- _____ ... how to participate in political parties (DC).
- _____ ... how to access political information from mass media (newspaper, TV, radio) (DC).
- _____ ... about political issues that matter to us (AC).
- _____ ... how to affect political change through actions in our daily lives (AC).
- _____ ... how to access political information from online sources (twitter, YouTube, ...) (AC)
- _____ ... about rules and to obey them (PR).
- _____ ... how to act responsibly in our community (PR).
- _____ ... how to volunteer to lend a hand in times of crisis (PR).
- _____ ... how to organise community events to care for those in need (P).
- _____ ... how government agencies work (P).
- _____ ... how to actively participate in community clubs and organisations (P).
- _____ ... how to seek out and address areas of injustice (JO).
- _____ ... how to form and express independent political opinions (JO).
- _____ ... how to critically examine political issues to understand their causes (JO).

Note: I included the tested citizen types in brackets behind each statement. This information was not shared with questionnaire participants.

39. Choose at least one of the items from the previous list and describe how you learned about this in your citizenship education lesson.

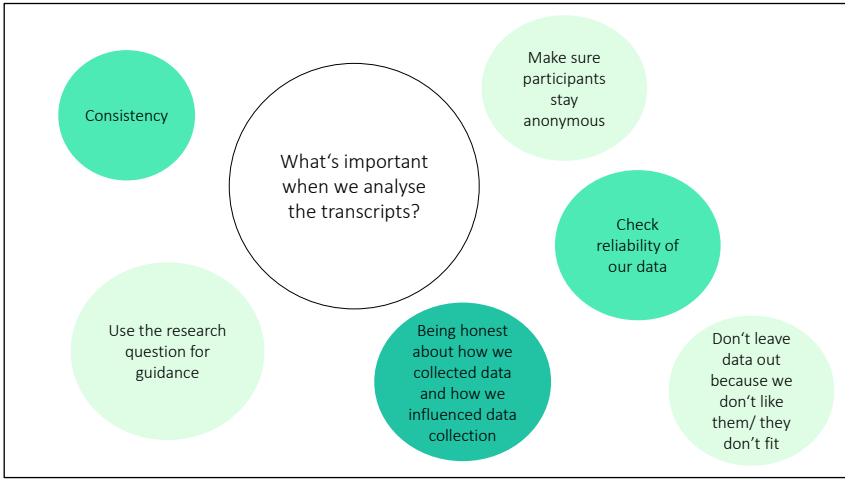
THANKS for participating

Your results were saved



M. Student-researcher data analysis session outline and modified transcript example

Available time:	60 Minutes
Location:	Zoom
Participants:	Student-researchers

Time	Activities and Slides
5 min	<p><i>Informal conversation and housekeeping</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please turn on your videos if you can. • How are you? • Thank you for your time. • If you have any questions write in the chat or call out • Does everyone have access to a word program? • Do you have any questions before we start?
10 min	<p><i>Open reflection about focus groups</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you please share your experiences from the group discussions? Please remember not to share names of your participants. • What was good/not so good? Why? • What would you do differently next time? Why? How? • Why was there (no) lively discussion? • What other questions could you have asked? • What would you have liked to know beforehand? Why? • Did you collect good data? How do you know? • What came out of your discussions?
5 min	<p><i>Principles for data analysis</i></p> <p>Brainstorm principles for data analysis with student-researchers. Suggest some principles (see slide) and ask student-researchers to share their ideas.</p> 
10 min	<p><i>Explain data analysis worksheet</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are different ways to analyse data. I have chose a type of content analysis that we can do with relatively short training and in a short

time. I will now teach you the strategy and then we will go through an example together.

