

Implementing citizenship education in a secondary school community

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**Implementing citizenship education in a secondary school community
Anne Hudson. PhD Thesis January 2006**

Abstract.

This thesis uses a case study to investigate the impact on a whole school community of a special focus on citizenship. It begins by exploring conflicting meanings attributed to citizenship and citizenship education. It goes on to adopt an understanding of citizenship as involving a set of relationships between rights, duties, participation and identity. The discourse about globalisation and the debate as to whether it represents a new reality or a continuation of existing trends is explored. The thesis contends that globalisation poses important challenges and threats which make citizenship education an urgent necessity in the twenty-first century. It recommends a transformative, 'reconstructive' approach and explores the extent to which this is feasible in the context of government policies affecting schools and society in England during the period 1999 – 2003. It suggests that there are factors in these policies which promote and factors which hinder an empowering approach to school citizenship.

The study uses a framework developed by Wenger (2001) to analyse the school as a community of practice for citizenship. It draws on his idea that communities of practice are characterised by the way they manifest:

- 1) Meaning
- 2) Practice
- 3) Community:
- 4) Identity

The analysis draws on school documents, surveys of student opinion and interviews with students and teachers. Over 100 students' written responses to questions about 'making a difference' were also analysed. For purposes of triangulation, the study also

takes account of observations and comments in reports made by inspectors who visited the school twice during the time of the project.

The study found that students had begun to see citizenship education as being useful from a global and multicultural perspective, a local perspective, as democratic representation, as participative learning, for developing economic awareness and for challenging racism. In addition, the project had shown its potential to transform relationships within the school so that it was beginning to become a community of practice for citizenship. Significantly, it had affected the young people's sense of identity and promoted their notion of agency.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CASE	Campaign for State Education
CPRE	Campaign for Rural England
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
EAZ	Education Action Zones
Edexcel	UK based examinations board
EU	European Union
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GMS	Grant Maintained Status
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
HOD	Head of Department
HOY	Head of Year
ICT	Information Communications Technology
ILO	International Labour Organisation
Infolog	London based company organising conferences and exhibitions
INSET	In Service Training
IT	Information Technology
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
KS3	Key Stage 3

KS4	Key Stage 4
LEA	Local Education Authority
MP	Member of Parliament
NCSL	National College of School Leadership
NCSL	National Curriculum
NOF	New Opportunities Fund
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
Ofsted	Office for Standards in education
PDC	Professional Development Centre
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate of Education
PSHE	Personal, Social, Health Education
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
SOW	Scheme of Work
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
TELCO	East London based citizens' and community leaders' alliance
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
UBS Warburg	Major international investment bank
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNL	University of North London
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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THESIS SUMMARY

The first chapter deals with contested meanings attached to citizenship and citizenship education. It explores how the concept of citizenship has developed and considers possible reasons for the British government's inclusion of citizenship education in the national curriculum for England, recognising that there may be contradictions and tensions in these. The chapter distinguishes between what I call 'constructive' and 'reconstructive' approaches to citizenship education. It suggests that schools and teachers can and should use citizenship education for reconstructive purposes – that is, to transform society and to promote equality of opportunity. It suggests that approaches to citizenship education in the twenty-first century must involve rethinking human rights, particularly the rights of children. The chapter underlines the importance of cosmopolitan democracy – which entails a global sense of identity and an anti-racist approach - as a construct. The chapter argues that citizenship education is best couched within a human rights framework which promotes positive values and attitudes and enables young people to see the reciprocity between pursuing fulfilment of all of our rights and upholding the rights of others. It must empower young people to become agents of change.

Chapter 2 deals with the necessity of citizenship education given the context of globalisation. It begins by outlining the globalisation debate and suggests that the disagreements between those who recognise and define globalisation as a particular and relatively new phenomenon and the 'sceptics' – those who reject globalisation as a

concept and attribute its features to intensification of pre-existing trends - has been exaggerated. It draws on the literature to argue that globalisation must be recognised as a new, pressing phenomenon with important implications for schools and learning. It identifies some of the problems that globalisation has brought, and takes note of the changing status and meaning of the nation state and national identity in the globalised world. Citizenship education is urgently needed because it is about becoming informed citizens, developing skills of enquiry and communication, of participation and responsible action. All these dimensions need to be addressed from a global perspective as well as local and national ones. The chapter suggests that the framework of discourse ethics helps provide a reconstructive approach.

The third chapter explores the challenges for citizenship education in Britain. It argues that if the values of democracy, inclusion and transparency are to underpin citizenship education, educators need to ask about how these are being applied to schools and society. Four contextual factors which are seen to promote a positive climate of learning for citizenship are identified: democratic participation, promoting equality, teacher commitment and an empowering pedagogy and society embracing the notion of young people as intelligent citizens and partners in learning. The chapter identifies some of the ways in which New Labour's policies might be seen to help promote a good climate for citizenship learning, but also notes the tensions and contradictions in policy and practice. It contends that the pressures on schools and teachers, the increasingly centralised decision making in education, the hierarchical nature of schools and the lack of substantive legal rights for young people all militate against effective citizenship education, and that teachers lack the necessary training to deliver it.

Chapter 4 outlines the school context as a site for the empirical research and the methodology of the research. It points out that the research deals with a case study of a school seeking to become a community of learning focused upon citizenship knowledge, skills and values, developing these within its curriculum, its culture and its interactions with the community. It explains that South Docks, a large, ethnically diverse inner city comprehensive in a socio-economically deprived area, had characteristics that made it open to embracing the citizenship education agenda. It describes how the project began as part of a campaign to persuade the British government that it should include the category of citizenship among the specialisms for which it was encouraging schools in England to apply for funding. The central research question became: what can a whole school focus on citizenship mean for participants in the process? The research draws upon Wenger's (2001) approach to conceptualising learning communities and uses his four components of meaning, practice, community and identity as a framework for analysing the impact of the project. Zuber-Skerrit's (1996) cycle of analysis is explained and illustrated with reference to the school's own processes of development and review. The chapter concludes by recognising that community based action research can be an effective way of promoting democratic inclusion in such a project and its linked learning.

Chapter 5 looks at how meanings attached to citizenship and citizenship education developed, both through design and by accident. It explains that the processes of participation and reification both affect the way in which meanings emerge, and that the production of policies and documents at the expense of effective community reflection and discussion can lead to reification. This has the effect of ossifying

meanings which may later prove to be inadequate. In telling the story of how the project unfolded, the chapter shows that it was not until citizenship became a separate curriculum subject in its own right that students and teachers began to talk about it in the sense that it is defined in Chapter 1. From the project's launch, a human rights framework was lacking, and there was insufficient emphasis both on participation and on transforming pedagogy. Through participation in citizenship days and special projects, students and staff developed positive notions of the concept that reinforced their sense of community.

Chapter 6 investigates practice with reference to the culture of the school community. It explores shared repertoire, mutual engagement and joint enterprise, and considers the development of the school community's voice. It explains how the school council developed and became empowered. It shows that once students felt they had a voice, their attitudes both towards school and themselves began to change. It takes account of the difficulties that result from the imbalance of power in schools and the importance of encouraging the whole school community to see the reciprocity between rights and responsibilities.

Chapter 7 explores practice in terms of the school's curriculum. It develops a framework for analysing citizenship curriculum practice using the five dimensions of content, skill development, pedagogy, relationship and attitudes/values. It shows how these dimensions were affected by the development of citizenship education as a set of voluntary activities, then its delivery through Personal, Social and Health Education, of cross curricular delivery and finally the effect of delivering it as a separate and

identifiable subject. The chapter uses interviews with and statements from students and staff to show that students enjoyed and valued the latter. It is suggested that their responses show the curriculum promoted global awareness as well as skills of cooperation. The chapter emphasises the need for specialist citizenship teachers.

Chapter 8 considers the effect of the project upon students' identities. Using Bradley's (2003) concept of social identity, this section explains how identity within the community of practice may be passive and can become active through participation in activities with change outcomes. Where active identity is reinforced with further success and we begin to sense our power to change things our identities can become politicised. The research, particularly the students' statements, suggested that those who had been effective school council representatives and engaged in further activities such as a locally-elected body (the Council of Champions) were developing politicised identities. The effect of the project for young people such as these was indicative of citizenship education's potential to enable more students, if the right opportunities are designed, to develop a sense of their own power. Thus not only did the project give students a sense of belonging, but it began to show how they could come to see themselves as agents of change.

Chapter 9 explores how teachers and adult outsiders saw the project and its effects. It examines the disjunctures between these views and those of students, noting that adult outsiders tended to have a very positive view of how the project affected the school community. Teachers appear to have a positive attitude towards the project's effect upon the curriculum, whilst students seemed less aware of that and more enthusiastic

about the way they felt it had altered relationships with teachers and given them a voice. Some of the differences in perception are attributed to design faults – for example, the failure to promote a human rights perspective – and others to the phenomenon that Wenger calls alignment. It is suggested that if teachers were made more aware of how the project was viewed by the wider learning community and of how it had begun to transform some students' attitudes towards the school, they may have been more pleased with its outcomes.

Chapter 10 draws some conclusions and makes recommendations for the school community, for other schools, and for government policy. It argues that citizenship education is a powerful vehicle for transforming schools. South Docks could further develop the project by promoting understanding of human rights, by revisiting the role of the tutor, and by involving students in whole school planning. Other schools would benefit from embracing the orientation to community, and from promoting transparency and democracy. They need to value citizenship education as a subject in its own right and to ensure that learning involves change outcomes. Government policy should take account of the need for training both teachers and headteachers in citizenship education as well as in challenging racism, and further funding should be made available to promote citizenship education in all schools.

CHAPTER 1

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: CONTESTED MEANINGS.

Introduction

A range of meanings is attributed both to citizenship and to citizenship education. This chapter will begin by exploring, briefly, the development of the concept of citizenship. It will consider the implications for this of global developments in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, asking whether the concept of citizenship at the heart of the National Curriculum for England is informed more by a notion of duties than of human rights; whether the conceptual framework is adequate in terms of addressing inequality, diversity and transcending the framework of the nation state. The chapter will suggest that effective citizenship education:

- should be informed by a set of values and attitudes based on human rights,
- should facilitate participation
- should enable plural and global concepts of identity.
- must be rooted in democratic ideals that transcend the nation state

The second section of the chapter will consider possible motives for the British government's inclusion of citizenship education in the national curriculum. It will suggest that there are contradictory motives for compulsory citizenship education. It will distinguish between *constructive* and *reconstructive* approaches to citizenship education and suggest that schools and teachers can and should use the citizenship education agenda for reconstructive purposes.

1. 1 Defining terms: citizenship and democracy

‘Citizenship as membership of a political community involves a set of relationships between *rights, duties, participation and identity*’ (Delanty, 2000:9; my emphasis). As perceptions of the meaning of citizenship have changed, so the emphasis on those four factors has altered. The two main approaches that have developed since the making of the American constitution can be categorised as liberalism and civic republicanism. The main difference between these two is that while the latter promotes political engagement and social responsibility, the former is characteristically *laissez faire* and seeks to protect the private domain and individual liberty, emphasising rights rather than responsibilities.

This chapter will suggest that we need to rethink some dimensions of citizenship in order to contend with a changing world. It will argue that the notion of human rights and, within that, children’s rights, needs revisiting within the school citizenship framework. It will also argue that there are shortcomings in the model of citizenship upon which the National Curriculum for England is based. The first of these is in its focusing on cultural change without addressing the economic and social phenomena that affect people’s opportunities and motivations, particularly in terms of equality. Secondly, it is rooted in a notion of the nation state that fails to adequately acknowledge the impact of growing international interconnectedness. I will introduce Held’s idea of civic cosmopolitanism and argue that it would be a more relevant basis for citizenship than civic republicanism.

The origins of citizenship as a concept are traceable to the ancient Greek city states, where the notion was implicitly linked to the practice of a particular form of

democracy. Delving into the development of democracy and possible models of democracy past and present sheds light upon the evolution of citizenship. Crick (2002c) simplifies categories of concepts of democracy into four:

- ancient Greek democracy
- the democracy of the Roman republic
- the concept of democracy used by the architects of the French Revolution
- 'democracy' as used in the American constitution.

During the last two centuries, he contends, the development of political liberalism and the ascendance of the middle class undermined active political participation. The liberal approach was one which minimized the extent to which public demands were made upon private lives. He contrasts the ideology of liberal democracy with 'civic republicanism' (its roots in ancient Rome) which regarded participation in public affairs as the duty of citizens. Crick commented on the introduction of the Citizenship Order in England in 2002:

I often wonder how many of my group [the Advisory group on Citizenship and Democracy] realised that they were signing up to the radical agenda of civic republicanism...

(2002a: 13)

Three questions arise following this statement. Firstly, does Crick's approach and that of the Order coherently embrace the notions of 'rights, duties, participation and identity'? Secondly, is it viable to regard citizenship in the twenty-first century as being about civic republicanism? Thirdly, is this 'radical agenda' what the British government intended when it introduced statutory citizenship teaching into English schools? The third question will be investigated in the section dealing with the citizenship agenda in the second part of this chapter.

Section 1.1a below seeks to investigate the implications of the idea of citizenship in terms of Delanty's categories, the important ideal of equality he linked to rights and participation, and the spatial dimension of citizenship:

- rights
- duties
- equality
- participation and
- identity

1.1a) Individual rights for people of all ages

Delanty notes that the liberal tradition has principally defined citizenship in terms of rights, while the conservative tradition has stressed the duties or responsibilities of citizenship (2000:9). Held (1999) reminds us that the Athenian concept of democracy did not explicitly include the modern liberal notion that human beings are 'individuals' with 'rights'. It was eighteenth century liberalism that spread the idea of natural rights, and it was not until the twentieth century, through various struggles, that the idea that the rights of citizenship should apply to all adults really became established (Held, 1999:119). Developmental republicanism was premised partly on a notion of equality which prevented domination by one group over another; and direct democracy (advocated by Marxists and neo-Marxists) saw economic and social equality as prerequisites. Other traditions, including the contribution of Mary Wollstonecraft, recognising the rights of women (Brody, 2004) brought with them wider conceptions of equality that might be entailed in political rights. These approaches are especially

pertinent in the context of increasingly diverse, globally connected societies and in recognising that humans of all ages have rights.

It is important to distinguish between the concept of political rights and rights entailed in some models of democracy and the wider notion of intrinsic human rights as it developed over the past two centuries. Kiwan (2005) is adamant about the theoretical distinction between human rights, which she considers to be a universalist conception, and citizenship rights which are 'defined in relation to a political community' (2005: 37). This leads her to argue that it is illogical to see human rights as a theoretical underpinning for citizenship, although she does allow some scope for the recognition of human rights within the values promoted by citizenship education. Because Kiwan's notion of the political community is equated with nation states, she does not embrace what this study considers to be an important, transformative approach: that globalisation means we need to develop a far more universalist notion of citizenship. Discourse ethics, it will be suggested in Chapter 2, invites us to rethink politics and political community and to re-imagine a notion of citizenship which transcends nation states and existing political structures – see, e.g. Devetak, 2001:174. Bottery (2003) also reminds us that the concept of citizenship can be deconstructed and that its terms of reference are more universal.

The concept of childhood as a separate social sphere from adulthood is a recent development (Alderson, 2000a) and children have always been able to claim some of the rights of adults under the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The notion of children's rights is also a comparatively modern phenomenon. Verhellen (2000: 33 - 34) explains that in recent decades adult-centred constructions of childhood

have been questioned and that rather than conceive of young people as citizens-in-waiting, we need now to be informed by new understandings recognizing children not as the *objects* of protection but as the *subjects*. In addition, Alderson (2000a: 136) debunks the ‘infantised’ model of childhood which negated children’s ability to make sensible contributions to a range of decisions affecting their lives. She points out that there is a need for ‘new research and teaching approaches that regard children as moral agents and contributing citizens’ (1999:199)

The Citizenship Order is not explicitly informed by the human rights approach which writers and researchers like Osler and Starkey have sought to promote (Osler, 2000; Starkey 1991). Sarah Spencer puts it bluntly: ‘Human rights culture ...is not part of the thinking behind Crick’ (2000:22). Yet, as Verhellen argues, the conceptual switch in the construction of childhood requires a complete revision of approach.

1.1b) Citizens’ duties

Raising awareness among young people of the rights accorded them in terms of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) should also entail promoting understanding of the reciprocity between rights and responsibilities. Figueroa (2000:51) puts it succinctly: ‘the rights of each are situated in relation to and limited by the rights of everyone else’. Thus the duties incumbent upon citizens are derivative of the rights bestowed on them by membership of a community. In civic republicanism and, indeed, other more modern models of democracy, these duties would include participation – see below. Human rights culture and the responsibilities it brings with it is essential to a transformative (or *reconstructive* – see below) approach to citizenship education. Responsibilities, as Osler and Starkey (2005:167)

say, imply 'not receiving but giving; not individualism but a sense of the communal and the collective'. Citizenship education must develop the sense of community within and surrounding schools, and promote the responsibilities community entails.

1.1c) Social rights and equality

For Delanty, as for John Annette (2000) and Gamarnikow and Green (2000), Marshall's (1950) *Citizenship and Social Class* represented a watershed in the development of perspectives on citizenship. Alderson points out that the government – sponsored report on citizenship education (The Crick report, QCA, 1998) is based on Marshall's principles of citizenship, 'without noting the huge changes over the past 50 years in academic and public thinking' (2000c:132). Marshall's main thesis, still embraced by some, is that [in the Northern Hemisphere] citizenship developed with the movement from the acquisition of civic rights to political rights and social rights. For Marshall, political rights were achieved (sic) in the first quarter of the twentieth century and social citizenship was enshrined with the development of the welfare state. Annette is critical of this approach: 'while he [Marshall] recognised the importance of the notion of social rights, he did not sufficiently emphasise the importance of civil rights and especially political rights' (Annette, 2000 :78).

Two obvious issues arise in terms of the relevance of Marshall's notion to the twenty-first century. The first of these is his assumption that political and social rights had been universally and equally achieved. Yet inequalities continue between different social groups, between men and women and between ethnic groups. Economic inequality is both a local and regional phenomenon in the United Kingdom (National

Statistics Office, London, 2004) Although it has narrowed slightly, women's median hourly pay is still only 85.7% of men's (ibid). Trevor Phillips (2004) reminds us that black, Pakistani and gypsy (sic) children fall far below the national average in terms of performance at school; the police remains a largely white force patrolling increasingly diverse communities. People from ethnic minorities are more vulnerable to crime, are likely to be poorer and more likely to be unemployed than whites, and more subjected to arrest and searches than whites (Miller et al, 2000; Abercrombie and Warde, 2000:243 – 262). Civic republicanism, as a political perspective, does not necessarily invite a real challenge to the various kinds of inequality. Even Rousseau's developmental democracy does not provide for equal opportunities in terms of access to political power for minorities –

Rousseau not only assumed that minorities ought to consent to the decisions of majorities but he also posited no limits to the reach of the decisions of democratic majority

(Held, 1999:61-2).

A second issue with Marshall's perspective is that it was developed in the context of the welfare state as a relatively new phenomenon, offering hope that certain inequalities might be addressed. It may have been the case that

under the period of the welfare state the entitlement to membership and participation also came to embody rights to work, and health and security. As such, citizenship expressed the new positive role of the state as the embodiment of social democracy.

(Olssen, 2004:180)

Today, the context of the welfare state has changed and significant sectors of the population, particularly the poor, no longer perceive the welfare state as the guarantor of their political rights or social wellbeing. Indeed, writers such as Taylor-Goodby (2001) contend that the British Labour governments of the late twentieth and very early twenty-first century have presided over a diminution of the welfare state.

Gamarnikow and Green, (2000) point to some important differences between Crick and Marshall. They cite the Crick report's emphasis on responsibilities as opposed to rights and its implication that participation in the 'public sphere' can contribute to strengthening the nation state and its appeal to volunteering and community involvement. They suggest that the report conceives of this appeal to public spirited endeavour as a substitute for what Marshall saw as the rights social citizenship maintained through the welfare state. The third chapter will suggest that the process of globalisation has affected government policies towards the welfare state and led to an increased focus on encouraging communities and individuals to become more responsible for their own welfare.

The implication of these various critiques is that civic republicanism, however radical it might appear by contrast with political liberalism, may not be a sustainable model of democracy for the twenty-first century. The issue of legitimacy becomes inevitable for a state that provides over obvious inequalities and causes of social tension. Other twentieth century models, listed by Held as competitive elitist democracy, pluralism, legal democracy and participatory democracy, assume either social stratification or the operation of the 'free market'. The latter cannot be relied upon to promote social

equality and welfare. The notion of participatory democracy drawn from Macpherson and Pateman, is justified by a ‘concern for collective problems’ and would seek to ameliorate the poverty (Held, 1999) but does not aspire for economic or social equality. Indeed, like ‘Third Way’ politics (see Chapter 2) these models largely preserve the status quo, envisaging the transformation of culture, rather than of society, as their end. If citizenship education is to be a vehicle for change, it needs to recognize the effects of social and economic inequality and to equip young people to challenge these.

1.1d) Participation: civic republicanism and beyond

Held (1999) offers a complex and detailed account of the development of democracy, and provides over nine different models. He explores the model of democracy that developed prior to the twentieth century, including the Marxist notion of direct democracy and various twentieth century variants, categorising these broadly into classical and liberal. Like Crick, he emphasises the desirability of the focus on citizens’ active participation in the community/polity. He contrasts the liberal approach to autonomy, which is ‘preoccupied with the creation and defence of a world in which “free and equal” individuals can flourish with the minimum political impediment’ with the socialist approach which believes that for liberty and equality to be achieved, struggles are necessary to ensure that society is democratised. The liberal approach emphasises rights rather than participation.

Held asks whether the modern strains of both approaches can be reconciled and, on this basis, posits a new model of democracy, democratic autonomy. He shows that what the New Right and the left share is a vision of reducing arbitrary power and

bureaucracy. What the 'legal' and 'participatory' theorists have in common is a concept of 'autonomy'. This, he says,

connotes the capacity of human beings to reason self-consciously, to be self-reflective and to be self-determining... Persons should enjoy equal rights, and accordingly, equal obligations in the specification of the political framework which generates and limits the opportunities available to them; that is, they should be free and equal in the determination of the conditions of their own lives, so long as they do not deploy this framework to negate the rights of others

(Held, 1999: 301).

This is Held's elaboration of the concept of democratic autonomy. It is based on the recognition that for a political system to enjoy legitimacy it cannot be implicated deeply in the creation and reproduction of systematic inequalities of power and opportunities. Of course, participation cannot be made compulsory. Citizens may decide that extensive participation is not always necessary, particularly if they believe their interests are well protected. There would, under democratic autonomy, be the obligation to accept democratic decisions, but not necessarily to get involved in all aspects of public life. While this concept recognises the need to tackle inequality, it does not make individuals responsible for engaging in processes which might promote equality.

Within the conceptual framework of civic republicanism is the idea that 'the performance of duties by citizens was essential if their freedom was to be preserved ...freedom was 'acting together freely for the public good' (Crick, 2002). Participation

is a central part of the requirements of National Curriculum citizenship. Crick himself originally shied away from insistence upon participation, but later welcomed its inclusion. Annette (1999) sees an emphasis on civil rights and participation as a means to address the shortcomings of Marshall's conception of citizenship. He argues that for the civic republican 'the defense of liberty is best achieved through the development of civic virtue and civic participation' (1999:87). Annette goes on to show how young people value the voluntary sector as an arena for political action, and how what he calls 'service learning' concurs with the notion of experiential learning developed by David Kolb and others. Crick cautions against a restricted notion of the value of 'service learning' or 'volunteering': 'too much volunteering can simply be young people being told what to do by nice well-meaning older folk' (Crick, 2002a).

The insistence upon participation and collaboration as a criterion of citizenship education is one of its hallmarks as a National Curriculum subject. This, together with an implicitly holistic approach to learning and assessment and the simultaneous pursuit of cognitive and affective learning, are what give the subject its very special identity and, effectively, its potential to transform schools and schooling.

1.1e) Citizenship and identity

Delanty recognises that the first problem with Marshall's theory is that it is Anglocentric. It also fails to acknowledge the challenges of cultural rights, globalisation, active participation, the need to depart from the national frame, and the confluence of private and public. This framework is thus too limiting for the context of multicultural cosmopolitan societies in an era of increasing trans- and multinational

connections. It cannot adequately contend with certain kinds of difference nor with individuals and societies whose connections operate at a range of geographical levels.

In as much as the QCA's conception is limited to Marshall's parameters, it is ill conceived in its assumption of universality of citizenship rights and its lack of recognition of these as a still contested terrain. Olsen (2004) underlines the dangers highlighted by Osler (2000) and Osler and Starkey (2000) of Crick's failure to respect the 'politics of difference' and its overly consensualist model of society. The Runnymede Trust's Parekh Report (The Runnymede Trust, 2004) points out that the principle of equal worth cannot be held as possible in a deeply unequal society:

When equality ignores relevant differences and insists on uniformity of treatment, it leads to injustice and inequality; when differences ignore demands of equality, they result in discrimination. Equality must be defined in a culturally sensitive way and applied in a discriminating but not discriminatory manner.

(The Runnymede Trust, 2000, Preface.)

1.1f) Spatial dimensions of citizenship: national and global, public and private

The model of democracy which informed the Citizenship Order is one which is rooted within the conceptual framework of the nation state. Held draws attention to the fact that even the potentially more progressive concept of democratic autonomy would have shortcomings if it did not acknowledge the reality of changing relationships between states and global forces. He points out that the institutions of liberal representative democracy 'remain crucial to formal control of the state', but that there is really a disjuncture between the power that is claimed for the people and their

limited actual power (1999:333). While the nation state continues to appear vital, 'this does not mean that the sovereign structure of individual democratic nation states remains unaffected by the intersection of nation, international and transnational forces and relations (1999:341). Held identifies four categories of disjuncture. These are:

1 : the world economy

2 : international political decision making

3: international law

4: culture and the environment

Each of these four categories poses a challenge for the sovereignty of the nation state. They all invite us to conceive of democracy as not just a national but a transnational affair. The idea of citizenship, too, needs a global starting point.

Delanty's notion of civic cosmopolitanism sounds attractive, yet his arguments for this concept conclude with the statement that 'cosmopolitanism must be rooted in a civic concept of the nation'. It may be necessary to reinvent the concept of the nation, but surely not, in the post September 11th 2001 world, as the prime reference point in terms of identity. Figueroa (2000) argues that 'a type of national identity is called for which rests not on the assumption of one (dominant) canon, ethnic or civic, but rather on the notion of multiple identities, multiple realities, processes.' The national dimension of the layers of identity we are invited to explore may no longer be relevant and appropriate.

Although the DfES (British Department for Education and Skills) and QCA list knowledge of the 'world as a global community' and 'challenges of global

interdependence' as elements of the programme of study for citizenship this is the last item under 'knowledge and understanding'. There is a nationalistic flavour in some of the documentation and dialogue surrounding the government's citizenship agenda. The quotations on pages 12 and 13 of the National Curriculum publication include Terry Waite's assertion that 'It is only when you know how to be a citizen of your own country that you can learn how to be a citizen of the world.' There have been suggestions since 2001 that the citizenship agenda intends to impose the dominant national culture on immigrants. It also seems to assume a degree of cultural homogeneity and an uncritical approach to Britain's imperfect democracy. Osler and Starkey (2000) argue that the Crick report 'seems to imply a singular national identity.' The focus on attempting to reinforce national identity is itself problematic. Many would argue that national citizenship alone will not be enough to meet the challenges of the increasing interconnected and interdependent world of the 21st century (Cogan, 2000). Agencies like Oxfam and DfID (British Department for International Development) concerned with international equality and development have been attempting (for example, through projects like the Global Teacher Project) to develop the profile of education for global citizenship.

The UK has been slow to join the ranks of countries embracing a citizenship education (CE) agenda. We might find more salient starting points for relevant concepts of citizenship in international research. Cogan and Derricott's (2000) *Citizenship for the 21st Century* draws together the findings from an international research project by 182 policy experts and scholars over an 18-month period. The editors of the book are adamant that our primary emphasis must be on global citizenship:

.. In an increasingly interconnected world where the issues affecting people's lives are global and, hence, cross-cultural in nature, the concept of citizenship itself becomes more complex. ...

... it will be increasingly important that citizens are able to approach problems as members of a global society.

...

Thus, the primary task then is to help citizens recognize that global challenges affect each of us personally and are part of our individual and social responsibility to address....

(Cogan and Derricott, 2000: 132-3).

It would seem, therefore, that history has reached the point at which the notion of citizenship transcends the confines of the nation state. This is not to deny nations as geographical, cultural and ideological contexts, but to acknowledge that the issues affecting humanity have wider origins and consequences. It is also to take account of the relatively diminishing political and economic power of national governments. In recognising the limitations of state power in the face of globalisation, it is also necessary to ensure that citizens focus their efforts for change not only on national governments but also on multinational companies and international forums.

As Cogan and Derricott (2000) argue [citizens] 'must see themselves as members of overlapping communities – local, regional, national and multinational.' For Held, the answer is the idea of cosmopolitan democracy.

In a world of intensifying regional and global relations, with marked overlapping 'communities of fate' the principle of autonomy requires

entrenchment in regional and global networks as well as in national and local polities

(1999: 358).

Among the necessary conditions for cosmopolitan democracy would be:

Recognition by growing numbers of peoples of increasing interconnectedness of political communities in diverse domains including the social, cultural, economic and environmental.

Development of an understanding of overlapping 'collective fortunes' which require collective democratic solutions – locally, nationally, regionally and globally.

Enhanced entrenchment of democratic rights and obligations in the making and enforcement of national, regional and international law.

(1999:358)

An appropriate citizenship curriculum for the twenty-first century would be more emphatic about these criteria than the QCA document's itemization of global interconnectedness as one of nine areas of knowledge. This view is endorsed by Olser and Starkey (2003).

To the extent that the government's citizenship agenda is tied to Marshall's principles it is also, the literature suggests, hampered by its apparent separation of the public and private domains. Hence Alderson (2000) notes that important questions about the role of homes, schools and young people are not answered. The government documentation does not address issues such as whether schools are public or private places and

whether young people are present or only future citizens. Osler and Starkey remind us that young people are 'engaging as citizens and learning the skills for cosmopolitan citizenship within their homes' (2003:252).

1.2 The Citizenship education agenda and its context

Prior to the formal introduction of citizenship into the National Curriculum for England it was included as a cross-curricular theme. Carole Hahn (1998) found that citizenship was not taught in systematic or overtly political way. She later reported (1999:239) that in 1995 one head of PSHE 'explained that the only way it came up was when a team of inspectors for the Office for Standards in education looked for evidence of social, cultural, moral and spiritual development.'

Sadly, the long-awaited introduction of citizenship education into the National Curriculum (NC) in England seemed to come at a time when educational practitioners were not well disposed to receive it. Teachers seemed to be worn down by pressure from the state. Parry (2001:11) noted that teachers' autonomy had been curtailed 'but perhaps more seriously, we seem to have lost our way regarding education's purpose.'

Derricott, in his national case study of citizenship education in the UK, asserted that 'There is no doubt that the obligation to provide citizenship education will be seen as an unwelcome burden on an already stretched teaching force' (2000:39). In England it was being implemented at a time when teacher recruitment was perceived to have reached a crisis, when teachers were struggling to implement a series of other directives from the government including the national literacy and numeracy strategies. Curriculum time in which to deliver citizenship learning objectives was at a premium

and this caused resistance from proponents of subject areas which appeared to be threatened.

Derricott (2000) also points to the need to provide specific training for teachers in England, and to develop relevant teaching and learning materials. This is endorsed by Frazer (1999: 18) who said that teachers in the UK currently 'lack ideas about the nature of politics, the nature of governance, and the institutions of democracy.'

The British government's decision to introduce citizenship into the National Curriculum connects with various precedents including elements of previous Conservative Governments' thinking. Lawton (2000) traces the historical development of citizenship education in the UK, noting landmarks such as the openly elitist Crowther report (Ministry of Education, 1959) which mentioned 'The task of helping young workers, many of them of limited intelligence, to find their way successfully about the modern world.' Lawton explains the tension between two main views of citizenship education: the passive citizen view (training for conformity and obedience) and the idea of educating the future citizen (sic) for 'active participation in a democratic society'.

These two views parallel two opposing approaches to education in general: constructive and reconstructive. Parry explains the difference, quoting Thompson, (1970):

A constructive ideal is realisable by non-radical reforms; reconstructive ideals require for their realization 'qualitative change in an existing economic, social, or political structure of a nation state'.

(Parry, G., 1999:25)

Simplistically, writers and researchers' responses to the government's citizenship education agenda can be divided into those which see it as representing a constructive or a reconstructive approach. It is, of course, possible, to regard its intentions as constructive whilst seeking to subvert the agenda for reconstructive purposes.

Some possible interpretations of the government's agenda are that citizenship education is intended to achieve the ends listed below. Note that these objectives are not necessarily equally weighted:

- a) to develop human capital and social cohesion, encouraging individuals and communities to combat social fragmentation
- b) to promote order and social conformity
- c) to reduce voter apathy and promote political participation
- d) to promote relevance within the content of the education system.

This section will now consider the ways in which the literature approaches these aspects of policy.

1.2a) Purposes of Citizenship Education (CE): Developing social capital and promoting social cohesion

Most authors concur in the notion that the Labour government's citizenship agenda is closely allied to the 'Third Way.' An important aspect of this is that the concept of social capital, the 'glue that keeps democracy together', is 'fundamentally about how people interact with each other' (Print and Coleman, 2003) in terms of productive and trusting relationships. It is seen by governments as desirable because it reduces conflict and can promote civic engagement. Print and Coleman (2003) deal with this as a reason for the government's promotion of citizenship education. Cairns (Cairns, J. 2000) explores the notion that human capital is to be developed as a resource for the 'learning age' (21st century focus on the 'knowledge economy') and that the intention is to promote a learning culture premised upon the relationship between individual and community. Cairns quotes Freire in her interpretation of values for the learning age, asserting that learning must become a vehicle for change, rooted in learners' experiences. This view suggests that citizenship education can be adapted to reconstructive purposes.

Gamarnikow and Green (2000) appear more sceptical of the government's agenda. They concede that it intends to combat social fragmentation and exclusion but indicate that while the state is intended to enable this process by providing a framework of opportunities, the onus for overcoming poverty and inequality is on individuals, families and the community. This is because Third Way policy prioritises social and cultural change over real changes in structures such as the economy. This is clearly a constructive perspective. It is based on the notion, articulated by Giddens, that globalisation has reduced the power of the nation state and that the state cannot

intervene directly in the economy. The Third Way ‘appears to deflect responsibility for both social and educational problem identification and solutions from the government ... to the active citizenry’ (Gamarnikow and Green, 2000). These authors see the emphasis on policy concerns of social inclusion and communities as a ‘retreat to a moral order of civic and family responsibilities as against rights.’ They see, in the shift of principles from Marshall to Crick, a movement from rights to responsibilities. Rights in the British state’s current agenda are therefore not inalienable: ‘Third Way citizens have to demonstrate that they can exercise their rights responsibly.’ There is thus a plausible contention that the government is more committed to promoting responsibilities than rights.

An important dimension of the government’s stated agenda for promoting social cohesion is encapsulated in the element of the National Curriculum requirement stating that pupils ‘must be taught about the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the UK and the need for mutual respect and understanding’. Osler and Starkey (2000) indicate that the government sees CE as one means by which education for racial equality can be achieved. Frazer (1999) refers to research by Langton and Jennings in the 1960s which found that learning about constitutional and political rights at school had a marked effect on black students in the USA, although she acknowledges that there could be a period effect here. Osler and Starkey (2000) note that while the Crick report failed to mention the importance of anti-racist education, the QCA NC booklet does mention the ‘removal’ of ‘manifestations of racism.’ There is a distinct lack of real guidance in the booklet as to how schools might actually tackle racism – another area in which teachers will need to become proactive themselves.

1.2b) Purposes of CE: Promoting public order and social conformity

Osler and Starkey (2000) note that the Crick report 'seems to imply a singular national identity' ... 'Difference is regarded as being problematic'. The CE agenda seems to assume that promoting identification with the British nation state is desirable. Haydon (Haydon 2000) notes Blair's calls in 1999 for a 'shared moral purpose for the nation'. Spencer (2000) recognizes that the Crick report urged the teaching of moral values '- but whose?' Spencer goes on to embrace the reconstructive notion that the best framework of moral values is a human rights approach. If we make human rights principles central to CE it will be necessary to challenge aspects of government policy, such as Fortress Europe and the treatment of immigrants. The government's agenda here is clearly not to invite such a challenge.

