

# Teachers' Understandings of Citizenship

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## Abstract

This study asks ‘what understandings do teachers, *as teachers*, have of citizenship?’. It is, for the most part, concerned to identify teachers’ professional understandings of citizenship, and to explore how, in the context of education for citizenship, teachers justify defining citizenship in particular ways. The ideals associated with different schools of thought on citizenship are used throughout to inform discussion of teachers’ understandings. This provides a valuable means of situating teachers’ understandings in the context of philosophical and policy-oriented debates about citizenship. It helps to illuminate the ramifications of teachers’ understandings in terms of the type of society they anticipate when talking about citizenship, and how they see the citizen’s role within this. It is noted that if teachers embrace particular forms of citizenship while neglecting others, this has implications far beyond the teachers’ understandings themselves. By considering these implications, the study is able to offer a critical consideration of the understandings teachers have sought to promote through education for citizenship.

Empirically, the study draws together a wide range of data sources, including teaching materials, lesson observations and interview data, using these to present an in-depth insight into the understandings of seven Key Stage 3 and 4 teachers, each with responsibility for education for citizenship. The teachers are shown to draw together a range of (potentially conflicting) ideals in the understandings they present. In general terms, they appear to fall into two groups, presenting understandings which evoke different traditions of citizenship. Some of the teachers speak clearly to ideas of a strong citizen-state relationship - echoing many of the ideals presented in civic-republican and social-liberal traditions of citizenship. Data from other teachers can be most clearly understood in the context of neo-liberal and communitarian traditions of citizenship. Explored individually, I draw attention to instances in the teachers’ understandings where they blend, mediate and adapt the ideals associated with different traditions. I note that there are also instances in which teachers present ideals in stark relief. I suggest that education for citizenship might best be developed by ensuring that programmes marry community-centred, philanthropic notions of citizenship, with more traditional notions of citizens’ participation in government. Rather than being seen as a ‘corrective’ exercise, in which particular aspects of citizenship are emphasised in response to current social trends, education for citizenship may fare better if based on an holistic understanding, which blends the ideals associated with different traditions.

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## 1) INTRODUCTION

This study is centrally concerned with teachers' understandings of citizenship, as expressed in their professional role as teachers, and in relation to their programmes of education for citizenship. In it, I seek to make sense of teachers' understandings in the context of philosophical and policy oriented debates about citizenship. I explore the links between different traditions of citizenship and the understandings teachers present, and consider whether teachers may embrace particular forms of citizenship while neglecting others. In sum, my intention is to use different traditions of citizenship (i) to help to unravel teachers' understandings; and (ii) to situate their understandings in the context of wider philosophical and policy oriented debates about citizenship.

This approach also allows me to draw attention to issues beyond teachers' immediate understandings. That contrasting ideals have been presented by different schools of thought, and in doing so, have criticised one another, allows me to raise fundamental issues about what it is to be a citizen. By relating teachers' understandings to these issues, I am able to introduce a critical dimension into analysis, questioning the purposes teachers attribute to education for citizenship. If teachers embrace particular forms of citizenship while neglecting others, this has implications far beyond the teachers' understandings themselves, both in terms of the type of society they anticipate when educating for citizenship, and the citizen's role within this. Using different traditions of citizenship as a frame of reference, I explore these wider ramifications of teachers' understandings.

In doing so, I acknowledge that "teacher and school cultures are linked to ideologies, practices and material conditions at the macro level of society." (Pike 1997, p219) Explicit links have always been made in literature between philosophical traditions of citizenship and the form education for citizenship might take. For example, Aristotle argued that:

The greatest... of all the means... for ensuring the stability of constitutions... is the education of citizens in the spirit of their constitution... the citizens [must be] attuned, by... the influence of teaching to the right constitutional temper. (cited Heater 1990, p7)

Similarly, in a contemporary context, Starkey (2000) has argued “what is deemed [an] appropriate [education for citizenship] may be contingent on the underlying political philosophy.” (Halpern et al 2002, p218) By exploring teachers’ understandings in the context of different traditions of citizenship, this study provides some indication as to whether there is a distinct underlying philosophy, or whether, as Frazer suggests, there is “an absence of political consensus and a dominant political tradition” which makes education for citizenship hard to implement (Halpern et al 2002, p218).

Acknowledging Frazer’s argument, it is quite possible that when educating for citizenship, teachers may be preparing their pupils for a variety of contrasting roles as citizens. Looking at the different traditions of citizenship teachers’ understandings speak to, allows this to be seen. As Brindle and Arnot (1999) argue:

today’s researchers must critically engage with modern historical configurations of notions of citizenship, the ideal citizen, the polity and public sphere if they want to fully understand the role that education for citizenship can play in schools. (p120)

In sum, working from Mouffe’s (1992) premise that:

the way in which we define citizenship is intimately linked to the kind of society and political community we want (p225)

or, more clearly situated in an educational context, Kerr’s (1999) assertion that:

because education for citizenship is accepted as central to society, it follows that attitudes to education and by default to citizenship education are dependent upon the particular conception of citizenship put forward (p4)

this study asks “what understandings do teachers, *as teachers*, have of citizenship?”.

Although this question appears fairly general, there are four points I want to make about it, and in doing so, clarify my research focus. Firstly, I have deliberately chosen to focus on teachers’ *understandings* of citizenship, rather than *definitions* or *meanings*. My reason for this is as follows. It is quite possible that within a sample, teachers may present very similar definitions of citizenship. However, they may have arrived at these



definitions in very different ways. To explore this possibility, it is necessary to look at the understandings underlying the meanings teachers give citizenship. Thus, by focusing on understandings I am able to ask both (i) how do teachers define citizenship?; and (ii) *why* have they defined in this way?

Secondly, I have chosen to focus specifically on teachers' understandings of citizenship, rather than pedagogy or other related matters. This said, at times it is necessary to 'look through' teachers' pedagogical approaches, in order to explore the understandings of citizenship they want to communicate to pupils. As this study focuses on *teachers'* understandings of citizenship precisely because of their role in devising programmes of education for citizenship, it would be unduly restrictive for me not to acknowledge understandings embedded specifically in a pedagogic context.