- Afterwards, you will receive a worksheet and your transcript together as a group.
- Show and explain the transcript and worksheet and how to analyse the data with the worksheet (see screenshot). Give an example for each step in the example transcript (see below the table)

Step 1: Getting to know your transcript

- Look at the sections you have collected information on.
- How many pages does your transcript have?
- How much were participants involved? (Explain table at the top of the worksheet)
- Skim your transcript and discuss your first impressions

Step 2: Reflecting on the reliability of your data

- Use the table at the top of your transcript and the rest of the transcript to answer questions about the reliability of your collected data
- One person can work on the worksheet while sharing their screen (explain screen sharing and how to open multiple documents)

Step 3: Coding

- Go through each topic of your transcript and highlight what participants said about each topic
- Summarise this information in the right margin
- There can be more than 1 statement in a sentence/phrase
- Recognise and respect nuances in your data
- There is not one right answer here, it is your interpretation but work as close to the text as possible

Step 4: Results

- Read through your transcripts again and summarise the information you highlighted and summarised in the margins for each topic
- The topics relate to the questions on the worksheet

Are there any questions about the task?

The image shows two screenshots of a Microsoft Word document. The left screenshot displays a transcript titled "Transkript 1501" with a table of participants and a section titled "Bürgerbeteiligung in der Schule". The right screenshot displays a worksheet titled "Bürgerbeteiligungsstudie Ergebnisse" with research questions, a legend, and instructions for coding and data analysis.

Teilnehmer	Anzahl der Antworten	Sprechanteil
Ja	12	30%
Nein	5	13%
Frage	7	20%
Stille	5	13%
Unklar	2	5%

Bürgerbeteiligung in der Schule

12: Hört ihr das Gefühl, dass ihr in der Schule mitmachen dürft?
Sina: Also gibt's also schon so in der Klasse, dann wird ja so wird ja auch abgestimmt, und halt über die Klassensprecher. Und bei der Klassensprecherwahl.
13: Ok.
Paul: In bis zu 100% gewissen Grad.
14: Mhm und halt ihr euch sicherheit so aktiv für ein Problem oder so eingesetzt?
Sina und Paul: Ja.
Paul: Also Frau Petrus kommt hier und wieder auf uns zu und fragt ob man da irgendwas machen möchte.
15: Mhm.
Sina: Mhm kürzlich hatten wir doch, wir haben kürzlich in der Klasse drüber geredet, dass wir das nicht ganz sinnvoll finden mit Corona, dass wir jetzt im Klassenrat mit Klassenfragen müssen und in der Sportstunde halt nicht. Und dann haben wir da halt auch nicht direkt jetzt Lehrer geredet.
16: ...
17: Und mhm wärkt ihr eigentlich irgendwas in der Schule mit? Mhm mit irgendwelchen AGs oder so? Also seid ihr in irgendwelchen AGs und wirkt da mit?
18: Mhm (Pause)
Sina: Ich war mal Streitschlichter, aber jetzt auch nicht mehr.
Zusatz: Auf: Anna: Bismarck.

Bürgerbeteiligungsstudie Ergebnisse

Forschungsfragen:

- 1) Was bedeutet es für 8.-10. Klassen ein guter Bürger zu sein?
- 2) Wie beteiligen sich 8.-10. Klassen als Bürger in der Schule?
- 3) Wie beteiligen sich 8.-10. Klassen als Bürger außerhalb der Schule?
- 4) Wie empfinden 8.-10. Klassen den Gemeinschaftskundeunterricht und (wie) hilft er ihnen bei der Bürgerbeteiligung?

Stichwörter:

1) Unverbindliche Aufgabe:
2) Teile des Skript wurden herausgenommen und finden sich unter einer anderen Überschrift
(Pause) Pause im Gespräch in der niemand etwas sagt

Schritt 1: Skript kennenlernen

Überfliegt das Skript, um euch einen Überblick zu verschaffen. Besprecht kurz eure Eindrücke miteinander, wenn euch Dinge auffallen.

Schritt 2: Zuverlässigkeit eurer Daten

Denkt nochmal über euer Gesprächsgespräch nach und schreibt ein paar Stichpunkte zu folgenden Fragen auf. Lest euch dazu nochmal das Skript durch.

Wenn sinnvoll, nummeriert entsprechende Stichpunkte und fügt eine Klammer mit der entsprechenden Nummer in das Skript ein. Markiert die Nummer und den zugehörigen Text im Skript in rot Schriftfarbe.

- Waren alle Teilnehmer gleichmäßig am Gespräch beteiligt? Warum (nicht)?