1.2c) Purposes of CE: Increasing political participation

In addition to combating social exclusion and reconstituting society, the intention of the CE agenda is to promote formal participation in the processes inherent in Britain's imperfect democracy. Frazer (Frazer, 1999) refers to anxiety about political apathy and low electoral turnouts in Europe and America. The Hansard Society reported 'growing numbers of young people who are not registering to vote'. The Guardian newspaper (4th June 2001) reported a Leicester study revealing young people's sense of disengagement from the formal political system. Further instances of such concern globally are reported by Addison (2001).

Commentators such as Professor Ivor Crewe and Benjamin Barber (cited in Annette, 2000) maintain that political literacy and community participation - crucial aspects of CE - are key factors in civic participation. The National Curriculum Programme of

Study specifically states that pupils should be taught about ‘the electoral system and the importance of voting’ and ‘the importance of playing an active part in democratic and electoral processes.’ Perhaps there should be more emphasis on knowing and doing – on being taught and being sufficiently convinced to act. There is thought to be a correlation between political education and political participation. This link has been refuted by some researchers like Mercer (Mercer, 1972, cited in Frazer, 1999). Frazer’s research does find, however, evidence that formal politics or civics education does make some difference to political participation. Some authors point out, from a reconstructive perspective, the need to transcend the focus on voting and formal democracy. Cogan and Derricott argue:

... we are adopting what Parker and Jaolimek (1984) have called the ‘broad view’ of citizen participation. The classic and more narrow view of citizen participation focuses only on behaviours that affect or intend to affect the decisions of governments ... This restrictive view of participation is not consistent with nor supportive of this model.

(2000:136)

Roker et al (1999) find many examples of young people’s enthusiastic political activism and concern, for example through their participation in Amnesty International and Community service Volunteers programmes. Lister et al (2003) report upon research which shows that, far from being apathetic, young people have deep concerns about citizenship and, like Cogan and Derricott, note that political participation must not simply be equated with electoral politics.

1.2d) Educational objectives and a relevant curriculum

As part of the discourse about the ‘knowledge economy and the learning age’ (Cairns, 2000) curriculum content in schools is being questioned for its pertinence to modern life. It is widely acknowledged that young people need the skills to contend with insecurity, crime, violence and global uncertainty. The introduction of compulsory citizenship is clearly intended to address such needs (QCA 1999:7). The revised primary National Curriculum combined citizenship and Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE). The latter subject has been taught in schools for decades, but has suffered from teachers’ and students’ perceptions of it as having lower status than other subjects. In the secondary curriculum the non-statutory PSHE guidelines and the citizenship Programme of Study remain separate, although schools can opt to deliver CE as part of PSHE. Perhaps surprisingly, given the Third Way’s emphasis on developing human capital, the government has not accorded PSHE sufficient status to institute proper initial teacher education in this subject. As early as 1996, though, the then School Curriculum Assessment Authority, suggested that social, moral and spiritual education may be improved through explicit timetabled sessions on citizenship (Voels, 2000).

If the four intentions outlined above represent the main thrust of the government agenda, the challenge for practitioners is to implement CE from a reconstructive perspective. This means developing approaches in our schools’ curricula, cultures and community interactions that will enable young people to become effective agents of change. The nature of the challenge can be thought of in terms of various conceptual frameworks for school citizenship.

1.3 Conceptual frameworks – organising principles for CE

While I have suggested other key organising principles, the official documentation for CE outlines 3 areas of knowledge, skills and understanding to be addressed. These are:

- a) Becoming informed citizens
- b) Developing skills of enquiry and communication
- c) Developing skills of participation and responsible action.

All three areas relate in some way to the notion of political literacy (discussed below), which is not a term used in the official documents. They are also linked in the document to the values and attitudes listed under the heading about promoting spiritual, moral, social and cultural development. The literature addresses the notion of values and attitudes, much of it focusing on rights. The existing body of literature on political literacy must be expanded if our insights into that are to develop.

1.3a) Values and attitudes: Rights

The Crick report listed sets of attitudes and values for citizenship, which have not been specified in the same way in the National Curriculum. Arguably, the Programmes of Study for primary schools point to important values and attitudes in the attainment target which joins learning outcomes for PSHE and citizenship. This represents something of an attempt to spell out the affective dimension of CE, which is less evident in the secondary curriculum. Teachers who subscribe to a reconstructive approach will find it useful to refer to the original Crick list in their planning (Figure 1.1 below).

In exploring the implications of the ‘social and moral responsibility’ dimension of CE, Haydon (2000) argues that British society is very confused about the notion of

FIGURE 1.1: EXCERPT FROM CRICK (QCA 1998: 44) LISTING VALUES AND DISPOSITIONS ENTAILED IN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION.

KEY CONCEPTS	VALUES AND DISPOSITIONS	SKILLS AND APTITUDES	KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Democracy and autocracy, co-operation and conflict ➤ Equality and diversity, fairness, justice, the rule of law, rules, law and human rights ➤ Freedom and order ➤ Individual and community ➤ Power and authority ➤ Rights and responsibilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Concern for the common good ➤ Belief in human dignity and equality ➤ Concern to resolve conflicts ➤ A disposition to work with and for others with sympathetic understanding ➤ Proclivity to act responsibly; that is care for others and oneself; premeditation and calculation about the effect actions are likely to have on others; acceptance of responsibility for unforeseen or unfortunate consequences ➤ Practice of tolerance ➤ Judging and acting by a moral code ➤ Courage to defend a point of view ➤ Willingness to be open to changing one's opinions and attitudes in the light of discussion and evidence ➤ Individual initiative and effort ➤ Civility and respect for the rule of law ➤ Determination to act justly ➤ Commitment to equal opportunities and gender equality ➤ Commitment to active citizenship ➤ Commitment to voluntary service ➤ Concern for human rights ➤ Concern for the environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Ability to make a reasoned argument both verbally and in writing, ability to co-operate and work effectively with others ➤ Ability to consider and appreciate the experience and perspective of others ➤ Ability to tolerate other view points ➤ Ability to develop a problem-solving approach ➤ Ability to use modern media and technology critically to gather information ➤ A critical approach to evidence put before one and ability to look for fresh evidence ➤ Ability to recognise forms of manipulation and pressure ➤ Ability to identify, respond to and influence social, moral and political challenges and situations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Topical and contemporary issues and events at local, national, EU, Commonwealth and international levels ➤ The nature of democratic communities, including how they function and change ➤ The interdependence of individuals and local and voluntary communities ➤ The nature of diversity, dissent and social conflict ➤ Legal and moral rights and responsibilities of individuals and communities ➤ The nature of social, moral and political challenges faced by individuals and communities ➤ Britain's parliamentary political and legal systems at local, national, European, Commonwealth and international level, including how they function and change ➤ The nature of political and voluntary action in communities ➤ The rights and responsibilities of citizens as consumers, employees, employers and family and community members ➤ The economic system as it relates to individuals and communities ➤ Human rights charters and issues ➤ Sustainable development and environmental issues

morality. This invites us to consider what are the moral values citizenship education should develop.

Haydon (2000) asks if morality is a set of ideals for our behaviour; a list of constraints on what we can do; a set of key values; a set of universal truths about what humanity needs or a set of commands of a deity? Haydon suggests that CE can tackle moral education if it promotes an understanding of the diversity in conceptions of morality, as well as promote a particular understanding based on a system of constraints on people's conduct. He suggests that this potentially limits people's inclinations to act in ways which might be harmful to other people's interests, and thereby serves to protect people's interests in general, although he does not address the question of how this operates in situations of conflict. He recognises that such morality is dynamic and exists mostly in the form of shared ideas. He would like CE to 'encourage people to see themselves, not as subject to an alien or ideological force labeled 'morality', but as 'participants in morality as a shared undertaking.' He sees teachers' role as passing on from one generation to another knowledge of and commitment to the norms of society, but does not adequately explore the fluidity of such norms.

In a British society today, with all the inequalities outlined above, this notion of norms is deeply problematic. Of course, Haydon intends classroom dialogue to embrace diversity and teachers to emphasise inclusion.

A potentially more useful approach to the notion of values and attitudes is a reconstructive one, as might be exemplified in effective anti-racist education.

Osler (2000) shows that the Crick report ‘... falls short of a clearly situated human rights perspective’. There is a growing body of literature to suggest that the most useful framework for developing social and moral responsibility is a human rights one. The benefit of such an approach, unlike Haydon’s constraints model, is that its starting point is positive. That inclusivity for which Haydon argues can be embraced through an inclusive vision of multiculturalism founded on human rights (Osler and Starkey, 2000). The second advantage of a human rights perspective is that it is all embracing: all rights – civil, political, economic, social and cultural – are seen as inter-related, and related also to development and democracy (Richardson, 2000).

1.3b) Political literacy

The Citizenship Foundation maintains that ‘political literacy’ is all about helping young people become politically aware. It is about giving them the ability to read issues and events politically and using the ideas, language, forms of thought and argument which citizens deploy in dealing with a public issue.’ The QCA final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (1998) mentions:

‘Pupils learning about how to make themselves effective in public life...’ and the importance of encouraging ‘critical reading of newspapers and discussion of TV and radio’. In the NC document, political literacy appears to have lost some of its specificity.

Gamarnikow and Green (2000) accuse the Crick report of being ‘surprisingly timid’ on political literacy. A major deficit is the absence of the notion of citizenship as a struggle for rights. Osler and Starkey’s (2000) approach would be one way of tackling this lack. They provide a checklist for citizenship projects based on participation and

active learning. They contend that 'A politically literate citizen will require knowledge and understanding of human rights; opportunities to develop confident multiple identities; experience of democratic participation; and skills for social inclusion, for participation and to effect change' (Osler and Starkey 2000:14). Frazer (1999) uses the term 'education in politics' to cover education in the practice and the theory of politics and also in that body of data and analysis grouped under the headings political science or political studies. She makes it clear that education in politics is not only confined to the special case of democratic politics; that there is a need to focus on power and authority; that it does not equate with statecraft but also concerns popular movements such as feminism, gay liberation and green and ecological movements, who insist that power in interpersonal relationships is subject to same kind questions and pressures as questions about state government. Political literacy is perhaps best promoted through situated learning, and students' experiences of democratic structures and processes in the way their work, school and community life operate provides an important basis for learning about power and democracy in the wider society.

Douglas (2001) emphasises the importance for political literacy of developing students' conceptual understanding. She shows the importance of enabling students to utilise their everyday awareness of concepts such as rights and freedoms to extend to more advanced conceptual thinking about key political ideas. Dialogue is central to the process of developing political literacy. Enhancing the nature of classroom dialogue is one of a series of pedagogical challenges for those who seek to implement a reconstructive approach to CE. It will be suggested later on that learning about democracy and power through school situations can also promote political literacy.

1.3c) Participatory processes – communities of enquiry and reflexivity

Citizenship education demands a reassessment of the nature of classroom dialogue and interaction. It challenges us to move away from the notion of the teacher as the source and mediator of knowledge. As Paulo Freire argued, we need to develop in our lessons empowering dialogue based on respect. It should not involve one person acting *on* another, but rather people working *with* each other. Dialogue in itself is a co-operative activity and part of making a difference in the world. It enhances community and enables us to act in ways that make for justice and personal development. In citizenship classrooms, dialogue needs to take the form of collaborative deliberation. Cogan and Derricott (2000) argue that the citizenship curriculum should be ‘deliberation-based’. This means that the core practice in the curriculum is discussion of the ethical questions themselves with the intention of recommending suitable public action. Vygotsky emphasised the notion that intellectual development is not just the acquiring of experience. Belle Wallace (2000) says ‘It is the social transaction of meaning through the mediation of experience by adults, teachers, and more capable peers [sic].’ The TASC (Thinking Actively in a Social Context) programme Wallace and Adams advocate is based on this approach.

Holden (2000), writing about children as citizens, has a great deal to say about the importance of participation. She quotes the Council of Europe’s recommendation on the teaching and learning of human rights in schools:

Democracy is best learned in a democratic setting where participation is encouraged, where views can be expressed openly and discussed, where there

is freedom of expression for pupils and teachers, and where there is fairness and justice (Council of Europe 1985) .

Schools themselves should be communities, and while the Crick report (1998) emphasises democracy as a set of abstract taught ideas, democracy involves ‘strong feelings about how to share actions, resources and power fairly...’ and should be learned through active involvement in decisions affecting the school community (Alderson, 2000e: 131). Of course, working to democratise schools does not mean believing that they can meet the ideal of democratic communities.

The NC documentation emphasises the importance of participation in school and community projects. Annette (2000) draws upon previous research to explain the value of what he chooses to call ‘service learning in the community’. He states that it is a method which provides a structured learning experience in civic participation which can lead to the development skills for active citizenship. ‘It also facilitates the acquisition of political knowledge and the ability to engage in reflective understanding...’ Of course, it is important to remember that young people often participate through a range of giving activities at home and in communities, and that activities such as helping with childcare, advocacy and translation can be citizenship activities in their own right providing they meet the other criteria of promoting political literacy and have ‘change’ outcomes.

This notion of reflexivity is most powerfully developed by Porter (1999), who writes about the reflexive school. He defines it as one that offers

a secure and confident environment, that values flexibility and creativity, that encourages cooperation in problem solving and acknowledge the uniqueness of individuals. It would also be an institution that recognises the importance of the local community as a source of security and personal identity (1999: 95).

Porter (1999: 95) insists that the school must be a 'centre of inquiry – a producer as well as a transmitter of knowledge...' He also cites Stenhouse's assertion that 'the key quality needed in a school... is reflexiveness: capacity to review critically and reflectively its own processes and practices.' Cairns (2000) endorses these ideas. She argues that each person or self must 'strive to become critically reflective of their community and their role in it.'

Various writers point to the link between thinking skills, accelerated learning and citizenship education. Citizenship education is increasingly recognised as a fertile area for developing thinking skills. Students engaging in citizenship education at higher levels need skills in synthesis and evaluation. Teachers will need to develop skills in teaching thinking and in questioning to promote thinking. Wren (2000) in *From Thinking Skills to Thinking Citizens!* points out the characteristics of higher order thinking which are also features of the thought processes students could engage in through citizenship activities.

Summary.

This chapter has explored definitions of citizenship and citizenship education, establishing that they involve rights, duties, participation and identity. It has suggested

that approaches to citizenship education in the twenty-first century should be informed by rethinking human rights, particularly the rights of children. While acknowledging the importance of participation and celebrating its inclusion in the citizenship National Curriculum, we should recognize that the civic republican approach which promotes this aspect may have outlived some of its relevance to current political realities, especially global interdependence. The concept of cosmopolitan democracy may be a more pertinent construct. In addition, the National Curriculum's notion of citizenship is based upon a perspective in which the welfare state was expected to be more effective in tackling social and economic deprivation and inequality than it appeared to be during the Labour government's second term of office. A form of government in which the state was seen to preside over exacerbating inequalities is unlikely to guarantee long term legitimacy in the eyes of informed citizens. A cosmopolitan, anti-racist approach to identity is also desirable. Although Olssen (2004) suggests the Parekh report become an additional point of reference alongside 'Crick' and the National Curriculum documentation, such a bolt-on approach may not secure thorough implementation of the spirit of effective anti-racism.

The chapter has also considered the reasons for government's introduction of citizenship into the curriculum. It has concluded that, on the whole, these are motivated by a desire to preserve the structural status quo. The much-lauded transformation in political culture the Crick report sought is unlikely to be achievable or sustainable if the social and economic context in which it operates remains the same. Nonetheless, it is argued that teachers can embrace the 'reconstructive' approach to citizenship education and use it in on-going efforts to transform schools and young people's perceptions of themselves.

The introduction of citizenship education is best couched in terms of a human rights framework, one which promotes positive values and attitudes and enables young people to see the reciprocity between pursuing fulfillment of all of our rights and actively upholding the rights of others. Citizenship is essentially about political literacy and must seek to promote understanding of the extent to which politics is about everything we experience and do. It must empower young people to become agents of change and schools to become reflexive communities of enquiry and collective endeavour. The second and third chapters will show that effective education for citizenship has become a necessity in the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER 2

GLOBALISATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION.

Introduction

If we accept that globalisation is a new reality, rather than a misnomer for other older processes, we must acknowledge that it affects all of our lives, in terms of identity, participation, rights and responsibilities (Delanty, 2000). Globalisation forces us to reconsider who we are, how we interact and what new duties we have towards the rights of other humans. As we blunder into the twenty-first century and children in Bangladesh drown as a consequence of richer countries' consumption of fossil fuels, we need to inform and inspire action for change. As was explained in Chapter 1, globalisation creates the necessity of education for cosmopolitan democracy (Held 1999), and demands that we rethink Delanty's four dimensions of citizenship.

This chapter will begin by acknowledging the globalisation debate. It will suggest that the disagreement between those who recognise and define globalisation as a particular and relatively new phenomenon, and the 'sceptics' (who contend that there is little new in the current world order) has been exaggerated. It will examine the notion that we are simply experiencing the intensification of imperialism as well as the idea of growing economic interconnectedness. It will seek to assert that globalisation must be recognised as a new, pressing phenomenon. Globalisation brings starker realities in terms of our planet's ecology and sustainability. It presents us with challenges of environmental management, and the chapter notes, omnipresent risk. It means that we need to reconsider the whole concept of identity - local, national and global. It demands that we find new ways of dealing with inequality and uncertainty, and that we develop different means of decision-making. It challenges us to find new ways of

empowering communities and people of all ages. These new approaches can best be developed through learning that emphasises our common humanity, assumes equality and celebrates diversity. This is education for cosmopolitan democracy (Osler and Starkey, 2005:21). Aspects of globalisation make reconstructive citizenship education more necessary and more urgent than ever. Finally, the chapter suggests that discourse ethics and critical theory may provide new parameters within which we can explore our global citizenship.

2.1 The Globalisation Debate: Globalisation: a new reality?

The globalisation debates essentially hinge on two opposing perspectives about the current state of the world. On the one hand, there is the view that the growing interconnectedness of the world's political economy brings new realities and challenges – for example, the way we experience risk (Giddens, 1999) - and that these developments need to be understood through the new concept that is now called globalisation. On the other hand, it is argued that the tendencies towards war and inequality which have been exacerbated in recent decades (Kaldor, 2000; Gray 1999) are the anticipated consequences of the inevitable processes entailed in the ongoing development of world capitalism (Cox, 1993 [quoted in Linklater 2001]). If the latter is the case, it follows that the twenty first century political economy does not necessarily invite new understandings or attitudes, and that the concept of globalisation is a misleading label for continuing older processes. The two sides of the debate and their implications are considered below.

Hirst and Thompson (2001) state that globalisation has become a 'fashionable concept in social sciences.' Those who choose to embrace this concept conceive of a world

shaped by extensive, intensive, rapid flows of capital, commodities and aspects of culture across regions and continents. Concomitant with this reality, they contend, is the erosion of state sovereignty and of fixed political identities. The globalist view invites us to question whether the nation state is still a relevant political reference point for notions of citizenship, or whether we need to revisit the spatial dimensions in which citizenship operates. Opponents of this view, labelled ‘sceptics’ by Held and McGrew (2001) maintain that the process we are experiencing is better defined as *internationalisation*. They suggest that rather than the development of a new economic structure, we are witnessing ‘conjunctural change’ towards greater international trade and investment within an existing set of economic relations. Both the ‘globalists’ and the ‘sceptics’ acknowledge several sets of empirical realities:

1. there is growing economic interconnectedness within and among regions
2. old hierarchies are being challenged and new inequalities generated
3. transnational and transborder problems pose new challenges for national governments
4. there has been an expansion of international governance
5. new modes of thinking about politics, economics and culture are required

(Held and McGrew 2001: 38).

In this sense, the two sets of views are not really opposing. However, our response to the state of the world today depends upon our view of globalisation. One reason why the debate matters is that it affects our understanding of citizenship in the twenty-first century. It sheds light upon our understanding of the limits and possibilities of a reconstructive approach to education for citizenship. The crux of the debate seems to hinge on the role of states – more specifically sovereign states – in the current global

context. Nation states face challenges in managing the impact of the economic order, or of growing economic disorder, upon those they deem to be their citizens. This has important implications for society and democracy, and potential effects upon citizens' sense of their identity. It presents challenges for education in terms of understanding who we are, developing global perspectives and insights into how we can manage as well as influence the new realities we face.

This section will consider whether globalisation is a valid concept applicable to a new situation. It will suggest that we are facing new challenges in terms of:

- Conflict and conflict resolution on a range of scales, and issues, particularly sustainability, environmental management;
- The changing role and nature of the nation state;
- Challenges about the nature and feasibility of democracy at local, national and international levels.

These challenges demand that education for cosmopolitan democracy provides the relevant information and skills, as well a sense of belonging to communities at a range of geographical scales.

2.1a) World economy: globalisation or intensifying imperialism?

The globalists, arguing that there is evidently intensifying economic integration within and across regions, point out that daily turnover on the world's foreign exchange markets currently exceeds by about 60 times the annual level of world exports. They contend that we are witnessing a new transnational economy, accompanied by a new global division of labour. Alongside this, as sceptics would agree, during the decade

from 1989, the share of the poorest 20% of the world's population in global income halved. Expanding inequality is thus 'the most serious problem facing world society.' (Giddens, 1999:16). Giddens links capitalism's disregard for the losers in the global economy partly to management of risk, 'the mobilizing dynamic of a society built on change' and reminds us that modern capitalism embeds itself into the future by calculating future profit and loss as a continuous process (Giddens, 1999: 24). Sceptics would maintain that this tendency has always been inherent to capitalism and that what others call 'globalisation' is simply a new mode of Western imperialism dominated by the needs and requirements of finance capital. For them, the responses they and their traditions have consistently engaged in continue to be appropriate, and it is not necessary to treat the current conjuncture as a different challenge.

For sceptics, internationalisation does not displace, but complements, the predominantly national organisation of economic activity. (Held and McGrew 2001: 20). They see multinationals as little more than 'national corporations with international operations' (ibid: 2). The question here centres on the extent to which national governments actually control these corporations. Giddens (1999) argues that global markets so effectively escape political regulation that economic globalisation creates a 'runaway world'. Garrett (2001) exemplifies this by quoting Robert Reich's articles in the *Harvard Business Review* proclaiming that the distinction between 'us' and 'them' in the global economy is not between countries, but rather between a nation's citizens and the multinational firms operating in it, irrespective of where they are owned.' (2001: 3)

For some sceptics, particularly structuralist Marxists (Callinicos, 1994), globalisation is simply a 'necessary myth' which helps to justify the creation of a global free market

and the consolidation of Anglo-American capitalism. The problem with the latter assertion is that global economic trends do not simply equate with the domination of what was previously regarded as 'western' capitalism. There is some evidence that in certain spheres of economic activity other centres of economic power are serious contenders – notably Asian economies. Gray, from the globalist perspective, suggests that Chinese capitalism is emerging as a rival to America because it 'can go further than the American free market in undercutting social markets in Europe and the rest of Asia' (Gray, 1999:78). Clearly the traditional Marxist notion of specifically *western* capitalism as a protagonist has limitations.

The seemingly stark division of opinion between globalists and sceptics may be overstated. Marxists, generally deemed sceptics in this debate, often point to the globalists' lack of recognition of the importance of material factors and over-emphasis on cultural phenomena. For example, the risk society hypothesis publicised by Giddens might be seen from a neo-Marxist perspective as an attempt to invent a new cultural concept to explain long-standing characteristics of global capitalism. Halliday contends, from his neo-Marxist perspective, that 'the greatest risks are arguably the ones dealt with in international relations, and have been so for some decades.' Nonetheless he also concedes that the range of insecurities is changing (Halliday, 2001: 11). Linklater asserts that Cox's (Marxist) analysis of the world order, which 'remains the most ambitious attempt to use historical materialism as a means of superseding statecentric international relations theory' is '...not an exercise in economic reductionism' (2001:143). Linklater reminds us that Marxism has always been concerned with capitalist globalisation and argues that its adherents have reassessed Marx's writings on this.

Again, the polarisation between the position of Marxists (as sceptics) and globalists appears to have been exaggerated. This is even more obvious when comparing the perspectives they articulate on the ability of the state to control movements of capital. Held cites neo-Marxists' writing about the modern state which 'stresses its limited autonomy from the dictates of transnational capital or from the structural requirements of the global capitalist order' (1995:26). Halliday writes 'Globalisation does reduce the ability of individual states to control the movements of goods and capital across frontiers' (2001:7).

Both would-be sides of the debate continue to some degree to acknowledge the power of the nation state. The Marxists' and some sceptics' recognition of this continuing, albeit more limited in some spheres, power (Held and McGrew, 2001) is not totally at odds with all the globalists' pronouncements on this matter. Gray (1999) is adamant about this:

Sovereign states are not going to become obsolete. They will remain decisive mediating structures which multinational corporations compete to control. This pivotal role of sovereign states makes a nonsense of the claims of hyper globalists, business Utopians and populists who maintain that multinationals have supplanted sovereign states as the real rulers of the world. It explains why global markets seek leverage over states and why they cannot ignore them. It eliminates the narrow margin in which governments can act to help their citizens and for economic growth. This protective function of states is likely to expand, as citizens demand shelter from the anarchy of global capitalism.

(1999: 76-77)

There is, however, a greater gulf between those Gray calls ‘hyper globalists, business Utopians and populists’ and globalists like Gray and Giddens. Among the former are adherents of what Halliday labels ‘hegemonic optimism’. He includes Francis Fukuyama and Thomas Freidman in their ranks.

Hegemonic optimism is, not to over-simplify, the view of the major leaders of the OECD states, it is the world view proclaimed in the house journals of global hegemony – *the Economist, International Herald Tribune, the Financial Times...*

(Halliday 2001: 31)

He alleges that this view sees the world as being on the verge of a new triumphal age in which ‘political liberalism, market economics and the advances of science ... will usher in a new epoch.’ This perspective, of course, faces several problems, including the relative lack of bases for real international cooperation ; the collapse of the regime of non-proliferation and test ban renunciation; the threat to stability posed by structural economic inequalities and the fact that democracy and the unfettered market are not necessarily compatible (Halliday, 2001: 32 -33) .

It is worth noting that not all opponents of corporate capitalism are pessimistic about the future in terms of international mobilisation for rights. Noam Chomsky (Kingsnorth: 2002) described the 60,000 strong February 2002 meeting of the World Social Forum as the ‘first real promise of a genuine International’. He claims that today’s movement has developed a new level of solidarity with a very broad membership: a genuine people’s movement which has been drawn together around the primary theme of globalisation. This view resonates with Delanty’s conviction that globalisation has ‘opened up new opportunities for participatory politics’ (2000:130).

Whether we call the current trend in the global political economy ‘globalisation’ or ‘imperialist globalisation’ and even if we do not subscribe to the hypothesis of a ‘runaway world’, the literature points overwhelmingly to the problems of increasing instability, continuing warfare, and growing inequality. All these factors have political implications and can be seen to pose a challenge for democracy in general and social democracy in particular. Growing economic interconnectedness is undeniable. As global citizens, young people need global awareness, to be able to recognise their common humanity and make connections between their own lives and those of others. (Osler and Starkey, 2005: 78). Education for democratic participation and particularly cosmopolitan democracy, in this context, is a moral imperative.

The next section considers the implications of the five trends listed by Held and McGrew (1991) which are recognised by globalists and sceptics alike.

2.1 b) Global problems: sustainability, environmental issues and conflict

Whether or not we accept Giddens’ risk society hypothesis, there is ample evidence that our planet’s ecological balance is in danger (Yearley, 2001) and that our management of the global environment has led to dangerous competition for very scarce resources. This leads to conflict: ‘as scarcities of natural resources increase, sovereign states are being drawn into military competition for the necessities of existence’ (Gray, 1999: 77).

Yearley (2001) explains that the problems of ozone depletion and pollution, while their impact spreads unevenly across the globe, ‘can plausibly be presented as global by their very nature’. The difficulty is that although a sense of global identity and

common threat should bind humanity in seeking to tackle these problems they actually result from people in one part of the globe displacing their problems to other parts (2001:376). He concludes, alarmingly, that :

The unevenness of development, the inequalities of power and wealth associated with globalisation indicate how idealistic [...] the notion of a 'common future' is. The majority of transnational environmental problems – most notably the need to abate carbon dioxide emissions – are easier to read as displays of conflicting interests than as instances of people shaping a future in common

(2001: 385).

Gray (1999) concurs that regulation of environmental standards is a Utopian prospect. He says that as unaccountable capitalism spreads,

More and more of the earth will, as a result, become less and less habitable. At the same time the price will rise for the few societies rich enough to be able to keep the local environment is liveable, and if, despite this, they persist in imposing costs of pollution and other environmental social costs on businesses, profits will fall and capital will migrate

(1999:81).

Global insecurity, in the view of Kaldor (2000) means that wars are still claiming millions of lives. At the very time when rhetoric about human rights is being promoted, UN peace-keeping is diminishing. The 'new wars' ravaging the globe and affecting millions in the Middle East, Africa and Asia are, she says, considered of secondary importance to the preoccupations of security planners in the more economically developed countries. Writing a year before the events of September 11th 2001, Kaldor argued that

the contradiction between the rhetoric and the reality can be explained primarily by a misdiagnosis of the sources of insecurity. This misdiagnosis is the result of a tendency to allow the fantasies of the technologists, the vested interests of military industrial institutions, the anachronistic mindsets of military planners, the spin of instant television coverage and the traditional assumptions of diplomats to dominate our definitions of security issues....

(2000:2).

She wrote of the perceived threats including transnational crime, individual terrorists, through to a full-scale global war. Ironically, the 2001 attack on New York has been seen by some to have confirmed their diagnosis. The response to these events of the American and British governments tends to confirm the view of the globalists that 'national security has become a multilateral affair' (Held and McGrew, 2001).

Certainly, the ongoing threat of war and the ecological health of the planet cannot be tackled within the national frame. The future of our planet hangs in the balance, and schools face the difficult task of preparing young people to resolve conflict effectively as well as to manage the environment responsibly. Young people must have access to information about issues such as climate change, global warming and environmental management, as well as about how to manage the conflict between the immediate demands of humans and the longer-term conservation of a sustainable ecology. They need to understand and know how to influence conflict resolution in their own lives as well as nationally and globally. They must have the skills as well as the confidence to respond to these challenges.

2.1c) The importance of the nation state and the question of national identity

The positions at the two ends of the spectrum on the globalisation debate would seem to offer contradictory answers to the question of whether the twenty-first century will see substantial reductions in the power of the nation state. The globalists conceive of substantial changes in social life and world order. Along with the transformation of some kinds of economic organisation, they also envisage new trends regarding the territorial principle and power. Held and McGrew state categorically that globalisation ‘delivers a direct challenge to the territorial principle of modern social and political organisation’ (2001:7). The link between territory and political power, globalists claim, has been broken, and globalisation is eroding nation states’ ability to act independently. At the same time, political authority, in their analysis, is being internationalised and political activity globalised.

Sandwiched between the constraints of global financial markets and exit options of mobile productive capital, national governments across the globe have been forced to adopt increasingly similar (neoLiberal) economic strategies which promote financial discipline, limited government and sound economic management....

(Held and McGrew, 2001:27).

Gray points out that national governments today cannot implement ambitious countercyclical policies, can only manage their economies at the margin, and now have fiscal conservatism forced upon them by world markets (1999: 78).

Some sceptics, on the other hand, see national governments as the only proper instruments for managing the global problems of inequality (Hirst and Thompson, 1999). Another category of response, which can be called political communitarianism or the Third Way, (Giddens, 2002) emphasises the importance of the role of the

'citizenry' in pursuing the 'political good'. The tendency of this position is to locate rightful power and authority within the sovereign state. The polity's elected representatives need, political communitarians maintain, to do what is right for their citizens informed by their culture, politics, traditions and boundaries. This position is held by Miller (1992) whose position Delanty (2000) describes as 'nations within nationalism' (2000:28). In contrast, a reconstructive approach to citizenship and cosmopolitan democracy would encourage citizens to look beyond the state and to develop their own empowering networks to promote action for the greater (global) good.

While the sceptics argue that the current developments associated with 'internationalisation' will bring a resurgence of nationalism and national identity, globalists argue that there are signs of emerging global popular culture and that fixed political identities are being eroded. Again, the difference in perspectives can be overstated. Just as global political culture has been affected by the dialectic between capitalism and democracy, often opposing forces, so identity, already multi-layered, is stretched and shrunk in scale according to how individuals and communities experience their contexts. Giddens writes of nations becoming 'shell institutions' and of the need for nations to 'rethink their identities' (1999: 18). Despite this, there has been a resurgence of national identities, however imagined or artificially constructed. As Kaldor (2000) reminds us, identity politics, attributable partly to the 'loss of integrative legitimising ideas' is the cause of many of the 'new wars' that currently plague the globe (2000:5).

For some globalists, the decline of the nation-state and rise of multilateralism present new forums for addressing global problems. Held suggests that developments in international law and institutions 'portend a new possibility in which the nation state becomes but one type of political actor, without exclusive privileges, in the international legal order' (1995:89) .

This perspective has important ethical implications, to which we will return. It underlines the absolute necessity of promoting a sense of global identity, a feeling of solidarity with all other humans and awareness of universal human rights. It also highlights the need to provide young people with insights into international organisations such as the United Nations.

2.1 d) Capitalism and democracy: increasingly at odds in the face of globalisation?

The position of the nation state in the context of globalisation is contradictory because of the dialectic between capitalism and democracy. Of course, the concept of democracy is itself problematic (Held: 1999). Perhaps the most useful conception of democracy for a global age is Held's 'cosmopolitan democracy' (1999:353-5). This includes the requirement that 'groups and individuals have an effective means of using political authorities for the enactment and enforcement of key rights'.

As is shown by the literature on the historical development of concepts of democracy and citizenship (Delanty, 2000; Held and Thompson, 1991) the emergence of democracy in its current form is linked to the rise of capitalism, albeit through a series of struggles. For Giddens, increasing state power with the development of capitalism led to the shaping of new relations between the state and its subjects. These relations,

based on consent rather than force, but resulting to some extent from class conflict, conceded to citizens the right to have a say in government (Held and Thompson, 1991:172). Class conflict, and the other challenges to state hegemony represented by movements for women's rights, anti-racist and ecological movements have continued in varying degrees to expand the demands of citizens' rights. In the twenty first century, some of these interests need to look beyond the boundaries of the nation state to realise their rights. As Held explains:

... the whole relation of rights to the nation-state has itself become progressively more problematic in the twentieth century. For a gap has opened up, linked to the processes of globalisation, between the idea of membership of a national political community, i.e. citizenship, and the development of international law which subjects individuals, NGOs and governments to new systems of regulation.

(1991:176)

The growing tension between capitalism (particularly as defended by the nation state) and democracy could be seen as the fundamental dilemma for national governments seeking to uphold some form of social democracy. Delanty argues that globalisation is a movement of worldwide social transformation *spearheaded by the dual forces of capitalism and democracy* (2000:92). Giddens concurs, stating that globalisation lies behind the expansion of democracy, but, simultaneously and paradoxically, 'it exposes the limits of democratic structures which are most familiar, namely the structures of parliamentary democracy' (1999:5). If nation states cannot totally control the behaviour of capitalism and its effects, they are likely to seek new approaches to the management of democracy. Other tensions between capitalism and democracy include the rights of the individual versus the collective; the profit motive against universal well being and equality and competition versus collaboration.

For educators, these tensions mean we need to widen young people's concepts of democracy, recognising the imperfections of parliamentary democracy in its current form, and exploring viable alternatives. Education for democracy is essential. It needs to be informed by a human rights perspective as well as experiences of democratic contexts. This a challenge for teachers seeking to develop reconstructive approaches to citizenship education, especially in light of the fact that schools are often anything but democratic institutions.

2.2 Responding to globalisation's challenges and opportunities: the urgent need for citizenship education.

Globalisation, it is suggested above, calls into question aspects of nation states' ability to protect citizens from the fluctuations of global markets, from the consequences of global warming and environmental destruction, and from constantly emerging sources of conflict and insecurity. For young people to confidently embrace the future and to sense their power to make a difference, they need new kinds of learning experiences. They need to know about what is happening locally, globally and nationally. They need to develop skills in investigating issues that affect them and the planet. They need to sense what it is like to act in solidarity and to be able to make a difference. Some of this is about being informed about the opportunities globalisation brings for solidarity, for international links and tolerance of diversity. Most importantly, young people need to be able to develop a strong internal locus of control (Wallace, 2000) and agency and to experience positive outcomes of their own volition and actions. Without these skills and experiences, young people are likely to become more alienated, more trapped in atomised cultures, more disenchanting and further disempowered. They need to be seen

by older people as trustworthy partners in developing a better future. This means that many adults need to change the ways in which they think about and engage with younger people.