My third point also addresses the relationship between teachers' understandings of citizenship and their pedagogic approaches. When talking about citizenship, teachers may, at times, present understandings which they see as integral to citizenship, but as ill-suited to programmes of education for citizenship. For example, while party politics may be understood as central to citizenship, it is often considered inappropriate as a curricular topic (Stradling 1985). I would suggest that, where possible, it benefits my analysis to reflect this, and to acknowledge that professional concerns may lead teachers to differentiate between the general understandings they hold outside their role as teachers, and those they see as appropriate to education for citizenship. Although my research question does not invite a specific focus on this issue, it is sufficiently open to allow me to draw attention to instances where there are differences between personal and professional understandings. It is of considerable interest if, when talking specifically about their programmes of education for citizenship, teachers appear to narrow their range of understandings; how they have chosen to focus their understandings as teachers, has wider ramifications in terms of the type of society promoted, and the citizen's role within this.

Finally, as Pike (1997) notes, teachers derive meaning from a combination of:

internal forces (aspects relating to personal beliefs, values and experiences) and external factors (forces primarily exerted by other people, organisations or situations, such as professional development, school culture). (p209)

As such, in their role as teachers, they may be expected to present understandings which relate both to “internal forces” and “external factors”. Teachers may, for example, express understandings of citizenship relating to: (i) the understandings they want to present within programmes of education for citizenship; (ii) the presentation of citizenship in QCA documents; (iii) what they personally understand citizenship to be; and (iv) how they think citizenship relates to their pupils’ circumstances - and this list is by no means exhaustive. All of these understandings, although seeking to make sense of citizenship from different angles, provide an insight into *teachers’* understandings of citizenship. This is acknowledged in the study’s methodology, and in the understandings explored in chapters five and six.

Having clearly stated and qualified my research question, I now want to explain how this study makes an original contribution to knowledge through its methodological and analytical approach. With this aim in mind, the rest of this introductory chapter focuses on (i) why teachers’ understandings of citizenship is an important area for research; and (ii) how considering teachers’ understandings of citizenship in the context of different philosophical traditions, can further our knowledge about education for citizenship. To do so, I explore both (i) the nature of education for citizenship; and (ii) the contributions made by previous research in this area. I conclude by discussing how, in this study, I envisage the relationship between teachers’ understandings and different philosophical traditions.

### 1.1) The Nature of Education for Citizenship.

There is currently much interest in education for citizenship, making research in this area particularly timely. Having made little impact as a cross-curricular theme in the early 1990s (Fogelman 1990, Davies 1994) education for citizenship is now enjoying a renaissance. In November 1997, in the White Paper Excellence in Schools, the Secretary of State for Education pledged to “strengthen education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools.” (cited QCA 1998, p3) Following this, an

advisory group was established by the Secretary of State for Education and Employment with the remit of:

provid[ing] advice on effective education for citizenship in schools - to include the nature and practices of participation in a democracy; the duties, responsibilities and rights of individuals as citizens; and the value to individuals and society of community activity. (QCA 1998, p4)

In September 1998, the advisory group produced its final report, a copy of which was sent to all schools in England and Wales. The report, titled "Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools" (QCA 1998), attempted to define citizenship for educational import, and proposed frameworks and learning outcomes for education for citizenship. (The advisory group's report is more commonly referred to as "The Crick Report" and I use this less formal title throughout.)

Following this, in the 2000 review of the National Curriculum, citizenship was made a statutory subject for the first time, to be introduced into English and Welsh secondary schools as of August 2002. A statutory order for citizenship was published in 1999 (DfEE/QCA) but its recommendations were couched in very general, rather than tightly prescribed, terms. It was deliberately intended that teachers should be free to adapt education for citizenship to respond to pupils' particular circumstances and interests. That a two year gap was allowed between the publication of the statutory order, and the mandatory start date for teaching citizenship, reflects this. Schools were given time to decide how to address citizenship and devise their own programmes accordingly.

That such flexibility of interpretation has been allowed, draws attention to the highly controversial and contested nature of citizenship, and following this, of education for citizenship. Moving on to look more specifically at the nature of citizenship and its role in education, Kahne (1999) notes that existing literature is:

generative rather than definitive. No single 'correct' understanding emerges concerning the attitudes, skills, and knowledge that citizens require. Nor is there agreement regarding the ways different curriculum approaches might support the development of citizens however defined. (p1)

That there is no real agreement on what citizenship is, nor how to teach it, can, I suggest, be considered at one time both the joy of education for citizenship and its potential downfall.

Citizenship is an extremely diverse, complex and expanding construct. As a consequence, it is subject to unresolved issues of definition and application. This leaves the nature of educational action in relation to citizenship open to question. On the one hand, there is, as James (1999) notes, “a kind of functional ambiguity to the idea of citizenship” (p18). If citizenship is (i) to be seen as a dynamic and evolving concept; and (ii) if teachers are to have the freedom to adapt education for citizenship to respond to their pupils’ needs, this is essential. Given this, in the context of education for citizenship, citizenship’s ambiguity can be argued to have “a lubricative and constructive effect.” (McLaughlin 2000, p451)

On the other hand, concerns have been expressed that “there are few opportunities for pupils to develop an understanding of citizenship, mostly because there is no agreed view of what this entails” (QCA 1998, para 1.8). Research has raised questions about how broadly citizenship can be defined for educational import and still retain a distinct meaning. For example, Fogelman (1991) implicitly questioned whether citizenship could be attributed such a diverse range of meanings as those revealed in his study of secondary schools’ programmes of education for citizenship. More recently, Davies et al (1999) have argued for clearer differentiation between education for citizenship and other ‘humanely inspired initiatives’ such as human rights education.