• Gab es Teilnehmer, die das Gespräch für sich abgenommen haben? Falls ja

20-30 min	<p>Work in Breakout rooms</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hand out transcripts and worksheets to each pair • Assign student-researchers to Breakout rooms
5 min	<p>Reflection</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ask participants to send their completed worksheets to me • Remind participants to delete the transcripts and worksheets from their computers • Reflect on participants' experience of being a student-researcher and doing data analysis • Thank participants • Discuss where they will get their certificates from and what I should write on them

Student-researchers' modified transcript example:

Participants

	Number of responses	Percentage of speaking
JS	12	30%
Anna	5	15%
Paul	7	20%
Sina	9	30%
Lisa	2	5%

Welcome and introduction to the topic

<p>JS: We're glad you're volunteering, there's an audio recording. And it's anonymous and it's also, it's data protected. It's about citizen participation and you can always say your opinions and there are no wrong answers and yes. And you can always ask questions if you want to.</p>	
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Participation at school

<p>JS: Do you feel that you are allowed to participate at school? Sina: Well, yes, in the class, then there is also voting. And just about the class representatives. And in the election of the class representatives. JS: Ok. Paul: To a certain extent. JS: Mhm, and have you ever actively campaigned for a problem or something? Sina and Paul: (k) Paul: Every now and then Mrs. Paul comes up to us and asks if we want to do something. JS: Mhm Sina: Mhm Recently we talked about it in class, that we don't think it makes sense with Corona, that we have to wear masks in the classroom and not in the sports hall. And then we also talked to a teacher.</p>	
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<p>[...]</p> <p>JS: And mhm do you actually participate in the school somehow? Mhm with some clubs or something? So are you in any clubs and do you participate in them?</p> <p>Anna: School paramedics</p> <p>JS: Mhm (pause)</p> <p>Sina: I used to be an arbitrator, but not any more.</p> <p>[social talk, long pause]</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>JS: What social issues are you concerned about at the moment?</p> <p>Paul: Corona</p> <p>Lisa: Yes, Corona and mhm climate change for me too.</p> <p>Sina: Elections next year</p> <p>[Social talk.]</p>	
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Gemeinschaftskunde

<p>JS: Mhm. What do you think of the GK lessons?</p> <p>Anna: Phew. Yes, well, it depends, actually it can be very exciting, but we haven't done that much interesting stuff in GK.</p> <p>Sina: Yes, I don't find it that exciting and it also depends a bit on the teachers.</p> <p>Lisa: Yes</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>JS: Okay. Are you more interested in politics with GK?</p> <p>Anna: What do you mean?</p> <p>JS: So you are more interested in politics because of GK?</p> <p>Anna: Ah. No, not really. Well, we also had very little GK, actually, and we also talked very little about politics in GK, but more about things like peer pressure and youth groups and what young people are interested in. Although in my opinion we should have done something about politics and maybe just discuss it and what the opinion is because that's the way it is, everybody sits there and writes something about, I don't know, peer pressure and in the end nobody is interested in politics because you don't have to form your own opinion because it never comes up that you have to have your own opinion.</p> <p>Paul: Yes</p>	
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Participation beyond school

<p>JS: Are any of you mhm active in the community?</p> <p>Sina: Not me.</p> <p>Anna: Yes you are. Aren't you on the trainee course too?</p> <p>Sina: Yes.</p> <p>Anna: Yes, not now, but later on. With the community, that's how it works.</p> <p>Sina: Yes. We are doing a training course. Then you can lead a youth group or something like that...</p> <p>JS: Yes. Have you ever been to a demonstration or something like that?</p> <p>Paul: I've never been to one.</p> <p>Lisa: Me neither.(Pause)</p>	
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N. Student-researcher data analysis worksheet

Worksheet: Citizenship study results



Research questions:

- (1) What does it mean for year 8-10 students to be a **good citizen**?
- (2) Which citizenship activities do year 8-10 students engage in **at school**?
- (3) Which citizenship activities do year 8-10 students engage in **outside of school**?
- (4) How do year 8-10 students perceive **citizenship education lessons** and how do they help them to engage in citizenship activities?

Step 1: Get to know your transcript

Read the transcript to get an idea of it. For example, look at the titles. Discuss your first impressions.



