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## Civic Education, social and personal development and citizenship education: changes in Portugal through the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

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A Republican regime replaced the Monarchy in Portugal in 1910. One of the principal changes, quickly introduced into the educational system, was the removal of religious education from the school curriculum. "Religion was eliminated from schools: people wishing to teach religion should do that at home. Since the State respects liberty, it does not have to provide religious education. Following the foundation of the Republic, the moral teaching of schools is based solely on the principles that regulate justice and dignity among men and citizens." (*Diário do Governo*, 1911, p. 1342)

However, the first republicans emphasised moral and citizenship education. The introduction of the law that reorganises primary education (which was the level of schooling that was developed most by the republican government), published just a few months after the revolution, refers at several points to *character development*, to *loyalty to the mother country*, to *identity development*. Schools should provide instruction but also education "through explanation, counselling and example" (*Diário do Governo*, 1911, p. 1342). One of the aims of schooling was forming loyal citizens. The other concept present is the concept of *solidarity*, man is only Man when "he is useful to himself and to others, when he defends his interests, but does not undermine the interests of others". There are several suggestions that emphasise the communitarian tradition of citizenship. Almost a century ago, the legislators were referring to multi-dimensional citizenship education in terms very similar to those used today. Among sentences referring to love, virtue and truth is the following:

"At the end of his compulsory education the Portuguese young person will love, in a consistent and reasoning way, the *region* where he was born, the *mother country* where he lives, and the *humanity* to which he pertains." (*Diário do Governo*, 1911, p. 1342)

Knowledge was seen as the first condition of citizenship education, in the same way as is proposed today. At the second level of primary education there was a topic on the development of practical morality to shape pupils' character, and another on the citizen's rights and duties. At the upper primary level the curriculum included two specific courses: Moral Instruction and Civic Instruction, which included military training for boys.

In 1915 the respected philosopher and pedagogue António Sérgio wrote a small book explaining a philosophy of schooling in the formation of good citizens, based on self-government, the municipal responsibility for schools and the importance of practical work and not only theoretical study. It may not have been fully implemented, but at least some of its philosophical principles were adopted. One of the most typical images of school is the ceremony where municipal representatives, pupils and teachers come together to plant a tree.

The reform of secondary education was less thorough; the Republican government felt this less necessary as the final reforms implemented by the Monarchical government had been introduced through republican pressure. Significant changes were only introduced

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several years after the revolution. The 1917-19 reform stressed the ways in which disciplines could be formative in the development of citizenship, through especially Portuguese Language which was expected to strengthen national sentiment progressively. Historical Narrative and History also were given as a main objective the development of patriotic sentiments.

To synthesise the focus of the First Republic: they banned religious education but placed enormous importance on civic education, character formation and moral education. The 1911 Constitution was a liberal constitution that included a section on Individual Rights and Guaranties. The communitarian tradition of citizenship, with its important concept of solidarity, was evident in the primary educational laws which placed much emphasis on democratic citizenship education. In secondary education the stress was placed on the formation of character and the development of patriotism.

A military putsch in 1926 put an end to the First Republic. The reforms in elementary education that followed stressed the subjects most able to emphasise the new nationalist politics: the History of Portugal and Civic Education. The idea that instruction for people might be dangerous starts to be developed. Salazar, the Prime Minister in the Dictatorship period, prepared the way: he scarcely needed a Minister of Education in order to inseminate his ideologies in schools. Several of his speeches, given in the period just before the approval of the main law governing education, emphasise the schools' role in fighting communist ideals and in raising nationalistic sentiments. At the same time schools should teach a form of morality that provided students with the capacity to fight against the "devil" they would find in the readings. A whole new environment was developed to accomplish this main objective for schools. One hundred and thirteen moralistic sentences were published in the Government Diary, to be included in officially adopted Portuguese language textbooks. Every sentence was explained: each sentence had a specific public. Some were for fourth year elementary textbooks, and others for each of the following textbooks up to the final year of secondary education. A few months later a new set of sentences were published: these were ordered to be posted in specific places within each schools: walls, corridors, libraries, and playgrounds. Most of them call for obedience and respect for hierarchies, and make no reference to any kind of critical reasoning.