Similarly, on a philosophical level, Heater (1990) has suggested that citizenship is becoming “stretched beyond its elasticity” (p281), arguing:

..the terms ‘citizen’ and ‘citizenship’ are in constant use throughout the world today: the concepts are central to everyday political discourse. Is it therefore good enough for ‘citizenship’ to be a ‘Humpty-Dumpty’ word, in danger of crashing into fragments while asserting it means just what it chooses to mean? Surely not. Citizens should know what their status implies; and they should understand when politicians abuse the term by according the whole concept only a partial range of attributes. It is, moreover, important to understand the complexity of the role of citizen and to appreciate that much needs to be learned if civic rights are to be exercised, civic duties are to be performed and a life of civic virtue pursued. The citizen, in short, must be educated; and no teacher can

properly construct the necessary learning objectives if semantic confusion surrounds the very subject to be studied. (Heater 1990, pvii)

To some extent, the Crick Report has recognised and sought to further this call for philosophical clarity. It stresses the importance of a unifying definition which may inform the implementation of education for citizenship at various levels:

everyone directly involved in the education of our children - politicians and civil servants; community representatives; faith groups; school inspectors and governors; teacher trainers and teachers themselves; parents and indeed pupils - [must] be given a clear statement of what is meant by citizenship education and their central role in it. (para 4.10)

Indeed, much of merit could result from such a statement, allowing those working in each area of implementation to work towards common goals.

However, while it is easy to state that unity can be facilitative, its achievement is rife with difficulties. Even the suggestion that educational policy and practice must be informed by a shared understanding of citizenship, can be read as assuming the existence of an agreed definition of citizenship, if not an objective reality of what citizenship is. And yet, even this former option is negated by the diversity of meanings found across different traditions of citizenship. Simply, no matter how citizenship is defined for educational import, as it is interpreted by those with contrasting ideas about citizenship, any definition will inevitably be subject to criticism.

Given this, although citizenship has been made a statutory part of the National Curriculum, it is still important that when presenting statutory targets for education for citizenship, the state appears “formally neutral on what constitutes the good life” (Ignatieff 1991, p29). It would be ideologically unacceptable for the DfES, or the QCA (as a quasi state body), to discuss education for citizenship using a “language of implementation” which “strongly implies that there is, within policy, an unequivocal government position that will filter down through quasi state bodies [e.g. the QCA] and into schools” (Bowe et al. 1992, p10). Following this, it would be very difficult for the state even to direct teachers towards presenting certain understandings of citizenship.

Even though citizenship must exist on one level as a public concept (for it is maintained, in part, through public institutions), on an individual basis, and within the teaching profession, understandings of citizenship are much more likely to be private and various, shaped by “our beliefs, values, frames of reference.. [involving] ... a complex relationship between us as individuals, our communities and the cultures of which we are a part.” (Weiner 1994, p10) Recognising this, Taylor (1984) has argued for a ‘devolved model’ of implementation for education for citizenship, which places much of the onus for defining citizenship upon teachers. She argues that this is both:

morally and practically desirable, as it forces acknowledgement of the fact that much of the innovative work, both in defining the problems in providing an education [for citizenship] and in developing practice to bring it about, has been and is actually being done by teachers within their schools... [Even though this is] likely to create divergence between institutions... it is the model most acceptable to the nature of the initiative... A top-down model [for implementing education for citizenship] is clearly not appropriate, even if it would be more effective.” (Taylor 1984 cited Weiner 1994, p44).

To reflect on the discussion so far, although education for citizenship has been made a statutory subject, arguably, on moral grounds, it cannot be tightly defined from the top-down as other subjects have been. This has left education for citizenship to occupy a particularly complex position within the National Curriculum. In other subjects, although teachers may disagree on interpretation, they must at least refer to a common basis of knowledge. However, in education for citizenship, the subject’s very substantive basis is open to dispute.

Further to this, it is rare that teachers are allowed what is, in effect, *carte blanche*, to develop curricula. Whereas other subjects tend, at the very least, to be understood partly in terms of precedent, in education for citizenship there are few precedents to be followed. As Kerr (1997) notes, there has been little tradition of education for citizenship in England, and what precedents there are, such as the 1960’s approach of civics education, have been widely rejected (see for example Davies 1997; Crick 2000; Newton’s comments in *The Guardian* 03.09.02).

Simply, with no externally imposed, singular understanding of the aims and content of education for citizenship, there is a clear need for research to look at teachers' understandings of citizenship. Only by doing so will we be able to discover (i) what those teaching citizenship actually understand by citizenship; and (ii) what purposes they are attributing to educating for citizenship. This is important for as Bickmore (1993) comments in her study of Canadian social studies teachers, even when supplied with statutory guidelines, teachers will "implement the same curricular guidelines differently, reflecting their own interpretations of what is essential to citizenship education." (p375).

As such, this study aims to find out how teachers are interpreting citizenship, asking "what understandings do teachers, *as teachers*, have of citizenship?" It explores the sorts of understandings teachers have and asks what the wider ramifications of their understandings might be, in terms of the sort of society anticipated and the citizen's role within this. It looks at how teachers justify their decision to present certain understandings in the context of education for citizenship and not others. How teachers' understandings actually relate to what they teach, presents a later project. For the time being, a focus on teachers' understandings is an important first step, addressing a number of existing gaps in our knowledge about education for citizenship.

To justify this claim, below I set out the findings of existing research into teachers' understandings of citizenship, and explain how my approach both differs from and builds upon these.

## 1.2) Previous Research into Education for Citizenship.

To date, there has been comparatively little research into teachers' understandings of citizenship in general, and even less so specifically in the context of education for citizenship. Studies such as this one, are important to fill such gaps in existing knowledge. That there are gaps, can be seen in the content of reactionary and directive statements which have been made on a policy level over the last two years, as teachers have prepared to teach citizenship. For example, it is notable that while the Crick Report and statutory order for citizenship endorsed voluntary, philanthropic activity,

Crick has since felt it necessary to attack programmes of education for citizenship which are too exclusively oriented towards this (see Crick 2000a; 2000b). It seems that those working at a policy level may not have anticipated such a tightly focused interpretation of citizenship at a pedagogic level.

This situation has really only started to come to light over the last two or three years, as researchers have responded to burgeoning interest in education for citizenship. For example, Kahne (2000) has noted that "...volunteerism and kindness are often put forward as a way to avoid politics and policy" (p7). Thus, as education for citizenship is becoming established in schools, it is valuable for research to develop as detailed an insight as possible into teachers' understandings of citizenship. Such research may serve as a basis for recommendations on how, once established, education for citizenship might be developed.