Step 2: Reliability of collected data

Think back to the group conversation and answer the following questions using bullet points. Refer to the script and if possible, highlight text passages in **red font colour** that relate to your comments below.



- Did all participants participate to a similar extent in the conversation? Why (not)?

- Were there some participants who dominated the conversation? Elaborate.

- Was there a lively conversation? Why not?

- How do you know participants provided honest answers?

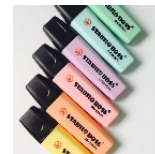
- Did you discuss the above research questions to a similar extent? Why (not)? Which parts did you discuss a lot and which parts not so much? Why?

- How do you know the participants understood your questions?

Other comments about the reliability of your collected data:

Step 3: Coding

Read through each part of the transcript and highlight what the participants have said about the topics with a **highlighter**. Make comments in the columns on the right about what the participants have said about the topics. Summarise relevant statements in the margins. You can also use numbers to say how often something was said.



Step 4: Results

Now look at the transcript and your comments in the right columns again. Can you summarise the results of the group discussions in relation to the research questions?



- (1) What does it mean for year 8-10 students to be a **good citizen**?

- (2) Which citizenship activities do year 8-students engage in **at school**?

- (3) Which citizenship activities do year 8-students engage in **outside of school**?

- (4) How do year 8-10 students perceive **citizenship education lessons** and how do they help them to engage in citizenship activities?

Write down any other results from the group discussions:

O. Open letter to school principals by the Baden-Württemberg Minister for Education, regarding Fridays for Future Protests

Dear principals,

3.1.2019

Every week, thousands of young people take to the streets across Germany to campaign for climate protection - including here in Baden-Württemberg. Climate change is indisputably a reality that can already be felt today and is one of our key global challenges. Last summer we all finally noticed that climate change also has regional consequences. The persistent commitment of our students shows how important this topic is to them. They think about their future and that of our environment. I have a lot of understanding for that, and I'm also very impressed by the commitment of the students.

Find pragmatic solutions

I am therefore of the opinion that we must take our students' interest in and awareness of climate protection seriously. Of course, we, the school administration, have to monitor compliance with compulsory schooling together with you as principals. Many of you have found good and pragmatic solutions for dealing with the absence of students. Only recently I read in the press about a teacher who gave his students the task of writing an essay to reflect on the tension between "rights and duties". I think that's a pedagogically appropriate and exemplary reaction.

Bring the topic into the classroom

With all understanding for the legitimate concerns of the students, it can of course not be the case that classes are permanently cancelled on Fridays. For this reason, I suggest that we bring the topic from the street into the classroom. The curricula offer numerous points of contact for this, in particular through the guiding principle of "[education for sustainable development](#)". I know that the schools in Baden-Württemberg are anything but idle. There are environmental extracurriculars, school gardens or student companies that deal with fair and sustainable production methods, as well as teaching units and projects that are dedicated to climate change. The students' strong interest indicates that we should pursue this path more closely. Be it through teaching units or as part of project days that address climate change, its causes, consequences and dimensions in a global context, but also make clear the connections and importance for our country and our local environment.