In secondary schools the history of Portugal was the subject selected to disseminate the Dictatorship's ideologies. Carvalho (1986) presents some revealing transcriptions from official documents. Instruction to teachers was first given in a vague way, in terms of recommendations for "correctness of doctrines". But a few months later a more complete direction was given: the State asserted that history teaching should be "the kind of truth is convenient for the nation" (p. 744). Everything in textbooks should contribute to teach patriotic sentiments about the mother country. The events of eight centuries of history were to be used to justify the foundations of social life: the Family as a social cell; Faith as stimulus to colonisation, national unity and solidarity; Authority as the indispensable key element to general progress; Government Authority as the backbone of political life; and respect for Hierarchy as a basic condition of the value of cooperation.

The 1936 Ministry of Public Instruction Reformulation completed the regulations to implement "education for passivity", which Simões (1987) stresses in his doctoral dissertation as the key characteristic of Portuguese education during this period (1926-68). The only textbooks permitted for General History, History of Portugal, Philosophy and Moral and Civic Education were imposed by the Ministry. These textbooks formed the catechism of the Dictatorship. The syllabus of Moral and Civic Education includes the Catholic religion, which was usually taught by Catholic priests. After the revision of the Concordat with the Vatican in 1940, the discipline of Moral and Civic Education was renamed Religious and Moral Education. The organisation *Portuguese Youth* was founded, and paralleled Italian and German juvenile organisations of the time: it too was supposed to be a powerful instrument of civic education.

Even the smallest contributions to civic education were not forgotten. For example, the directions for a French course textbook for the first and second year of secondary education suggest that the book should contribute to moral and civic education as much as it did to language instruction..

The official documents did not refer to citizenship for education, but they referred to this activity in particular ways. They proposed a very strong kind of citizenship, in some ways characteristic of the communitarian tradition, which appealed to community welfare but omits citizen's rights, stressing only duties. Civic education, defined as knowledge about major laws and the processes of governance, appeared only explicitly in the final years of secondary education in the course *National Political and Administrative Organisation*.

The instruments for civic citizenship inculcation in primary education were completed a few years later. A public competition for Portuguese writers to produce a reading book for each year of primary education (four years for boys and three for girls) did not produce a single adequate book. The Government then ordered the books from a Commission of pedagogues, artists and writers, whose inspiration was Italian fascist textbooks. Bearing in mind their objectives, they were truly successful. The books lasted for a lengthy period, and now form a significant part of the collective memory of Portuguese people aged over forty. Others know them through facsimile editions, and the analysis of sociological researchers.

At the end of Almeida's (1991) synthesis of the characteristics of the most emblematic of these textbooks, the Third Year Elementary Textbook Readings, he wrote: "It is a coherent whole, a significant discourse, seeming to have a dispersion of texts and pictures: however it vehicles a single message. The Reading Book proposes a model of society, a behaviour model, a world vision, constructed piece by piece, possible to decompose as an ethnographic work". (p. 260).

The Dictatorship achieved its objectives in many domains of Portuguese life. Education was one of its most successful accomplishments, in that it inculcated education for *passivity*. Although some strategies may now seem ridiculous, the inculcation of values and indoctrination reached levels close to perfection. However, we cannot say that the moral education and the civic education were equally successful; they did not exist.

Some changes were introduced in the last years of the Dictatorship period but the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1974 revolution introduced major changes in education. First teachers stressed the pedagogical and scientific components in education but a silent fear that civic and

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citizenship education might dominate people in school; nevertheless there was intense debate among educationists and politicians about the importance of education in the development of a democratic society.

For example, History teachers tried to stress the scientific aspect of their subject, perhaps in order to forget their role as instruments for values inculcation during long years. Some experiences of civic service to the community, developed in the final year of secondary education in co-operation with the military organisation, spread the fear of a civic education that most people did not wish. The democratic Constitution stressed citizenship, but only a few pedagogues discussed this. At the same time, Religion and Moral Education started to be an optional course. In the middle eighties a new General Law of Education was approved in the National Assembly. During the planning of the reform to implement this law, the debate was opened up to include educators, teachers and media.

The Portuguese Democratic Constitution (1976), the Comprehensive Law on the Education System (Law 46/86), gives the following general principles for citizenship education in article 2.

