

Title	Flipped learning as a tool to enhance digital citizenship: How teachers' experiences of online teaching during the COVID-19 pandemic can encourage participatory and justice-oriented citizenship
Authors	O'Brien, Gearoid
Publication date	2021-06-01
Original Citation	O'Brien, G.(2021) 'Flipped learning as a tool to enhance digital citizenship: How teachers' experiences of online teaching during the COVID-19 pandemic can encourage participatory and justice-oriented citizenship', Citizenship Teaching And Learning, 16 (2), pp. 213-223. doi: 10.1386/ctl_00057_1
Type of publication	Article (peer-reviewed)
Link to publisher's version	10.1386/ctl_00057_1
Rights	© Gearoid O'Brien 2021. The definitive, peer reviewed and edited version of this article is published in Citizenship Teaching & Learning, Volume 16, Number 2, 1 June 2021, pp. 213-223, doi: 10.1386/ctl_00057_1
Download date	2026-08-09 00:16:25
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/13135

Flipped learning as a tool to enhance digital citizenship: How teachers' experiences of online teaching during the COVID 19 pandemic can encourage participatory and justice-oriented citizenship.

ABSTRACT

In Ireland, Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) is a compulsory subject for all students in the first three years of post-primary education. CSPE is generally taught for one class period per week, which limits the ability to develop participatory or justice-oriented citizenship – it gives time for exposure to, but perhaps not practice of, these types of citizenship. Digital citizenship is a recently developed dimension of citizenship and is often focused only on safety and ethical elements. The changed teaching practices resulting from the COVID 19 pandemic have provided a unique opportunity to use flipped learning to develop participatory and justice-oriented digital citizenship. The article outlines examples of how two topics, promoting media literacy and conducting a survey of young people, can be taught moving from a personally responsible to a participatory and justice-oriented focus. Challenges are discussed and future research areas are suggested.

KEYWORDS

Digital citizenship; flipped learning; COVID 19 pandemic; personally responsible; participatory citizenship; justice-oriented citizenship

INTRODUCTION

On the 12th of March 2020, the Irish Government closed all schools in response to the COVID 19 pandemic. A survey conducted by the Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland (ASTI, 2020) found that 98% of respondents were teaching online between the 12th of March and the end of May. Schools reopened at the end of August 2020 with social distancing, compulsory face masks, limited use of paper handouts and no shared materials. These developments ushered in new challenges for teachers. I suggest teachers' experiences of online learning platforms and restricted classroom interaction provide an opportunity to implement flipped learning. The Flipped Learning Network (FLN, 2014) defines flipped learning as:

... a pedagogical approach in which direct instruction moves from the group learning space to the individual learning space, and the resulting group space is transformed into a dynamic, interactive learning environment where the educator guides students as they apply concepts and engage creatively in the subject matter.

In Ireland, Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) lessons are generally allocated only one class period per week. This leads to a loss of momentum and makes it difficult to move beyond personally responsible citizenship. Flipped learning allows for continuity, exposes students to varied perspectives, introduces concepts in advance of a lesson enabling analytical and participative work to happen in class, and encourages self-guided research and action.

As people's online activities and networks have expanded, digital citizenship has emerged and continues to evolve. In citizenship education, however, digital citizenship has largely been focused on safety and online ethics. Flipped learning provides an opportunity to mitigate the challenge of limited class time and has the potential to develop the participatory and justice-oriented dimensions of digital citizenship.

FLIPPED LEARNING

Bergman and Sams (2012a), outlined an approach to flipped learning using videos prepared by the teacher or sourced online to teach basic knowledge and skills associated with the lower levels of Bloom's Taxonomy. Students watch the videos at home and the time freed up in class by reducing the instruction element of the lesson is used to generate discussion and promote deeper learning. Two related developments have facilitated the emergence of flipped learning: technological progress and an ideological movement that has removed man-made barriers by providing free reference materials and software (Bishop and Verleger, 2013). Web 2.0 technology, for instance, allows media content to be easily created at minimal cost (Krutka and Carpenter, 2016a; Richards, 2010).