The official literature indicates that citizenship education is about

- becoming informed citizens
- developing skills of enquiry and communication
- developing skills of participation and responsible action.

Education for cosmopolitan democracy amounts to more than the sum of these three dimensions. If we are, as Osler and Starkey (2005: 85 – 87) invite us to do, to consider both the structural/political (the cognitive dimensions of citizenship as status) and the cultural/personal (the affective aspects) we have also to focus on young people's senses of identity and belonging. In fact, in evaluating the effectiveness of programmes of education for citizenship, Osler and Starkey have used a four dimensional model which considers information, skills, identity and inclusion separately (op cit, 88). It is imperative for young people's sense of self esteem and agency that they feel included through approaches and activities which promote equality of worth and participation for all. Identity and inclusion must be addressed from a global perspective.

The five new phenomena peculiar to globalisation listed by Held and McGrew (2001:38) require new sets of knowledge, skills and attitudes.

2.2a) Growing economic interconnectedness

A recent World Bank study (World Bank Group, 2002) states that 24 developing countries have increased their integration into the world economy, and that many of

these countries have adopted policies enabling them to participate in global markets. Twenty-first century citizens need to understand, both as consumers and as producers, aspects of the global economy. They need to be able to make informed judgements about how their patterns of consumption affect producers in other parts of the world as well as the global environment. The citizenship National Curriculum for England specifies that students in secondary schools should be taught about

...the world as a global community, and the political, economic, environmental and social implications of this... (DfES/QCA 1999: 14)

Effective education for cosmopolitan democracy goes further, in that it encourages identification at all levels of community, so that young people empathise and identify not just with their immediate communities, but that they to conceive of themselves as citizens of the world, and as members of ‘communities within communities’ (Osler and Starkey 2005). The concept of communities within communities is one originally developed by Parekh (2000) and reflected in the Runnymede Trust’s report on the future of multi-ethnic Britain, and our understanding of citizenship should take account of overlapping layers of identity which constitute Britain’s community of communities. A global perspective is not just an additional part of a list of components of citizenship education: it should be the attitude at its heart (Cogan and Derricott, 2000:132).

2.2b) Challenges to old hierarchies and the development of new inequalities

Phenomena such as the collapse of regimes in countries as diverse and distant as Afghanistan and Bosnia have brought new movements of people across the globe and

new groups of people in need. The ILO estimates that there are 175 million migrants in the world, 56 million of them living in Europe (ILO, 2004). While their presence could be an economic advantage, negative perceptions of them can cause instability: ‘Discrimination and social exclusion seriously diminish productivity, foster social conflict, and reinforce ghettoisation of significant groups of the population’ (ibid). In Britain, absolute poverty may have diminished (Inland Revenue, 2003: National Statistics Online), but inequality in Britain has grown. The richest 1% of the population owned about one fifth of the country’s wealth in 1976. By 2001 this share had increased to approximately one quarter (Inland Revenue, 2003: National Statistics Online). We ignore these realities at our peril: the growing gulf between affluence and desperate poverty, in Britain’s cities alone, will mean increased conflict and insecurity. In our global age, citizens need to become part of the process of confronting and solving these problems. At the very least, then young people in England need to learn about the diversity of identities and to ‘use their imagination to consider other people’s experiences’ (DfES/QCA 1999: 14) in order to contend with twenty-first century society. The DfES guidance does not mention how difficult it can be to create a sense of belonging in such an unequal context. As Osler puts it:

Equality of dignity, which underpins human rights, cannot be translated from a principle to a sustainable reality in societies where there are deep structural social and economic inequalities.

(2005: 4)

What is needed is a sense of justice and of solidarity that is best informed by a human rights perspective, and a range of learning experiences that equip young people to understand and confront inequality and racism.

2.2c) Transnational and transborder problems

Held and McGrew's (2001) examples of these include the spread of genetically modified foodstuffs and money laundering. They argue (2001:38) that these call into question 'the traditional role, functions and institutions of accountability of national governments.' These issues are the stuff of citizenship education which, according to the National Curriculum (DfES/QCA: 1999), should include knowing and understanding about the world as a global community as well as the ability to 'think about topical political, spiritual, moral, social and cultural issues, problems and events...' (1999:14). Citizens current and future need to be informed and empowered to develop new means of confronting these difficulties. We also need to revisit the means by which the public are informed about the risks and benefits of scientific endeavour such as genetic engineering. In part, this may involve developing new forms of international cooperation. The parameters within which citizenship learning explores these issues will need to shift. New reference points, which transcend existing political structures and processes, will need to be found. Sections 2.2e) and 2.3 below begin to explore how these might be found within discourse ethics.

2.2d) Expansion of International Governance

The expansion of international governance at regional and global levels includes the growth of the EU and expanding role of the WTO. Citizenship must involve discovering ways to engage with processes of decision making beyond the nation state. It must also confront the notion that engaging in political processes is futile because the decision makers are so far removed from those their decisions affect. As Porter (1999:65) puts it:

The decline in democratic participation grows out of the sense of powerlessness that is spread by the belief that matters of great moment are inevitably settled by elites at the global level...

He goes on to assert the necessity of education for democratic participation:

The practice of democracy cannot be left to national assemblies of politicians. It has to infuse every aspect of the encounter between individuals and groups in society if it is to be sustained in the face of the immense pressures that are building as the result of globalisation.

(1999:67)

2.2e) The need for new modes of thinking about politics, economics, culture and identity

Porter (1999:66) calls, perhaps idealistically, for reflexive states and reflexive schools, the former being the kind of state which promotes the idea of decision-making pluralism. The reflexive state would be one which would operate through rational dialogue and interactive governance. Modes of political organisation and political communities have already begun to transcend the nation state. It is important that people of all ages identify with international efforts to protect the global environment, to prevent war and to promote equality.

Globalisation is such an overwhelming reality that, as Giddens states, no one can 'opt out' of the transformations it brings. He explains how the sense of unpredictability and the uncertainties of modern life 'act to deskill many aspects of daily activities' (1991:22). This brings new challenges for communities and individuals. Change is endemic. We can neither rely upon the wisdom of the past nor our individual resources

and knowledge. Communities and individuals, particularly young people, are faced with potentially disempowering risks and dangers, from which the welfare state cannot protect them. Some of the discourse on the New Labour's policy responses to globalisation suggests that its impact has been to deepen disadvantaged communities' sense of powerlessness and further segregate and control the lives of young people. (Gamarnikow and Green: 2000; Goldson 2002). Modernity, says Giddens, 'breaks down the protective framework of the small community and of tradition, replacing these with much larger, impersonal organisations'. This requires that the altered self 'has to be explored and constructed as part of a reflexive process of connecting personal and social change' (1991:33). Young people need opportunities to engage with this process. They need to experience agency, creativity and solidarity.

A creative involvement with others and with the object-world is almost certainly a fundamental component of psychological satisfaction and the discovery of 'moral meaning'...

... the experience of creativity as a routine phenomenon is a basic prop to a sense of personal worth and therefore to psychological health

(Giddens, 1991: 41)

Citizenship education, where it involves active and effective participation with change outcomes, where it promotes a sense of connected identity, is what should be available to young people facing the impact of globalisation. All people, young, and old, need to develop new ways of seeing the world and political participation in shaping its future.

The approaches entailed in discourse ethics and critical theory would seem to be a good starting point, but these are cognitive domains which necessitate a certain level of affective development. The issues of identity and belonging, of promoting the sense of an internal locus of control and of agency must be addressed as part of the dialogue about how we understand our world.

2.3 Responding to globalisation: discourse ethics as a reconstructive approach to citizenship education

The analysis in the next chapter suggests that however egalitarian and democratic the beliefs informing the architects of the policies of Britain's New Labour governments may have been, their impact has tended not to serve these principles. Giddens is aware of some of the dilemmas resulting from the tension between global capitalism and democracy, and calls for a deepening of democracy: '*democratising democracy*' (1999:75). He argues for building a progressive civic culture including a 'democracy of the emotions'. The problem with his suggestions is that they focus very much on the spheres of culture and formal international institutions. In a context where global factors are seen to be exacerbating the trend towards inequality and leading national governments to adopt policies likely to undermine democracy (Frazer, 2000; Held 2001), resorting to the realm of culture will not effectively tackle the material constraints on equality and the structural limitations of democracy.

Sceptics in the globalisation debate would argue that the articulation of the political good is directly related to the citizenry within the nation state. Their argument rests on four assumptions about the political community in question:

- common socio-cultural identity for its members;

- common 'imagined community of fate';
- congruence and symmetry between the community's governors and government and
- a common structure for rights and duties.

The globalists take issue with these assumptions. They point out that identity in political communities, rather than being a 'given' has been the result of political construction. Secondly, they say, it is perfectly possible to identify with political communities at a range of levels including transnational. Thirdly, state sovereignty has been undermined and the geographical 'community of fate' can no longer be assumed. Fourthly, the fate of the national community is no longer in its own hands and fifth, national communities are locked into webs of regional and global governance which 'compromise their capacity to provide a common structure of rights, duties and welfare for their citizens' (Held and McGrew 2001: 35). Held and McGrew (2001) go on to say that there are not enough good reasons for allowing the values of individual political communities to take precedence over global principles of justice and political participation. Held argues that democracy must come to terms with the elements of regionalisation and globalisation and their implications for national and international power centres (Held, 1995:136).

Perhaps critical theory in international relations can offer some new paradigms for conceptualising citizenship in a global age. It certainly seems to invite us to reconsider the right to autonomy linked to any exclusive category of identity. Devetak (2001) points out that while liberals underestimate the moral significance of national difference, communitarians overestimate it. Both fail to do 'justice to difference'.

Critical international theory on the other hand, he says 'has highlighted the dangers of unchecked particularism which can too readily deprive 'outsiders' of certain rights.' (2001:167). Discourse ethics, as elaborated by Habermas, is part of critical theory and is the process of dialogue involved a consent-oriented approach to resolving political issues. Devetak writes that it:

... raises questions not only about 'who' is to be involved in decision-making processes, but also 'how' and 'where' those decisions are to be made. For this reason critical international theory has much in common with the cosmopolitan democracy project. [Held 1995] The key here is 'to develop institutional arrangements that concretize the 'dialogic ideal' at all levels of social and political life. This directs attention to an emerging global or international public sphere where 'social movements, non-state actors and 'global citizens' join with states and international organisations in a dialogue over the exercise of power and authority across the globe.

(Devetak, 2001:174).

If citizenship education in the 'reflexive school' (Porter, 1999: 101) were to embrace the premises of discourse ethics it might begin to enable young people to contribute to rethinking political community. Devetak makes claims for discourse ethics which concur with Cogan and Derricott's (2000) notion of deliberation-based learning for citizenship. He contends that discourse ethics is inclusionary, is democratic, and is a form of moral-political reasoning (Devetak 2001:173). Devetak also suggests some aspects of postmodernism which might inform rethinking political community:

One of the central implications of postmodernism is that the paradigm of sovereignty has impoverished our political imagination and restricted our comprehension of the dynamics of world politics

(2001:198).

Confining our terms of reference to the national state and traditional concepts of political authority has prevented us exploring new paradigms. Discourse ethics therefore offers an understanding which is detached from territorial limitations. It invites us to respond to transversal demands for justice by 'rethinking notions of subjectivity, identity and the concept of the political beyond the paradigm of sovereignty'. 'More positively it means affirming alterity, deterritorialising responsibility, and pluralising political possibilities beyond (but including) the state' (Devetak 2001:204). This approach to education for citizenship would begin to enable us to think outside the boxes of the dominant political culture and perhaps encourage young people to begin to articulate new notions of rights and participation.

Summary

The chapter has outlined the debate between those who regard globalisation as a relatively recent development inviting new responses and those who see it either as a convenient new label for the continuation of older conflicts or as inevitable progress towards a possibly mythical panacea. It has examined the impact of globalisation in terms of its effects upon economy, environment and politics. It argues that whatever label is applied to the processes of increased global interdependence and uncertainty, these are pressing issues for governments and citizens, young and old. Five phenomena of globalisation identified by Held and McGrew highlight the need for education for

cosmopolitan democracy. This kind of learning should not be restricted to the conventional realms of knowledge and skills, but must take account of the personal and cultural aspects of citizenship and engage with people's identities and emotions. Such an approach to citizenship education would benefit from the approaches entailed in discourse ethics. Citizenship education should enable young people to understand and investigate pertinent issues as well as to develop a sense of agency, a feeling of community and experience of solidarity in action.

CHAPTER 3: CHALLENGES FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THE BRITISH CONTEXT

Introduction

Chapters 1 and 2 have underlined the urgent necessity for our twenty-first century world of education for citizenship and cosmopolitan democracy. They have also emphasised that inequality is the most serious problem of the modern world (Giddens, 1999). Two separate questions need, then, to be asked:

- Firstly, is effective citizenship education feasible in English schools as they currently exist?
- Secondly, can education itself be a means to overcoming inequality?

The second question has been a perennial theme in sociology (Webb et al, 1999) and to properly address it is well beyond the scope of the current study. It is, however, pertinent to consider what signs of promoting equality are to be found in British education policy at the time of writing. If the values of democracy, inclusion and transparency are to underpin citizenship education, educators need to ask about how these are being applied to schools and society, and to what extent government policy serves to uphold them. The effects of schools upon young people and their chances to overcome socioeconomic disadvantage cannot be separated from wider issues including class and culture. It is now acknowledged (Fullan, 1999) that attempts to improve schools generally failed to take adequate account of external factors. Given that citizenship education is so context-sensitive, political, economic, social and cultural factors will have an important impact upon efforts to make it work. Developing a reconstructive approach to citizenship education is an enormous challenge for teachers and schools and has led some writers (Davies, 2000; Parry, J., 2001) to analyse the contextual difficulties involved and propose alternative ways

forward. Davies sees the contextual difficulties as such obstacles that he argues that if citizenship education is implemented ‘a revolution will have occurred’ (2000:92).

In discussing British government policy relating to citizenship education, it is important to be aware that there is also another, wider social agenda about addressing immigration and national identity. Heater (1997) provides an insightful way of conceptualising the differences between forms of citizenship that may be held in conjunction with state citizenship, including those the government might have had in mind when it promoted the idea of ‘citizenship tests’ for those wishing to become British nationals – see Figure 3.1 below. The reporting of David Blunkett’s 2001 statement as Home Secretary that he was considering making citizenship classes a condition of citizenship for new immigrants (BBC News on line, 26.10.01) suggested that the citizenship agenda intended to impose the dominant national culture on immigrants. This chapter, and indeed the study as a whole is, primarily concerned with the second category below: ‘mainly attitude’, whose legal definition is limited.

3.1 Heater’s (1997) conception of forms of citizenship alongside state citizenship

Legally defined	Dual – citizenship of two states held simultaneously
	Layered – in federal constitutions; and in a few multinational communities
Mainly attitude: limited legal definition	Below state level – municipal, local allegiance/ sense of identity
	Above state level – world citizenship

Gewirtz (2002) uses the term ‘post-welfarism’ to describe the policies of the British government of the time, which she, like many social and political commentators, and party members themselves, chose to call ‘New Labour’. She reminds us that much educational research has failed to point out how ‘the socio-economic, policy and

discursive environments within which schools operate are shaping the culture and values of schooling'. She suggests that the processes associated with the British government's policies were generating various forms of oppression and injustice, including promoting discrimination and stereotyping, increasing discrimination (2002:176) and social exclusion (2002:170). These trends, in addition to reinforcing inequality, would create a cultural and ideological context in which promoting citizenship values is problematic.

In examining the British government's motives for introducing citizenship education, Chapter 1 noted that these would not always be the same as the ideals which inform educators with a reconstructive agenda. This chapter will begin by reviewing possible reasons for the British government's introduction of compulsory education for citizenship. It will explore the extent to which government policy in England as it developed during the time of the study (1999 – 2003) might be seen both to enable and to constrain effective citizenship education.

One of the key notions here is the idea of the 'citizenship climate'. By this I mean the local and national context within which the notion of citizenship involving democracy, equality and inclusion operates. I will argue that there are four key categories which serve to promote or undermine citizenship learning. The chapter will consider, initially, the ways in which government policy seemed potentially to enhance the 'climate' for citizenship education, especially in terms of equality and inclusion.

Apparent tensions in government policy, and how these might affect the citizenship climate, will be considered. After that the chapter will examine the contention that the

British government under Blair introduced or reinforced structures and processes which undermined desirable features of a citizenship climate. It suggests that the cultural context can militate against the values citizenship education should promote. Inequality, the chapter will suggest, undermines the citizenship climate. This means that teachers who embrace a reconstructive approach (see Chapter 1) to citizenship education will find the reality of providing meaningful learning experiences very challenging.

3.1 The ‘citizenship climate’: features of society and schooling conducive to education for cosmopolitan democracy

Chapter 1 suggests that citizenship education is best approached within a human rights framework. It is argued in Chapter 5 that the human rights framework, political literacy and participation based on a sense of agency are what make citizenship learning distinct. For the school as a community of practice, the key values of democracy, inclusion and transparency should underpin approaches to citizenship (Osler and Vincent: 2002:27). School managements should seek to implement these principles, and they should, ideally, be experienced as a legitimate and desirable part of the way the wider society operates. In practice, there are tensions between social realities and the values the school citizenship agenda might entail.

The chart below shows 4 categories of context (to do with teachers, schools, society and government policy) that can either undermine or promote citizenship learning.

Figure 3.2 The Citizenship Climate: Factors which promote and undermine citizenship learning

Contextual factors which might enable citizenship learning	Contextual factors which could be barriers to citizenship learning
<p>a) Democratic participation Young people's experiences of democracy include meaningful participation which promotes political literacy</p>	<p>a) Hierarchical anti-democratic school cultures The nature of schools and their lack of democratic structures and processes</p>
<p>b) Promoting equality There are clear structures and processes working to uphold human rights and to counter inequality</p>	<p>b) Growing inequality in the wider society Widening inequalities of access and opportunity, both in schooling and in society, running counter to the citizenship values of equality and human rights</p>
<p>c) Empowering pedagogy and teacher commitment Learning is a process of dialogic enquiry involving appropriate forms of pedagogy</p>	<p>c) Lack of teacher preparedness Teachers' understanding of and readiness to teach citizenship is limited by competitive pressures on schools (the 'standards agenda'); teacher workload undermines innovation and creativity</p>
<p>d) Young citizens as partners Young people are respected as partners in learning and as intelligent citizens</p>	<p>d) Lack of substantive rights for young people Society's distrust of young people and their abilities and the linked lack of substantive rights for young people</p>

3.1a) Democracy, justice and participation

The principles of democracy, transparency and inclusion must be upheld by teachers and actively understood by learners. Participation demands a genuine commitment to inclusion. The original Crick report actually specified 'the teaching of democracy' as a requirement alongside citizenship (QCA, 1998: 7). It was emphatic about the importance of helping future (sic) citizens 'distinguish between law and justice' (1998:10). Schools must strive to enable both students and teachers to have a voice in how they are run and to facilitate democratic engagement with informal as well as formal processes in the wider community. They must also endeavour to demonstrate

that students, particularly when they break rules, experience justice and fairness (Osler 2000a).

3.1b) Human rights and equality

The QCA document underlined key concepts including fairness, justice and a range of values and dispositions which include caring for others, commitment to equal opportunities and concern for human rights (1998: 44). As was mentioned in Chapter 1, there must be evident commitment to combating structural inequalities such as poverty and racism, so that equality is more than a rhetorical objective. For citizenship learning to work, these principles must be seen to be viable constructs, applicable to the school community as well as the wider society (Osler, 2005:4).

3.1c) A reconstructive pedagogy based on dialogic enquiry with young people as partners in learning.

Effective citizenship learning demands a departure from traditional pedagogy: a dialogic approach in which classrooms become communities of enquiry. Learning experiences must be situated: connected with real life, and making a difference.

3.1d) Young people are respected as partners in learning and as citizens

It was indicated in Chapter 1 that adults need to rethink their attitudes towards children and young people. Rather than be viewed as ‘citizens in waiting’ (Verhellen, 2000) or future citizens they should be respected as human beings with rights and responsibilities and valid perspectives, particularly on equality, justice and participation (Alderson, 2000c).

It will be suggested below that several factors in the reality of British society and schools militate against these four desirable conditions for citizenship education.

3.2 Government promotion of citizenship education: the overall agenda

The term 'New Labour' will be used to refer to the governments led by Tony Blair and the Labour Party after it was re-shaped during the mid 1990s. It is a term the Party's leadership has chosen to use to differentiate itself from the policies which, it believes, made it unelectable as 'Labour' during the previous decades.

While education explicitly for citizenship has long been part of other states' schools, it has begun to be formally embraced in Britain by means of a gradual process over the past half century (Lawton: 2000, Frazer: 1999, 2000). Some of the reasons for this are suggested in Chapter 1. Clearly, citizenship education is perceived as an important plank in the transmission of ideology (Frazer: 1999, Demaine:1996). New Labour's citizenship education agenda is derived from a particular interpretation of the global context in the twenty first century. This interpretation, which owes a great deal to Giddens (1999), has informed the social policies that are part of what has come to be known as the Third Way. Nonetheless, there are aspects of New Labour's agenda and policies which could contribute positively to the 'citizenship climate'. These are considered below.

3.3 New Labour's Policies: Opportunities for the citizenship climate?

Docking (2002) notes that New Labour's policies in education reflected a mixture of ideologies. Although continuities with previous Conservative governments have been identified, the main stated departures from Conservative themes of *quality* and *diversity* are in New Labour's professed commitment to *equality* and *inclusion*.

The six policy principles articulated in the *Excellence in Schools* White Paper which ostensibly informed much of policy at the time of writing can be listed thus:

- Education at heart of government
- Policies will be designed to benefit the many, not just the few
- Strands matter more than structures
- Intervention will be in reverse proportion to success
- There will be zero tolerance for underperformance
- Government will work in partnership with those committed to raising standards

(Docking, 2002).

Based on these principles, the first two years of New Labour government brought a plethora of educational policies and legislation. Some of these appeared to promote social inclusion and reinforce students' rights. They could be seen as enhancing the climate for citizenship education, as the chart below suggests.

Figure 3.3 Government legislation/ policy which might promote the 'Citizenship Climate'

Contextual factors which might enable citizenship learning	Examples of policy/legislation
<p>a) Democratic participation Young people's experiences of democracy include meaningful participation which promotes political literacy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2002 Education Act (consulting young people became statutory) • Citizenship Education part of National Curriculum
<p>b) Promoting equality There are clear structures and processes working to uphold human rights and to counter inequality</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1997 Social Exclusion Unit • 1998 Human Rights Act • 1998 New Deal for Communities • EAZs intended to increase educational opportunities for deprived areas • 1999 Sure Start • 2000 Race Relations (Amendment) Act • 2002 Special Needs and Disability Act
<p>d) Empowering pedagogy and teacher commitment Learning is a process of dialogic enquiry involving appropriate forms of pedagogy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Healthy School Standard • (limited) funding of training in teaching Citizenship
<p>e) Young citizens as partners Young people are respected as partners in learning and as intelligent citizens</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2000 Children's Task Force • Connexions Service • 2002 Education Act

Those aspects of policy which might be most enthusiastically welcomed by advocates of a reconstructive approach to citizenship were:

- 1997 launch of the Social Exclusion Unit – aiming to work for inclusion of marginalised groups and people with a 'joined up' approach to the causes of social exclusion
- The 1998 Human Rights Act – designed to promote recognition of and respect for human rights
- 1998 New Deal for Communities – a government funded, community-led regeneration project

- 1999 National Healthy School Standard – intended to promote awareness of and encourage development of health at all levels of school life
- 1999 Sure Start programme - a government programme which aims to achieve better outcomes for children, parents and communities through increased childcare, supporting children’s health and supporting parents seeking employment
- 2000 Children’s Task Force – reforming youth services, dealing with a range of child welfare and protection issues
- 2000 Race Relations Amendment Act requires schools to promote race equality
- 2000 Connexions service launched – providing advice on education, careers, housing, money, health and relationships for 13-19 year olds
- 2002 Special Needs and Disability Act – promoting greater inclusion for people with a range of needs
- 2002 Education Act - ostensibly making consultation of young people statutory

These measures were seen by some as promoting inclusion and developing more democratic approaches to school management. The 1998 Human Rights Act had the stated intention of promoting a ‘culture of human rights’ (Richardson, 2000). The Social Exclusion Unit was established, supposedly as part of ‘joined-up’ approaches to tackling poverty and inequality. The National Healthy School Standard, a national programme to support schools in developing a healthy ethos, including well-being and participation, was launched in 1999. Sure Start, introduced in the same year, was part of the programme to raise the standard of services for children, aiming to improve early years services in disadvantaged areas. In November 2000 the Children’s Task

Force was also perceived as inclusive, being created to enhance provision for National Health Service care of children. The Connexions service launched in 2000 was created as a multi-agency service to support young people passing through school and college. Goldson (2002:688) quotes Gordon Brown's statement that the Children and Young People's Unit established in August 2000 was responsible for 'developing an overarching strategy covering *all* services for children and young people'. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 placed particular duties on schools to help them meet the general duty of improving the educational experience for all children, in particular those belonging to minority ethnic groups.

The Special Needs and Disability Act, which came into effect in September 2002, made discrimination against disabled students unlawful. This legislation certainly contributes to awareness of the importance of inclusivity. The 2002 Education Act makes it statutory for schools to consult and involve pupils (175 – 6). Although the mechanisms to facilitate this are yet to be exemplified and shared, this does go some way towards creating a context for greater participation by students in how schools are run.

Some commentators even found opportunities for expanded democracy within New Labour's policies. Gerwitz, often strongly critical from the left, notes that there are some 'humanistic' strands to the quality agenda:

...valuing of diverse cultural identities, equality of opportunity and more open, responsive and democratic government.... New Labour's *Modernising Government* White Paper is very critical of the failure of public services in the past to involve and meet the needs of different groups in society:

‘There is no such thing as a ‘typical’ citizen. People’s needs and concerns differ ... some of these concerns have not been given sufficient recognition in the past. We must understand the needs of all people and respond to them (Cabinet Office, 1999: 4).

(2000:358).

Letch (2002) writing about New Labour and special educational needs, sees the notion of Connexions and its role in increasing numbers of 16-19 year olds in education and training as evidence of the government’s inclusive intentions for education and training. He is adamant that New Labour has been ‘much more proactive than its Conservative predecessors’ in its attempts to tackle social exclusion (Letch, 2002: 127).

Docking cites attempts to reach children from low income backgrounds through initiatives like Education Action Zones (EAZs) as evidence of some more ‘social democratic’ policies (Docking, 2002:34). EAZs in England were inspired by an American initiative which drew private sector funding into socio-economically deprived areas but also allowed the schools some autonomy over their curricula and employment practices.

3.3b Developing social capital: ‘equality of opportunity, not equality of outcome.’

Nation states are inclined to see the development of human and social capital as means of buttressing their electorates against the uncertain tides of the global economy and of enhancing the nation’s capacity to compete in the international marketplace. No longer able to guarantee all citizens’ welfare in the new ‘risk’ economy, governments

including that of Tony Blair are emphasising the need for individuals and communities to accept more responsibility for their own well-being. The implication of the shift from state to community/ self in terms of social support is part of the context for citizenship education. Rather than promoting inclusion and solidarity, key elements of the citizenship climate, this ideology emphasises self-reliance and enterprise.

Several commentators link New Labour's political agenda to communitarianism. Communitarians would like to recover a lost dimension of community, one in which a moral collectivism is culturally rooted and generates identity. What is specific about communitarianism as a political tradition is that, to use Delanty's words, it locates citizenship in 'neither the market nor the state' (2000:23). Rather than reinvent the state, it would locate civil society in community. In a political economic context where state policy makers sense limitations on their room for manoeuvre, and possibly their power, and are aware of their inability to totally cushion electorates from the effects of the market, the appeal of such an ideology is obvious. European and American governments sought a 'middle way' between the public and the private. In so doing, New Labour has begun to make communities more responsible for their own welfare, and to promote the development of social capital (Office for National Statistics, 2003).

Globalisation, in the analysis of Held and McGrew (2001) brings increasingly divided societies and means governments are often unable to maintain the existing levels of social provision or welfare state programmes. Applied to welfare, argues Taylor-Goodby:

the [communitarian] analysis suggests a diminution in the role of government, greater proactivity by citizens and subsidiarity favouring community groups and

also the private sector. It buttresses Third Way calls for ‘no rights without responsibility’ and ‘equality of opportunity, not equality of outcome.’

(2001:195).

These notions seem to inform the well-publicised Fabian Society (2002) pamphlet, *The Courage of Our Convictions*. This document is indicative of a departure from notions of the welfare state previously associated with Labour, reflecting the idea of a role for the private sector in what was previously the terrain of the government, and a more individualistic approach to responsibility for well-being. Here, for example, it is argued that public-private partnership provides the best solution for London and that private prisons have shown the value of private sector engagement. Although national standards are seen as a way of ensuring minimal thresholds of provision, it is stated that in order to achieve universal excellence, power must be devolved and consumer pressure be brought to bear at a local level.

The Third Way agenda is about making individuals and communities more responsible for the ‘outcomes’ at which they arrive. One example of this is to be found in the revamping of the national Health Services’s patients charter. As Painter stated, ‘this was done with a view to building in quality of care indicators, but also to stress the responsibilities and obligations of patients as well as their rights!’ (Painter: 1999:101) Citizenship education, with its proclaimed emphasis on responsibility, could be seen by the government as an important vehicle for promoting such ideas – potentially shifting the emphasis away from welfare rights to individual and community responsibilities.

The Third Way is also, given recognition of shifting patterns of economic production - what globalists call the deindustrialisation of the OECD countries- and a changing global division of labour, about developing human capital. For Giddens and other proponents of the Third Way:

Investment in education and training will lead to the growth of a more flexible, cosmopolitan labour force through the development of common educational practices and standards. ... (James and James, 2001: 213.)

This links to New Labour's citizenship education initiatives and the role of schools in producing human capital – most evident, say James and James (2001) in the White paper, *Excellence in Schools* (1997). They refer to the Audit Commission's statement that 'all public services should co-operate with institutions that socialise young people... to ensure that children have the opportunity to become responsible and capable citizens' (2001:221). The provisions of the 14-19 Green Paper explicitly recognised the need for continuing education for students beyond the age of 16, and to do this via the vocational education route. This is deemed to be particularly important in light of the fact that in countries where these qualifications are recognised it is possible to provide training for the kind of workforce needed in the decades ahead. Hence the DfES in its 2003 publication articulated concerns about a 'cycle of low expectations and disaffection', whose consequences impacted not just upon communities but upon society and the economy as a whole. In order to promote a competitive economy, the government states, it is necessary for young people to gain higher-level skills and qualifications (DfES, 2003). Statements such as these are evidence of the government's intention to use education and, particularly, the

citizenship education agenda, to develop social capital and, some would argue, to promote social conformity (Gamarnikow and Green: 2000).

Schools, teachers and students, then, are learning about citizenship in a sociopolitical context which can undermine solidarity and in which, as the welfare state and its role diminish, individuals and communities are being expected to discover and develop alternative means of support. This is a challenge for which few are prepared, and which requires particular approaches to teacher training, and informed debate about the nature of the state, particularly in relation to welfare and welfare rights.

3.4 Tensions in policy: diversity undermining choice; quality promoted at the expense of equality; competition versus co-operation

A complex set of tensions has been a perennial issue in education policy for most governments internationally. As Chapman, Boyd, Lander and Reynolds state in their introduction:

In most developed democracies one can see a tension in education policy between four competing values: quality, equality, liberty and efficiency. Policies rarely can be developed that do not involve some sort of ‘trade-off’ between these competing values (1996: 1).

3.4a) ‘Quality’ – the standards agenda - or equality?

The principles of liberty and equality are clearly compatible with the notions of democracy and inclusion pertaining to a human rights framework for citizenship education. On the other hand, ‘quality’ – if it means the ‘standards agenda’ and league tables – and efficiency – if it means rewarding successful schools and closing schools

whose catchment areas conspire against exam success - seem to run counter to these principles. Nationally, data for New Labour's terms of office from 1997 indicated increased polarisation between the highest achieving schools (and pupils); hierarchies of schools in local markets had strengthened (Adnett and Davies, 2003). Even the language of New Labour's Policies seems to pull in more than one direction. Pring (2005:84) states that there are clear tensions in policy between the advocacy of co-operation and partnership, on the one hand, and policies which create fragmentation and competition, on the other. The exercise of 'choice' can militate against opportunities of 'voice'. The notion of statutory controls does not rest easily with the professional autonomy and room for manoeuvre the Innovations Unit intended to cultivate.

3.4b) Standards versus structures

In the years since 1997 the *Excellence in Schools* principles have been acted upon in different ways. Education has certainly been a key terrain for government activity. The notion of 'standards rather than structures' is expedient as it has enabled a continuing focus on the Conservatives' 'quality' (standards) agenda without drawing attention to the post 1997 continuity of structures. Perhaps the most notable such continuity was the 'tiering' of schools, allowing some to select their intake and promoting new categories such as specialist schools with their own additional funding streams. The 2002 Education Act allowed schools deemed to be particularly successful to waive aspects of legislation.

The standards agenda meant that intervention by or on behalf of central government, including taking over LEAs and schools and closing schools, continued apace where

centrally set targets had not been met. The government chose to embrace the private sector (e.g. firms such as Cambridge Education) to work with 'failing' schools and LEAs, in another 'Third Way' departure from the Labour Party's traditional approach to the role of the state. Both the increasing intervention and the role of private companies in the school system serve to limit schools' own democratic decision making and the role of local government.

The degree to which 'the many' had benefited from recent policy development is debatable, as will be shown below.

3.5 Aspects of New Labour's Policies which have been seen to undermine the citizenship climate

It is rather early to assess the longer-term impact of government policies between 1997 and 2003. Some of the policies referred to above as potentially promoting the citizenship climate accompanied measures which appeared to have the opposite effect.

To explain:

- i. Some policies *increase centralised decision-making and undermine democracy*, particularly in relation to local authorities (Meredith, 2002; Docking 200:23)
- ii. Acts - including the School Standards and Framework Act 1998 (allowing the continuation of Grant Maintained Schools under the title of Foundation; allowing specialist schools to select up to 10% of students) and the 2002 Education Act, which provide 'earned autonomy' for schools deemed to be high achieving - which appeared to promote choice and diversity in schools but seem to have *reduced equality of access* (Docking, 2002: 39)

- iii. The 2002 Education Act is seen to further *stratify categories of schools*, providing further advantages for those that are successful (CASE 2002b)
- iv. Acts like the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act; the 1999 Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act; the 2000 Criminal Justice and Court Services Act which are seen to have *tightened control over young people* and imposed a more punitive regime (Goldson, 2002; James and James, 2001)
- v. Policies such as the Crime and Disorder and Family Law Acts were being implemented in a way which further highlights the general *lack of substantive rights for young people*

These phenomena are considered in more detail below, within the categories listed in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.4 Government legislation which might undermine the 'Citizenship Climate'

Contextual factors which could be barriers to citizenship learning	Examples of policy/legislation
<p>a) Hierarchical anti-democratic school cultures The nature of schools and their lack of democratic structures and processes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater centralisation of decision-making about education and schools • Reduced LEA role • Marketisation, managerialism
<p>b) Growing inequality in the wider society Widening inequalities of access and opportunity, both in schooling and in society, running counter to the citizenship values of equality and human rights</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1998 School Standards and Framework Act • 2002 Education Act
<p>c) Lack of teacher preparedness Teachers' understanding of and readiness to teach citizenship is limited by competitive pressures on schools (the 'standards agenda'); teacher workload undermines innovation and creativity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1998 School Standards and Framework Act • 2002 Education Act
<p>d) Lack of substantive rights for young people Society's distrust of young people and their abilities and the linked lack of substantive rights for young people</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1998 Crime and Disorder Act • 1999 Criminal Justice and Court Services Act • Family Law Act 1996 (pre-dated New Labour, but not altered)

3.5a)i Contentions about constraints on democracy

The social democratic tradition from which the Labour Party originated has tended towards notions of democracy centred on the state (Delanty, 2000:30). At the level of formal democracy and electoral politics, New Labour inherited a situation where confidence in the political system was very low. The government recognised that electoral participation is extremely fragile. Concerned to transcend the culture of sleaze for which the previous government had become infamous, and to legitimise the structures of formal democracy, the party wanted to engage in some kind of political

reconstruction. It chose, writes Marquand (2000) 'to use the powers available to the autonomous executive ... to re-engineer society from the top – not, any longer, in the name of social ownership, or even social citizenship, but in the no less compelling names of equal opportunity and international competitiveness.' Other commentators on the state of democracy in Britain point out that issues such as electoral distortion and the role of some local authorities which operate like 'one-party states' are yet to be addressed (Rallings and Thrasher:1999).