There is, therefore, a clear need for research to provide a further insight into teachers' understandings of citizenship. This brings with it the question of whether researchers should focus, in-depth, on the understandings of a small sample of teachers, or whether they should seek to gain a broad overview of teachers' understandings. Previous studies on education for citizenship have tended to take the latter approach, the IEA citizenship survey (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) being the prime example. Using a standardised questionnaire format, the IEA study developed a broad overview of teachers' understandings in twenty-eight countries (Torney-Purta et al 1999; Torney-Purta 2000). Teachers were asked to respond to a number of statements about good citizenship, using a likert scale ranking to indicate their agreement or disagreement with each. On an international level, this has provided some indication of the general tenor of teachers' understandings, and suggested issues which teachers feel important.

To supplement this, research now needs to develop an in-depth insight into teachers' understandings, which allows teachers to express their own ideas about citizenship. By looking at a small sample of teachers and employing a qualitative research methodology, this study starts to provide such in-depth insights, and gives some indication of the complexity of teachers' understandings. My use of semi-structured



interviews, lesson observations and documentary analysis, marks a significant departure from the IEA study. Rather than asking teachers to respond to predetermined ideas about citizenship, the methods employed in this study “respect [teachers’] abilities to identify and express their own understandings, needs and priorities” (Rowlands 1997, p4). In line with this, themes for analysis have been identified from within the teachers’ understandings, emerging from the data. As such, this study provides a valuable supplement to the findings of larger studies, helping to address a gap in our existing knowledge.

This study also makes a contribution to our knowledge about education for citizenship through its analytical approach. By exploring teachers’ understandings in the context of different traditions of citizenship, I have been able to consider critically the roles teachers cast citizens in. This is something which previous research has largely neglected. Indeed, the way in which some empirically based studies have presented their findings, has led to very specifically focused definitions of citizenship being promoted as of greatest ‘educational value’. This is a matter of concern, and something which researchers need to address. To give an example, Torney-Purta (2000), found both teachers and students to present understandings of citizenship which were overwhelmingly oriented towards “participation in community or social movement based activities.” (p13) Following this, was the implicit suggestion that understandings which promote “particularistic or face-to-face involvement” (p13) are of greatest value to fostering citizenship, and provide an orientation for future innovation.

If research is presented in a way which advocates such narrowly focused definitions of citizenship without firstly exploring their wider ramifications, its merit is justifiably open to question - as indicated earlier by Kahne and Crick. Rather than simply reporting and endorsing teachers’ understandings, researchers must critically “attend to different beliefs and capacities regarding citizenship, improving society and social change... not argue that one conception of citizenship is necessarily better than another” (Kahne 2000, p11). By providing an in-depth insight into teachers’ understandings, *and then exploring these in the context of philosophical and policy oriented debates about citizenship*, I believe this study addresses this need.

With this in mind, the way in which philosophical traditions have been employed in this study, both as providing a context for analysis, and as a means of unravelling teachers' understandings, can be considered to offer a positive direction for future research into education for citizenship. To substantiate this claim further, in the final part of this introductory chapter, I want to draw critical attention to the ways in which previous studies have used literature as a tool in analysis. As part of this, I discuss the extent to which teachers' understandings of citizenship may be considered apt for philosophical consideration. Some have argued that as teachers are extremely unlikely to engage directly with the ideals expressed by different philosophical traditions, to present an analysis which associates their understandings with philosophical ideals lacks validity. My contention is that such arguments are overly simplistic, and fail to situate teachers' understandings in the context of contemporary political, social and economic debates about citizenship.

To make my case, I start by providing an overview of how, in earlier studies, the empirical and philosophical have been related.

### 1.3) Relating Philosophical Traditions to Teachers' Understandings.

To date, little has been done to relate philosophical and policy-oriented debates about citizenship to an analysis of teachers' understandings. In the context of education for citizenship, research of a philosophical nature has tended to run in parallel to empirical research, with there being little dialogue between these. The philosophical has been concerned with analysis and critique, and the empirical with reporting and justifying, with little being done to mount any form of dialogue between them. Even in edited collections which have included contributions of a philosophical nature as well as accounts of pedagogic practice, rarely have the issues raised on a philosophical basis been alluded to in practitioners' reports (e.g. Edwards and Fogelman 1993; Osler, Rathenow and Starkey 1996; Davies and Sobisch 1997). If, however, the specifically focused nature of some understandings is to be highlighted, and their ramifications considered, it is necessary for research into education for citizenship to link philosophical and practical ideals. This may "provide helpful checks on advocates' enthusiasm and better conceptualised documentation" (Kahne 2000, p13). That

previous research into education for citizenship has done little to explore such links, stems, I would suggest, from the ways in which it has attempted to make sense of teachers' understandings when using philosophical traditions as tools in analysis.

### 1.3.1) How Have Philosophical Traditions Been Employed in Previous Research?

The ways in which previous studies have employed philosophical literature in the analysis of teachers' understandings, have often been problematic. There has been a tendency among researchers either: (i) to suggest the imposition of philosophical theories upon understandings of an empirical nature; or (ii) to suggest the imposition of stark disjunctions between theory and data. The first of these tendencies can be illustrated through reference to work by Carr (1996). Carr proposed a framework for analysis based upon two juxtaposed models of society, labelled as 'moral' and 'market' societies. He then used these as substantive benchmarks to characterise different approaches to education for citizenship as furthering either moral or market ends. As a result, his analysis appears heavily reliant on the generalisation of aims so that they fit one or other characterisation. This, in turn, suggests the distortion of empirical understandings to fit predetermined, philosophically derived, ideals.

If this the case, it is unacceptable. Empirical work has to acknowledge "the presence of ambiguity, contradictions and general incoherence" (Bowe et al 1992, p35) in teachers' understandings. Teachers' understandings are likely to present a blend of many different ideas, influenced by a myriad of factors - social, economic, political, personal, pedagogic - and as such, to be highly complex. Research must reflect this, and not attempt to pigeonhole teachers as being of exclusively of one tradition or another.