- a) The State does not have the right to determine education and culture according to any philosophical, aesthetic, political, ideological or religious doctrines;
- b) Public education will not be denominational;
- c) The right to establish private and co-operative schools is recognised.
- 4 The education system responds to needs arising from social realities, and contributes to the full and balanced development of individual personalities, encouraging the education of free, responsible, autonomous and supportive citizens and promoting the human dimension of labour.
- 5 Education furthers the development of democratic and pluralist ideals which embody respect for others and their ideas and is open to dialogue and free exchange of opinions, forming citizens able to constructively criticise their social system and capable of working towards its progressive transformation. (*Law 46/86*, p. 8)

Article 3 states the principles of organisation and the first three clauses are directly related to citizenship.

The education system is organised so as to:

- a) Contribute to preserving the national identity and to strengthening loyalty to the historical background of Portugal by raising awareness of the Portuguese nation's cultural heritage within the framework of the European universalist tradition and the increasing interdependence and essential solidarity between all nations of the world;
- b) Contribute to pupils' fulfilment through complete development of their personalities, character formation and citizenship, prepare them for sensible consideration of spiritual, aesthetic, moral and civic values and provide them with balanced physical development;

 c) Ensure the right to be different through respect for individual personalities and ambitions and consideration and appreciation of different learning and cultures. (*Law* 46/86, p. 8)

This extensive quotation frames the focus for discussion during the following years, when politicians and education specialists discussed the planning of the Educational Reform. The first point did not give rise to problems. Analysing this issue would meet the main ideas about citizenship education at the end of the nineties; the law seems to include the main principles held by most educators. However, the legislators did not facilitate the work of the reform planners, as they included: the development of personality, character formation, citizenship education, moral and civic values development, and moral and civic education. On the one hand, they stated that the public education was not denominational, but, on the other they opened the door to private and co-operative schools.

Other articles describe the objectives of each cycle of the elementary education and secondary education and specify components in terms of civic education and moral education. The term *citizen* is used, but not the term *citizenship* or the expression *citizenship education*, in spite of references to traditional components of citizenship education (for example national identity awareness), stressing a democratic and for participatory citizenship.

Article 47 (on curriculum development) introduced a new variable: personal and social education, "components of which may include ecological, consumer, family and sexual education, accident prevention, health education, education for participation in institutions, civic departments and others of the same fields." (*Law 46/86*, p. 33) Article 47 states that "[b]asic and secondary education curricula also include the teaching of morals, and optionally, the Catholic religion."

"Religion and moral education" traditional courses conditioned the debate about the implementation of these components of the curriculum. On the other hand, the relativistic spirit of the period emphasised the psychological aspects of moral and civic formation. The association with what happened in moral and civic education during the dictatorship period contributed to an avoidance of these areas. The way this area would be addressed was also a point of discussion: should there be specific courses, dissemination through the curriculum, or through some particular course?

The 1989 Curricular Organisation Law (Law 286/89) created an area of *Social and Personal Formation* which included four components: (1) personal and social formation, both integrated into curricular courses and in a new transdisciplinary area (*The School Area*); (2) a Civic Education course for the 3rd cycle of basic education; (3) one of the following three courses: Moral and Religious Catholic Education, Moral and Religious Education of other confessions, or Personal and Social Development; and (4) extracurricular activities.

Within the Portuguese educational vocabulary the expression Personal and Social Development means civic and moral education, and is known in short as DPS (*Desenvolvimento Pessoal e Social*). The abbreviation indicated the indeterminate nature of the area. Some educationists claimed that it would assume a psychological formation instead of a moral education. When first implemented, the Institute of Educational Innovation developed some courses but today the area seems to be less favoured by the

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Ministry of Education although the curriculum of teacher education in several Colleges and Higher Schools of Education included a course on Personal and Social Formation usually integrated into Psychology Departments. Nowadays the concept of citizenship education is increasingly used in official documents, and university courses are beginning to be offered in this area.

There are some studies on the implementation of the *School Area* but the area has a different approach and weight from one school to another: it is successful in some elementary schools but less accepted in secondary schools. An international study of Citizenship Education was co-ordinated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (I.E.A.). In its first publication, Menezes (1995) concluded that while citizenship education in Portugal is a component of education emphasised in educational law, there are several problems in implementing it; for example, teachers' own education. It is difficult to synthesise a conclusion because the second publication includes several components such as the general laws, the syllabus and textbooks of several courses, the teachers' and students' perceptions and so on.

However one sound conclusion, for this period is that the prescribed curriculum gives considerable attention to citizenship education but the textbooks have not accepted this direction; and in schools, teachers and students are not aware of such importance. The curriculum implemented in schools continues to stress the intellectual objectives.

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