Public interest in formal political participation through elections has clearly diminished (Marquand 2000). The globalisation literature suggests that the reason for this is that people are increasingly aware of the limited impact of their voice through the ballot box. Giddens himself states that 'People have in fact lost a good deal of the trust they used to have in politicians and orthodox democratic procedures.' The reason for this, he acknowledges, is that

...they don't believe that politicians are able to deal with the forces moving the world. As everyone understands, many of these go beyond the level of the nation state. It isn't surprising that activists should choose to put their energies into special interest groups, since these promise what orthodox politics seems unable to deliver.

(1999:74)

He goes on to argue that people are actually more interested in politics than they used to be and this is shown through growing participation in 'groups' and 'associations. This is what I call 'small' 'p' politics, in order to differentiate these kinds of political participation with engaging in the activities of established political parties ('big' 'p' Politics).

If democracy is about participation, some would argue that the Government's Green paper on the reform of the planning system - *Planning: delivering a fundamental change* – was likely to 'reduce vital opportunities for the public to participate' in the planning process (CPRE, 2002). Friends of the Earth went further and described the package of reforms to planning laws as proposals that amount to a 'breathtaking assault on people's democratic right to object' (Friends of the Earth, 2002). An article in *The Guardian* commented:

Public inquiries will not be allowed to challenge the 'principle, need or location' of the plans as decided by parliament. This is a return to Victorian ways. Control has been wrested away from those affected. There will be no automatic right to object and the fate of an area could be decided after an afternoon's parliamentary discussion

(Coward, 2001).

This might be cited as an example of Marquand's (2000) re-engineering from the top. Education policy is another arena where organisations like the Campaign for State Education have found avenues for genuine democratic participation to be lacking (CASE 2001).

3.5a) ii Anti-democratic effects upon school culture of managerialism and marketisation.

The education and social policy context developed to date also promotes a number of trends identified by New Labour's critics which can be seen to directly or indirectly undermine the development of democratic cultures and the citizenship climate in schools. Among these are:

I. Increasingly centralised control

II. Marketisation

III. Managerialism

I Centralisation

New Labour's policies, as noted by several writers, are often an apparently contradictory mix. At the same time as developing a culture of 'responsibilisation' (Gerwitz 2002:161-2) in which individuals and communities are supposed to be more responsible for their own fates, the government has tightened central control of the process of schooling. Meredith notes that after Excellence in Schools in 1997, the subsequent legislation, the Schools Standards and Framework Act 1998, introduced

widening structural changes which profoundly affect the organisation and structure of the governments of schools today... Many aspects of the Conservative governments' education policies -- not least the strong trend towards centralisation and the government's commitment to a rigorous programme of inspection of both schools and local education authorities -- have in fact been endorsed and consolidated by the Labour government. (2002:8).

The third education act of New Labour's first year, the Schools Standards and Framework Act 1998, made raising standards the priority and gave LEAs the statutory duty to promote high standards by setting performance targets. This was seen by many as a centralising drive, destined to undermine local control of education. The Act gave the Secretary of State enormous powers of intervention. The focus on centrally defined 'standards' was also likely to increase central control. Centralisation of policy making about education has reduced school community and LEA room for manoeuvre in terms

of developing a locally relevant curriculum. The position of LEAs was seen by many (Hatcher, 2002; Docking, 2001; Sharp, 2002) as being weakened, despite the apparently contradictory onus of accountability for results in their own areas. The 2002 Education Act enhances the opportunities for state intervention in 'weak and failing' schools (2002, 54 – 64).

The emphasis on accountability in terms of centrally defined targets and outcomes runs counter to the notion of more democratic school management. Docking repeats White's (1999) argument that every citizen (presumably including young people) should have the right to participate in discussions about school aims because of the values implicit in the concept of democracy. This is simply not feasible in a regime where so much of the curriculum content and how teaching and learning should happen is centrally defined.

II) Marketisation

For Hatcher (2002) the bill which became the Education Act 2002 was 'a charter for marketisation'. He argues that it establishes the legislative framework within which 'a market dynamic can be incubated', turning schooling into a commodity (2002:12). From his perspective, one of the most insidious aspects is that it encourages schools to engage in market activities themselves – for example by empowering school governing bodies to form, become members of or invest in companies to purchase or provide services and facilities to schools and communities. Many might argue that schools had already begun to embrace this trend. Thomas Telford School, which has been selling its on-line GNVQ (Vocational Information Technology) course and advice about

school management through relatively expensive visits by teachers, is a case in point. Perhaps more worrying than the departure from the notion of schooling as a centrally provided public 'good' are the cultural implications for education of the philosophy of the market. As Gerwitz puts it:

... the market revolution is not just a change of structures and incentives. It is a transformational process that brings into play a new set of values...

...

The social psychology of the market discourages the universalism and collectivism that in theory underpinned 'comprehensivism'...

(2002:47 – 50)

Education Action Zones (EAZs), although some commentators were relatively optimistic about their potential to channel resources to needy areas, were another example of marketisation that was accused of weakening the comprehensive principle. This is partly because the zones were given various exemptions from the legal requirements under which all other state maintained schools operate. Although parents were represented on EAZs, Gerwitz suggests this is indicative of the fact that the government is 'happy to encourage citizens to share in limited forms of decision making but only on condition that they behave in what are deemed to be responsible ways' (2002:171).

Can the competitive ethos marketisation brings to schools be reconciled with social justice? Gerwitz (2002) doubts it, arguing that the market and compliance models of quality control are encouraging schools to adopt practices of setting and selection which can facilitate discrimination and stereotyping.

III) Managerialism

Closely linked to marketisation is the phenomenon of managerialism that Gerwitz has analysed in terms of national policy as well through case studies of schools. She concurs with the view that ‘a social democratic phase of school headship has been superseded by a market phase...the culture and influence of ‘humanistic intellectuals have been replaced by those of the ‘technical intelligentsia’ (2002:29). Contrasting the characteristics of ‘Welfarism’ and ‘New Managerialism’ reveals a move away from an ethos of equity, care and social justice towards competition and technical rationality. Gerwitz’s case studies suggest that this has had a real impact on school culture. She points out how difficult it can be for teachers to encourage children to combat inequality and discrimination in institutions characterised by managerialism:

...children are learning in an environment that is giving them little, if any, experience of democracy in action (2002:177).

The three phenomena of centralisation, marketisation and managerialism conspire to undermine the values of equality, inclusion and democracy. Effective citizenship education would best be served by schools with some degree of local autonomy, especially in terms of curriculum content, and with cultures within which the voices of both students and the local community could have influence.

3.5b) Constraints on social inclusion ; inequality exacerbating

Held and McGrew point out that globalisation brings with it ‘an increasingly unified world for elites -- national regional and global -- but increasingly divided nations as the global workforce is segmented, within rich and poor countries alike, into winners

and losers' (2001:26). The growth of inequality across the globe as well as within countries is indisputable (Held and McGrew, 2001:27).

The New Deal, designed to counter exclusion from the labour market, is seen by Hodgson and Spours to have made a promising start, but to be less successful in relation to members of ethnic minority groups who are 'more likely to be in the gateway and leave for unknown destinations than whites' (1999: 57). Tomlinson's verdict on the impact of recent policy, as well as that in the previous period is 'some success: could do better' (2001:202). Importantly, she argues that the education market in schools has led to disadvantages for ethnic minority pupils. Many of the critiques of current education policy see marketisation as a major factor militating against equality and inclusion (e.g. Gewirtz, 2002; Adnette and Davis, 2003).

The 'diversity' policy builds on the Conservatives' attempt to increase parental choice and has been implemented largely through maintaining the categories of school introduced along with GMS (Grant Maintained Status, which allowed schools to 'opt out' of local authority control and engage in some degree of selection), CTCs (City Technology Colleges, which were granted privileges in funding and recruitment), selection (allowing schools to select by ability) and the Specialist Schools programme. Walford (2001:51) points out that the use of the concepts 'diversity' and 'specialisation' indicate distinct continuities with the previous government's policies'.

The evidence to date suggests that as better-off parents are more able to send their children outside what would normally be their local schools' catchment areas, 'diversity' has perhaps provided some more choice for them. In Docking's words, the

policy 'created a strategy for the middle classes while disadvantaging working class families, and in many cases allowed schools to choose pupils rather than parents choose the schools' (2001:23). Anderson (2001) maintains that New Labour's 'pragmatic approach to dealing with Grant Maintained schools – essentially creating a new category for them with many of the characteristics of their former status' is a typical 'Third Way' solution (2001:66). The retention of a status akin to Grant Maintained allows school managements to vary terms and conditions of employment and to retain some degree of autonomy from LEAs.

The continuation of the right of schools to select pupils by ability – another aspect of 'diversity' - must be seen as further undermining the comprehensive principle. Walford (2005) points out that the government stated that it believes selection by academic ability is 'unfair and divisive' yet it was clearly not willing to act to decrease such selection. Selection, GM (or 'foundation') schools, specialist schools and the City Academies provided for in the 2002 Education Act are part of a framework which critics like the Campaign for State Education (CASE) describe as a tiered system. (CASE, 2002):

Many observers ... believe that specialist schools and city academies, concentrating as they do on some schools and some pupils, will add to a sense of separateness...

(2002:1)

The diversity agenda included specialist schools, academies, and faith based schools. These schools were seen to have a market advantage because they can control their own admissions policies. Their resource advantages could contribute to the emergence of a two-tier system between schools which serves to reproduce inequality in the

English school system. Since 1997 socio-economic segregation between all secondary schools in England has risen (Taylor et al, 2005). LEAs with higher proportions of these kinds of schools have been found to have higher levels of socio-economic stratification between schools (Taylor et al, 2005).

‘Diversity’ therefore can undermine the notion of local schools for local pupils, can promote competition between schools and often leads to approaches to pupil grouping that are far from inclusive or egalitarian. Indeed, CASE (2002) argues that unless all schools have equal access to the funding available for specialist schools and ‘academies’ the specialist schools programme is simply unfair. ‘Diversity’ meant that the notion of comprehensive schooling was even less of a reality than it was before the next raft of education policies. It means that, despite the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, young people in England continue to have unequal rights and opportunities for education.

Traditionally, social democracy has used the welfare state and fiscal policies to ameliorate poverty and to reduce economic inequality. Looking at economic policy under New Labour we find that the policy focus is on the supply side - unlike the traditional Keynesian approach to economic growth, which tended to focus on stimulating demand. In order to achieve ‘supply side’ improvement the Government sought to encourage people into work. Key foci in this strategy were the New Deal, which sought to promote employment for the long-term unemployed in the 18-24 age bracket, and Working Families Tax Credit which was meant to ‘make work pay’ for families with children and disabled people. In terms of projected impact, these policies looked set to increase the labour force. However, their impact is limited by other

important factors. Firstly, because of the reality of regional disparities in the job market and because the target social groups had disproportionately low qualifications, the policies could not have the desired impact (Glyn and Wood:2001). Glyn and Wood point out that a fundamental constraint, in terms of reducing inequality, was New Labour's commitment not to raise the tax burden. They argue that with earnings growing faster than prices, the incomes of those mainly dependent on benefits tend to fall significantly behind average incomes as a whole, so the benefit system brought increased inequality (2001:57). They state that there is 'no chance of a substantial reversal of the unprecedented rise in inequality since 1979' (2001:58). National statistics indicate that the most wealthy sections of society own an increasingly high percentage of the nation's wealth (Inland Revenue personal wealth, 2003)

As Taylor-Goodby's (2001) research shows, in Britain, representatives of the poorer sections of society perceive their opportunities for success, and, indeed, survival, as being more limited than in the past. His quantitative and qualitative research showed that economically vulnerable sections of society experience greater insecurity and risk than the elite. Their perception is that they cannot rely on welfare provision to sustain them in times of trouble. They 'believed welfare state provision was diminishing' (2001:202). Taylor-Goodby concludes that:

The assumption that social change has a common impact on all social groups, and that all citizens will respond in the same way, are called into question. Third Way theory mirrors the experience and the interests of the more privileged sectors of society.

(2001:210).

It is not easy, initially, to find evidence in practice of New Labour's stated commitment to equality and to policies which would benefit the many rather than the few. Anderson quotes Woods' list of differences between 'Old' and 'New' Labour, the first of which is 'tolerating inequality' (Anderson 2001: 65). Phillips (2001:21) also argues that the claim that New Labour's approach is more egalitarian than that of the Conservatives is difficult to sustain. The Human Rights Act 1998 upholds many of the values we might associate with equal opportunities but its implementation in schools has hardly been investigated. The Special Needs and Disability Act 2001 can also be seen as legislating for long awaited equality and rights for people with special needs and disability, but it is too early to judge the depth of its impact in education.

Walford (2001) suggests that the Education Action Zone (EAZ) agenda is intended to counter inequality, as EAZs are designed to develop programmes that help raise standards in deprived areas.

...the basic idea behind the Zones is that schooling in certain deprived areas could be improved by targeting greater financial and human resources and by involving a wide variety of local people and organisations in a new partnership... (2001:54).

The problem was, as he indicates, that the government left it to local initiative to develop proposals for zones and submit bids for funding.

New Labour has emphasised the centrality of educational attainment in improving people's labour market prospects. Glyn and Wood go as far as to say that education was 'regarded primarily from an economic point of view' (2000:59). Yet the British education system, to quote the same authors, 'delivers a very inegalitarian pattern of

educational outcomes.’ This reality has been highlighted in research findings (Whitty, 2002). The new education policies, says Whitty, foster the idea that responsibility for welfare... is to be defined entirely as a matter for individuals and families ... not only is the scope of the state narrowed, but civil society will be progressively defined solely in market terms’ (2002: 87).

Measures that would be seen to undermine equality include the fact that the 2002 Act rewards certain schools whose results are seen to be improving by allowing them right to waive implementation of an aspect of education legislation and with ‘flexibility’ in regard to the National Curriculum and teachers’ pay and conditions (Education Act, 2002: 1 – 10). It also allows schools to bid to open new specialist schools in the form of ‘Academies’ (2002: 65 – 69). Schools and groups of schools may now form companies for business purposes (2002: 11 – 13) and to run their own community services (2002: 27 – 28). While there is some evidence to suggest that competition between schools has a small positive impact upon effectiveness (measured in terms of results), research indicates an increase in polarisation between the highest achieving schools (and pupils) and the lowest (Adnett and Davies, 2003).

From the perspective of race and ethnicity, the government policies did not ensure justice and equity. Tomlinson (2005) reports that the majority of members of ethnic minorities remained in disadvantaged positions. She notes, too, that punitive policies towards refugees and asylum seekers have encouraged racism in the wider society. In terms of promoting anti-racist education, Tomlinson exposes the shortcomings of New Labour’s track record:

There have been no educational policies designed to counter a xenophobic nationalism exacerbated after 11 September 2001, which resulted in enhanced hostility towards Muslims and media-fed hostility towards economic migrants and refugees.

(2005:167).

Nor, she reminds us (*op. cit.*), has there been any review of the National Curriculum to enquire whether it reflects Britain as a multicultural society.

Thus, despite qualified optimism from some analysts during New Labour's first term, the bulk of the evidence suggests it is presiding over an increasingly unequal and divided society.

3.5c) Teacher preparedness

The necessity of a transformative approach to teaching and learning citizenship has been discussed in Chapter 1. Effective citizenship education requires a departure from the status quo in schools. It poses pedagogical challenges, inviting the transformation of learning relationships within classrooms as well as schools. It is best undertaken where it is properly resourced, taught by effectively trained teachers. It is most effective where it has a separate subject identity and involves active participation. (Ofsted, 2002). The pressure to deliver National Curriculum subjects and to attain examination results, teachers' workloads and other aspects of life in English schools today conspire against effective teaching and learning of citizenship.

Authors such as Leat (1999) underline the extraordinary challenges entailed in changing the nature of classroom interaction. It is extremely difficult to wean both learners and educators away from the patterns in which teachers are the font of knowledge and students 'receive' information. Chapter 1 (Section 1.2) also referred to the overarching context of pressure on teachers and reform overload, suggesting that creativity and innovation are less likely in such situations. The literature suggests that there are a variety of factors undermining teacher receptivity to change (Waugh and Godfrey, 1995; Fullan 1999:39). Cogan (2000) and Frazer (1999) have highlighted the necessity of training for citizenship teachers. This has not happened on a large scale. While there were a limited number of ITE institutions training teachers of citizenship, most of the training was focused on citizenship together with one other subject. During the initial years of statutory NC citizenship small sums of money were added to school budgets via the government's Standards Fund to enable the purchase of citizenship resources and relevant INSET. Personal experience, including my role in working with ITE providers of citizenship training and running INSET sessions for teachers, showed that many teachers were unaware of the availability of even this meager financial support, which in many cases had simply been swallowed up in other school budgets.

Davies (2000: 92) points to other gaps in teacher preparedness. He suggests that this neglect may be attributed to:

- a lack of tradition of teaching and learning in this area;
- few teachers who are professionally committed to it;
- a belief that politics is solely an adult domain
- a fear of indoctrination.

In order to overcome these difficulties, the primary response should be to seek coherence. Davies (2000) points out that the link in most contemporary thinking about citizenship to Marshall's ideas is a problem, and that there is a need to transcend this and to bridge the gap between academics' understanding of citizenship and that of classroom teachers. He suggests that teachers tend to focus less on political literacy than on 'goodness' and morality, which are largely locally conceived (2000: 99- 101). Teachers also, he says, echoing other writers' concerns about teacher's democratic participation in schooling, 'need to be treated as professionals (should I say, citizens) who have a right to be fully involved in the process of reform' (2000:103). He concedes that there has been progress in this regard since the Conservative era, but that 'there is much still to be done.'

3.45d) Tightened control and the lack of substantive rights for young people

The years which saw the introduction of these apparently inclusive agencies and policies also witnessed the passing of a series of provisions which can be construed as a raft of punitive measures to draw young people into the criminal justice system (Goldson, 2002). These include the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act, the 1999 Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act and the 2000 Powers of Criminal Courts (Sentencing) Act. With the Crime and Disorder Act came the requirement that local authorities set up multi-agency Youth Offending teams (YOTs) to replace what had previously been known as 'Youth Justice Teams'.

Blyth regards the government's approach to conceptualising needs and service provision 'in terms of issues facing individuals, groups and communities' and its culture of collaboration and integration of service provision as potentially beneficial

for social inclusion, but notes other factors which may undermine those intentions. (2001:567). Focusing on the very punitive, legalistic measures for dealing with unauthorised absences from schools and young offenders outlined by critics like Goldson (2002) it is difficult to regard the overall package of education and social policy as largely inclusive.

Delanty (2000) reminds us that citizenship is about rights as well as participation. One important convention that draws these dimensions together where children and young people are concerned is the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which was ratified by the British Government. Article 12 of this Convention, and the Children's Act 2004, held out for children the possibility of more rights of participation and consultation. In fact, James and James (2001) suggest, recent strands in social policy tend to restrict children's agency and their rights. They link this to the communitarian perspective and its emphasis on duties and responsibilities rather than rights:

For children, however, who have relatively few rights, demands that they live up to their responsibilities as members of the community, that they observe and conform to dominant adult norms and expectations, are inherently problematic in the absence of any necessary or taken-for-granted commitment by children to the adult value consensus.

(James and James 2001:215).

These authors also show that measures introduced into the education system, such as league tables, have emphasised the rights of parents rather than children and have 'broadened the control which the state has over the future of childhood...' (2001:216). They cite the introduction of local child curfew schemes (Crime and Disorder Act 1998) which has a 'distinctively communitarian flavour' (2001:221). The same Act,

they say, effectively reduced the age of criminal responsibility to the age of 10. The Family Law Act also provides few means for the wishes and feelings of children to be heard. 'It would appear that the net of social control has an increasingly fine mesh and is permeating more areas of more children's lives than before' (2001: 226).

Alderson (2002) highlights the lack of substantive rights for English children and families. She cites the report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Education (Tomasevski 1999) who said that for English families 'silence prevails about domestic rights'; parents are seen as the consumers of education but cannot send their children to a particular school, or have non-discriminatory access to local schools. Arguing that English education law does not use rights language, she points out that the right of children to appeal against exclusions has been ignored and that parental rights fail when local authorities assume parental rights for children in care (2002:36). In other words the local authority is the body responsible for endorsing exclusion *and* for the process of appeal.

The rhetoric about consulting and involving young people is also to be found in the Connexions Strategy (DfES 2000) which 'established a learning framework for the whole of the teenage years' and included Personal Advisers ... who would 'continue the work begun in schools on education for citizenship and teaching of democracy to enable young people to play a full and active role in their local communities.' In workshops at a London Conference on 'Empowering Young People' organised by an independent training agency, members of the UK Youth Parliament were deeply

critical of the Connexions initiative, precisely because, they argued, it had failed to consult young people (Infolog Conference, London 5.03.02) .

In a paper exploring the ‘politics of childhood in urban renewal’, Phillips (2002) noted that it was becoming common for UK state institutions to ask young people for their opinions, but it remains rare that young people are given a significant share of decision-making power. He explains how children on estates are excluded from participation in decision-making

Their class... is deemed to leave them ‘unskilled’ to make decisions; their generational position as ‘human becomings’... is deemed to leave them ‘unready’ to make decisions...’

(2002: 4).

Research suggests, says Phillips, that similar processes of exclusion - of the poor by the governing classes, and of children by adults – operate throughout UK urban renewal.

For children, this exclusion is even greater, with a report commissioned by Save the Children and regeneration charity Groundwork noting the continued failure of regeneration projects across the country to involve children meaningfully in a process that claims to embrace the whole community

(2002: 8).

If citizenship education is about encouraging young people to have their say and valuing democracy, then young people’s lack of rights will need to be addressed. The intention to enable young people to become involved in politics and to participate in

decision-making processes will need to develop beyond its current often tokenistic forms.

The implication of this for schools is that teachers and those developing education for citizenship need to be aware of these potential barriers, but also to use the school community itself as a context for developing a focused sense of citizenship that becomes a microcosm of the cosmopolitan ideal.

Summary

This analysis of key themes in New Labour's policy agenda indicates that there are definite continuities in terms of structures developed by the Conservatives in the 1980s and early 1990s and consolidated during the government's first term of office. What was new after 1997 was the professed commitment to working for equality and inclusion. New Labour's first term in office saw the passing of a range of provisions ostensibly intended to promote rights and facilitate participation. However, the dynamics entailed in marketisation and 'choice' (the diversity theme) can be seen to work to deepen divisions and disadvantage. The 'quality' agenda - central control and hierarchically imposed 'standards' also militates against equality and democracy.

With reference to the desirable features of the citizenship climate, the chapter has shown that New Labour's policies seemed to be more hindrances than enablers:

- Centralisation, competition and the standards agenda served to undermine democracy, transparency and inclusion

- Lack of democracy and insufficient challenges to racism and inequality made it difficult for schools to fully introduce real understanding of human rights and meaningful participation
- Young people generally lacked substantive rights
- Inequality among and between schools and different social groups continued to grow

These aspects of education culture conspire against innovation and experimentation on the part of schools and teachers. They make the pedagogical leaps citizenship education implies very unlikely. It is almost ironic that the teaching of 'citizenship and democracy' was to take place against this background. Even at South Docks School, where the school leadership was deeply committed to developing citizenship in school curriculum and culture, the limitations of the project were found to include some of the problems listed above.

CHAPTER 4

CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This research project focuses on a case study of a school seeking to become a 'school for citizenship', demonstrating through its curriculum, culture and community interaction, the benefits of a whole-school citizenship focus. This means that the context of the study is essentially unique, although its purpose is partly to draw out recommendations and transferable lessons for other schools about implementing whole school citizenship. The first section of this chapter will outline the characteristics and situation of the school itself and summarise the history of the project. The second section, focusing on methodology, will explain the aims, processes and experiences of the research.

CONTEXT

4.1 The school context

This first section will show that as well as bearing many characteristics that might be associated with a large ethnically mixed comprehensive school, there are aspects of the school community that made it open to embracing the citizenship education agenda. The fact that the school was perceived as being relatively successful may have increased the senior management's willingness to take risks. The school had already experienced some of the benefits of participation in the local community's regeneration activities and members of its management team were active members of community forums. The process of community engagement so central to citizenship had thus already begun. In addition, the school was perceived as having a caring, inclusive ethos and a commitment to equality of opportunity. This outlook, too, proved conducive to citizenship as a whole school focus.

4.1a) Profile

South Docks, the school that is the focus of this case study is a comprehensive 'community' school for young people aged 11 – 19 years with a mixed gender intake, situated in the London borough of Lewisham. It was larger than the average comprehensive school with over 1200 pupils, some 150 of whom were in the sixth form by the academic year 2002/3. It had become increasingly popular since the mid 1990s. By 2002, 56% of pupils were boys. Just under 50% were eligible for free schools meals, used as an index of relative poverty or economic need in England – well above the national average. About one-third, a very high percentage, spoke English as an additional language, although the majority of these were not at an early stage of learning English. Well over half were from minority ethnic backgrounds including Black African, Black Caribbean and Chinese. As the 2002 Ofsted report stated, 'It is a truly mixed cultural school'. In 2002 just over one third of the pupils were on the register of Special Educational Needs, 60 of them with statements (showing they had been diagnosed to need some form of additional intervention to address their learning needs). Most of the pupils came from the local area, a deprived part of the borough.

The school's exam results by 2002 had always been below the national average, but had increased from around 20% A-C grades at GSCE (General Certificate of Education) during the mid 1990s to 41% in 2001 and 38% in 2002. (GCSE exams are taken by students aged 16, with grades ranging from A to G, with the government expecting some 50% of students to attain grades C and above). By comparison with

schools with like intakes, its students were deemed to be performing well (Ofsted: 2002).

The growing emphasis on judging schools by such results has meant that those that are perceived to be doing well are in a strong market position. It is suggested that such schools are more likely to embrace innovation and experimentation. Their managements are less concerned with needing to attract pupils (Gewirtz: 2002:50) As will be explained below, the senior management of this school chose to take an enormous risk in embarking on the experiment with citizenship education.

4.1b) Geographical and social context: the makings of a community school

Most of the school's students live locally, within walking distance or short bus journeys. In Lewisham, the borough, unemployment is around 12%. Many students inhabit local housing estates whose residents have experienced decades of relatively inconsequential regeneration expenditure from government-funded initiatives such as City Challenge during the 1980s and latterly New Deal for Communities. As a leading local community organisation stated:

The Dockford and New Cross area has been the subject of more than £150 million of public regeneration money in the last 12 years, through 18 different agencies and initiatives. Yet it remains a recognized deprived priority area...

... New Cross remains deprived and its citizens disempowered ...

(New Cross Forum: 1999)

Alongside the sense of powerlessness and the deeply rooted sense of lacking a real voice there has been, over a 10-year period, a process of accelerating community mobilisation. Energetic local activists have struggled to develop forums such as Dockford Community Forum whose development worker stated in its 2002 report:

As Neighbourhood Renewal strategies and language become more integral in our day to day lives, we all have a role to play in interpreting and communicating these to each other and the wider community. It 's rarely a smooth road. However I will work with members in preparing ourselves to take hold of the opportunities, reflect on the experiences and constructively challenge decision-makers that affect our community.

(Dockford Community Forum 2002) .

The school had also received regeneration funding, which has paid for an athletics track and a paved play area as well as a range of projects designed to support young people by, for example, reducing truancy and drug abuse and supporting young carers. Members of the school's senior team also participate in some of these forums, which has served to cement links between the school community and the communities in the catchment area. In this way, the school community has been affected by and contributed to some of the developing activism to improve the local area.

The Children's Society based part of one its programmes called Genesis in the school for a number of years, during which one of its workers attempted to start a student council. In 2000 the school decided to streamline management of some of these projects and created its own Community Department with a large office on site.

The community orientation of the school and its management had begun to shape an important aspect of citizenship. As Kerr (1999) put it, 'citizenship education is much

about the communities in which schools are situated and the nature of society, as about the school curriculum.'

4.1c) School ethos and culture

Commentators on schools' attempts to develop education for citizenship emphasise the benefits of relatively democratic leadership and open management styles (Potter: 2002: 120 –127; Alexander: 2001: 42-47). The school, conforming to the 'loose' model described by Glover (1997) has a fairly broad view of management and aims and objectives which are directed towards generally inclusive principles and shared values. In terms of Hargreaves' (1998) characterisations of school cultures it would best fit the 'collegial model'. Like Glover's 'Uplands' school it has strong community ties and the head sustains the management upon consensus as far as possible. The school is committed to inclusive education and equal opportunities as well as to raising achievement. In July 1997, prior to joining the school, I was able to interview a random sample of 8 pupils in different tutor groups in Year 9 (Student interviews: July 1997). Without prompting, interviewed individually, almost all of them, when asked what were the best things about the school, cited fairness, lack of bullying and lack of racism (sic). These aspects of ethos were commented on by Ofsted before the citizenship project commenced (Ofsted: 1996). In addition, teaching staff perceived the management style as relatively open. Gewirtz (2002:72) contends that schools in a strong market position can find the latitude for more democratic management styles.

These relatively democratic features of school culture could mean the school was better placed than more autocratic institutions to develop the kind of setting conducive to the teaching of democracy and human rights which is integral to citizenship

education (Holden: 2000). The ‘egalitarian-participative’ structure of collegial schools like this has been perceived as enabling them to handle change well, but this cannot be taken as general rule. Such schools are more likely develop in new directions if there is collective agreement to the change and where such change is not perceived by teachers as being externally imposed (Hargreaves: 1998:247).

4.1d) The Citizenship Climate at South Docks

Chapter 3 outlined contextual features conducive to citizenship learning. It will be seen, with reference to the above, that some of these features were to be found in some degree at South Docks.

- i) **Democratic participation:** A relatively democratic school culture included openness to student voice and a genuine commitment to an effective school council.
- ii) **Promoting equality:** Egalitarianism as a value underpinned many aspects of school structure -for example in the design of tutor groups, which were all compromised of students of a mixture of abilities; and teaching groups, most of which remained mixed ability.
- iii) **Empowering pedagogy and teacher commitment:** As the project progressed, a team of three specialist citizenship teachers developed, and there was a strong commitment to transforming pedagogy – allowing students to set agendas, and engaging in dialogic enquiry together. The development of pedagogy still had a long way to go, and was not a ‘given’ when the project began.
- iv) **Young citizens as partners:** This notion depended very much upon teacher perceptions, and, as statements by students and staff will show, was a new idea, and not always easy for teachers to embrace.

Of course, the contention in Chapter 3 is that these 4 features need to be operating in society and schools at large, and their absence is a problem for all schools and teachers aiming for a reconstructive approach to citizenship education. However, a school culture that embraces some of the key values is a definite advantage.

4.1e) Suggested preconditions and desirable processes for successful school improvement projects

There seemed at the time of the research to be a consensus that those projects and programmes that have succeeded in promoting change in schools are relatively rare (Harris, 2003). There were examples of successful school improvement policies, but, importantly, research showed that in order for these to work efforts in the schools concerned had to exceed those regarded as 'normal'. Characteristics of effective school improvement projects identified by Maden and Hillman (1996) are:

1. A leadership stance which builds on and develops a team approach
2. A vision of success which includes a view of how the school can improve
3. The careful use of targets
4. The improvement of the physical environment
5. Common expectations about pupils' behaviour and success
6. An investment in good relations with parents and the community.

In addition to these features, Maden and Hillman found that the extraordinary effort of the school needs to be sustained if the impact of the project is to last.

These features were largely present at South Docks. The collegiate nature of the school's leadership and the shared vision of what becoming a citizenship school might mean were apparent from the start. The proposal put to the DfES for the citizenship specialist status campaign necessitated carefully considered targets. Some of the

funding was used to develop a whole new, well-lit computer room, and part of the citizenship project involved work to improve the school grounds, so the fourth criterion was met. The target setting project begun in 1997 led to a re-launch of the school's behaviour policy in consultation with the students, as well as to transparent communication with them about their academic potential, thus creating two other important conditions. The last characteristic, investing in community relations, was very much part of the citizenship project, as is explained in Chapter 6.

4.1f) Teachers' receptivity to change

A key factor in improving or transforming schools is the extent to which teachers are receptive to and willing to engage with change. As is shown in Figure 5.2, Teacher Feedback on Citizenship Proposals for Staff Consultation June 2000, and was reflected in the decision of the senior team and middle managers to embrace the citizenship agenda, teachers at South Docks were generally well disposed towards the project. Of the 11 proposals, however, only two were asking teachers directly to change the way they work: that on developing citizenship within their schemes of work and that which showed recognition of the central role of the form tutor in developing the citizenship ethos. Although later responses to enhancing the power and profile of the school council were more cautious, the responses to this questionnaire showed overwhelming commitment to raising its status and to developing it through the role of the tutor.

As was explained above, the open style of management at South Docks and consultation with staff meant that teachers were generally receptive. The teachers felt they were being supported in implementing the project and that it would bring new

benefits to the school (See Chapter 5). These positive factors corresponded to openness to the project, a finding borne out by Waugh and Godfrey (1995).

4.1g) Citizenship Project: Historical context

In 1999 the school was under pressure, as part of the Government's Excellence in Cities (EIC) agenda, to become a Specialist School. The Government had come to see encouragement of a special focus on particular subjects or skill areas as a means of raising attainment in inner city schools. For many schools, specialist status was to bring additional funding worth over £100 per student per annum, an attractive financial incentive. There were no specialist schools in the Local Education Authority (LEA) at the time and the LEA was keen to be seen to be implementing EIC. The staff, senior team and governors were not at all eager to embrace specialism, perceiving it in its form at that time as divisive. Heads of Department also argued that the existing categories of specialism on offer represented curriculum areas that were relatively successful and well resourced, so that the beneficiaries were likely to be the areas of least need. The timing of these discussions coincided with the publication of the Crick report (QCA: 1998) which publicised the recommendations for the National Curriculum for England of the Advisory group on citizenship, making it clear that education for citizenship was to become a separately recognised aspect of schooling in England. A member of senior team proposed that the school try to persuade the government to make citizenship a specialist school category. This is how the argument was put:

South Docks School is still convinced that an important route to enhanced achievement for inner city pupils would be encouraging schools in catchment areas like ours to become centres of excellence in education for citizenship.

Evidence for the link between academic attainment and emotional intelligence – one important dimension of citizenship education - has piled up during the past decade. Breaking down the walls between schools and their local communities by bringing parents and carers into schools and making them centres of lifelong learning across the generations has turned several inner city schools around. The proliferation of schools specialising in areas like technology, sport and art can undermine the notion of comprehensive education within a geographical area, attracting some pupils away from what should be their local schools.

Lewisham EiC Newsletter December 2000.

The rest of the senior staff and then the middle management supported this idea, and the proposal was put to the DfES (Department for Education and Skills) at a meeting the Headteacher managed to arrange after obtaining a statement of support from the multinational investment bank UBS Warburg. The bank was willing to match fund the project to the order of £50,000 and to support our arguments to the DfES. The DfES meeting did not result in concessions about specialisms. That battle continued until a partial victory was secured in 2003. It did, however, lead to three years' Innovation funding that enabled the school to embark on its attempt to become a school for citizenship.

4.1h) Implications of the process: school improvement: citizenship as a catalyst for change

The citizenship project at South Docks was informed by the school improvement model. The model of 'audit, consultation, construction and review' is evident in the

time line outlining the project – see page 116 - and is also reflected in the process of review that formed part of the research. Since the start of the project in 1999, research into how schools change led to various criticisms of the school improvement approach, and some scepticism (MacGilchrist, 2003) as to the lasting impact of school improvement projects. The literature is increasingly emphasising the importance of relationships, of changing school culture, and of student voice in meaningful change in schools (see, e.g. Rudduck and Flutter, 2004). Perhaps fortuitously, these ingredients are important features of a citizenship school. The citizenship project differed from some school improvement projects in that rather than focus on one arena for change (the curriculum, organisational frameworks or student voice) it had a three- pronged approach which addressed all three simultaneously. I suggest that some of the attributes of the ‘citizenship school’ (Alexander, 2001), particularly the emphasis on student voice, coincide with features which enable positive change in schools.