Research indicates that students are positively disposed towards flipped instruction (Bishop and Verleger, 2013; Herreid and Schiller, 2013; Jong, 2017, Snyder et al., 2014, Unruh et al., 2016). Lo and Hew (2017), however, identified some challenges: poor quality videos, an inability to ask questions immediately and significant preparation time for the teacher. Moreover, flipped learning has been found to benefit moderate and low achieving students, but not high achieving students (Jong, 2017).

The COVID 19 pandemic has made flipped learning a less arduous task for teachers to contemplate as they seek ways of disseminating information and promoting meaningful student discussion. Successful flipped learning requires support from management and information technology (IT) departments, time and thoughtful educators (Bergmann and Sams, 2012b). The pandemic has helped mitigate some of these factors by encouraging school management to support online teaching and pushing teachers to develop competencies and gain experience of using the digital technologies required for flipped learning.

TYPES OF CITIZEN

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) outlined the three types of good citizen promoted in citizenship education programmes: the personally responsible, the participatory and the justice-oriented. Personally responsible citizenship entails behaviours such as obeying laws, paying taxes, giving blood, picking up litter and recycling. The core assumption of personally responsible citizenship is that good character, honesty, a sense of responsibility and a propensity to abide by the law are sufficient. While these are admirable qualities, they are equally suited to a totalitarian regime as personal responsibility is based on the premise that all that is wrong in society can be put right by individual behaviour, removing institutional power structures from liability. Consequently, personally responsible citizenship alone is not enough. Participatory citizens understand how existing structures of power work and aim to solve social problems by organising and leading within these structures. Students of participatory citizen programmes show greater leadership skills and confidence in their ability to make a change, but they lack an understanding of the cause of problems. Justice-oriented citizens address the root causes of social problems by involvement in social movements and interrogating power structures. Students of justice-oriented citizenship are motivated by political issues and social critique but their personal responsibility and ability to act in the community are not developed. Audigier (1999) suggests cognitive, ethical and action-related competences are required in education for democratic citizenship. Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) typologies entail elements of these competences suggesting a programme with all three elements is the maximal model.

When teachers emphasize one specific type of citizenship it leads to divergent experiences of citizenship education for students. Those teachers promoting personal responsibility prioritize learning laws and voting but avoid critical analysis, whereas teachers of participatory citizenship emphasize knowledge, critical thinking and self-actualization leading to social action (Patterson et al., 2012). However, Print et al. (2002) warn, lesson

content alone will not develop participatory citizens, experience in decision-making in the classroom and school is also required. Teachers of justice-oriented citizenship focus on challenging injustice by developing skills such as letter writing, petitions and running for office (Patterson et al., 2012). Yet, while individual teachers promote justice-oriented citizenship education, Leung et al. (2014) suggest that governments opt not to because it threatens the status quo.

DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP

Digital citizenship refers to the areas of one's citizenship conducted online. Like Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) models of good citizen, digital citizenship education also entails personally responsible, participatory and justice-oriented elements. Most research on digital citizenship, however, focuses only on personal responsibility issues such as digital footprint, cyberbullying and responsible online behaviour (Heath, 2018).

Bennett et al. (2009) suggest that many citizenship education programmes are premised on the notion of a dutiful citizenship that aligns with personal responsibility. Younger people reject this approach and opt for self-actualising citizenship which prioritizes issues centred on their personal experiences such as moral and environmental concerns. This is more akin to participatory and justice-oriented citizenship. A successful citizenship education programme, however, must combine both categories.

Some writers consider the broader potential of digital citizenship. Jones and Mitchell (2016) note its two-fold nature: practicing respectful and tolerant behaviours towards others, and increasing civic engagement activities such as political participation, volunteering and supporting charities. Digital citizenship also includes media literacy and using social media to support political engagement (Gleason and von Gillern, 2018). Outlining examples of participatory and justice-oriented digital citizens, Heath (2018) says the former effects change by harnessing social media's capacity to reach large numbers instantly, whereas the latter raises awareness using hashtags and questioning established sources of inequality.

Worryingly, Choi et al. (2018) found teachers had low levels of networking agency, critical perspective and internet political activism, all of which are required factors for participatory and justice-oriented digital citizenship.