My concern is, however, that in responding to the imposition of theory, some researchers have gone too far in the opposite direction. At times, stark disjunctions have been imposed between the empirical and philosophical, doing little constructive to aid analysis. I want to explore this point with specific reference to work by Davies et al (1997). With the aim of assessing how far philosophical understandings were useful for analysing teachers' understandings, their study looked for a fit between teachers' understandings and philosophical models of citizenship. They asked "whether familiarity

with the data seems to encourage, with no great sense of strain, the belief that the data speaks fairly obviously to one model rather than others.” (p19) The conclusions drawn were almost entirely negative, leading to the claim that philosophically derived models “cannot fruitfully aid in the interpretation of data.” (p19)

There are two comments I wish to make in response to this. The first is that Davies et al’s study maybe does more to highlight the inherently difficult nature of philosophical models, than to illuminate the relationship between teachers’ understandings and the ideals presented by philosophical theorists. When the complex understandings presented by different traditions of citizenship are presented as a model, they are stripped down to a set of unambiguous key points. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that models will be able to reflect the possibly complex, messy and uncertain nature of teachers’ understandings.

My second comment is that Davies et al looked for a clear fit between teachers’ understandings and models, and this perhaps made them overly dismissive of the role philosophical ideals can play when exploring teachers’ understandings. For example, one of the models considered was derived from Heater’s historical overview of citizenship (Heater 1990). This identifies five stages in the development of citizenship from Ancient Greece to the present day. Of Heater’s model, they commented that it “was found a long way distant from the characteristic tenor of teacher responses” though “given its wide ranging remit... it is barely surprising that among the issues raised by some of our teachers... some figure as elements in Heater’s sweeping characterisation of citizenship.” (p19)

Davies et al are quite right to note disjunctions between different models and teachers’ understandings. However, rather than dismissing the usefulness of Heater’s historical overview, I think it is equally important to note that some of the teachers’ understandings spoke to particular aspects in Heater’s overview. I would contend that research needs to look at the aspects of different traditions of citizenship teachers are embracing. Why do teachers speak to some aspects rather than others? What are the wider ramifications of this for society and in terms of the citizen’s anticipated role?

Should education for citizenship be promoting certain aspects rather than others? These are questions research needs to consider.

With this in mind, building on the work of Davies et al, in this study, I explore the different traditions which have characterised and shaped citizenship's meaning. I then use these to contextualise teachers' understandings within wider debates about citizenship. Instead of looking for a complete fit (and we could hardly expect teachers to present an historical overview of citizenship), I am interested to see which traditions of citizenship teachers speak to. It is a matter of interest if teachers' understandings highlight some aspects of citizenship and miss out others, or more clearly embrace one tradition than another. By noting that different aspects in teachers' understandings speak to different traditions of citizenship, I am able to build up a much more complex picture of the ways in which teachers interpret citizenship than research has previously offered.

Considering teachers' understandings in the context of different traditions, also allows for issues which lie beyond teachers' immediate understandings to be considered. For example, teachers may, as research indicates, present an understanding of citizenship as voluntary, community service. Referring to an overview of different traditions of citizenship allows debates about whether voluntary service is, in itself, a 'good thing', to be drawn upon in analysis. This, in turn, invites critical consideration of the purposes teachers are attributing to education for citizenship. As such, valuable though Davies et al's work is in alerting researchers to the danger of making simplistic connections between philosophical and empirical understandings, a more subtle approach to using philosophical traditions in empirical analysis, has much to recommend it.

Having justified my approach through reference to work by Davies et al, I also want, through reference to studies by Pike (1997) and Frazer (1999), to explain in greater detail why teachers' understandings are apt for philosophical consideration, and the importance of treating them as such.

### 1.3.2) Are Teachers' Understandings Apt for Philosophical Consideration?

Drawing on points raised by Davies et al when considering the relationship between philosophical models and teachers' understandings, I want to respond to the question of how far teachers' understandings can justifiably be considered within a philosophical framework. Comparing teachers' understandings with those of philosophical theorists is not to consider like with like, and researchers must not act to provide "philosophical contributions under the aspect of providing legitimation for views arrived at on other grounds." (McLaughlin 2000, p455) That the influence of other contingent factors may mean that teachers have much less concern with philosophical, as opposed to practical issues, has to be acknowledged. Again, to cite McLaughlin (2000):

Educational policy in its various aspects is shaped and determined by many complex, interrelated factors and influences. Included among these are factors and influences of a broadly philosophic kind, although the truth that educational policy cannot be based on philosophic considerations alone is too obvious to require emphasis. (p441)

For the purposes of this study, what is most important is not how teachers' understandings of citizenship have been shaped, but what understandings they present. Teachers may, for example, exclude voting from their programme of education for citizenship because of professional concerns about indoctrination. If voting is not addressed, a particular form of citizenship is suggested, which has far reaching ramifications in terms of the type of society anticipated and the citizen's role within this. Whether or not the understandings presented have been shaped by pedagogic rather than philosophical concerns, does not alter this. This offsets criticisms that teachers' pedagogic role makes their understandings unsuitable for philosophical consideration. Although researchers must not deny that teachers and theorists work in different contexts, this does not preclude the possibility of using different philosophical traditions to help explore the understandings teachers present.

This contention is supported in a number of ways: by existing research into teachers' thinking (Pike 1997); and also by research into popular political understandings (Frazer 1999). Firstly, research into teachers' thinking suggests that pedagogic influences tend

to have relatively little impact upon their understandings. For example, Pike (1997) argues:

whilst logistical factors will certainly influence teachers, it is unlikely that they will fundamentally alter the teacher's understanding of what is to be taught... What teachers think and believe - the meaning that their subject matter has for them... endures the longest... In other words, in teaching, meaning shapes practice; the extent and quality of practitioners' understandings are significant factors in what and how they teach. Other factors, including available time and resources, curriculum requirements, relationships with students, teaching experience and school climate, will play a part undoubtedly; my contention is, however, that such factors are peripheral, in most cases, to teacher understanding. (p13)

Secondly, research into popular political understandings, suggests that there is no clear division of knowledge between empirical and philosophical contexts. Frazer, in her exploration of communitarian thinking and its influence upon modern politics, draws attention to this 'fluidity' of ideas, noting that the same ideas can be presented in many different ways. She comments:

I do not wish to suggest that 'philosophy', 'politics' and practical daily life are three completely separate enterprises. On the contrary, individuals who have contributed to the philosophical dispute... also make interventions in debates about policy. Those engaged in practical political interventions are well aware of the relevance of philosophical arguments... so there is no very clear distinction of personnel, or of the origin of ideas... [Understandings of] communitarianism produced by activists and workers when they have been urged to talk about [their projects] with a researcher are, of course, much more variable in their precision and clarity than philosophical presentations. Nevertheless, we would expect that some individuals in such settings will be oriented in one way or another to political or philosophical communitarianism - there is no very clear division when it comes to people, in mundane contexts, talking about politics and community. (1999, pp13-14)

Specifically in an educational context, this lack of a clear distinction between personnel and ideas, or between teachers' understandings and philosophical/policy oriented debates, has again been found. As Pike (1997) notes:

Meaning is derived through interaction with the public social world... It is this 'cultural embeddedness of meaning' that innovators and proponents need - and often fail - to appreciate. The culture within which teacher knowledge is most obviously and most immediately embedded is that of the school, but... school culture is linked to the larger social order... Teacher and school cultures are

linked to ideologies, practices, and material conditions at the macro level of society (e.g. inequalities of wealth and power)... This macro level of cultural influence on the socialisation of teachers has received less attention than influences emanating from the classroom and the school. (p219)

Different philosophical traditions and political considerations have also entered into educational debates, and the school centred, pedagogic sphere, from 'the top-down', most notably through guideline documentation. Although guidelines, or indeed, the statutory order for citizenship, may not be widely drawn upon by teachers, they can still play a significant role in conditioning the ways in which education for citizenship is thought about in terms of aims, content and implementation strategies. Given this, it is notable that the Crick Report has drawn explicitly upon philosophical considerations to define citizenship, and that the Report has, in turn, been used as the basis for the statutory orders for citizenship. The Crick Report presents a number of wide ranging precedents as shaping the understanding of citizenship it presents. These range from the political tradition of Ancient Greek city states, to the post World War II welfare-based understanding of T.H. Marshall (para 2.1-2.12).

Further to this, in commentaries following the Crick Report's publication, its authors have explicitly sought to link its recommendations to particular schools of thought, and through this, to suggest specific directions for the development of education for citizenship. Crick, for example, has presented the advisory group's definition as following citizenship's civic-republican tradition. This brings with it a number of expectations about how the citizen should behave, civic-republican citizens having "rights to be involved in things that are of common concern..... and cannot merely exercise these rights but are presumed to have a civic duty to do so." (Crick 2000a, p5). The role that different traditions have played in shaping education for citizenship at a policy level, and may, in turn, have played at a classroom level, is something research into teachers' understandings may valuably consider.

To conclude, there are many bridges between the philosophical and empirical. By considering teachers' understandings of citizenship in the context of wider philosophical debates about citizenship, this study makes an important contribution to an under-researched area - under researched because:



(i) relatively little is known about what teachers understand by citizenship - especially in terms of their in-depth understandings;

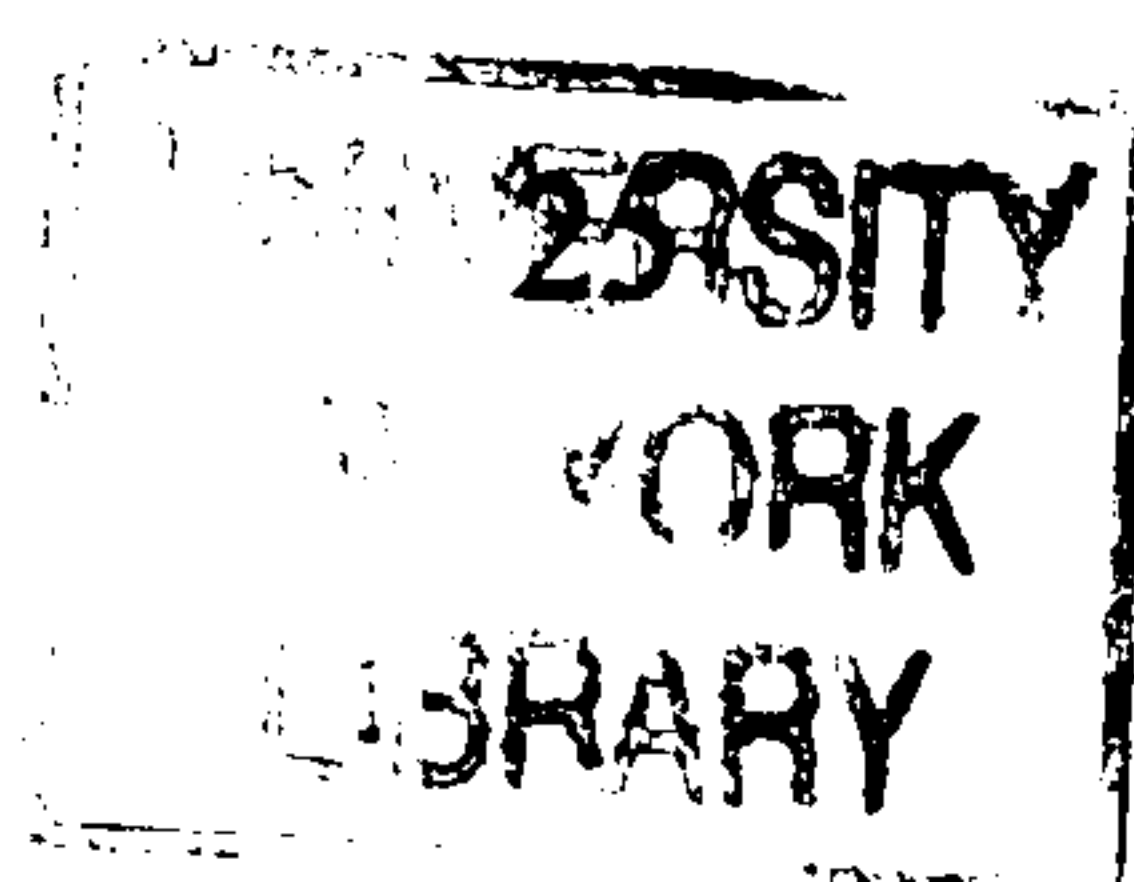
(ii) little has been done to consider the wider ramifications of teachers' understandings - in terms of the type of society they anticipate and the citizen's role within this;

(iii) there has been little consideration of the "macro level of cultural influence on the socialisation of teachers" (Pike 1997, p219).