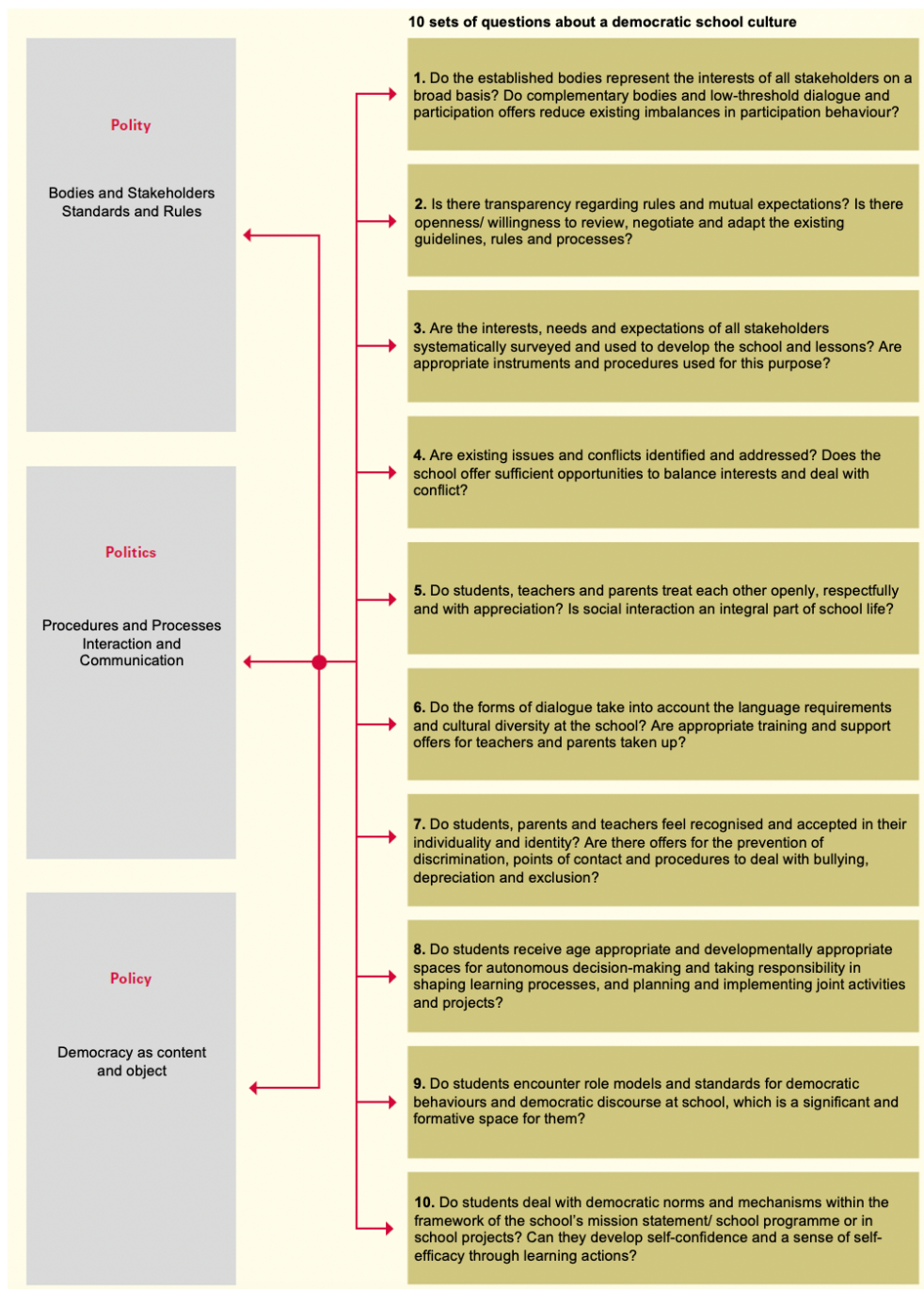
The main perspective "Education for Sustainable Development" aims to enable schoolchildren to make informed decisions and to act responsibly to protect the environment and for a just world society for current and future generations. Above all, this concerns observing the natural limits of the resilience of the earth system and dealing with social and global injustices. Teachers receive appropriate information and support offers for the lessons via the internet platform of the curriculum. One example is the simulation-oriented role-playing game "[World Climate](#)". The Ministry of the [Environment](#) also offers a variety of projects, materials and the Internet platform "[KlimaNet Baden-Württemberg](#)" for support. Here, schools receive background information as well as specific offers for deepening climate-related issues in the classroom. The platform also offers suggestions for your own climate protection projects - from the idea to implementation.

I would like to ask you: Use these offers and support options to make the social challenges of climate change a pedagogical topic at school together with your pupils. Let's show the students that we take their concerns seriously and that their commitment makes a difference.

Sincerely,
Dr. Susanne Eisenman

Source: Translated from Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport (KM BW):
<https://km-bw.de/Len/startseite/service/2019+03+01+Engagement+ernst+nehmen>

P. Democratic learning handbook: Table to assess democratic school culture



Source: Translated from democratic learning handbook (KM BW, 2019a, p. 51)