The impact of participatory and justice-oriented digital citizenship is evident in political developments such as the Arab Spring and the election of Barack Obama (Mihailidis, 2012). Similarly, Malala Yusufzai's promotion of girls' education rights, Greta Thunberg's environmental action movement and Captain Tom Moore's fundraising endeavours demonstrate digital citizenship's political, social and financial potential. These examples of participatory and justice-oriented digital citizenship can be replicated in citizenship education.

TEACHING DIGITAL CITIZENSHIP

In this section, I will outline examples of how flipped learning can develop personally responsible, participatory and justice-orientated digital citizenship education. I will use two topics to illustrate each of the above: topic one entails promoting media literacy and topic two involves conducting a survey of young people.

Personal Responsibility

Participatory and justice-oriented citizenship can only properly succeed with knowledge of how things work – this is gained from personal responsibility (Bennett et al., 2009; Krutka and Carpenter, 2017). Basic internet guidance is an essential prerequisite prior to embarking on more participatory programmes. Teachers can ensure a safe and ethical introduction to digital citizenship by modelling how to behave online, leading discussion, questioning assumptions and setting challenges (Krutka and Carpenter, 2016b; Martínez-Sainz and Barry, 2020; Mattson, 2017).

Media literacy is a central component of digital citizenship. Teenagers source news from social media, blogs and humorous current affairs programmes because they provide interpretations and judgements (Marchi, 2012). Yet, many young people do not understand humorous programmes (Boyer et al., 2015). Most think critically about the websites they visit but judge a website's credibility on its surface features and its placement in search results (Hargittai et al., 2010; Ofcom, 2018; Sundar, 2008). Teaching media literacy requires exposing students to diverse viewpoints, thereby avoiding homophily and promoting critical analysis. Media literacy promotes reflection, justifying opinions and considering alternative viewpoints, thereby increasing the ability to distinguish between evidence and misinformation (Druckman, 2012; Kahne and Bowyer, 2017).

Topic One: Promoting Media Literacy

The teacher posts a video explaining the Currency Reliability Authority and Purpose (CRAP) test and provides links to several websites on the online learning platform (Krutka and Carpenter, 2017). Students complete a worksheet applying this test to the websites they access and submit it online in advance of class. This enables the teacher to monitor the students' understanding and, thereby, plan the class-based extension of the lesson. In class, the websites are analyzed and discussed firstly by students in smaller groups who note their findings on a digital whiteboard. This provides the stimulus for a detailed class discussion. The teacher then selects an election campaign and posts links to ideologically different news websites, columnists, political advertisements and clips from humorous programmes. Students complete a rubric where they identify a strength, a weakness and the purpose of the media piece they have selected. This encourages reflection and consideration of alternative interpretations and generates a class discussion focused on identifying issues such as veracity, bias and the elements that make an advertisement or an article effective.

Topic Two: Conducting a Survey of Young People

The teacher prepares a survey that the students complete online. Partaking in a survey gives students experience with Likert scales, as well as open and closed questions. Mattson (2017) suggests surveys enable the teacher to better understand the views of the class prior to planning further lessons. In class, the teacher sets group activities aimed at emphasizing the importance of survey design and respectful language. Students also analyze the survey results using pie charts, bar charts and extracts from responses to open questions. The group activities are designed to generate a class discussion. The teacher posts a video outlining examples of how survey results have been presented in the media. Students are asked to source objective and sensationalist media reports of survey results and upload these on an online curation site. The teacher uses the information they have collated to guide a classroom discussion that focuses on how to read surveys, factors that affect their accuracy and elements that increase their potential impact.

Participatory

Participatory digital citizenship entails students organizing and conducting online tasks that will be of benefit to the community. Familiarity with working online makes such projects more likely to succeed. Limited class contact time makes it difficult to conduct CSPE projects. Flipped learning, however, allows many activities to be completed and shared outside of allocated class periods. As with personal responsibility, teacher scaffolding is a prerequisite to enable students to participate, but the students have a greater input in decision-making and begin to take leadership and ownership as the participatory aspect becomes dominant.

Being media literate may be considered part of personally responsible citizenship because media impacts political and social decisions (Krutka and Carpenter, 2017). Media literacy, however, can be viewed as either a protectionist measure that develops skills to

refute harmful messages, or a method of empowerment (Weninger, 2017). This empowerment is gained through reflection and critical analysis and has the potential to promote participatory and justice-oriented citizenship.