By employing a qualitative research methodology, and exploring how teachers' understandings relate to wider philosophical and policy-oriented debates about citizenship, this study addresses these gaps in current knowledge. Understandably, research to date has been more concerned with reporting and justifying what teachers do than exploring philosophical aspects of their understandings. Education for citizenship is a new initiative and if the subject is to gain credibility and standing on an empirical level, teachers have to be seen to be doing something. This study, takes the next step of adding a critical dimension to analysis, situating teachers' understandings in the context of wider debates about citizenship's meaning and the purposes education for citizenship may be attributed.

#### 1.4) Overview of the Study.

Having made a case for exploring teachers' understandings of citizenship in the context of different philosophical traditions of citizenship, in Chapter Two, I set out the ideals associated with civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions of citizenship. Relating these ideals more specifically to an educational context, in Chapter Three, I consider the understandings of citizenship presented in QCA documentation on education for citizenship. Having provided a philosophical context for discussing teachers' understandings, in Chapter Four, I detail my methods of data collection and analysis. Chapter Five, focusing on citizen identity, and Chapter Six, focusing on citizen activity, provide a detailed analysis of the understandings expressed by my sample of seven teachers. The themes for analysis presented in these chapters, reflect the distinctions made by the teachers between different aspects of citizenship when



discussing their understandings. In Chapter 7, I reflect on the range of understandings and ideals put forward by the teachers. The study concludes with the suggestion that if education for citizenship is to move forward and become coherent across schools, teachers need to be provided with opportunities to share their understandings and practice.

## 2) LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1) Introduction.

My aim in this chapter is to present an overview of different philosophical traditions of citizenship. This will provide a context for discussing teachers' understandings of citizenship. Looking at a range of philosophical traditions draws attention to many debates that are central to citizenship. Prior to exploring teachers' understandings, this provides a useful way of sensitising our thinking to issues which teachers may address. These include issues such as (i) how a citizen identity might be created; (ii) how citizens are expected to participate in their communities; and (iii) the rights citizens may exercise and the duties they may be expected to fulfil.

To provide a 'philosophical backdrop' for discussing teachers' understandings, I explore the meanings given to citizenship within civic-republican, liberal and communitarian schools of thought. I identify these traditions as dominating citizenship's evolution, from the city states of Ancient Greece, to a modern day context. Recognising that a number of other traditions, including feminist and multicultural thinking, are gaining increasing currency in citizenship literature, I justify my focus on civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions at the outset. I argue that by critically discussing civic-republican, liberal and communitarian ideals, it is possible to draw attention to issues raised by other perspectives such as feminist and multicultural interpretations of citizenship, and to situate these issues in the context of citizenship's historical development. Considering feminist and multicultural critiques of other traditions highlights the ways in which, at any point in its evolution, citizenship has been defined so as to exclude women and minority groups. How far teachers are aware of citizenship's exclusionary potential and seek to redress this in the understandings they present, is something to be considered when exploring teachers' understandings.

When it comes to discussing civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions of citizenship, I present these in stark relief. I offer a two-pronged analysis of each tradition, looking firstly at its associated ideals, and secondly at how these have been played out empirically. This allows me to present both positive and negative aspects to

each tradition. To be clear, it is not my intention to ‘build up’ each school of thought, and then simply ‘knock it down’ by noting disjunctions between theory and practice. Any overview of citizenship which did so would read as suggesting that no matter how it is defined, citizenship cannot be a viable, practical status. Rather, stated baldly, my central purpose in this chapter is to illustrate some of the debates that have shaped alternative interpretations of citizenship. A simple theory/practice; ideal/reality; positive/negative format, is an easy way to do this. This is an approach commonly found in philosophical literature. Theorists often present stark characterisations so that they can draw attention to tensions inherent in citizenship (both between competing ideals, and between theory and practice) and then, by way of resolution, argue for an interpretation which blends different ideals. I have not, however, been concerned to present a theoretical resolution of the tensions inherent in citizenship, and in later chapters turn instead to look at how (or indeed if) teachers’ understandings may reflect, blend, mediate, and/or adapt different aspects citizenship as presented in the literature.

Firstly, however, I briefly want to discuss the relationship anticipated between the teachers’ understandings and different traditions, building on the points made in the introduction. I then justify my focus on civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions of citizenship before moving on to detail these.

## 2.2) The Relationship Anticipated Between Teachers’ Understandings and Different Traditions of Citizenship.

To reiterate, in this study, when exploring teachers’ understandings of citizenship, I want to look at “the overlaps, contradictions, refinements and qualifications [and omissions]” (Miles and Huberman 1994, p18) found between teachers’ understandings and competing traditions of citizenship. I want to consider how teachers’ understandings relate to broad philosophical and policy-oriented debates about citizenship. This allows me to explore the wider ramifications of the teachers’ understandings, both in terms of the type of society they anticipate, and the citizen’s role within this.

Moreover, because citizenship can be interpreted so variously, it is:

imperative ..[to]. begin with a theoretical framework(s) and a set of definitions that can provide some common reference point to aid in the interpretation and comparison of.....data (Fouts 1997, p3)

As stated above, to construct such a framework, I want to characterise civic-republican, liberal and communitarian ideals in stark relief, highlighting the most salient features of each school of thought. Inevitably, this means that I will have to simplify complex and subtle debates about citizenship. Although I recognise that different traditions are not mutually exclusive, it is helpful for me to make clear distinctions between them. For the purposes of this study, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that as well as overlaps, there are also fundamental differences between traditions. It is these differences which make it so hard to achieve any clear consensus about what citizenship means, be it on an abstract level, or in the context of education for citizenship.