Two features of citizenship will be suggested as potentially powerful transformative forces that have only recently come to prominence in the literature on change in schools. The first of these is student voice: schools beginning to listen to young people and enable them to participate in changing these communities of practice. The second is citizenship’s emphasis on relationships – what Weare (2004) would call ‘social literacy’. Much of the recent discourse on change in schools has come to emphasise relationships and emotional intelligence.

School improvement projects, or projects intended to change schools, have generally operated within three focus areas:

- a) curriculum – e.g. content, pedagogy and standards-based reform
- b) organisational structures – e.g. systems for teacher release, INSET

c) school culture and relationships.

The South Docks project embraced the ‘3 Cs’ of school curriculum, school culture, and the school’s interaction with the community. In this sense, it touched on all three areas.

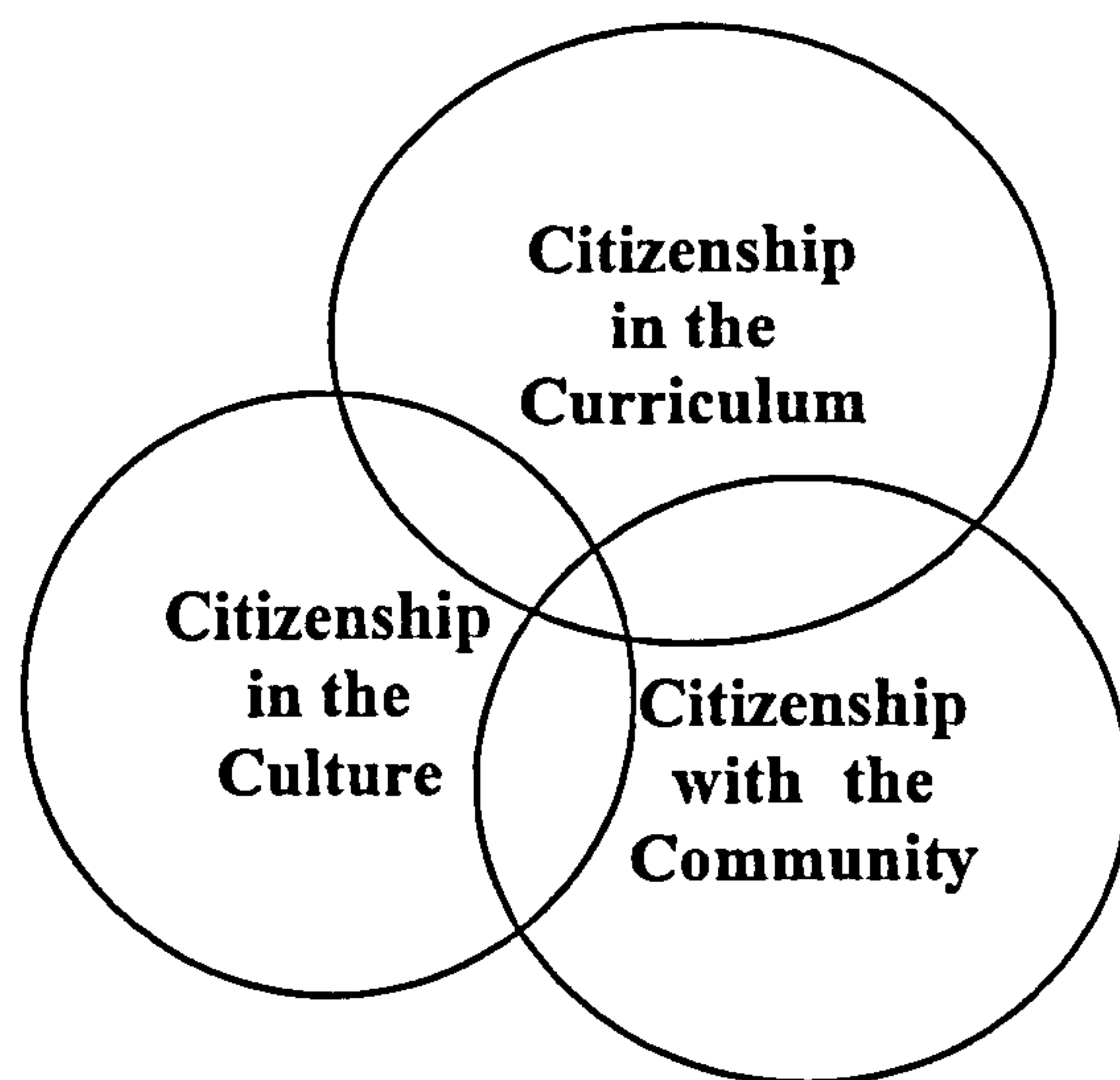


Figure 4.1: The 3 ‘C’s of citizenship

Conceptually, the school citizenship project was viewed as affecting three overlapping areas of the life of the school: the curriculum, the culture of the school and the school’s interface with the community. Over time the citizenship team developed its own definition of active citizenship:

‘Empowering young people as agents of change; making a difference in the local and global community.’

What made citizenship education special, from the point of view of the team of citizenship teachers, was:

- *Action for change*
- *Directly addressing both cognitive and affective development*
- *Insistence on developing skills of participation*

These notions of meaning were arrived at through a process over the first two years of the project's implementation. The chapters that follow will include an account of how members of the school community came to understand and, sometimes, share various meanings of citizenship.

4.1i) The story of the project's implementation

(A detailed timeline in the appendices narrates the development of the project. A summary of the timeline is on the next page).

The story of the project's implementation can be examined in phases corresponding to academic years, as they became part of a cycle of school development planning and review. Thus, the first year was characterised by an initial audit and the construction of the project along the lines required by the DfES for Specialist School status. During that year (1999-2000) work was also undertaken with a newly developing SRB (Single Regeneration Budget, an avenue for channeling government funding into deprived areas) forum called Get Set for Citizenship. Two members of the school's senior team sat on the forum's management group, alongside members of various local community organisations. As part of that process the post of citizenship Outreach worker was created, and funding towards this was secured from the Government Office for London.

Figure 4.2 Summary Timeline to show key aspects of unfolding citizenship Project (See also Appendix 1 for detail)

PHASE AND DATES	KEY DEVELOPMENTS
<p>June 1999 – July 2000 AUDIT AND CONSTRUCTION</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School council re-launched with full training and staffing (June 1999) • Points to teachers for outreach to Vietnamese community and convening School council • Decision to campaign for citizenship specialism (September 1999) • Private sector backing for project secured • Initial staff consultation and residentials (January 2000) • Audit of delivery of aspects of citizenship in existing practice • Work with local community forums consolidating links • Discussions about citizenship GCSE begun with Edexcel
<p>September 2000 – July 2001 CROSS CURRICULAR IMPLEMENTATION <i>Cross curricular citizenship; work towards separate identity</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agreed to construct Community IT room • Staff consultation and residentials (July 2000) • Citizenship Steering Committee set up • Launch through citizenship Day (5th December 2000) • Outreach worker appointed (in post February 2001) • Development of citizenship in Humanities and PSHE • Small scale citizenship projects begun with groups of students • Briefings for various external agencies • Further work to develop GCSE course • Project begun to improve school grounds funded by Learning through Landscapes • Developing links with Goldsmiths College and University of North London • Work of school council reviewed
<p>September 2001 – July 2002 IMPLEMENTATION AS SEPARATE SUBJECT AT KS4 <i>Introduction of KS4 citizenship; trainee citizenship teachers based in school; working party established – separate subject identity and ethos emerging</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School council meetings following 3 weekly cycle • Representatives of most departments on citizenship Working Party, meeting at least once a term • Citizenship as part of whole School Development Plan • Redefining citizenship with whole staff • Year 10 students following GCSE citizenship Studies course (September 2000 on) • Ongoing discussions about developing KS3 citizenship • Specific citizenship activities and lessons developed by departments • Input into various citizenship forums and publications • Teacher trainees from Goldsmiths and Institute of Education training in the school • Development of Lewisham Citizenship Network (Conference October 2001) • Parents/ carers using school facilities to develop computer literacy with assistance of Year 10 students
<p>September 2002 – July 2003 IMPLEMENTATION AS SEPARATE SUBJECT AT KS3 AND KS4; DEVELOPING STUDENT VOICE. <i>Specific delivery of citizenship at KS3; citizenship Department established; further development of student voice</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship NQT takes up post • All KS4 students following GCSE citizenship Studies course • Year 7 and 8 pupils have citizenship 3 hour morning sessions every half term • Expanded citizenship team working as a Department • Community links developing through projects such as Convoys Wharf and Council of Champions • Greater input into citizenship teacher training • Further development of student voice • Parent/carers following digital film making course and continuing ICT training with student helpers

During the second year the school devoted a significant portion of the Innovation Funding towards my post as the Assistant Head responsible for overseeing the project. Attempts were made to consolidate the status of citizenship across the curriculum. Citizenship was officially launched as a whole school focus through a Citizenship Day. The school sought to develop the cultural context by strengthening the school council. Following the appointment of the outreach worker, more active links with community forums began to develop.

A turning point for citizenship in the curriculum and the school community's understanding of its meaning came in 2001-2 when it began to be taught as a separate, GCSE subject. This was taken forward in the following academic year with the continuation of the Key Stage 4 model and the introduction of half-termly citizenship sessions for students in Years 7 and 8. During those years, the school's reputation as an unofficial national beacon for citizenship education spread, and the citizenship team and Assistant Head responsible were increasingly involved in a range of outreach work and INSET (In-service Training) sessions for other schools and ITE (teacher training) institutions.

The rest of the study will investigate the impact of these processes on the school as a community of practice. It will explore the development of meanings for citizenship. It will consider what the project has meant in terms of the community's practice of citizenship education. It will examine its effects on the school and local community and the social configurations involved. It will ask how the project has affected participants' sense of identity.

METHODOLOGY

4.2. Methodology.

Approaching the research:

A framework for exploring the impact on the school of its citizenship focus.

4.2a) Approaches to understanding education and social change.

A question that underpins the current study is what Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002) categorise as one of the central debates in contemporary western societies, namely:

... is education the most effective mechanism for promoting social change and giving opportunities for less privileged groups to better themselves, or, on the contrary, does it tend to keep in place existing social divisions, and maintain the relative disadvantage of certain groups?

(Webb, Schirato and Danaher: 2002: 106).

Of course, a distinction is best made between education and schooling, and is largely the latter to which the quote refers. Coffey (2001:72) words this differently, asking

...whether education is really concerned with cultural reproduction (maintenance of the cultural status quo and inculcation of 'societal' values) or cultural interruption (changing the social order; providing the means to new identities and challenging the conventional outcomes of education).

She suggests that in the past decade the 'framing rhetoric' that accompanies education policy agendas had changed, with increasing emphasis 'on notions of community, democracy, citizenship, participation and empowerment, set within the broader context of learning society' (2001:2). She points out that the formal inclusion of citizenship in

the curriculum can be interpreted either as part of significant routes to democratic citizenship, or, alternatively, can be conceptualised in terms of increased social control (2001:50). This study will explore what has happened where those leading the implementation of citizenship education in a school have taken the former, reconstructive approach. It will consider whether the citizenship agenda could become a means of 'cultural interruption'.

In so doing, the investigation will be informed by what Coffey regards as 'new frameworks of analysis'. It explores the impact of a whole school citizenship project through a case study, locating itself alongside those studies that are concerned with educational discourses, experiences and identities. It will attempt to consider the connections between educational experiences and the (re) construction of identities in contemporary society.

4.2b) Aims of the research

The decision to undertake this study came initially as one of various responses of my own towards the ongoing demands for evidence of the impact of the whole-school approach for which the funding had been awarded by the DfES. The pressure to show quantitative evidence was powerful, especially during the first two years. In the end, the inspectors from the DfES seemed satisfied with the evidence they gleaned during their three, year apart, visits. I still wanted to be able to prove that the project had the potential to transform the school. Increasingly, I recognised that the important evidence was more likely to be qualitative. Initially, I sought to acquire both, in keeping with the recognition that

Social scientists have come to abandon the spurious choice between qualitative and quantitative data: they are concerned rather with that combination of both which makes use of the most valuable features of each. The problem becomes one of determining at which points they should adopt the one, and at which the other, approach.

(Merton and Kendall, 1946, quoted in Cohen, Mannion and Morrison (2000:45))

As the project progressed, I became committed to two other aims. As the school developed a reputation for being a centre of good practice in terms of implementing citizenship education, and I and other members of the senior team and citizenship team were being invited to speak to school managements and teacher conferences across the country, it became important to be able to cite the benefits the project brought. In addition, as time went on, I wanted to be able to show, for the school community, the difference that its concerted efforts could make. The latter tied in to my role in monitoring the implementation of the School Development Plan, and the citizenship strands in particular. Indeed, as I will suggest later, the monitoring process and the development planning framework made teachers accountable for their work in implementing the project and may have strengthened its impact.

In terms of both these aims, I found it useful to think of the school using Wenger's (2001) concept of it as a community of practice.

The aims can thus be summarised as:

1. To contribute to schools' and the wider educational community's appreciation of how a whole school citizenship focus can benefit the school community

2. To demonstrate for the school community itself and those to whom it is accountable the kinds of effects the citizenship focus had

4.2c) Developing the research questions

The central research question became: *What can a whole school focus on citizenship mean for participants in the process?* My research question was therefore examining how the school as community of practice would show that its citizenship focus had provided transformative experiences and affected the way both individuals and the school community perceive themselves.

The initial decision to engage in this research was influenced strongly by my own deliberations about how to provide evidence for educational policy makers of the impact of citizenship education on achievement in a school. Demonstrating the educational benefits of the citizenship focus became an important part of the campaign to make citizenship a specialist subject. As the school's citizenship project was externally inspected three times during the three years of Innovation funding the pressure to provide convincing data indicating the project's impact often seemed intense. In the process of my investigations, though examining some of the literature on educational research, and having experienced 3 external inspections of the school's citizenship work, my approach changed. It was also influenced by a previous (unpublished) study in which I attempted to demonstrate the impact of introducing a new assessment policy and target setting upon attainment. These experiences have sharpened my awareness of the pitfalls of attempting to produce evidence that any one set of activities is the primary cause of change in a school's performance. They have also reinforced my desire to resist simplistically using quantitative, test driven data to

demonstrate the effects of a set of activities designed primarily to affect young people's affective development.

It is still my strong belief, and that of the school management, that focusing on citizenship can contribute to raising attainment. However, the means by which it might do this are not easily quantified. They operate through the virtually unmeasurable development of young people's sense of self-esteem and agency and the nurturing of those qualities which Daniel Goleman (1996) calls 'emotional intelligence'. The young people at the centre of this research project had often seemed to lack a sense of self-efficacy, and this sometimes manifested itself in challenging behaviour at school. In the theory advocated by Belle Wallace (2000) the concept of the locus of control helps account for one's sense of agency. This is the degree to which the self is perceived as autonomous and in control over life circumstances. As Wallace (2000) states, people with a strong internal locus of control perceive themselves as responsible for the outcomes of their own actions: they feel capable of making their own decisions and are highly motivated to achieve, persistent and task committed. These were the very qualities that would help contribute to the students' sense of agency, but seemed to be lacking among many. Their feelings of impotency were often reflected in statements such as 'no one ever listens to us.' Wallace and others point out, importantly, that people from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds often lack the senses of power and agency, and tend to have a strong external locus of control, perceiving themselves as being manipulated by circumstances and hence powerless in a more powerful world.

Learners who feel good about themselves, who feel a sense of personal autonomy with control over their environment, are very likely to perceive and confirm through experience that their behaviour produces desired outcomes.

(Wallace B., 2000: 105).

Beck (1998) underlines the notion that citizenship education can help pupils develop their potential for rational autonomy. Effective citizenship learning should demonstrably shift students' locus of control. It should affect their sense of identity and enable them, through participation, to feel valued and empowered. The challenge of demonstrating such effects exemplifies the difficulty of assessing the impact of learning in citizenship.

In the process of developing and sharing the implementation of the school's citizenship agenda, my own awareness of the real nature and potential of citizenship education also shifted. In discussion with teachers and trainee teachers at a number of conferences and seminars, I came to see that if citizenship education is really going to make a difference, a reconstructive approach, as described by Parry (1999) is essential. This means that the emphasis in school citizenship activities must be on change outcomes. The focus must be on students' sense of agency and on developing the school as a reflexive community of practice for citizenship. My concern began to focus less on conventionally measured academic attainment and more on the effects on the school community of the experience of citizenship learning. It was important to establish the different meanings citizenship had for members of the school community, and how these may have changed. How had the citizenship project affected the community's and its members' senses of its own practice and relationships? What had been the impact upon identities within the school?

4.2d) The approach: Case study and action research

I chose to use an approach which might be categorised as falling within the tradition of situational ethnomethodology (Cohen et. al 2000: 24, 25) because I wanted to portray, analyse and interpret the particular practices and meanings attached to citizenship education. I recognised that the behaviours and processes were often specific to the context of the project. My role was to contribute to action and intervention and in that sense this was a case of action research.

Considering the applicability of existing approaches for evaluating school citizenship to this case.

Existing approaches that might be used to gather indicators of the school's citizenship practice could include:

- Discussing the merits of assessing the school's human rights practices using Osler's and Starkey's (1998) framework
- Matching up the school's 'active citizenship' challenges to those outlined by Potter (2002)
- Considering if the school shows the features of Alexander's (2001) 'citizenship schools' and the 'empowering curriculum'
- Discussing how the inspection framework for citizenship (HMI 2002) would reveal the evidence of pupils' sense of agency and the impact on school culture.

In the end I used none of these. The project had not begun with a human rights framework, and the research revealed the importance of publicising this as a starting point in any later citizenship projects. Potter's (2002) six challenges for planning and implementing citizenship education (leadership, curriculum planning, professional

development, management, context and inspection) are discussed in the course of the thesis, but the information is categorised by its impact on the school as a community of practice, largely using Wenger's 2001 framework. Alexander's nine elements of citizenship (2001:12) provide some useful indicators, particularly in relation to characteristics of the school as an organisation, but these are largely descriptors and are not attributed different weightings. Because South Docks was effectively a test case in the development of the inspection framework for citizenship there were few already defined criteria by which to judge the impact of the project. As the project and my analysis of it proceeded, it became important to narrow down the essence of citizenship into a few key areas.

I have emphasised the importance of participants' perspectives on the process of developing citizenship. The case studies discussed by Arthur and Bailey (2000) and Potter (2002) draw largely upon statements by adults, usually teachers, and often headteachers as evidence of good practice in citizenship. This case study sought to elicit student views and evaluate them in relation to adults' perceptions.

4.2e) A conceptual framework for the case study.

A study of developing citizenship education within a school demands an approach that recognises the school as a learning community and takes account of its experience Wenger (2001) invites us to rethink learning and knowing with a focus on participation. The belief that knowing involves primarily active participation in social communities means, he says, there is promise in

inventive ways of engaging students in meaningful practices, or providing access to resources that enhance their participation, of opening horizons that

put them on trajectories they can identify with, and of involving them in actions, discussions and reflections that make a difference to the community they value

(2001:9).

In rethinking learning, the focus on participation means, he says

- For **individuals** learning is an issue of engaging in and contributing to the practices of their communities
- For **communities** learning is an issue of refining their practice and ensuring new generations of members
- For **organisations** it means learning by sustaining the interconnected communities of practice through which an organisation knows what it knows and thus becomes effective and valuable as an organisation

(2001:7,8).

I wanted to investigate whether learning was working in this way for the school community and if it would be appropriate to call the school community, engaged as it was in the process of developing citizenship education, a community of practice.

Following Wenger, I took as the components to involve ways of talking about:

- 1) **Meaning** –our changing ability – individual and collective – to experience life in the world as meaningful
- 2) **Practice**: the shared history and social resources, frameworks, perspectives
- 3) **Community**: social configurations in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognisable as competence
- 4) **Identity**: how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities.

(2001:5)

Within each of these four components I examined the data and analysed the extent to which the school community's sense of agency and citizenship competence and collective experience of citizenship learning were developing. The chart below summarises which types of evidence were used to explore which components of social participation in the citizenship enterprise:

Figure 4.3: Framework of research			
Note data quantities are indicated in figure 4.4			
Component	Field of enquiry	Data to examine	Location within thesis structure
Meaning	Examine discourse about the meaning of citizenship within and beyond the curriculum <i>Asking: What shared meanings are being negotiated for citizenship and how are these changing?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pupil explanations of citizenship in citizenship Day surveys • Year 10 and 11 scripts on 'making a difference' • Year 7 and 8 definitions in citizenship lessons • School mission statement and aims • Interviews with students and staff • citizenship working party minutes • Initial cross curricular audits and sample pupil questionnaires • Cross curricular documentation of citizenship over two years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapter 5 <i>Creating meanings within the school context.</i>
Community	Examine ways of talking about social configurations in which the project is developing <i>Asking: What do participants say about the culture of the school and its effects on the school community: mutual engagement, joint enterprise, shared repertoire?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with teachers and students • School council meeting minutes • Data collected in work on code of conduct • Referral room questionnaire (looking at managing behaviour) • Feedback from inspectors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapter 6 <i>Participation and the culture of the school community</i> • Also woven through Chapters 5 - 10

Component	Field of enquiry	Data to examine	Location within thesis structure
Practice	Examine ways of talking about shared history Asking: <i>What do participants say about what they have done (the shared history, resources, frameworks perspectives)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with teachers and students • Results of staff consultation • Student accounts of their activities and their impact • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapter 7 <i>Practice and curriculum</i> • Also implicit in aspects of Chapters 5 - 10
Identity	Examine how participants are talking about how the citizenship learning changes who we are: Asking: <i>What do participants say about their own becoming?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with students and teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chapter 8 <i>Students' Identity and Agency: Effects of the Project</i>

Figure 4.3: Framework of research

Wenger's model of communities of practice is multidimensional. Each of the areas of meaning, practice, community and identity operates within the contexts of time, space and power and is comprised of component experiences which affect its nature. This study, in addition to the four dimensions in Figure 4.3, takes account of three components of learning and of belonging. These are:

- Engagement – active involvement in mutual processes of negotiation of meaning
- Imagination – creating images of the world and ourselves in time and space
- Alignment – coordinating our energy and activities in order to fit in with broader structures.

The nature of these three components, and the way they interact, affects the learning process as well as the development of the participants' identity.

4.2f) Data collection

The data includes formal documentation produced by the school management, as well as texts from particular departments and working parties data from surveys and questionnaires to provide some quantitative evidence of perceptions of events and processes (See, e.g., Appendix 12, Interview Questions) and interviews. I also interviewed a range of individuals to glean their own experiences of the citizenship project. As far as possible, the development of the project attempted to follow the model advocated by the school improvement movement and linked approaches to development planning (see, e.g. Fullan: 1998; Hargreaves and Hopkins: 1994). An annual process of development and review which involved line management meetings with those implementing the project (Appendices 2 and 3) was in place for departments and year teams. Documentation produced through this cycle of review informed the study. Indeed, it may be suggested that this review process actually influenced the implementation of the project.

i) Data collection stage 1: drawing upon the audit and wider reading

The production of some of the data preceded the decision to embark on this particular research project. The processes of audit and construction and of cross curricular implementation of the citizenship took place in 1999, before the current research project formally started, although it could be argued that a process of action research had already begun. The framework of the initial audit of delivery of aspects of citizenship in existing practice, for example, was very limited, addressing students' understanding and experience of a retrospectively superficial set of concepts and activities.

Thus the first stage of research for this thesis necessitated wider reading and research to provide more informed insights into what whole school citizenship might mean in

reality. During that phase, my own convictions as to the necessity of citizenship education deepened as insights into the implications of globalisation and the state of English schools developed. It was during the process of a thorough review of existing literature that I recognised the necessity of a clear human rights framework – too late to inform the initial implementation of the project in school. Reading Wenger (2001) provided an appropriate prism through which to view the impact of the project on the school and enabled me to begin planning a structure for investigation.

ii) Data collection stage 2: collecting interpretations of meaning

In fact, it was the notion of meanings that initially became most potent in terms of the investigation. This was the second development, in terms of collecting data. What different concepts and associations did members of the school community attach to citizenship education, and did they change once the project had been publicised and students were participating in citizenship activities? To explore these questions, I analysed students' responses to a questionnaire developed in March 2000 (Appendix 5). I also used data collected for school purposes prior to the start of the study, but which was already understood to be in the public domain. This included student explanations of citizenship collected after and before Citizenship Days, and cross curricular audits to examine the range of meanings and how they changed. The short essay questions written by a whole year group in response to a question asking them to explain their responses to the statement that 'anyone can make a difference' shed further light on how students' understanding of the meaning of citizenship had developed. After scrutinising the short essay questions for emergent themes, I listed some of these. I had typed out all the mini essays. I also drew out commonly occurring words and themes (such as 'school council' and 'power' – see Figure 4.5) and simply

used the 'find and replace' tool in Microsoft Word to quantify their use. This is far less sophisticated a tool than discourse analysis, but provided an indicator of how widely students were attaching certain meanings to citizenship experiences. Feedback from Year 7 and 8 lessons also informed this picture, as did data from teachers' working groups, including citizenship Working Party Minutes and Development Plan reviews. It was towards the end of this stage (stage 2) in data collection that I decided to apply Wenger's framework of analysis. This led me both to re- interrogate the data I had already collected and to seek out indicators for practice, community and identity.

iii) Data collection stage 3: drawing together data to indicate practice and culture of community

The data listed above also shed light on practice: how were members of the school community talking about what they had done in terms of citizenship? I categorised practice into two sections: practice in lessons - the curriculum, and practice in terms of the culture of participation in the school. For insight into the impact of the citizenship curriculum, I used surveys issued to students who had followed the GCSE citizenship studies course (see Figures 7.4 and 7.5, pages 265- 266), as well as the data from interviews and comments from teachers. For investigation into the effects of participation, I also referred to the minutes of school council meetings and the findings of some research into student perceptions of behaviour policy initiated by the school council. The same data could also be interrogated for evidence as to the impact on the school's sense of itself as a community.

Once I began to highlight the data, showing which evidence was relevant for understanding meaning, practice, community or identity, what seemed to stand out, re-

Figure 4.4 Data collected and relevant features			
DATA TYPE	NATURE OF SAMPLE	DATE AND METHOD OF COLLECTION	ANALYSED AND EVALUATED
Initial cross curricular audits of school citizenship	Feedback from all 10 curriculum areas	October 1999 Collated grids circulated to Heads of Department	In Chapter 5
Pupil audit records – experiences of citizenship prior to project	15 students, 3 from each year group, balanced for ethnicity, gender and ability. Sample too small.	April 2000 Questionnaires with interviews. Appendix 5. Administered by member of senior team.	In Chapter 5
Pupil feedback on citizenship days	430 480 (higher response rate 2002)	December 2000 July 2002 Surveys issued to students by tutors on tutor time	In Chapter 5
Teacher feedback on citizenship days	40 40	December 2000 July 2002 Surveys placed in teachers' pigeon holes	In Chapter 5
Staff surveys on citizenship proposals	61	June 2000 Survey circulated to all teachers	In Chapter 5
Year 10 scripts on 'making a difference'	136	December 2001 Responses to question on exam script typed up, examined individually and screened for lexis	In Chapter 5 and Chapter 8
Year 7 and 8 definitions in citizenship lessons	480	January 2003 Collected on post-it notes from 16 tutor groups at the end of lessons	In Chapter 5
Interviews with students	30 : 15 girls and 15 boys; ethnic mix reflecting composition of school:10 who had not been involved in specific citizenship activities; 10 involved in either school council / special projects; 10 involved in both	January – July 2003 Interviewed individually in my office on digital tape recorder; interviews transcribed and analysed subsequently from perspective of elements of Wenger's framework.	In Chapters 5 – 9
Interviews with teachers	2 Heads of Year 2 Heads of Department 1 form tutor Headteacher Citizenship outreach worker	January – July 2003 As for students.	In Chapters 5 – 9

DATA TYPE	NATURE OF SAMPLE	DATE AND METHOD OF COLLECTION	ANALYSED EVALUATED
Citizenship Working Party minutes	All minutes since inception	Minutes taken each meeting – documents in public domain	Chapters 4 and 10
School council meeting minutes	All minutes since inception	Minutes taken each meeting – documents in public domain	Chapter 6
Referral room questionnaire (looking at managing behaviour)	102	January 2003 Questionnaire handed to students in Year 11 during registration	Chapter 6
Feedback from inspectors	2 inspection visit reports from 2 inspectors each time	11.10.2001; 13.11.2002 Notes taken during feedback to Headteacher and Citizenship Coordinator	Chapter 9
Press and media coverage	Various press reports	See references	Chapter 9

Figure 4.4 Data collected and relevant features

Figure 4.5 Sample student answers to exam essay question about 'making a difference'

Year 10 boy (transcript)

Everyone can make a difference if they try. It is often difficult for people in the minority to make a difference but determination and persistence will eventually pay off. For example people in South Docks wanted a school council for years, but were not given one. Only a few people kept asking and doing questionnaires and trying to get support for a school council but no action was taken. But they didn't stop trying until a real school council was formed. Their determination was a great help to the school and many things have been improved by the school council. Their determination and persistence are only two of many ways to make a difference. Another way is by getting support from people who agree with you (e.g. Questionnaires, petitions, etc.) Write letters to people with high status who have the power to make changes. Your opinions can have big effects if you express them appropriately.

Year 10 boy.

Everyone can make a difference because someone who has the power to change something can be influenced by the smallest voices. There are groups where matters can be discussed and problem solving ideas can be devised and then put to use. Anyone can have an idea and anyone can share it with others. When other people are involved more and more power gets in the idea. When there is power behind a good

idea it happens and works. So if everyone voiced their opinions and everyone listened to others and back them up, everyone could contribute to a better world.

As I have shown in Figure 4.4 above, some of the data provided answers to more than one question or shed light on a variety of issues being investigated. The short essay questions, whose responses were often little more than long paragraphs, could be used directly to examine the impact of the project, particularly the citizenship coursework, on students' sense of agency. I also categorised the kinds of projects students mentioned in these written responses, as is explained in Chapters 6 and 8. The interviews, however, showed how agency unfolded in different ways for different individuals, as is discussed in Chapter 8. I studied the interviews for evidence of the development of students' sense of agency, looking for indicators of the extent to which students' identities were becoming politicised.

Figure 4.6a Worked examples – excerpts

Excerpt from Interview with Year 9 boy

11. What effects, if any has it had on how you see your future?

Well, it helped me to be a bit more open minded about what I do in the future. Like I had one thing that I wanted to do but then the school council made me look at what other options I could choose for a career. I wanted to be an actor but now I want to do something like helping with ... maybe politics or something like that.

12. Do you think all young people can make life around them better: for themselves? For others? What advice about this would you give to younger students?

Some people need a lot of help having their voice, as they might not be so good at speaking up. I think that it's good that we have the school council because then they can go to reps and get help to have their problems helped to be sorted out.

I would say... it would be good to stand as a rep because you get to have your voice heard around the school and the teachers really do listen what the pupils want to change.

Excerpt from Interview with Year 7 boy

11. What effects, if any, has it had on how you see your future?

Yeah. Like **when they see it on my curriculum vitae they might like see that as a strong point.** **What do you want to do when you leave school?** I want to be a lawyer. **Do you think of going into politics?** It's an issue. Yeah.

12. Do you think all young people can make life around them better : for themselves? For others?

Yeah. Because we live in like a world of democracy and we can .. this is country where we can speak form our views and not be criticised.

What advice about this would you give to younger students?

I would encourage them to like take part in community issues.

Thus I worked with the thirty student interviews, the seven teacher interviews, the 136 exam scripts (see, e.g. Figure 4.5), the thirty post-it notes from 480 Year 7 and 8 students working in groups of 5 as the qualitative data. I used a quantitative approach when exploring meanings, counting the number of time particular words were used to reflect students' perceptions.

For the rest of my analysis, I read and re-read the transcripts. When a theme emerged in the different categories of data on a regular basis, I pursued it further. For example, in the interviews with students who had already been school council representatives and who had gone on to engage in other citizenship activities, they seemed to articulate a sense of that there was a future trajectory to their identity (see red highlight in 4.6a above) and to have a notion of political efficacy (see blue highlight in 4.6a above). The idea of the students' sense of agency was recognisable in the interviews of those who had participated in one or more citizenship activities – i.e. 66% of the sample. I later categorised this as 'active identity' following Bradley (2003). The 33% who had gone on either to stand for the Council of Champions or to participate in another empowering activity would then be classified as showing 'politicised' identities (see Chapter 8). 134 of the short essay responses indicated that the students were aware that they could make a difference, with 16 of them specifically mentioning their power. As is noted in the section on the school context above, this differed greatly from previous discourse among the students and the local community, who had articulated a sense of powerlessness (see pages 105 and 122 above).

Figure 4.6b Working with the interview transcripts

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	WENGER'S THEMES AND CHAPTER.
1. [For year 7 and 8 students only] Do you think students have more of a say in our school than in others, for example your primary school?	Participation and the culture of the school community: Chapter 6
2. [For students in years 10 upwards] Have you noticed any changes in school since we began to focus on citizenship?	Participation and the culture of the school community: Chapter 6
3. Do you think learning about citizenship is useful?	Meanings: Chapter 5
4. Can you describe a citizenship activity you have done, and how you felt about it?	Identity: Chapter 8
5. How would you describe the ways people in school (including students, teachers and other workers) behave towards each other?	Participation and the culture of the school community: Chapter 6
6. Why did you decide to stand for the School Council	Identity: Chapter 8
OR	
7. Why did you choose to become involved in (X) citizenship project [other than those on offer to all through the curriculum]?	Identity: Chapter 8
8. What do you feel about this work? (will encourage them to talk about their experiences and responses)	Identity: Chapter 8
9. What have you learned from this?	Identity: Chapter 8
10. Do you think you have changed in any way through this work?	Identity: Chapter 8
11. Does what you have done affect your life outside school?	Identity: Chapter 8
12. What effects, if any, has it had on how you see your future?	Identity: Chapter 8
13. Do you think all young people can make life around them better : for themselves? For others? What advice about this would you give to younger students?	Identity: Chapter 8
14. At home or in your life outside school are there things you do to help other people – members of your family or neighbours – for example by translating, helping them get information and things they need/ looking after people?	Identity: Chapter 8
15. Do you do any work to make money outside school?	Generated very little significant information – no pattern
16. How many hours a week do you think you spend on 1 or 2 above?	Generated very little significant information – no pattern
17. Do you do anything at school to help others –e.g. help other students in lessons/ with homework?	Generated very little significant information – no pattern
18. 18. If you were to give advice to the senior management about how to make the school better, including for citizenship, what would you suggest?	Participation and the culture of the school community: Chapter 6

It was the interviews with students that pointed to a potentially significant effect of the project: its impact on identity. This kind of information could hardly be gleaned in any other way from a sample of students with differing levels of literacy.

Parallel to this process of structured investigation, in which data were examined for different categories of information, the school's teaching community was undergoing an annual cycle of development planning and review. As part of the reviews of the School Development Plan, year teams and departments were required to complete forms (see Appendix 2) indicating the ways in which they had sought to deliver the citizenship agenda. Middle managers were also asked, usually termly, to furnish this information for line management meetings. Because these meetings and their documentation were essentially management tools, they have not been analysed for the purposes of this thesis. However, the reality of these processes of commitment to a set of targets within the citizenship agenda, and of reviewing them at team and line management level meant that all members of the teaching staff were reminded, as part of school routines, that were accountable for implementing aspects of the project.

4.2h) Action research as a research methodology

Cohen and Manion (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000:226) define action research as 'a small-scale intervention in the functioning of the real world and a close examination of the effects of such an intervention'. It differs from other forms of research in that it should, say Herr and Anderson (2005:2), shift the locus of control away from professional or academic researchers to those who have traditionally been the subjects of research. It is oriented to problem-solving within a community, and, unlike some other potentially more detached academic endeavours, if it *does not make a difference*

'in a specific way, for practitioners and/or their clients, then it has failed to achieve its objectives' (Stringer, E., 1999:11). Action research is seen as a form of research which is potentially empowering and liberating. Its qualities, writes Zuber-Skerritt (1996) should be that it is:

- critical
- reflective
- accountable
- self-evaluating
- participatory.

She sees it as involving a set of stages:

1. strategic planning
2. implementing the plan (action)
3. observation, evaluation and self-evaluation
4. critical and self critical reflection on the results and making decisions for the next cycle of research.