Methods such as blogs, vlogs, infographics and public service announcements help promote digital participation (Gleason and von Gillern, 2018; Hobbs, 2017). Similarly, entrusting class Twitter accounts to students once the teacher has outlined their purpose and demonstrated how to use them encourages participation (Krutka and Carpenter, 2017; Mattson, 2017; Richards, 2010). Students working in teams are beneficial as shared ideas are likely to produce better results and provide experience of working participatively with others.

Topic One: Promoting Media Literacy

Students decide to produce an infographic contrasting the negative consequences of media illiteracy with the benefits of being media literate. The former identifies the personally responsible element of media literacy, while the latter emphasizes the power it offers and promotes participatory citizenship. Using a screencast video, the teacher outlines how to research information and students post statistics and case studies to support their findings on an online curation site. Each student briefly explains their rationale for choosing their contribution. In class, students form teams charged with specific tasks, which allows them to use skills such as IT, art and writing. The teacher posts explanatory videos demonstrating how to produce an infographic. Students complete their individual tasks at home and post them online, thereby sharing the material. Classmates then post constructive feedback. Finally, in class, the infographic is produced.

Topic Two: Conducting a Survey of Young People

The students use a shared online document to suggest survey questions. In class, they decide what to include and exclude from the survey, which is then collaboratively created

online. Different teams are charged with the responsibility of aspects such as production, promotion and analysis. Social media is used to promote the survey and to enrol participants amongst young people in the local community. The results are disseminated on the class Twitter account.

Justice-orientation

Justice-orientation requires rallying popular support in order to effect change. Social media helps provide an immediate and vast audience, furnishes feedback, encourages higher quality work and is an engaging process (Krutka and Carpenter, 2016b). Helping students become justice-oriented citizens requires raising awareness of injustice and identifying how to challenge the structures responsible for this injustice. Krutka and Carpenter (2017) suggest creating trending hashtags and encouraging students to become participants on active discussion boards. Having previously engaged students through personally responsible and participatory activities will have helped to raise the students' consciousness. Fully achieving justice-orientation entails using that consciousness to effect change.

The teacher asks students to investigate methods of promoting change and consider campaigns that have influenced their thinking and to post the advantages and disadvantages of these on the online learning platform. This is a necessary first stage as students may not know how to campaign online, Jerome and Lalor (2020), for instance, found few students able to identify social media or online activities as a means of resolving political problems, which indicates that – as with the other stages – teacher guidance is critical.

Topic One: Promoting Media Literacy

The students highlight the negative implications of poor media literacy skills and contrast this with the benefits of strong media literacy skills. They launch a campaign on the class

Twitter account to promote the infographic on media literacy. They create a hashtag aiming to encourage others to engage in online discussion. The campaign seeks to raise awareness and gain support for promoting media literacy education.

Topic Two: Conducting a Survey of Young People

The survey results are used to advocate for improved facilities for young people. Completing the survey provides evidence of popular support and a focus for the campaign by identifying specific areas of change desired by a cohort of young people. The students organize an online petition and promote it on a class social media account and the petition and survey results are used to lobby local politicians to address the deficiencies in provision of facilities for young people.

CONCLUSION

Flipped learning is a relatively new pedagogy and is not without its challenges. This article is not an attempt to ignore those challenges but instead highlight the opportunities it offers. Digital citizenship is an evolving area where the focus on personal responsibility is broadening to recognize the potential of participatory and justice-oriented approaches. Flipped learning provides a means of addressing inequalities related to media literacy, exposure to diverse viewpoints and promoting opportunities to enhance participation and making one's voice heard. The COVID-19 pandemic has limited classroom interaction and moved many educational activities online. Consequently, teachers have had to adapt their practice, but these changes have provided them with skills and experiences suited to incorporating flipped learning in their ongoing practice. Basic tasks and information gathering can happen at home and the classroom can become a site of informed discussion and organizing action. Flipped learning is not a panacea, but it facilitates maintaining

momentum between CSPE lessons and expanding citizenship education beyond the classroom and into students' daily lives. Moreover, it offers an opportunity to engage students in their learning.