Prior to the strategic planning, obviously, there is an initial assessment, which I refer to as an audit. Zuber-Skerritt relates this cycle to the concept of forcefield analysis and change theory developed by Lewin (1952, cited in Zuber-Skerritt 1996) and illustrates this diagrammatically with a set of 3 concentric circles. Her outer circle represents 8 steps in the research cycle, while the 4 in the middle ring encapsulate Lewin's unfreeze → move → refreeze → revise process, which accompanies the routine of 'plan, act, observe, reflect' shown in the inner circle. The case study research for the current project involved a similar cycle, partly based on the conventional school improvement approach of 'audit, consultation, construction, implementation, review'. I have reproduced Zuber-

Skerritt's model and added the latter steps, as exemplified through actions taken in implementing the project, in the numbered boxes on the outside of the circle. (Figure 4.7, page 140). On the very outer edge of the diagram I have shown the 4 generic processes that constituted the cycle of school development and review over which I had oversight, and of which the citizenship development plan became a major strand during the academic years 2000 – 2003. As stated above, I do believe that the incorporation of citizenship objectives into the School Development Plan and the requirement that departments' and year teams' input into this be formally reviewed both at line management meetings and as part of the school's annual cycle of development and review, helped focus the teachers' attention on their roles in delivering citizenship education, thereby enhancing the impact of the project.

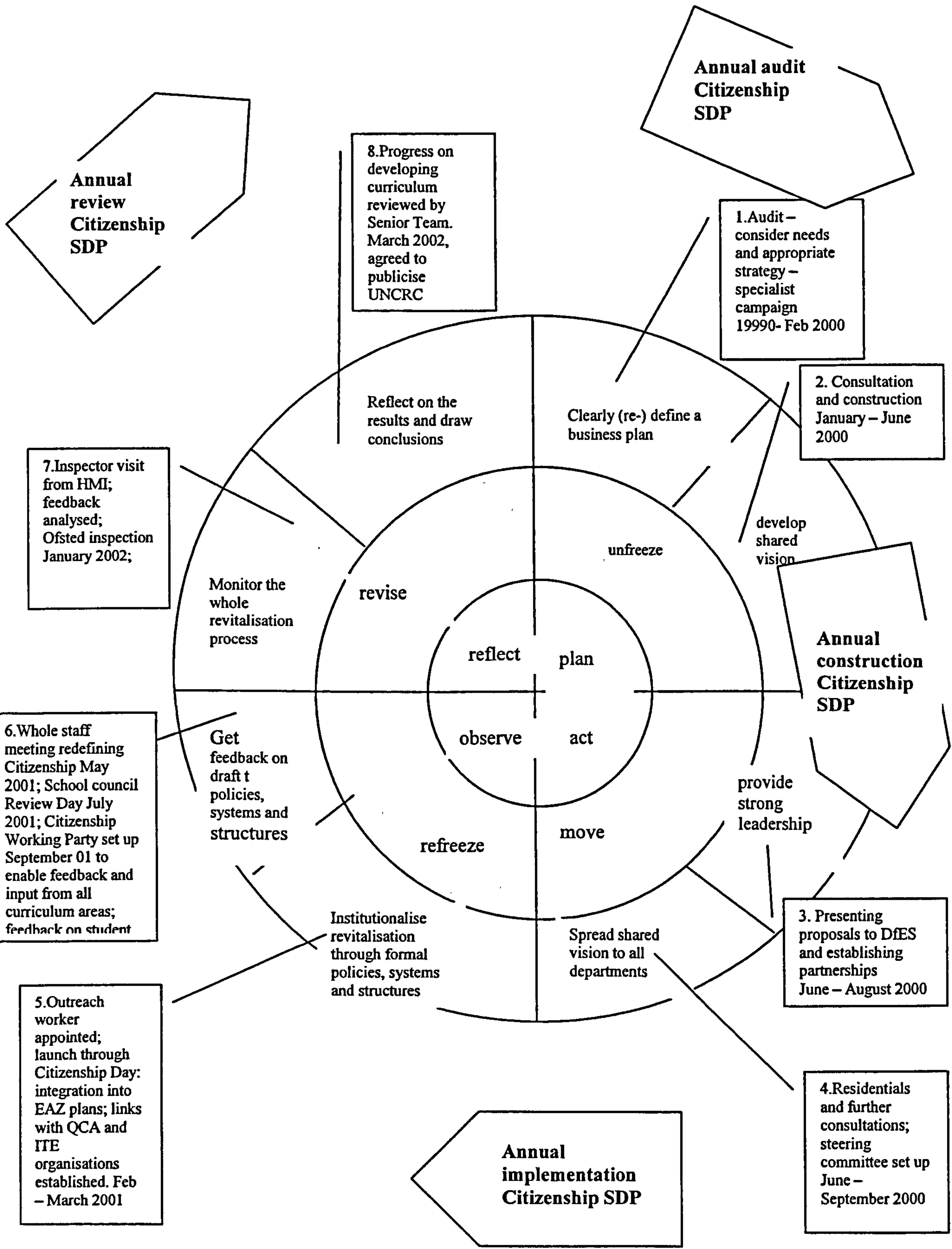


Figure 4.7
School-based action research cycle in relation to Zuber-Skerrit's (1999) model

Action research is subject to various criticisms. One of these is its potential susceptibility to bias. Herr and Anderson (2005) write about the issue of *positionality* – the location of the researcher in relation to the organisation or community being studied. For this case study, my position seemed to lie on the edge of the two categories of ‘insider’ – researcher studying their own self/practice and ‘insider in collaboration with other insiders’. Herr and Anderson point out (2005:31) that a common mistake in this type of research is ‘to treat one’s personal and professional self as an outside observer rather than an insider committed to the success of the actions under study’. I have tried, both in the way I have conducted and the writing up of the research, to be mindful of my own bias and of the implications of my position in relation to those interviewed. I will therefore discuss below credibility – validity and reliability – the implications of my own role and ethical considerations. Stringer (1999: 70) urges researchers to be wary of leading questions ‘that derive from their own interpretive schemata and are not directly related to participants’ agenda’.

Ideally, action research is a joint endeavour by a learning community. My reading and literature surveys since I began this project have enabled me to learn about approaches to action research which I regard as more compatible with the principles of citizenship and developing learning communities. The most attractive concept, were I to engage in such a project in future, is Stringer’s (1999) notion of *community based action research*. Time, resources, and the limitations of my insights when I began this research, meant that my approach was not sufficiently empowering of the members of the community whose actions I was investigating. I was unable to fully operationalise the important principles highlighted by Stringer.

Stringer lists working principles for community based action research. These concern:

- relationships
- effective communications
- participation
- inclusion

(1999:42)

It was relatively straightforward to meet his criteria regarding relationships, communication and participation. The characteristics of the *relationships* he advocates are that they should:

- promote feelings of equality for all people involved
- maintain harmony
- avoid conflicts, where possible
- resolve conflicts that arise, open and dialogically
- accept people as they are, not as some people think they ought to be
- encourage personal, cooperative relationships...
- be sensitive to people's feelings

(1999:29)

These principles were close to those I had sought to develop in other areas of my work within the school community. In terms of participation, the project did enable significant levels of active involvement. All respondents were informed about the research and its purpose and consented. Students reviewed its impact, not only in the interviews and in their written responses to test questions, but also through reviews of the work of the school council. Teachers reviewed, through their, teams,

work done to implement the citizenship Development Plan. The one criterion relating to participation that clearly was not met was that of 'dealing personally with people rather than with their representatives or agents'. Very often, students were represented via school council representatives; teachers were represented through their team leaders (usually Heads of Year or Heads of Department).

It is in the area of inclusion that the methodology seems really to fall short of what is required of *community based* action research. Stringer contends that **inclusion in action research means:**

- maximisation of the involvement of all relevant individuals
- inclusion of all groups affected
- inclusion of all relevant issues – social, economic, cultural, political...
- ensuring cooperation with other groups, agencies and organisations
- ensuring that all relevant groups benefit from activities

(1999:39).

These principles were intended in the way that the research was undertaken, but all groups affected were not included. Parents and governors, for example, were not approached and their views were not investigated. This is not an issue in terms of the data and research focus because this is upon the school as a community of practice, not the wider community. However, if the project was to have the transformative effects Stringer clearly envisages for action research, it would be necessary to revisit the notion of inclusion.

4.3 i) Credibility: validity and reliability: How they were addressed:

Internal validity

- Audio copies of recorded interviews were kept to cross- reference with the typed verbatim accounts
- Negative case analysis was applied in the student interview process: for every 2 students interviewed who had been on the school council or participated in specific citizenship projects one interview was conducted with a student who had done neither
- Triangulation: a form of methodological triangulation was used. Evidence was taken separately of student perceptions, teacher perceptions and ‘outsider’ (for example, school inspector) perceptions of the same processes and actions within the school community
- An aspect of time triangulation applied to the evidence on citizenship across the curriculum and student definitions of citizenship experiences in that data gathered in 1999/2000 were compared with that gathered in 2002/3
- Although I noted that Guba and Lincoln reject these two concepts in favour of the wider category of credibility, at the time of research and writing validity and reliability in interviews were controlled by their use of the same sequence of structured questions, as far as possible. Credibility might also be illustrated by the publication of some of my findings (See Appendix 13) in a recent book, and the fact, as show in Appendix 1, that the research school was constantly visited because it reputation spread nationally.
- To avoid the problems which could occur in interviews with children I was guided by the set of bullet points offered Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000: 124-5).

Where *sampling* was used:

- a) data derived from surveys and questionnaires followed the guidance on sample size advocated by Krejcie and Morgan (1970) cited in Cohen and Manion
- b) Qualitative data produced in interviews aimed to reflect the diversity of gender, age and ethnicity of the school population.

External validity

I recognise external validity can be problematic as the community being studied is unique, particularly in its experience of developing citizenship education. This issue is in the very nature of case study, which is always likely to involve an unknown degree of specificity.

I have offered 'outsider' perspectives in the form of some quotations from feedback from various inspectors. In addition, excerpts from newspaper reports, letters, and reports of Parliamentary debates serve to illustrate how the project was perceived from the outside. Of course, these perspectives, too, are subject to other processes of myth-making and reification and influence by my/ the school's reports.

Credibility

Although I was informed by the concepts in my initial research, both internal validity and external validity are rejected as criteria by Guba and Lincoln (1989 :236).. Instead, they suggest that other meaningful criteria could be labeled *credibility*. They suggest this can be established through

- 1) *Prolonged engagement* – substantial involvement at the site of enquiry. In the case of this study, I spent 6 years at the site, three of them engaged in the study.

- 2) *Persistent observation* – applicable to the case study in that I was able to identify elements and characteristics relevant to the study
- 3) *Peer debriefing* – the ‘process of engaging with a disinterested peer in extended and extensive discussions of one’s findings with someone who has no contractual interest in the situation’ (1989:237). In a sense, the peers who played this role for me were one of the Heads of Department and the Headteacher. Although they were supportive, they were quite sanguine about the project and their own roles did not depend upon the success or failure of the project. Nonetheless, I recognised their roles as stakeholders and the necessity of exploring my findings with my supervisor and another peer outside the school setting.
- 4) *Negative case analysis* - the process of revising working hypotheses in the light of hindsight so that alternatives to that in focus can be rejected. I did consider, for example, the Hawthorne effect and other possible explanations for students’ statements about themselves and the whole reality of other factors Fullan (1993, 1999) refers to in his evocation of complexity theory.
- 5) *Pragmatic subjectivity* – monitoring my own developing construction. This process was aided by meetings and discussions with my supervisor and colleagues during the initial years of research.
- 6) *Member checks* – checking findings with the observations of the stakeholders, which was done on an ongoing basis.

4.2j) Other approaches to validity.

Herr and Anderson (2005:55), also action research enthusiasts, have produced a similar list of validity criteria:

Figure 4.8 Anderson and Herr's Goals of Action Research and Validity Criteria.

Goals of Action Research	Quality/Validity Criteria
1) the generation of new knowledge	Dialogic and process validity
2) The achievement of action-oriented outcomes	Outcome validity
3) the education of both researcher and participants	Catalytic validity
4) Results that are relevant to the local setting	Democratic validity
5) A sound and appropriate research methodology	Process validity

Dialogic validity is 'the 'goodness' of the research, dialogue about which was ongoing in the school during the years of the project. ' I hope that dialogic validity – shared processing of the implications of the project - will become apparent as the research findings from this study are shared with those engaged in similar projects throughout England and, indeed, internationally. Catalytic validity is the extent to which the process focus and energises participants. (Herr and Anderson 2005:56). I believe that the research process and linked discussions had a catalytic effect upon students and teachers, although this would have been more significant if all the findings had been shared on an ongoing basis. Democratic validity is about the collaborative nature of the process. It is important to show that multiple interests have been taken into account. I hope that this will become apparent as the account of the project unfolds.

4.2k) Ethical considerations

I recognised the need for the school community to be informed about the research I was conducting. As the senior team already fully endorsed the notion of finding and

providing evidence of the impact of the project to enable accountability to the DfES, Ofsted and other organisations, there were few reservations about a deeper and more focused research project that might inform debate in the wider educational community. The school management's approach was open, and it was understood that there may be some negative or controversial findings, but that the school might learn from these. I made sure that everyone I interviewed was informed about the purpose of my questioning. This includes students, whose parents were sent a letter explaining that they were going to be interviewed and giving them the option of refusal. I made it clear to students when I asked them if they were willing to assist in my research that their participation in the interviews was entirely voluntary. None of them opted out, and most of them seemed to enjoy being asked questions about their views and experiences.

Although some of the findings indicate that managing the project has sometimes caused conflict in the school community, most of the critical challenging data has already been acknowledged and addressed by the senior management team. Nonetheless, I have decided to use a pseudonym for the school – recognising that there are many features of the project which might enable readers to identify the school. In the interests of privacy and anonymity, I have also altered the names of the students and staff.

An action research project like this, where I was both participant and researcher raises the obvious issues about power relationships between me, as a member of the school's senior team, and other members of staff as well as students. It also invites consideration of the pertinent and complex issues about ethics in relation to research

involving young people. Alderson and Morrow (2004) have provided useful insights into these issues. They remind us that one of the two basic ethical questions which arises in such research is whether the investigator 'can explain the project clearly enough so that any potential participant can give informed consent or refusal' (2004:21). I did attempt, with all the interviewees, to let them know exactly why I wanted to interview them, and how the finding would be used, both in relation to the DfES and to the research project. The other basic question is about the purpose of the research. I can confidently argue that, in accordance with the recommendations of Brooker's study, reported by Alderson and Morrow (2004:33) the research was part of an overall agenda which sought to:

- be alert to young people's ways of seeing
- to relinquish and transfer some of the power to make decision about curriculum and pedagogy to parents and young children
- to create more equal, co-operative and rewarding relationships with them.

Alderson and Morrow (ibid.) summarise 10 ethical issues for research of this kind.

Figure 4.9 below shows how this action research project attempted to address them.

Figure 4.9 How the action research project addressed ten topics in ethical research

1. Purpose of the research (Is it designed to serve a positive purpose for young people?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In young people's interest because it is intended to demonstrate effects of empowering them within school and community
2. Costs and hoped-for benefits (Risks and benefits to young people of the research?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students were given the opportunity to opt out if they felt there were costs to them, including saving recorded interviews with them. • Benefits could be satisfaction increased confidence
3. Privacy and confidentiality (Is interviewees' privacy and confidentiality protected; do they really opt in?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Names of interviewees have been changed in interest of privacy • Research was conducted in a quiet, private place • No students indicated that they specifically wished to be named in the report • The digital recordings were kept on my home computer, to which no one else has access. • Students were offered the opportunity to have recordings replayed, or to read interviews afterwards, if they so wished • I had been police checked
4. Selection, inclusion and exclusion (How inclusive is process of selecting those interviewed/ taking part?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The criteria for selection were intended to ensure that there were interviewees who had not had specific involvement, some who had been part of one significant project and some who had participated in more than one project, balanced in terms of ethnicity and gender. • I did not make any specific allowances for students who might belong to disadvantaged groups – a potential criticism of the approach
5. Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not an issue in this action research project.
6. Review and revision of the research aims and methods (Input from young people; review to see if it is unhelpful to young people; possibility of complaining)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young people were not specifically involved in planning the research, although this would be pertinent for further such research • My supervisor and I reviewed the questions in case design was unhelpful to children and I checked, during the interview process, that they fully understood all the questions.
7. Information (Participants informed about research purpose & nature?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I attempted to inform all participants/ interviewees about the purposes of the research
8. Consent (Do participants know they can refuse or withdraw and ask questions; is parental consent involved?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviewees and respondents to surveys were given the right to opt out • Parents were informed that data were being collected as part of the project, and that some students were being interviewed, photographed and videoed. They had the right to refuse their children's involvement
9. Dissemination (Access to published findings for participants)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants were offered opportunities to read published articles during process of research, and to read or listen to their interviews.
10. Impact on children (What are the likely effects upon larger groups of children; models of childhood used; respect for children and their views)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is hoped that published work emanating from this action research project will enable more adults to recognize the value of developing student voice in schools and empowering young people • The project attempted to approach young people as existing citizens with relevant perspectives.

4.21 Ethics and implications of my role as Assistant Headteacher, Citizenship Coordinator and Researcher.

My own role as the Assistant Head leading the citizenship project meant there was an inevitable risk of subjectivity, although this is offset by reference to external perspectives. As an insider to the processes being analysed, I can make no real claims to objectivity. Conscious of this, in gathering data I attempted to follow Macintyre's (2000) advice about attempting to decentre. It might be suggested that the responses of the students and, perhaps less so, the teachers, I interviewed was affected by the fact that they wanted to please me because of my role in the school. Coordinating the school council added another dimension to the way students perceived me, and, I suspect, made them more forthcoming as witnesses than they might otherwise have been. My colleague, O, who worked with me to convene the school council also observed how outspoken students were in that forum – to the extent that we had to constantly remind them of agreed guidelines, including not mentioning people by name. The research has also been informed by an awareness that data has been collected within the structural context of school relationships; that 'any form of research involves issues of power' (Taylor: 2002:3) and that my own relationships with people from whom I have gathered data influence the findings. Gillham puts some of these issues succinctly:

A research investigation is not neutral; it has its own dynamic and there will be effects (on individuals, on institutions) precisely because there is someone there asking questions, clarifying procedures, collecting data. Recognising this is part of doing good research

(2001:7).

Such effects might include enhancing students' self esteem simply by showing interest in them. They can be very difficult to quantify or to refute.

Summary

This study is rooted in the notion of the potential of citizenship education to transform schools – a kind of ‘cultural interruption’. Its main aim is to contribute to understanding of the possible impact of a whole school citizenship focus. The research question developed in response to pressure to provide evidence – with an initial bias towards quantitative evidence – of the effects of the project, particularly upon attainment. As I began to consider ways of investigating its qualitative effect, I moved away from indicators such as the criteria listed in descriptions of citizenship schools by other authors. Wanting to find a framework through which to explore impact, I chose to adopt Wenger's (2001) notion of communities of practice. This meant I then went on to consider the impact of the project upon the school community of meanings it attached to citizenship, of the effects upon its practice - especially the curriculum and its experiences of participation – its sense of itself as a community, and upon students' sense of identity.

The approach to the research was very much one of action research. I analysed the data, some of which had been produced prior to the start of the research, within these categories. Among the most important sources of information were interviews with students, and students' responses to a citizenship exam paper about making a difference. For purposes of triangulation, I also investigated the experiences of teachers and of outsiders. The parallel process of review within the cycles of monitoring and review that were part of the school's routines provided a context in

which the teachers were continually aware of the accountability for implementing whole school citizenship. This is likely to have had an effect upon outcomes, too. I remained conscious of the asymmetrical relationships between me and the students and me and the teachers I interviewed. I attempted constantly to decentre and to ensure that I had catered for the ethical issues the study involved.

In investigating approaches to methodology I came to understand that action research, and community-based action research in particular, could be effective routes to promoting democratic inclusion in the project and its linked learning. Had I been able to implement the principles of inclusion outlined by Stringer (1989) this would have given another impetus to the emerging community of practice and enabled far more reflexivity. I hope that in future school-based research I would seek to include all participants in the processes of investigation, review and planning.

CHAPTER 5

UNFOLDING MEANINGS FOR CITIZENSHIP IN THE SCHOOL CONTEXT.

Introduction

This chapter considers meanings for the school members of its citizenship project during the four stages (Figure 4.2 page 116). It draws upon Wenger's notion of meaning as developed through participation and reification – a duality that is fundamental to the human experience of meaning and thus to the nature of practice (2001).

The timeline on page 116 outlines the process by which the project developed during the years of the study. The 4 phases follow yearly cycles. The third phase, incorporating what is deemed to be the turning point, is dealt with as a 2 year phase because it was the first cycle of the GCSE citizenship studies two year course.

5.1 Desirable meanings for school citizenship education.

What citizenship 'means' has been addressed in the analysis of the literature, but is re-stated briefly here for clarity. The meanings can be grouped into the two categories of:

- A. Structural frameworks
- B. Individual capacities and attitudes

The *structural framework* within which the school community's practice of citizenship develops is articulated in terms of 'ideas, values, documents, policies, rituals, discourses, relations, myths and dispositions' (Webb, J., Schirato T. and Danaher G., 2002). All of these can inform participation but are also part of the substance of

reification. On the basis of the indicators suggested in Chapter 1, the key elements of an appropriate framework would be:

- *a human rights framework* for developing social and moral responsibility
- education in politics or '*political literacy*'

participatory processes informed by a deliberation-based curriculum

The *individual capacities and attitudes* necessary for citizenship could include 8 'citizenship characteristics' emerging from Cogan and Derricott's (2000) work. These criteria could be regarded as pointers to what effective citizenship education might mean in practice:

1. the ability to look at and approach problems as a member of a global society
2. the ability to work with others in a cooperative way and to take responsibility for one's roles, duties within society
3. the ability to understand, accept, appreciate and tolerate cultural differences
4. the capacity to think in a critical and systemic way
5. the willingness to resolve conflict in a non-violent way
6. the willingness to change one's lifestyle and consumption habits to protect the environment
7. the ability to be sensitive towards and to defend human rights (e.g. rights of women, ethnic minorities, etc.,)
8. the willingness and ability to participate in politics at local, national and international levels.

These are best summed up in the concept of *agency* – the willingness to actively engage in society to make things different, and the belief in one's capacity to do this.

By the time I became committed to this set of meanings, the school community was some three years into the project and the ongoing processes of reification and participation had already had powerful influences on the development of shared meaning.

5.1a) The baseline: what citizenship 'meant' before the project's launch

In 2001, when I first asked a Year 10 class during their initial lesson of GCSE Citizenship Studies what the word 'citizenship' brought to mind, the first meaning offered, with few dissenting views, was 'old people on buses.' Less than two years earlier, most students interviewed in all year groups in April 2000 had answered that they did not know (Results of Citizenship Questionnaire, April 2000). These initial responses are unsurprising, given the general lack of clarity about the meaning of citizenship, which, we are reminded, is not a concept that has played a significant part in Britain's historical tradition (Lister et al 2003:237). Students' preconceived notions of citizenship and related terminology was therefore not necessarily an indication of ignorance but a reflection of the lack of related discourse prior to the project.

5.1b) The negotiation of meaning: participation and reification.

By January 2003 all classes in Years 7 and 8 had come to express meanings a lot closer to those identified in section 5.1 above during a series of citizenship activities and to write their definition into their electronic portfolios. Of course, the meanings negotiated with these large groups of students could well differ from those to which teachers in some curriculum areas might adhere and indeed from practical notions of citizenship held by individual pupils. Meanings for citizenship will be shown to be the product of mutual negotiation through participation in the school's enterprises but also

the results of a process of reification: that is through actively engaging in experiences which produce meaning as well as through interpretations of abstract terminology.

Wenger points out that meaning is located in a process which he calls the 'negotiation of meaning.' This involves the interaction of the constituent processes of participation and reification. He uses the notion of participation in a sense close to its common usage; 'the social experience of living in the world in terms of membership in social communities and active involvement in social enterprises' (Wenger, 2001: 56). Participation involves conversations and interactions that are part of a mutual experience of negotiating meaning. Reification means treating an abstraction as a 'thing'. It is a particularly pertinent term, central to every community of practice producing its own abstractions, symbols, stories and terms. Wenger uses 'reification' to cover 'a wide range of processes that include making, designing, interpreting, using, reusing, decoding and recasting' (2001:59). Importantly, the process of reification does not necessarily originate in design. The meanings attached to the notion of the 'citizenship school' at the start of the process are not necessarily those embraced by all participants four years later.

5.2 Phase 1. June 1999 – July 2000. Construction

During this first period the school management chose to pursue the campaign to persuade the Government that citizenship should become one of the Excellence in Cities categories of specialism. It sought to begin constructing an appropriate framework for a 'citizenship school', with significant effects upon the meanings the community would attach to this.

5.2a) a) Constructing the project; constructing reified meanings. Autumn 1999 – Spring 2000

During this phase, external pressure meant that participation was restricted, shifting the balance towards reification of meaning. Much of the literature on citizenship in schools rightly emphasises the need for the fullest possible participation by teachers in decisions about planning and implementing all school policies and initiatives (see, e.g. Brown, D. 2000: 120). In terms of the principles of the school improvement movement, too, implementation of new initiatives in schools ideally follows a model of audit, consultation, and construction, in that order (Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1994). However, as is often the case in schools in a climate of rapid change, the process of implementation of our citizenship project necessitated a degree of construction of the plan prior to full consultation. Fortunately, the enthusiasm of the majority of the teachers for citizenship was such that this did not appear to undermine commitment to the project. However, its effect was to contribute to producing a particular and limited set of meanings for citizenship, which fell short, in various ways, of the desirable meanings listed in 5.1.

In 1999, the headteacher and senior management agreed that rather than opt for the existing categories of school specialism permitted by the Government, the school should risk campaigning to persuade the government to allow citizenship to become one of the categories in the Excellence in Cities specialist schools programme. The definition originally shared with colleagues was:

[citizenship teaching concerns]

the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; the duties, responsibilities, rights and development of

pupils into citizens; and the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community ... both national and local and an awareness of world affairs and global issues, and of the economic realities of adult life.

DfEE Circular October 1998 *Final Report of the Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools*

This definition was seen to have resonance with the QCA/DfES, but it cannot be construed as being contained within a rights framework. It does imply a certain kind of political literacy, although not one that necessarily concurs with the principles held by Osler and Starkey (2000) or Frazer (1999). As will be shown below, beginning to couch the project in the terms promoted by the DfES and QCA was to have some important implications for meaning. Figure 5.1 shows the Mission Statement issued at the time

MISSION STATEMENT

What our school will achieve as a Citizenship Specialist school

As a citizenship school we aim to raise standards of achievement in citizenship education for all our students across the ability range. We intend to become a regional focal point for excellence in citizenship education. We will pioneer effective approaches to developing in our students the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy. We will endeavour to promote outstanding and enduring awareness of the duties, responsibilities, and rights of young people as citizens. We will seek to demonstrate meaningful and productive involvement in the local and wider community. We will develop structures and processes to enable students to actively experience world affairs and global issues. We will develop innovative and exemplary means of preparing young people for the economic realities of adult life. We will extend links between our local family of schools, community organisations and the voluntary sector, sharing resources and developing and spreading good practice.

Figure 5.1

The initial bid to the DfES was written using the format designed for specialist schools applications and based on a mission statement. This mission statement was the basis of the meaning first *formally* attached to citizenship by, initially the senior management team, then the middle management group and finally volunteer groups of staff who became the cadres on which we hoped to build the development of the project across the school. The statement was derived from the QCA documentation but phrased in the manner of specialist school applications.

The development plan attached to the bid required specific targets in terms of attainment. This development plan had to be written in the Christmas holidays, and there was no opportunity for consultation with colleagues prior to the meeting at the DfES (Citizenship Application, December 1999). This meant that once the DfES, having declined in the first instance to make a commitment to citizenship as a specialist category, decided to provide Innovation funding for the ideas we had presented, we were in many ways bound to demonstrate attainment of the targets in the development plan. Because there was strong commitment to the principles expressed in the Crick report in the Humanities department, the bid focused on Humanities subjects as the vehicle through which citizenship outcomes could be measured. Significantly, this curriculum dimension, because it was located so much in existing academic subjects, lacked the necessary emphasis on active citizenship learning. The principles of situated learning and the notion of change outcomes for citizenship lessons were not as central as they became during the project's implementation. This may have had the unintended effect of reinforcing colleagues' notions that we could picture the delivery of citizenship education across the school in terms of the separate

'pockets' of curriculum content separating citizenship knowledge from the skills of enquiry and participation.

Significantly, the project was initially presented as a broad, cross curricular, whole-school initiative, by means of the diagram shown in Appendix 4. Throughout the early construction of the project, notions of citizenship in action were located very much within existing structures and process. This made it easier for colleagues to embrace the agenda, but possibly drew the focus away from specific aspects of citizenship education which were 'new' to the school's ways of working – i.e. the fundamental criteria of the human rights framework and political literacy. These two threads are shown to be largely lacking in the sets of meanings which initially emerged.

Thus the origins of the project, although it may later be shown to involve a fairly strong sense of ownership by many members of staff, were very rooted in documents. Once these limited symbols and restricted meanings had been announced and circulated, they began to be ritualised, acquiring a kind of institutional significance like a creed and, thus, reified.

If we conceive of the school's citizenship project as an artefact, it becomes relevant, following Wenger, to ask how the production of meaning is distributed: what is reified and what is left to participation.

Participation and reification must be in such proportion and relation as to compensate for their respective shortcomings. When too much reliance is

placed on one at the expense of the other, the continuity of meaning is likely to become problematic in practice.

...

If reification prevails – if everything is reified, but with little opportunity for shared experience and interactive negotiation - then there may not be enough overlap in participation to recover a coordinated, relevant, or generative meaning. This helps explain why putting everything in writing does not seem to solve all our problems.

(Wenger, 2001: 65) .

Moreover, the shared meanings were handed down from above. What citizenship meant to teachers at the end of Phase 1 was a rather functionalist concept which emphasised civic duties and, broadly, a kind of ‘civics’ knowledge base for the subject. What seems, now, to have been missing was a deeper sense of moral purpose in terms of human rights and the idea of citizenship learning as active, democratic participation in the real world. The rationale for the project was not couched in terms of a human rights framework, and teachers’ responses as reported in subsequent chapters reflect this. Documentation devoid of adequate consultation can contribute to a process of excessive reification, which can distort meaning

5.2b) Audit and negotiating initial meaning : Spring 1999 – December 2000

Following the school improvement model advocated by Hargreaves and Hopkins (1994) we engaged in some forms of audit. We decided, first, to do this by asking departments to complete a form that indicated how they believed they delivered

aspects of citizenship education. The responses demonstrated the reality, widely experienced in schools across the country by 2003, that if the KS3 and KS4 knowledge and two skill areas are separated it is possible to construct the notion that the school is delivering most key aspects of citizenship. It became quite clear that if we are serious about real education for citizenship the focus must be on the active dimension and the knowledge and understanding must be acquired *through* the development of the skills. The citizenship team at the school later sought to sharpen the focus by arguing that real citizenship activities must have a 'change outcome' – even if the change is one of attitude. At the same time as wanting to promote the notion of the specificity of citizenship as a way of learning, we recognised the importance of enabling colleagues to feel positive and confident about their work in this area. Thus we would argue that an audit of the dimensions of citizenship across a school could be a starting point for capacity building, but if anything more than a starting point might lead to complacency and acceptance of the status quo. Hence we later developed another approach to curriculum audit (see Chapter 5).

This second form of audit was influenced by Weindling (1997) reminding managers that the school's strategic plan must be in congruence with the organisation's values. The senior management team felt confident that staff shared the values behind its own embrace of the citizenship agenda and that this position was endorsed by middle management backing for the citizenship specialist campaign. However, it was necessary to find out what meanings pupils might attach to the project and what their own experiences of aspects of citizenship education amounted to thus far. A questionnaire for students in Years 7 – 11 asked students to define up to 18 'citizenship' concepts, depending on the Key Stage (see Appendix 5 for questionnaire).

The concepts were closely related to the list of 10 areas of 'knowledge and understanding' in the citizenship Programme of Study (QCA, 1999).

A part time teacher interviewed students using a sample based on pupils' supposed levels of ability (based on 'banding' information from feeder primary schools), their gender and ethnicity. Only three students in each year group were interviewed, and the sample is clearly too small to be very significant. However, it did provide a snapshot of pupils' perspectives at the time.

Of the sample, no students in Years 7, 8, or 9 and only one in each of Years 10 and 11 were able to offer a pertinent definition of citizenship. Other noteworthy areas of professed ignorance were the concepts of democracy and globalisation. According to the information gleaned of students' 'citizenship' learning experiences the least commonly reported activities were:

- Thinking about and discussing issues to do with politics
- Talking about one's own point of view about issues
- Getting involved in activities in the community or local area.

This highlights the existing deficits in political literacy and active citizenship in pupils' experiences.

The curriculum areas in which the 11 types of activity were reported to happen most were Humanities, especially Religious Education, Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE, which pupils still tended to call 'Tutor') and, in some instances, English.

5.3 Phase II. June 2000 – July 2001: Implementation stage 1

During the second phase delivery of citizenship was largely deemed cross curricular while we worked to develop a separate identity for the subject. This phase was characterised by seeking to involve staff in the project, by initiating construction of the Community IT Room, by the ‘launch’ through Citizenship Day, and by the citizenship Outreach Worker taking up his post. These developments are explained below.

5.3a) Staff consultation: teachers beginning to share meanings: summer 2000 – spring 2001

In June 2000 we heard the news that the DfES had decided to grant us £100,000, following the £50,000 private sector grant from UBS Warburg, to pioneer our citizenship focus ideas. We intensified our consultative efforts. I put out a questionnaire to staff, based upon issues that had arisen in discussion – see Figure 5.2 ‘Teacher Feedback on Citizenship Proposals’ asking their opinions as to the way forward. The responses show majority endorsement of what were to become aspects of future school development plans and policies. Significantly, it began to locate some aspects of developing citizenship within specialist personnel - a process that intensified during the next three years.

Figure 5.2 Teacher feedback on proposals for consultation June 2000

Teacher feedback on citizenship proposals for staff consultation June 2000

Please circle numbers 1 –4 where 1 = strongly agree, 2= agree, 3=disagree, 4= strongly disagree.

	1	2	3	4
1. Writing Citizenship GCSE should be done by volunteer teachers with Humanities background in consultation and liaison with 'experts'	14	32	12	3
2. It will be important and useful to have a peripatetic teacher of Citizenship to work with other schools developing this theme, accountable to New Cross Forum and to <i>South Docks</i> School, and working with senior team and other relevant personnel	17	37	3	2
3. It will be useful for curriculum areas to have specific periods allocated to work with Anne H. on citizenship across the curriculum and to develop citizenship activities in their own curriculum areas.	24	28	6	3
4. It will be useful to combine further aspects of community liaison work and working with parents' group	28	36	1	0
5. Extra points and/or time need to be given for post mentioned in 3	31	28	4	1
6. We need to find ways of raising the profile and status of the school council	22	37	2	1
7. The role of the tutor is key in terms of developing ethos of citizenship and building the school council	27	28	7	2
8. One person needs to be responsible for coordinating citizenship enrichment activities	25	30	6	2
9. There should be DGS community awards	26	37	0	0
10. There should be merits for citizenship	38	34	3	2
10. The idea of building the community dimension of citizenship through ICT (see attached sheet) is a good one.	24	30	6	0

Attached to it was a document entitled 'New Cross on the Web' suggesting expansion of the school's Information Communications Technology (ICT) resources. The document made the links between citizenship and ICT as the communications medium for the school's next phase of development. It arose from my idea that the capital funding we were to receive would most benefit the school if invested in developing another computer suite whose uses would be cross curricular as well as specific to

citizenship. This was a proposal staff welcomed and about which they expressed even greater enthusiasm once the 'Community IT Room' as it came to be called, came into being.

We decided to invite colleagues to a residential weekend to share ideas about how we could proceed to develop citizenship across the school. This first weekend was held in July, and to our delight, voluntarily attended by over 20 teachers from almost all curriculum areas. The residential conference opened with a session led by 3 members of senior team speaking on these topics:

- Citizenship proposal and development plan – what are our current commitments?
- Feedback on staff consultation
- Community schools, the ethos of citizenship and 'big ideas'
- The regeneration context

The content of these presentations was discussed in plenary with general consent and enthusiasm. In two sessions in small cross curricular groups colleagues discussed:

- Developing the values and attitudes in the school community context
- Developing the links and the wider community context
- Developing the knowledge, understanding and concepts
- Developing skills of enquiry and communication
- Developing skills of participation and action

The weekend concluded with agreement to take the issues back to departments and year teams for further development and to hold another such residential.

The second weekend residential took place in January 2001, again voluntarily attended by over 20 staff. It revisited the same themes and alerted colleagues to the intention to engage in an audit. Once again, some of the discussions were structured in a way which separated the values, ethos and pedagogical issues from the knowledge and understanding. This attempt to simplify the citizenship project may have militated against a more desirable holistic approach to the concept. Locating it within the themes identified by the Crick report and the QCA again circumvented the notion of a human rights framework and drew insufficient attention to political literacy. The residential concluded with agreement to develop department and year team development plans to accommodate citizenship.

5.3b) Meaning restricted to curriculum content: citizenship as a cross curricular theme.

Nationally, in the early period after the announcement that aspects of citizenship education were to become compulsory, teachers and trainee teachers often said that there were '3 main methods of delivery':

- a) Dedicated or discrete curriculum time
- b) Teaching within and through existing subjects
- c) Learning through events and activities

(See, Mason, C., 2001)

The pitfalls of embracing too firmly a specific approach to delivery are outlined by Mason (2001). He points out the dangers of either creating an isolated subject, or of going for cross-curricular delivery and not achieving adequate focus. He also underlines the necessity of emphasising active participation. We, too, were aware of these issues. However, having heard in June 2000 that we had been awarded the

Innovation funding, and not having been able by autumn to have restructured the school curriculum and timetable, we initially located much of the curriculum development work within the Humanities department. The questionnaire issued to students in March/April 2000 had found that Year 9 students identified Humanities as being the most important subject in transmitting citizenship concepts. At the time the Humanities department's curricula and personnel appeared well disposed towards delivering aspects of citizenship. To facilitate curriculum development for the 'new' subject whilst, we hoped, developing a cadre of teachers who would help carry it forward, we devoted some of the first year of funding to paying for non-teaching periods for citizenship curriculum development time in English, Geography, History, PSHE/Careers.

The effect of the work in those curriculum areas was perhaps a preview of what was to happen in many English schools in the next two years. Curriculum developers in subjects such as History and Religious Education diligently identified aspects of the 3 citizenship strands delivered therein, sometimes even creating additional lessons or activities. Modes of delivery of citizenship became part of that column on Schemes of Work devoted to cross-curricular and whole school initiatives including literacy and numeracy. Prior to the Ofsted inspection in January 2002 this practice spread: another form of reification. There was still no evidence that students were aware of all the moments at which their classroom experiences were being categorized as citizenship. Various pressures prevented the members of staff holding the paid 'responsibility points' and additional non-contact periods for delivering citizenship from meeting.

In the meantime, however, the school's citizenship initiative began to gain publicity and we began to develop links with external bodies that were to move the curriculum development work forward. One such link was with the Institute for Citizenship whose pilot schemes of work we trialled. We adapted two of these as PSHE units. The Year 9 one linked issues around football, identity and globalisation. The year 10 one focused on human rights globally. Tutors did not, at this stage, make a point of telling pupils that the unit had a citizenship theme. I was beginning to realise the importance of enabling pupils to recognise citizenship learning as something specific: a proper 'subject'.

During the autumn term of 2000, we continued to map citizenship opportunities within PSHE. Departments were also encouraged to map 'citizenship outcomes' in their Schemes of Work. Using the cross curricular mapping approach outlined in Mason (a) above, by autumn 2001 the resulting matrix showed coverage of all 'knowledge' areas listed in the QCA SOW. Although we have shown these to inspectors, and although it is pleasing that aspects of citizenship content are delivered in various curriculum areas, we gradually saw that it would seldom be possible through this route to provide specifically 'citizenship' learning experiences for students. The notion of 'change outcomes' and of acquiring knowledge through active participation would need a separate curriculum area. At the same time as pursuing the conventional route of highlighting and, where possible, enhancing the 'content' delivery in those subjects listed we did start processes intended to find a separate identity for citizenship. These included a series of discussions in 'Curriculum Review' meetings as to how time might be found to deliver a new citizenship GCSE Short Course and identifiable citizenship lessons at KS3.

From early in 2001 onwards we began to plan for the Citizenship Studies GCSE. I contacted Edexcel and OCR (two English examination boards) about where they were with such work and found the former very keen to work with us. We became involved in specification meetings for KS4 citizenship at QCA and in discussing the shape of the GCSE course with Edexcel. This involved initial argument for the 'active citizenship' component – colloquially known as 'coursework' to comprise a larger percentage of the final grade. It also meant emphasising the need for active citizenship learning and to allow students and schools to choose appropriate issues. We were pleased that, within the constraints, particularly of the content list specified by QCA, the course that emerged seemed as school-friendly and activity-oriented as we thought possible.

5.3c) Citizenship Day: adding new community dimensions to meaning and making citizenship fun.

When we learned that the DfES had decided to provide the innovation funding, I decided that it would be important to formally launch the citizenship theme for all students, and proposed to the senior team that we hold a 'Citizenship Day' in the autumn term for this purpose. The date of the day was set for December 5th 2000.

The first step in preparing for the day was to encourage all teachers to consider what activities they could offer. Pupils would be allowed to opt in to these activities as part of a day in which the normal timetable would be suspended. I prepared a circular for staff which specified criteria for citizenship activities – see 'Suggested Criteria for Citizenship Activities', Appendix 6. Once again, the document was based on the

separate knowledge and skill areas in the National Curriculum documentation. Eager not to be too prescriptive and to promote enthusiasm among teachers for participating, I allowed colleagues to propose activities that met only one or two of the criteria. I attached a list of suggested activities. The 40 activities which emerged as options for pupils on that day became part of the school community's prevailing conception of what citizenship is. (See Appendix 7- December 5th, Citizenship Day 2000 student choice form). In 2000, embarking on the plans for that day, I had no idea how its legacies would later manifest themselves. For example, in December 2002, when a GCSE Citizenship Studies exam paper question asked students to describe a citizenship activity in which they had participated, one girl cited her participation in a dance workshop. There were dance workshops in both the citizenship days we organised in 2000 and 2002. The legacy of the constructs emerging from our citizenship activities is such that citizenship teachers needed later to counter some misconceived meanings.

Wenger, writing about 'the double edge of reification', explains the process whereby such misconceptions develop.

The politician's slogan can become a substitute for a deep understanding of and commitment to what it stands for. The tool can ossify activity around its inertness. Procedures can hide broader meanings in blind sequences of operations. And the knowledge of a formula can lead to the illusion that one fully understands the processes it describes.

Wenger (2001: 61).

Prior to the day I addressed assemblies for students in all year groups, offering what I considered a student-friendly definition of citizenship education. Its contents were as follows:

What is citizenship?

- Citizenship is about being involved in what's going on
- It's about joining in with other people
- It's about knowing and understanding your rights
- Good citizens know about and respect the rights of others, too
- Good citizens take responsibility for their own lives and learning
- Citizenship education enables us to learn about our world and our place in it.
- Citizenship education allows everyone to join in discussion and debate
- It encourages investigation, discovery and solving mysteries

Figure 5.3: definition of citizenship presented to students in assemblies November 2000

What this definition lacks is precisely what members of the citizenship team later sought to emphasise: *making a difference* – the notion of a change outcome. In retrospect, this should have been highlighted for the pupils from the start.

Surveys issued to students before the day shed further light on experiences of citizenship education across the school. The survey was issued to all 800 + students in Years 7 – 10 in November. Allowing for absences, failure of some tutors to pass on the completed forms, and forms which were incomplete, there were some 400 returns. The findings from this survey thus have a great deal more relevance than that conducted in April 2000. Significantly, over half claimed to have some knowledge of what citizenship is – perhaps a response to the assemblies? Given the size of the sample, students were not asked to provide definitions. Over half said they seldom or hardly ever experienced class discussions about important issues. The majority believed they

engaged in some form of enquiry in some lessons. Over 350 claimed to be worried about personal safety and crime; slightly fewer about pollution and the environment; over 300 said they were worried 'a lot' about racism and prejudice and about 70 were quite worried by these. Over 300 were worried about bullying and nearly 350 were worried about having a say in decisions that affect them. Of course, the notion of being 'worried' was not deconstructed. What is significant about these findings is that the students are concerned about issues affecting young people and far from apathetic or uninterested. Individuals listed many other concerns.

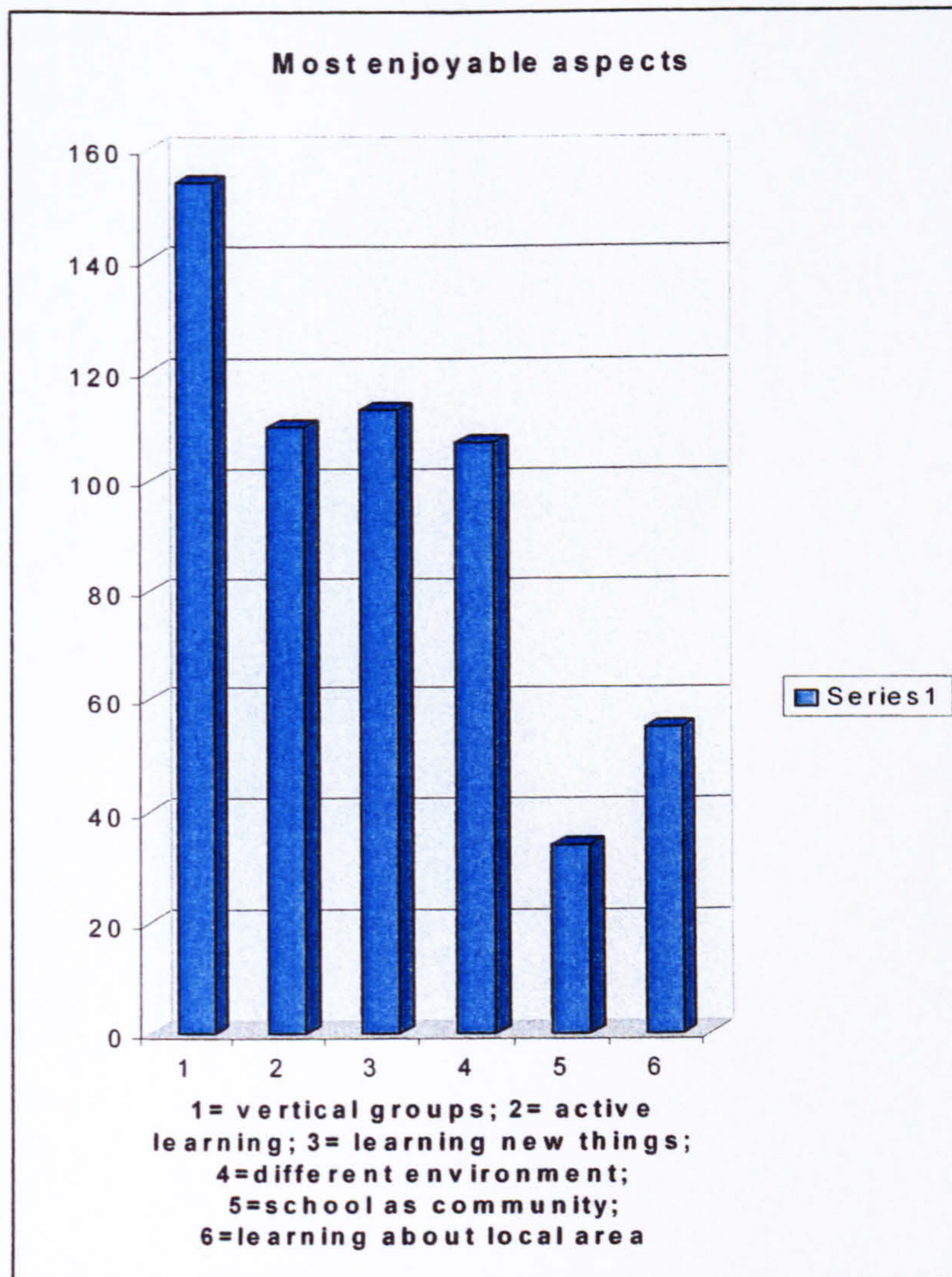
After the day another questionnaire was issued to pupils for review purposes. They were asked if they had learned about citizenship from the day and the response was very positive with over 150 claiming they had learned 'a lot' about what citizenship is and over 300 more than they knew before. An example of a quote to this effect is:

Citizenship day is a good day to find out what citizenship is all about.

The day was fun, yet it helped me to learn about the meaning of citizenship

Students were asked about the most enjoyable aspects of the day with fascinating results, as illustrated in the graphs in Figure 5.4.

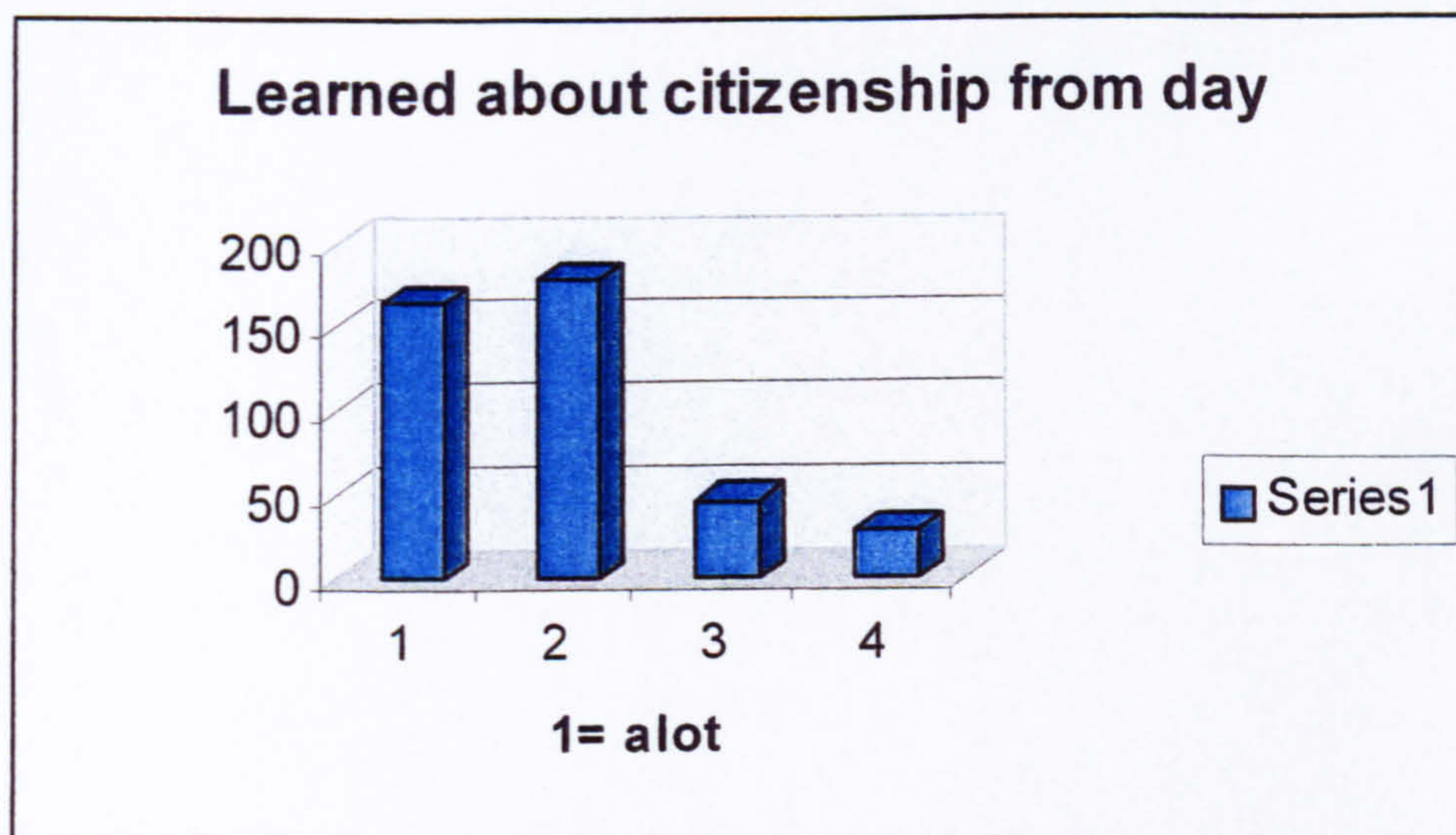
Figure 5.4 a): excerpt from summary of pupil evaluation of Citizenship day 2000 : Most enjoyable aspects



One of the most innovative aspects of the day, and perhaps the most difficult to organise, was the mixed age groups resulting from pupil choice of activities. As the graph shows, the mixed age experience (vertical grouping) was found by over 150 students to be the most enjoyable aspect of the day. The school is on a split site and students in Years 7 and 8 seldom interact with the other year groups based in the main building. It can be argued that the success of these activities meant that the day helped promote a sense of community. It should also have served to underline the notion that

citizenship means working with people often different to those present in normal lessons. About half the students – 152 – chose to provide written comments. Of these, 49 [positively] used the word ‘good’ ; 33 ‘fun’; 41 ‘enjoy/enjoyable’; 17 ‘interesting’ and 16 said they ‘liked’ aspects of it. 16 found aspects of it boring, including, not surprisingly, the assembly. The overwhelming view from students was that the day was enjoyable and they would like to repeat the experience.(Student evaluation of Citizenship Day 2000 – see Figure 5.4b below.

Figure 5.4b
Student evaluation of Citizenship Day 2000
Sample of Year 7 – 10 students: Learning from the day



1= a lot; 2= more than anywhere else; 3 =a little; 4= not at all

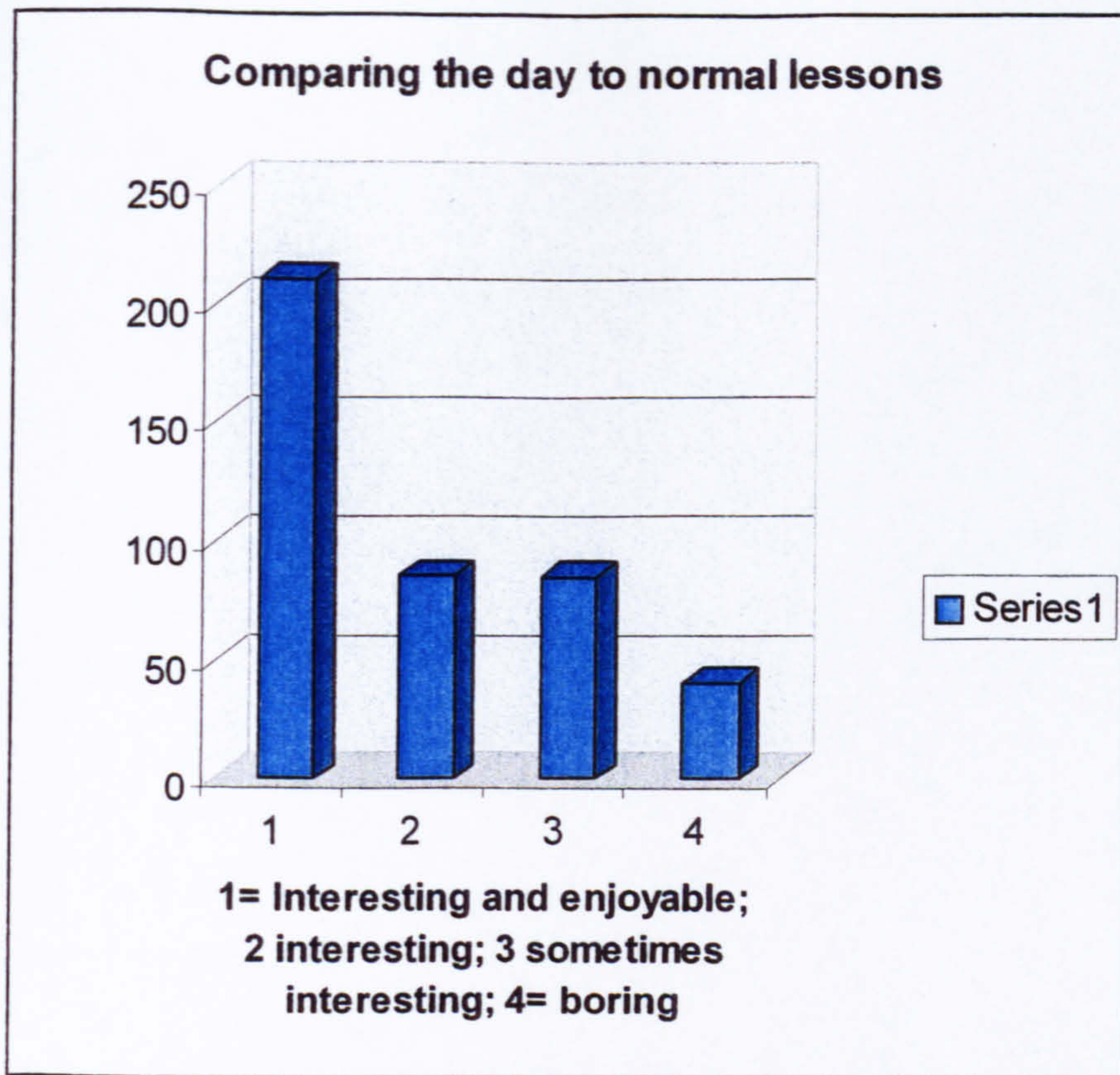


Figure 5.4 c
Student evaluation of Citizenship Day 2000
Sample of Year 7 – 10 students
Comparing with normal lessons

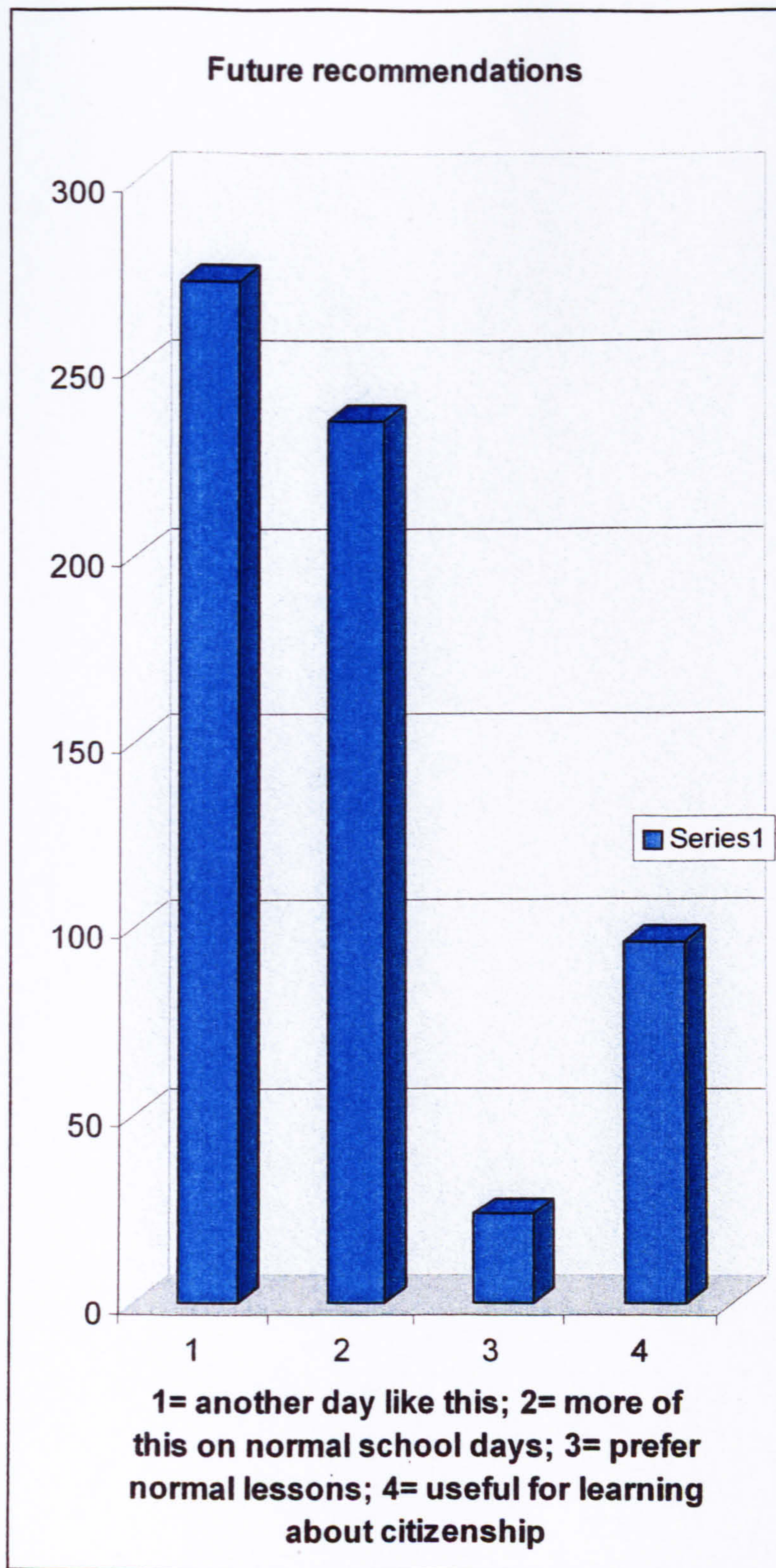


Figure 5.4d
Student evaluation of Citizenship Day 2000
Sample of Year 7 – 10 students: Future recommendations

The day was reported upon in the *Education Guardian* (12.12.00) in which journalist Esther Addey stated that the school was leading the way in ‘nurturing the citizens of tomorrow’. However, she concluded with quotations from one rather cynical Sixth Former (incidentally a student from another school that participated in the consortium of which the school was part) who suggested that for many of the students this was simply a day off normal lessons. After initially feeling incensed at the prominence given to this single view, we began to realise that even that quote suggested we had achieved one of our major aims, which was to promote the notion that doing citizenship is fun. While legitimate questions could be asked as to what the day had done to promote political literacy, we know that a major hurdle for many teachers and schools will be to get young people to think of citizenship education as something they like. To some extent this notion has remained with the school during the next two years, as will be shown later.

Teacher responses were also largely positive. About 24 responded to the questionnaire (Teacher Reviews of Citizenship Day 2000 in Figure 5.5) – fairly representative sample of the 40 full-time teaching staff involved in the day. All but 2 agreed that the day had raised pupil awareness of citizenship. Of course, this was on the basis of assumptions about what teachers and students thought citizenship actually was – a further dimension of reification. Most importantly, and concurring with what has been said above, all of them stated that the day had been enjoyable for all members of the school community. Most valued the vertical groupings and 22 wanted the school to do something like this again. Some salient comments were made, some of which are quoted below:

Teacher reviews of Citizenship Day

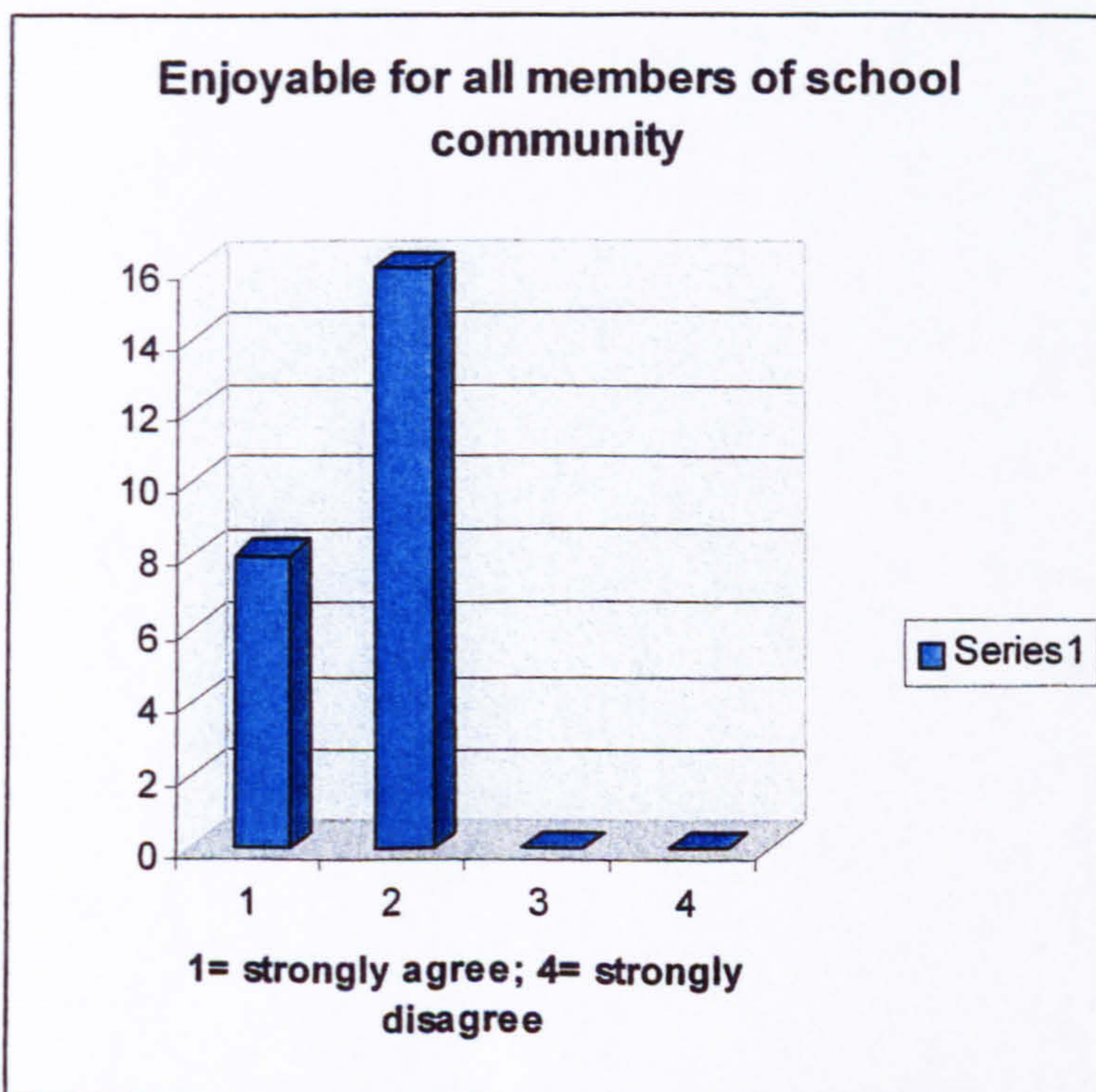
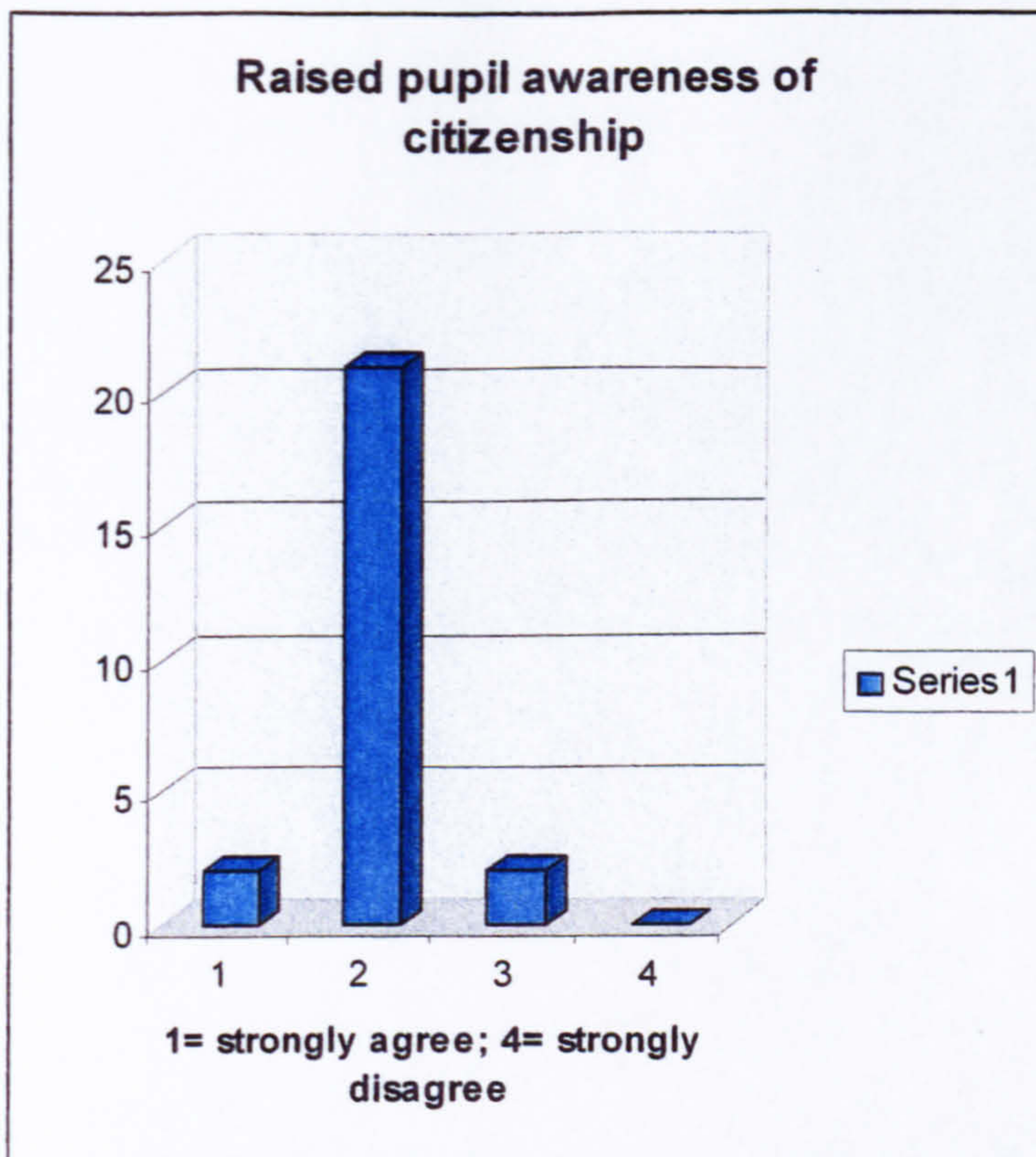