Further studies would help address challenges to implementing flipped learning. Firstly, teachers value the networks and professional development provided by social media but viewed them as affinity spaces for personal development rather than educational tools (Krutka and Carpenter, 2016a; Carpenter et al., 2020). Students are also reluctant to use social media for schoolwork (Manca and Grion, 2017). Further research is needed to identify how the networking provided in social media can be harnessed to promote participatory and justice-oriented digital citizenship amongst both teachers and students.

Secondly, the continuous professional development (CPD) and networks provided by social media have the potential to be very beneficial to teachers. However, these networks remain both undervalued and untested. Their popularity indicates that teachers derive a benefit from them, but what that benefit is and how it can be used requires further analysis.

Finally, promoting participatory and justice-oriented citizenship education requires support from schools and teachers. Yet, schools limiting student online access (Krutka and Carpenter, 2017) and low levels of online participation and justice-orientation in teachers' personal lives (Choi et al., 2018) indicate a certain reticence to fully support these types of citizenship. An investigation to ascertain the extent of such reservations, their origins and their impact would be valuable.

References

- Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland (ASTI) (2020), 'ASTI survey on remote teaching', <https://www.asti.ie/document-library/asti-survey-on-remote-teaching/>. Accessed 2 September 2020.
- Audigier, F. (1999), *Basic Concepts and Core Competencies of Education for Democratic Citizenship*, http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Curriculum/SEEPDFs/audigier.pdf. Accessed 2 September 2020.
- Bennett, W. L., Wells, C. and Rank, A. (2009), 'Young citizens and civic learning: Two paradigms of citizenship in the digital age', *Citizenship Studies*, 13: 2, pp. 105-120.
- Bergmann, J. and Sams, A. (2012a), *Flip Your Classroom: Reach Every Student in Every Class Every Day*, Eugene, OR: International Society for Technology in Education.
- Bergmann, J. and Sams, A. (2012b), 'Before you flip consider this', *Phi Delta Kappan*, 94: 2, pp. 25-25.
- Bishop, J. and Verleger, M. A. (2013), 'The flipped classroom: A survey of the research', paper presented at ASEE Annual Conference and Exposition Proceedings, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Boyer, B. T., Kahne, J. E. and Middaugh, E. (2015), 'Youth comprehension of political messages in YouTube videos', *New Media & Society*, 19: 4, pp. 522-541.
- Carpenter, J. P., Morrison, S.A., Craft, M. and Lee, M. (2020), 'How and why are educators using Instagram?' *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 96, pp. 1-14.
- Choi, M., Cristol, D. and Gimbert, B. (2018), 'Teachers as digital citizens: The influence of individual backgrounds, internet use and psychological characteristics on teachers' levels of digital citizenship', *Computers and Education*, 121, pp. 143-161.
- Druckman, J. N. (2012), 'The politics of motivation', *Critical Review*, 24: 2, pp. 199-216.

- Flipped Learning Network (FLN), (2014), 'The Four Pillars of F-L-I-P',
https://flippedlearning.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/FLIP_handout_FNL_Web.pdf. Accessed 2 September 2020.
- Gleason, B. and von Gillern, S. (2018), 'Digital citizenship with social media: Participatory practices of teaching and learning in secondary education', *Educational Technology and Society*, 21: 1, pp. 200-212.
- Hargittai, E., Fullerton, L., Menchen-Trevino, E. and Thomas, K. Y. (2010), 'Trust online: Young adults' evaluation of web content', *International Journal of Communication*, 4: 1, pp. 468–494.
- Heath, M. K. (2018), 'What kind of (digital) citizen? A between-studies analysis of research and teaching for democracy', *International Journal of Information and Learning Technology*, 35: 5, pp. 342-356.
- Herreid, C. F. and Schiller, N. A. (2013), 'Case studies and the flipped classroom', *Journal of College Science Teaching*, 42: 5, pp. 62-66.
- Hobbs, R. (2017), *Create to Learn: Introduction to Digital Literacy*, Malden, MA: John Wiley and Sons.
- Jerome, L. and Lalor, J. (2020), 'Revisting subject knowledge in citizenship education: Understanding power and agency', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 15: 2, pp. 101-118.
- Jones, L. M. and Mitchell, K. J. (2016), 'Defining and measuring youth digital citizenship', *New Media & Society*, 18: 9, pp. 2063-2076.
- Jong, M. S. Y. (2017), 'Empowering students in the process of social inquiry learning through flipping the classroom', *Journal of Educational Technology and Society*, 20: 1, pp. 306-322.

- Kahne, J. and Bowyer, B. (2017), 'Educating for democracy in a partisan age: Confronting the challenges of motivated reasoning and misinformation', *American Educational Research Journal*, 54: 1, pp. 3-34.
- Krutka, D. G. and Carpenter, J. P. (2016a), 'Participatory learning through social media: How and why social studies educators use Twitter', *Contemporary Issues in Technology and Teacher Education*, 16: 1, pp. 38-59.
- Krutka, D. G. and Carpenter, J. P. (2016b), 'Why social media must have a place in schools', *Kappa Delta Pi Record*, 52: 1, pp. 6-10.
- Krutka, D. G. and Carpenter, J. P. (2017), 'Digital citizenship in the curriculum: Educators can support strong visions of citizenship by teaching with and about social media', *Educational Leadership*, pp. 50-55.
- Leung, Y. W., Yuen, W. W. T. and Ngai, S. K. G. (2014), 'Personal responsible, participatory or justice-oriented citizen: The case of Hong Kong', *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 9: 3, pp. 279-295.
- Lo, C. K. and Hew, K. F. (2017), 'A critical review of flipped classroom challenges in K-12 education: Possible solutions and recommendations for future research', *Research and Practice in Technology Enhanced Learning*, 12: 4, pp. 1-22.
- Manca, S. and Grion, V. (2017), 'Engaging students in school participatory practice through Facebook: The story of a failure', *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 48: 5, pp. 1153-1163.
- Marchi, R. (2012), 'With Facebook, blogs, and fake news, teens reject journalistic "objectivity"', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 36: 3, pp. 246-262.
- Martínez-Sainz, G. and Barry, M. (2020), 'Digital technologies to advance global citizenship education in schools', doi: 10.13140/RG.2.2.24397.05600.
- Mattson, K. (2017), *Digital Citizenship in Action: Empowering Students to Engage in Online Communities*, Portland, OR: International Society for Technology in Education.

- Mihailidis, P. (2012) *News Literacy: Global Perspectives for the Newsroom and the Classroom*, New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Ofcom (2018) 'Children and parents: Media use and attitudes report 2018', https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0024/134907/children-and-parents-media-use-and-attitudes-2018.pdf. Accessed 2 September 2020.
- Patterson, N., Doppen, F. and Misco, T. (2012), 'Beyond personally responsible: A study of teacher conceptualizations of citizenship education', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 7: 2, pp. 191-206.
- Print, M., Ørnstrøm, S. and Skovgaard Nielsen, H. (2002), 'Education for democratic processes in schools and classrooms', *European Journal of Education*, 37: 2, pp. 193-210.
- Richards, R. (2010), 'Digital Citizenship and Web 2.0 Tools', *MERLOT Journal of Online Learning and Teaching*, 6: 2, pp. 516-522.
- Snyder, C., Paska, L. M. and Besozzi, D. (2014), 'Cast from the past: Using screencasting in the social studies classroom', *The Social Studies*, 105: 6, pp. 310-314.
- Sundar, S. S. (2008), 'The MAIN model: A heuristic approach to understanding technology effects on credibility', in M. J. Metzger and A. J. Flanagin (eds.), *Digital Media, Youth, and Credibility*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 73-100.
- Unruh, T., Peters, M. L. and Willis, J. (2016), 'Flip this classroom: A comparative study', *Computers in the Schools*, 33: 1, pp. 38-58.
- Weninger, C. (2017), 'Media literacy education in Singapore: Connecting theory, policy and practice', in Chan, K., Zhang, K. and A. Lee (eds.), *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Media Literacy*, Beijing: Communication University of China Press, pp. 399-416.
- Westheimer, J. and Kahne, J. (2004), 'What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy', *American Educational Research Journal*, 41: 2, pp. 237-269.