Figure 5.5: teacher reviews of citizenship day 2000

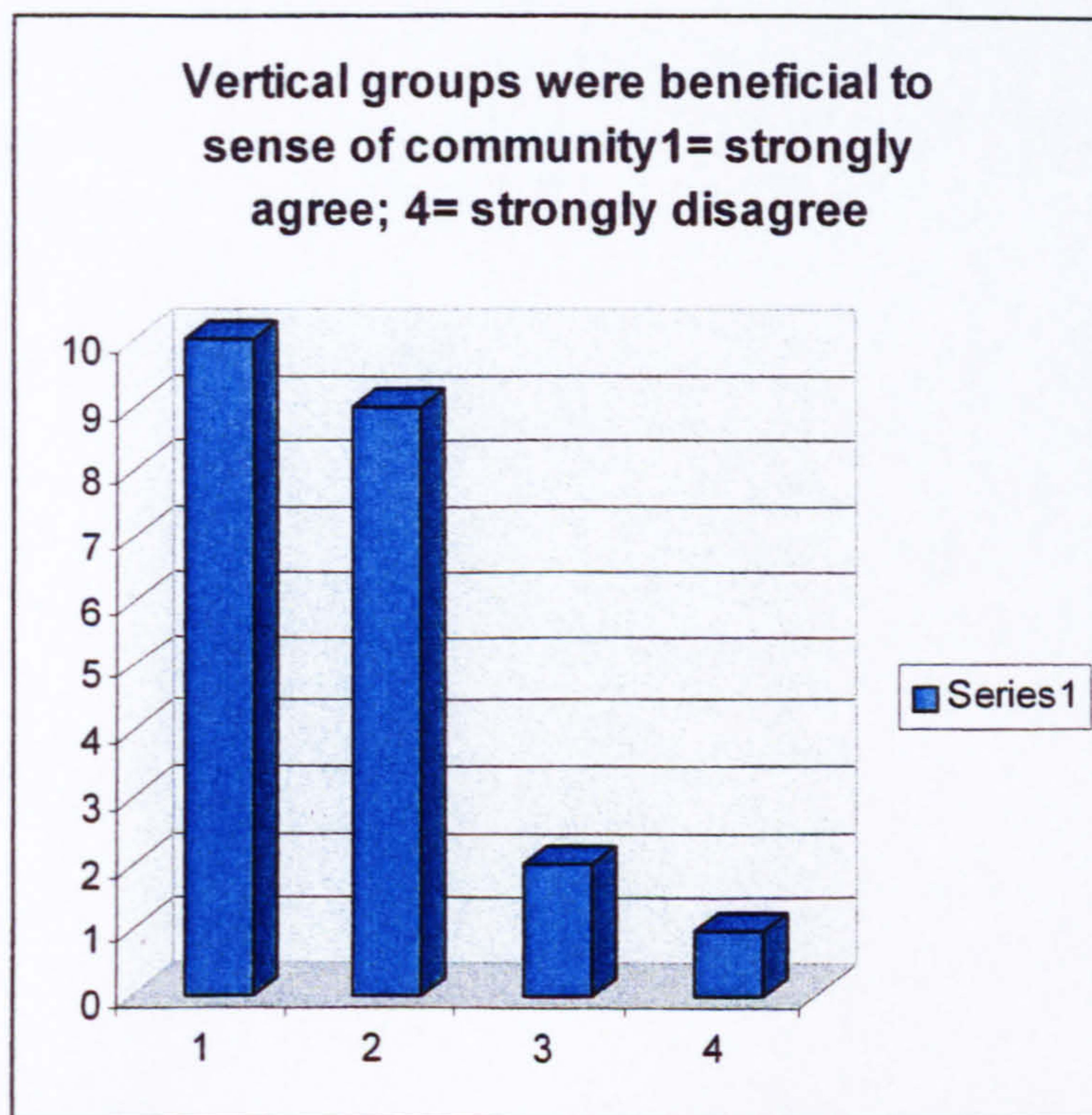
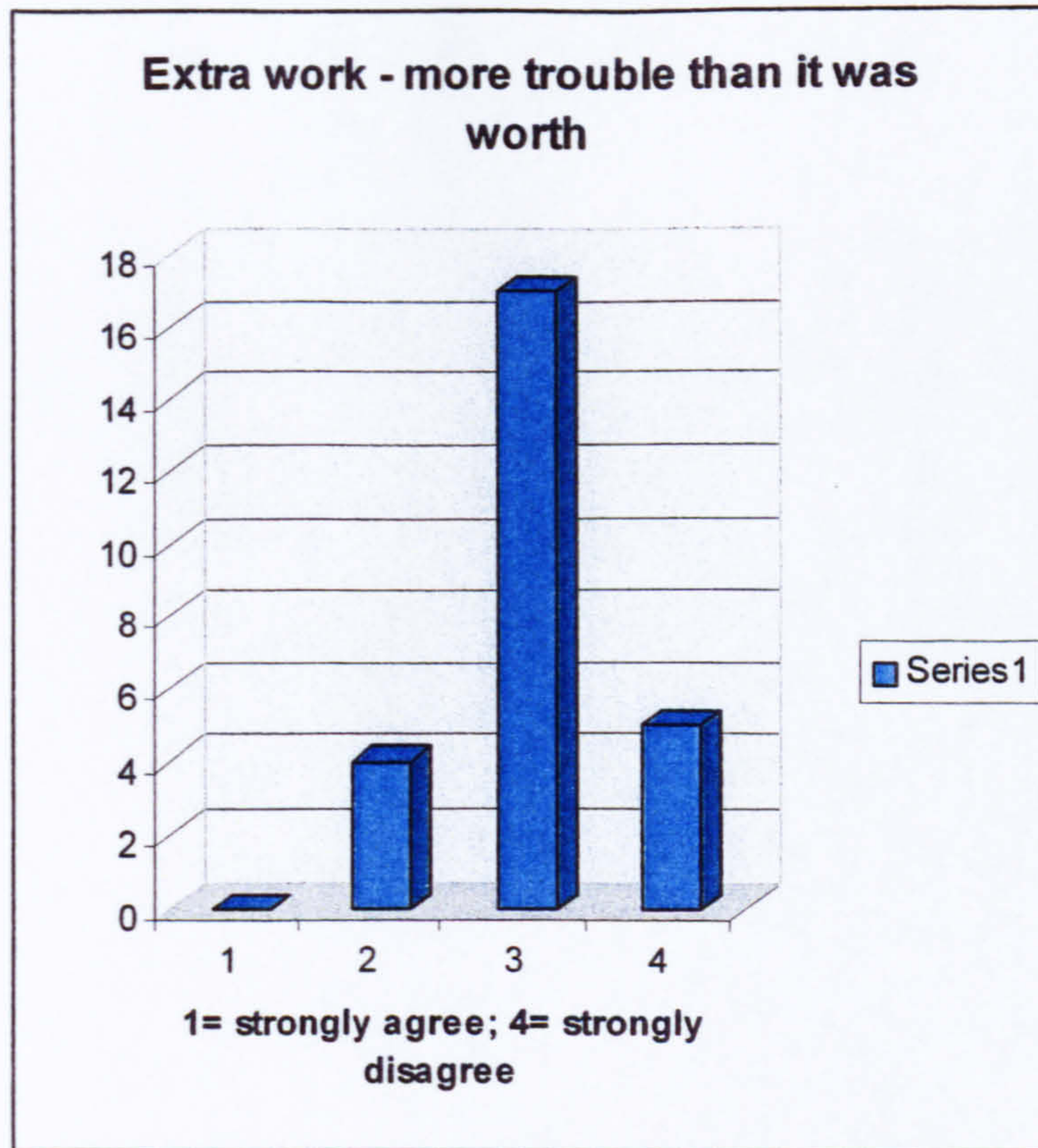


Figure 5.5 Teacher reviews of citizenship day 2000

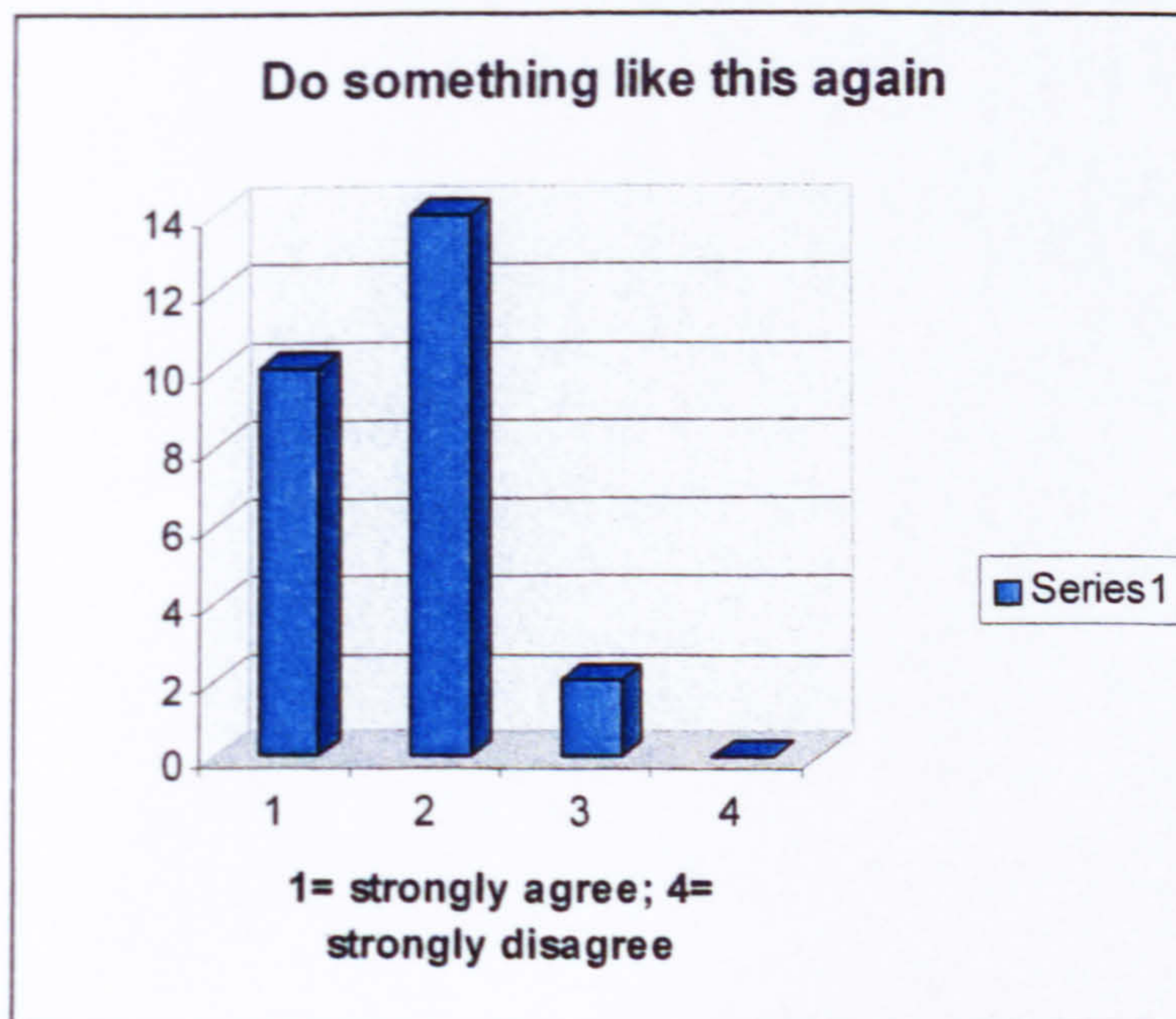
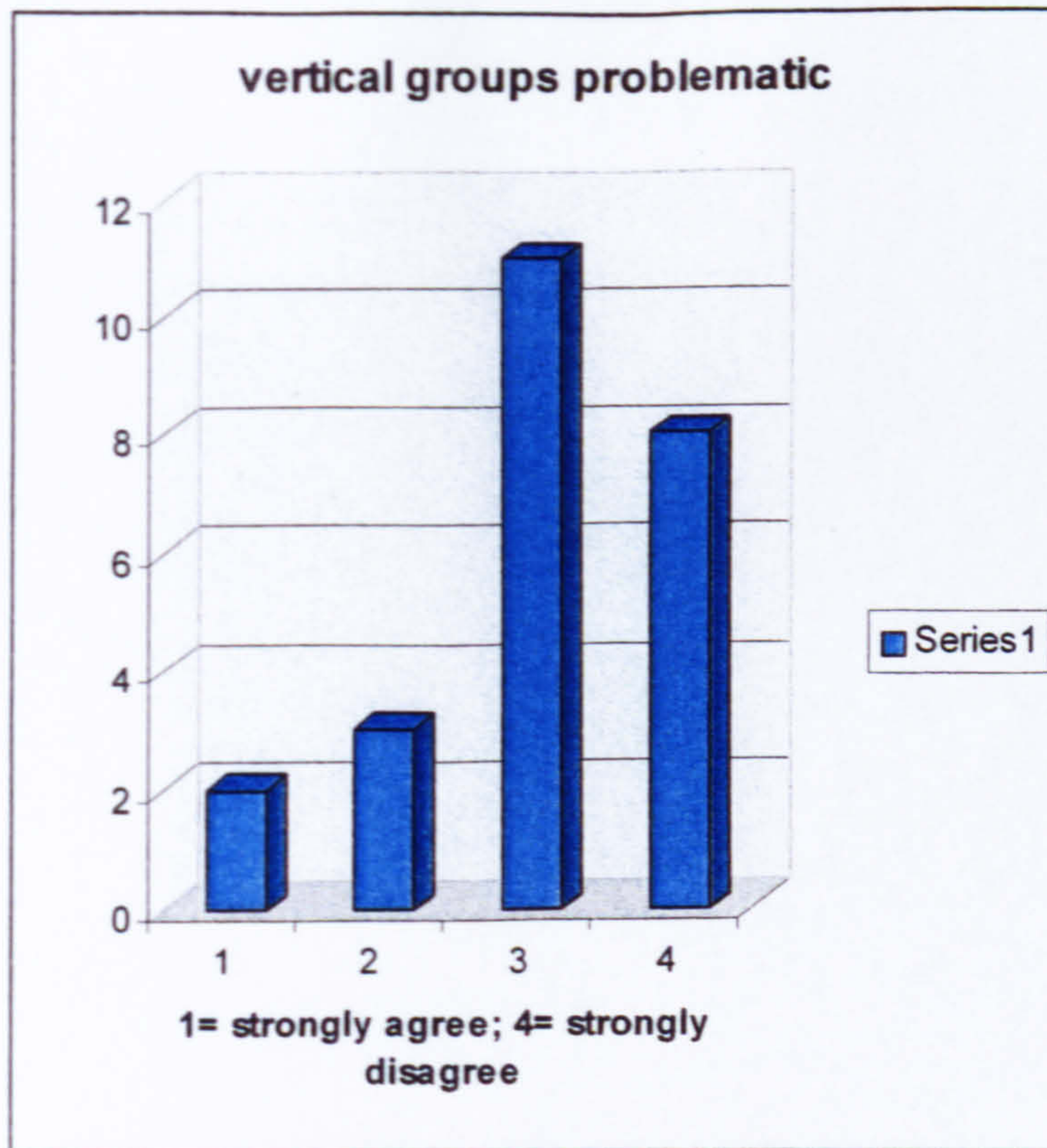


Figure 5.5 Teacher reviews of citizenship day 2000

Figure 5.6 Excerpts from teacher comments on citizenship day

- Brilliant day but I'm not sure pupils saw it as citizenship or whether it was just a fun time. Fun time, however, is important for building relationships with pupils
- Fabulous experience – well worth the effort
- I had a really nice time. Kids really enjoyed themselves. We need to be clear about sharing aims in relation to citizenship issues / themes so it makes sense to them and us
- Perhaps a day with more emphasis on duty, responsibility and helping others – i.e.. Community spirit. It was sad that the majority of students were concerned with getting their 'choice' of activity. It may be better for them to list their skills and be selected on that basis for different activities
- The day was very productive and the majority of pupils seemed to really enjoy it. Far more positives than negatives.
- We need to agree on exactly what we as a school mean by citizenship – i.e. totally inclusive. I feel it can be different things to us all

Many of these comments underline the necessity of articulating a shared understanding of the meaning of citizenship. It is the case, however, that few teachers were present at the prior assemblies in which it was defined for students and the launch assembly on the morning of December 5th.

Another longer term result of the day was that some curriculum areas developed activities or units of work that had a citizenship theme but could be exported into their own lessons. This was the case with one of the Science department's activities about

women scientists, which became part of the KS3 curriculum. Citizenship in Science began to acquire more of a real meaning.

5.3d) Building on Citizenship Days; citizenship becomes special events and activities.

During the academic year 2000 -2001 we initiated and saw through a handful of citizenship projects that either took younger students out of lessons or took place outside school hours. These were to become examples of, in Wenger's terms, participation making up for the limitations of reification. They included:

- Small group of pupils developing school citizenship website
 - About 23 Year 8 pupils working on a project to investigate opportunities for recycling green waste in the local area.
 - About 12 Year 8 pupils involved in a project to enact a mock magistrates court trial
- At the time, students would not have called these activities 'citizenship', although they later came to see the connection.

5.3e) The introduction of a citizenship person: citizenship becomes 'the politics geyser'

In February 2001 following adverts and interviews we appointed our 'citizenship Outreach Worker'. The idea of this post was one I developed with a local SRB (Single Regeneration Budget – government-funded initiative to develop areas of deprivation) project, 'Get Set for citizenship' whose personnel had close links with the school. The SRB would match fund the worker's pay for two years. Outreach Worker O, who was appointed to the post, is energetic and insightful and came from having worked for Save the Children. His commitment to young people's rights and the notion of real

participation was to bring added impetus to citizenship's developing profile, and to help shift meanings for the whole school community.

Wenger writes about learning as an 'emergent structure'

... the inclusion of new members can,... create a ripple of new opportunities for mutual engagements; these new relationships can awaken new interests that translate into a renegotiation of the enterprise.

(Wenger, 2001:97)

O is strongly committed to the role of political literacy in citizenship education. Students began to associate him with his overtly political perspective. The best evidence of this came to light when one pupil, asked who Mr.O was, said 'he's the politics geyser.' This notion was reinforced for year 7 and 8 students when O led the 'Y Vote' project in the summer term of 2001. The students set up their own political parties and we had a proper secret ballot with hustings.

5.3f) May 2001: Departments asked to produce specific lessons 'about, for and through' citizenship

Realising that we needed to generate more specific meaning for citizenship as it might occur within other subjects, we moved away from the conventional approach to audit. Instead, at a twilight INSET session in May 2001, we highlighted for all staff the specificity of citizenship. We emphasised the importance of a holistic approach in which knowledge was acquired through exercising and developing skills of enquiry and participation. Although we explained about the importance of 'change outcomes'

we recognised that it would be idealistic to hope for this in all curriculum areas. This approach certainly generated more evidence of an increasingly specific focus on citizenship learning across the curriculum. Several subject areas retained the separation of knowledge and skills, but the knowledge content seemed more relevant for citizenship. Among the best examples of this are those below:

Figure 5.7: Departmental approaches to holistic citizenship learning

DEPARTMENT	Learning about citizenship	Learning for citizenship	Learning through citizenship
Maths	Human rights raising awareness of children's/ women's roles in other cultures society from real collected data	Learning skills to interpret and analyse data effectively with an awareness of Misleading statistical bias (using ICT)	Prepare presentation for assemblies/forming opinions/topics for discussion
DEPARTMENT	Learning about citizenship	Learning for citizenship	Learning through citizenship
ICT	<p><u>Sixth Form IT GCSE</u></p> <p>Data Protection Act – invent a game based on rule/ penalties of the act</p> <p><u>DTP Project Year 10 GCSE ICT</u></p> <p>Changing focus to local campaign issues rather than local business</p>	<p><u>Sixth Form IT GCSE</u></p> <p>Data Protection Act – work in groups, use ICT, debating</p> <p><u>DTP Project Year 10 GCSE ICT</u></p> <p>Presentation will raise issues of manipulation and persuasion. Large ICT input. Create and communicate argument/campaign</p>	<p><u>Sixth Form IT GCSE</u></p> <p>Data Protection Act – raises awareness of issues of privacy, integrity of data etc. and will be evaluated</p> <p><u>DTP Project Year 10 GCSE ICT</u></p> <p>Depending on pupil choice could result in action. All projects will be self-evaluated/</p>

DEPARTMENT	Learning about citizenship	Learning through and for citizenship
Design and technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion of the human issues surrounding production and collection of raw materials across the world. • Processing of foods and the relative advantages/disadvantages of GM ~ foods/food hygiene/ political/ social/ financial implications • Built-in obsolescence • Corporate responsibility • Effects of the media on our decisions about the purchase and identity of purchased products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing projects with intermediate/ appropriate technology where pupils work together to build a bridge/tower etc., where appropriate materials have been chosen • Making jewellery from scrap materials • Using recycled materials • Using materials from Peckham scrap project • Refuse recycling centre

(Feedback from departments on delivering citizenship Education, May 2001)

Our special focus allowed us to become, over time, a little more 'purist' about the meaning we attached to citizenship.

As part of the whole school development plan for 2002/3 departments were asked to take this work further, developing another lesson or group of lessons in this way.

5.3g) Citizenship Day 2: enhancing participation, enjoying 'citizenship' activities

Following the success of the first citizenship Day, everyone was keen to hold another and it was decided that the next one should happen in summer. Hence the next one took place in June 2002. It involved a similar range of activities and its evaluation by students and staff produced results much the same as the previous one. This time,

students were invited to comment, following the day, on what citizenship means to them.

The word 'fun' was used 57 times in pupils' written comments – some generally about the day and 15 times about the meaning of citizenship. 154 students across 4 year groups chose to write something in response to the question about what citizenship means to them.

citizenship is about...	Number of students mentioning the word out of 154
Working together	37
Community	33
Enjoyable	13
Fun	16
Helping	9
Different backgrounds	8
Getting to know different people	6
Communicating	4

Figure 5.8 Meanings Students Associated with Citizenship 2002

There were no prompts on the questionnaires. The most commonly occurring phrase was 'working together' (37). The mention of different backgrounds is noteworthy because we had a group of young musicians visiting from Brazil. Their music (played on instruments made from recycled materials) and dancing enthralled our students.

This gave rise to some wonderful comments:

- It really was fun and I enjoyed every single minute of it. It was hard to communicate because they don't speak English but it was all good
- The Brazil (sic) was the best even people that did not come watched through the window

- I like the Brazilian music. It was fun and thrilling
- I liked being able to speak in Brazilian (sic) with the people
- I think we should have more contact with the Brazilian people. I was well impressed with them
- It was a bit boring except for watching the Brazilians

The visit of the Brazilians was made possible through a Children's Society contact who had previously worked in the school community department. It was in many ways a lucky coincidence as we had not gone out of our way to arrange this. However, it had the fortuitous consequence of highlighting through pupils' awareness of the global dimension of citizenship through their enjoyment of contact with young people from Brazil.

These latter examples of the meanings students were beginning to articulate on the basis of their experiences up to summer 2002 reflect the impact of participation. Wenger contends that participation makes up for the inherent limitations of reification, and students' understanding of citizenship was clearly quite bound up with the activities they experienced. These highlight the notion of participation, but largely fail to connect with an explicit human rights framework. Nor did many of the activities on the two days directly address political literacy. The experiences of most students up until June 2002 largely provided evidence only for:

- Participation – effectively working with others
- Appreciating and tolerating difference

5.4 Phases III and IV September 2001 – May 2003

5.4a) Turning point: Separate Curriculum Identity for citizenship.

A turning point, in terms of meanings attached to citizenship by the school community, came when we were able to introduce citizenship as a 'subject' in its own right. Being able to introduce separate lessons allowed us to escape the trap of labelling many unrelated strands of PSHE 'citizenship'. Other schools have often resorted to delivering citizenship through PSHE. I have observed lessons delivered by trainee teachers in other schools entitled 'PSHE and citizenship' and seen this written on the covers of students' exercise books. Wenger's words help explain why the most significant development, in terms of moving understanding of the concept forward, came with this move to make it explicit:

... such processes as making something explicit, formalizing, or sharing are not merely translations; they are indeed transformations – the production of a new context of both participation and reification, in which the relations between the tacit and the explicit, the formal and the informal, the individual and the collective, are to be renegotiated.

(Wenger, 2001: 68)

By the academic year 2001/2002 students in Year 10 were engaged in experiences which provided another layer to the sets of meanings they perceived. They were having separate one hour weekly GCSE Citizenship Studies lessons. By the autumn term of 2002 the KS 4 citizenship affected some 400 students in two year groups. The relatively dense course content militated against some of the active learning and orientation to change outcomes we would have preferred. Nonetheless, we managed to end most units of work with some change-oriented activity. The unit on global politics and power ended with students writing letters to the 'Sun' and 'Mirror' newspapers

about their coverage of Britain's treatment of Iraq - which the students were impressed to have acknowledged in letters of reply to them from the editors. At the end of the globalisation unit students could choose either to make posters advertising ethical consumption and Fairtrade products or to write letters to the director of Nike about workers' conditions and pay. Anti-racist posters were produced at the end of the unit on crime and justice.

In addition, the 'coursework' or 'internal assessment' has allowed us to promote the notion of active citizenship and making a difference. The 'active learning in the community' GCSE coursework has been seen as effective by teachers and students. Many students have embraced the opportunities to investigate an issue that concerns them directly. They have chosen to engage in a variety of projects. They have researched their issue using surveys, photographs and video and have presented recommendations to panels of local decision-makers. They have evaluated their own work, and reflected on how they collaborated with other students.

Some had researched crime in the local area, making proposals for improved safety. Others explored the problem of teenagers smoking, attributing its continuation to unprincipled shopkeepers. They presented video evidence of this, which they showed to the local police. Yet another group produced an engaging video about the students' desire for a skateboard park. They argued that this would help reduce crime locally. Their presentation was enthusiastically received by a Lewisham councillor, who promised to take the recommendation back to the council. A skateboard park was created within a year. These are three examples amongst many. Some students were

showing awareness of racism and bullying as citizenship issues because of heightened insight into human rights.

At Key Stage 3 we developed an unusual model of delivery. Each class in years 7 and 8 had a whole morning (equivalent to 3 one hour lessons) devoted to citizenship learning every half term. The sessions took place on a different day of the week each half term in order to avoid taking time from the same lessons each cycle. During the first morning session students considered meanings of citizenship and arrived at group and class definitions. These were revisited each half term, and refined on the basis of students' learning experiences. By March 2003 almost all students in the two year groups would state that citizenship is about 'working with others for change'. The sessions also involved various games, debates and role plays designed to enhance cooperative skills, thinking skills and decision making. The major focus over the first half year was investigating local leisure facilities and making recommendations as to how they might be improved. This was real situated learning: students did fieldwork in the local area, including photography and interviews, and developed presentations, which were made in the summer term to people with power locally. The outcomes of these included improved lighting, a new pedestrian crossing, and pigeon netting under a bridge. During the next two half terms the focus was upon developing political literacy and global awareness.

5.4b) Students articulating new meanings for citizenship

My interviews with a sample of 30 students across Key Stages 3 and 4 during the spring of 2003 (See page 133 and Appendix 12) included two questions relating to the meaning of citizenship: one about its usefulness and one asking them to describe a

citizenship activity. From these two questions some key meanings, from the students' perspective, emerged. They talked about citizenship as being useful in the following terms:

5.4b)1. Citizenship learning is useful from a global and multicultural perspective.

The GCSE course includes globalisation and conflict. Several students valued this:

In some ways I think it is useful because you get to learn about the world and where people live and look at their background and you understand it more. So I think it is kind of useful.

(Charlene Y10 girl)

Many, like Charlene, saw it as a means to promoting understanding of and respect for cultural diversity. For example:

So far in our citizenship lessons we've learned a lot about the different cultures and different ways of treating people and how other people are treated in different countries all over the world. It's really interesting.

(Peter Y10 boy)

A few students related it to their own career aspirations:

[Learning about citizenship is useful]. Like if you want to be a lawyer ... we have learned quite a bit of stuff about law and what happens in a magistrate's court. Sometimes it gives you a view of how other people live and not everyone else is as better off as you. It can convince you to open up your eyes to how other people live.

(Rita Y10 girl)

It's useful in ways like if you want to be a politician. It's also useful if you need more help in speaking out in public, working with others without any problems and learning to deal with people you don't like and learning to work with older students and younger students and working together to get something done. It's a big project that everyone is taking part of.

(Anma Y9 girl)

Interviews with other students reflected their engagement with political literacy and activities in which they had written letters to the press about their view on the conflict with Iraq. Not all participants saw the activity as having a valid outcome:

Sometimes I think it is[useful] but ... like not too long ago we done stuff about why we should go to war with Iraq and I was wondering like... it was quite interesting but I was thinking like at the end of the day we can't exactly change what Tony Blair wants to do because like the people at the top of it, like right next to him find it hard to change his mind. So like school kids won't be able to help that much. I just find it a bit of a waste of time.

(Perez Y10 boy)

5.4b.2) Citizenship is useful from a local perspective.

Students in Years 7 and 8 had engaged in a series of activities focused on investigating and improving local leisure facilities. Their understanding is shown in terms of participation and environmental awareness. Some of them expressed the view that learning about citizenship can help people make informed choices about leisure time:

It is [useful] in a way because people can find out how environment are like(sic.)
 You can't just go to one place every time. They could go places that they haven't
 been before. Like they could change their mind. They have a chance.

(Albert Y7 boy)

Yeah. Definitely. Because some people need to know about their environment;
 about where they live and like people in general and they don't know that. So it's
 really useful'.

(Mitsy Y8 girl)

Albert and Mitsy were referring to activities they had undertaken in citizenship
 sessions visiting and evaluating local leisure facilities.

Others had understood that they could have an impact on the development of the local
 area. This was reinforced by feedback from a panel of influential local people
 including Council officers for Leisure and Parks when the Year 7 and 8 students
 presented their findings and recommendations for change. Changes included those
 listed on page As Emma said:

... in citizenship you get to learn about the community and what people think and
 then you can put your own opinion forward to improve.

(Emma Y8 girl)

The answers about the usefulness of citizenship learning were almost entirely positive,
 although some comments to teachers during lessons feedback indicated there were
 some students in Years 10 and 11 who might not agree. The reasons given for the
 usefulness of citizenship show that students were beginning to see it in terms of the
 meanings listed in 5.1. There is a strong correlation between the 'content' focus of the

citizenship lessons in each year group and their understanding of the implications of studying citizenship, as reflected in the references to local issues by Years 7 and 8, and more global references from the Year 10 students.

Students in Year 10 at the time of interview had either just begun their coursework or had started the Globalisation unit. They articulated notions linked more to global issues and power. There is evidence (see section 5.4b.1.) that their learning had touched upon the global perspective, explored aspects of global conflict as well as appreciating differences.

5.4b)3. Citizenship as democratic representation

Through the activities of the school council and through the development of enhanced student voice in school many students came to see the link between ‘having a say’ and citizenship:

Yes it is useful because then they will get to say how they want the school to be and how to make it better and change it so it’s beneficial to everyone.

(Jacob Y9 boy)

Yes because it tells people what it’s about and how they can get involved and stuff and people that are interested can get involved. They don’t need to just sit and just do nothing.

(Lily Y9 girl)

Several interviewees spoke of their work in projects to improve the school grounds, either as volunteers in the school grounds project, or as part of their GCSE coursework:

Doing the recording of interviews to see what pupils in our school think should be done to improve the school and the school grounds. It was worth it because we made a lot of surveys and video recordings and it has helped to change the school. Because you can see the changes around the school now because everything is improving.

(Mark Y11 boy)

The examples to which Mark was referring included the installation of some trees, benches and bike sheds. Some of these statements can be seen as evidence of the young people's sense of agency, to be explored in a later chapter.

5.4b)4. Students talking about citizenship activities as participative learning

Asked to describe 'citizenship activities' they had been involved in, some students – unexpectedly – referred to the different kinds of classroom practice they have experienced in their citizenship lessons. In asking the question, I had expected them to talk either about the GCSE coursework, the local area activities, aspects of citizenship days or other specific projects. The responses are interesting because of the equation between lessons and activity. Two recounted the role play activities we developed to provide insight into the workings of the criminal justice system:

We had to do an activity in class where we had to look at what happened. There was a case... like there was a murder and we had to like to do court scene and I found that quite good because then people express like what they're thinking but without the teachers telling us what to say and write so I found that better...

(Perez Y10 boy)

Our class has practised how a court works. It is quite interesting to know how a court runs and what you must do to represent your case and stuff like that. It's kind of interesting.

(Rita, Y10 girl)

Another student talked about the 'alphabet bench' activity we have used to develop skills in cooperation

Yeah. Mr. O lined the chairs up and we had to stand on the chairs and we had to arrange ourselves in alphabetical order without talking which was quite hard but we got round because we could like sign and make like As and Cs with our hands which was quite good fun. [This taught us] different way of communicating because that way they could not speak so they had to use different ways of speaking.

(Theo, Y7 boy)

As the project progressed, classes of Year 7 (11 year old) and Year 12 (8 year old) students, after introductory lessons, were asked to write on post-it notes what citizenship means. Every pair in the class was required to 'post' at least one on the whiteboard at the front. These were then collected and passed to me. Of three classes (87 students) over 40 students mentioned community and joint endeavour.

5.4b) 5. Citizenship activities that have developed economic awareness

Some students voluntarily participated in protests in central London about world trade after studying the globalisation unit and wrote about it in the school newsletter. Others came to developed enhanced economic understanding through projects about smoking:

Well, me, Michael, Ola, Yewande and Patricia all did .. our coursework was to study smoking and how it affects younger and older people in our community. It's something that I have always known about but I really didn't understand why they did it and I see that people don't really care for others. Like in the shop the guy didn't really care about what age we were. He just wanted to earn a profit.

(Idomile Y11 boy)

5.4b) 6. *Students talking about citizenship activities as challenging racism.*

Several groups of GCSE students have chosen racism as their topic for investigation, analysis and action. When asked about citizenship activities, this is what they choose to explain:

Racism. We have done racism and bullying and we're still working on a project now to stop people bullying in the year like in our school if there is any. And we explain to people like if it's right or if it's wrong; have you experienced being bullied and things like that.

(Helen Y10 girl)

The project to which Helen referred was a peer anti-bullying workshop which was perceived as being so effective that it was show-cased at a conference for schools earlier that year.

5.4b)7. *Students changing their minds about what citizenship means for them.*

Some of the early statements from Year 10 students, particularly Perez, reflect an attitude I encountered when I informally interviewed a few of the students in the previous Year 10 (2001) . When asked if they enjoyed citizenship studies, Gary, Joel and others said 'Not really.' When asked why, the response was:

Well , Miss, you are always going on about how we can change things and make a difference. But we can't no-one ever listens to us. So there's no point.

Such an attitude is hardly surprising from members of a community where generations have not been listened to, and where a series of regeneration projects have failed to address the underlying socio-economic deprivation. Significantly, however, less than a year later, the very same students, in the wake of successful coursework projects, wrote about how they had come to see that they could make a difference.

If you are dedicated to your cause then there is a chance you will achieve your goal. Some students who presented their coursework to our local MP and police officer were told that they gave an impressive presentation and they would look into the matter deeply and try to do what they asked. Some students also changed the minds of some of the students and now we know how other people feel about the issues we face in society.

And now some of the teachers know how some students feel about the issues in and out of school and maybe now they will do something to make a difference which means we have made a difference.

(Gary Year 11).

This change in perception both of themselves and of the relevance of Citizenship Studies was clearly the result of effective participation, and will be explored further in the chapter on practice.

Some responses, like those of Perez and Rita above, provide evidence that the GCSE course was beginning to develop political literacy through citizenship activities and showing the students that they could be active agents of change.

The evidence from this sample of students does suggest that understanding of the various meanings of citizenship had deepened across the student body since the introduction of separate citizenship lessons.

Encouragingly, it also suggests that we were managing to overcome, to some extent, the tendency observed in some other schools, to separate the learning of citizenship content from citizenship activities. Alderson (2002f: 38) states

Government plans for citizenship education (QCA 1998, 2001) divorce instruction from practical activities in schools, and divorce rights from citizenship.

5.5 Challenges for developing meaning: human rights and sharing insights

What was still absent from the students' articulated meanings was the connection with rights. It may be implicit in the sense of rights to participate in references to the school council and in their awareness of issues of racism and tolerance. There is also an implied connection between the work in the local area done with Years 7 and 8 and the rights agenda. The students recognised that it would be to their benefit if there were more accessible and inviting recreational facilities in the local area. They talked spontaneously about safety issues and their wish to be protected – for example through better lighting. Alderson (2002f), writing about problems caused by the lack of local amenities, notes that this lack suggests disrespect for children's and teenager's rights

to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly and to an adequate standard of living – all contained within the articles of the UN Convention. She argues that in practice these rights mean being able to meet and play with their friends in public spaces. This is a connection we teachers could make explicit for students in order to develop a clearer human rights perspective. The notion of rights is being articulated by students in a different context, related to the school's practice and management of behaviour. This will be explored in a later section. Students' responses reflect a far greater sense of social and participative than civil or political rights. This echoes the findings of Lister et al (2003:251).

There was much work still to be done in enabling the whole school staff to articulate and internalise pertinent shared meanings for citizenship. This is an issue which was raised again later in the Citizenship Working Party. However, what emerges from the investigations leading to this chapter is the reality that participation in separately identified citizenship activities enhances the nature of meaning attached to it. To revisit Wenger, the processes involved in making citizenship explicit, in formalizing and sharing in relevant experiences, had begun to produce a kind of transformation, enabling us to renegotiate meaning. The overriding senses of meaning that emerge from the research, particularly students' responses, are about participation and relationships. The citizenship days were very popular, with many students asking after 2002 when the next one would be. What the students treasured most about those days were the sense of community they generated. As these days became icons in the folklore of the citizenship project, so the notion of community and joint endeavour became potent aspects of the sets of meanings of citizenship.

Summary:**Wenger states:**

Meaning – our ability to experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful – is ultimately what learning is to produce.

(Wenger, 2001: 4)

This chapter has outlined the development of meanings attached to citizenship by members of the school community. It has shown that in the process of launching the project some important concepts were by-passed, particularly the human rights and active participation dimensions of citizenship. In the initial consultation and construction phase, the concept of citizenship was reified and reduced very much to a concept of civics. It developed from what was virtually a cross curricular theme to more holistic approach to learning across the curriculum. Through citizenship days and special events the notion of citizenship came to be associated with the school as a community and an opportunity for fun. Once the subject had a separate identity and students were engaged in activities with change outcomes citizenship began to develop the connotations that can make a difference.

One of the themes that emerges, not surprisingly, is that the more time is dedicated to separate citizenship learning and activities by members of the school community, the more sophisticated the meanings attached to citizenship. Secondly, the meanings that developed during the Construction phase in the first year, due to the initially low levels of participation, contributed to a process of reification. The balance between participation and reification therefore needed to be addressed in subsequent developments.