Presenting different traditions in stark relief does, however, also have a downside. I am aware that much is dependent upon how I choose to present different traditions. If I suggest that a teacher's understandings appear broadly communitarian in tenor, more accurately, what I am saying is that they speak to *my characterisation* of communitarian citizenship; a different characterisation could invite a different interpretation. This brings with it the danger that the discussion may become rather circular; by suggesting that teachers' understandings are read in a certain way, some may argue that I am presenting what is, in effect, a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. To some extent, this is unavoidable, for:

we always look at the world from a particular standpoint. We can become aware what that standpoint is, but we can never have a view from nowhere. Putting it slightly differently, we always wear conceptual spectacles when we look at the world. Although we can never get rid of them, we can become aware of them and the assumptions they make. (O'Sullivan 2002, p71)

To offset any concerns about the potentially circular nature of my analysis, it is important to be clear about my purposes when characterising different traditions. I am presenting different traditions of citizenship so that I can use them as points of reference when exploring teachers' understandings. I am looking to see how teachers'

understandings relate to broad philosophical debates, not seeking to label their understandings as exclusively of one tradition or another. It is the ideas I associate with each tradition, as opposed to the labels of civic-republican, liberal and communitarian, that are of greatest importance.

Presenting different traditions of citizenship in stark relief will also help to draw attention to the nuances and blends in the teachers' understandings. This possibility is alluded to by Heater (1999), who, having presented a detailed philosophical exploration of citizenship, comments:

That two distinct styles of theorising about citizenship exist - the civic-republican and the liberal - might suggest that there is an underlying fault line in the very concept. How can citizenship entail simultaneously an insistence of the primacy of public life over the private, the basic tenet of civic republicanism, while preaching the exact reverse in its liberal mode? How can the deep commitment to duties of the one be reconciled with the casual acceptance of duties in favour of rights of the other? *One answer could be that reconciliation is only possible if we shift our sights from the hardened positions of idealistic theory to the softer compromises of reality.* (p157 - my emphasis)

If this is the case, looking at teachers' understandings of citizenship and how these blend ideals associated with different traditions, may make some important contributions to wider debates about citizenship. In this vein, Halpern et al (2002) argue "citizenship education may help reinvent notions of citizenship for traditional representative democracies in a manner that is appropriate for multicultural and diverse societies." (p18) To be able to consider how far this is the case, firstly, it is necessary to develop a critical understanding of existing traditions and the difficulties inherent in these. Presenting an overview of civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions, serves this purpose.

Finally, while teachers' understandings may rightly be expected to lie somewhere between different schools of thought, blending ideas from a range of traditions, it is also important to acknowledge that this is not necessarily the case. For example, rather than presenting a 'blended understanding' which speaks to a range of traditions, teachers might present ideals associated with different traditions, in stark relief, within a single programme. It may be that their understandings do more to echo the divisions found in

literature than is generally anticipated. Such a finding would have significant implications for the development of education for citizenship and should not be discounted at the outset.

Having further justified my approach to analysis, and with these points in mind, I now want to move on to explore civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions of citizenship. As I am seeking to characterise these in fairly broad terms, I do not always explore the key philosophical texts associated with each tradition in any great detail. It is important that I develop an analytical framework which is suited to the task in hand – in this case, exploring teachers’ understandings. Looking at the works of, say, Nozick (1986), in detail when characterising liberal thinking, may provide no more insight into teachers’ thinking, than a brief summary of his ideas, drawn from other authors. Consequently, my characterisations are of a general nature and do tend to rely on secondary texts. Importantly, however, my characterisations do have clear precedents in literature.

### 2.3) Exploring Different Schools of Thought.

I have stated, both in the introductory chapter and above, the role an historical overview of citizenship has to play when exploring teachers’ understandings. The first task in constructing such an overview, is to identify those traditions which need to be included. In this section, I want to justify my choice of civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions as worthy of inclusion, and as preferable to a more exclusive focus on issues of contemporary prominence, such as feminism, multiculturalism, or identity.

If researchers are to “critically engage with modern historical configurations of... citizenship” (Brindle and Arnot 1999, p120), the combined forces of historical narrative and philosophical tradition immediately draw attention to liberal and civic-republican understandings of citizenship. Chronologically, liberalism follows civic-republicanism, and the two are commonly juxtaposed in literature (e.g. Heater 1990, 1999; Mouffe 1992; Held 1996; Lister 1997). Mouffe (1992), for example, refers to these as “two different languages in which to articulate our identity as citizens, confronting each

other.” (p226) In very basic terms, civic-republicanism is the form of citizenship most closely identified in literature with citizenship’s classical origins in Ancient Greece, and is associated with the direct form of democracy developed in its city states. Liberalism is generally cast in response to this, and as advocating a representative system of democracy. Thus, while civic-republicans tend to be concerned to involve citizens in government, liberals are often more concerned to ensure citizens’ freedoms from the state.

To these two traditions, I wish to add a third - the communitarian. This tradition is most closely associated with the ‘Third Way’ of the current Labour government (Faulks 1998; Giddens 1998, 2000; Callinicos 2000), which, it should not be forgotten, is responsible for the current revival of education for citizenship. Speaking very generally, communitarianism can be seen as a reaction to liberal ideals. Communitarians identify many of the more negative aspects of modern society, including rising crime rates, interracial tension and increasing marital breakdown, as the result of liberally oriented policies. In response to these, communitarians are keen to reassert the importance of ‘community’ and to stress citizens’ involvement in this. Their focus tends to be on encouraging citizens to participate in charitable, voluntary associations, rather than in government.

Specifically over the last two or three years, literature has also identified the increasing influence of communitarian thinking on social policy, and related to this, on the presentation of citizenship to the public (O’Malley 2001; Lister 2002). The Crick Report has, itself, been described as a ‘Third Way’ document, promoting a communitarian conceptualisation of citizenship (Starkey 1999; Gamarnikow and Green 2000). Interestingly, the Crick Report’s predecessor, “Curriculum Guidance Eight: Education for Citizenship” (NCC 1990), which presented citizenship as a cross-curricular theme, was widely identified with the liberal, market-oriented policies of the then Conservative government (Wringe 1992; Davies 1994; 1997). This, perhaps, also places the Crick Report in what is, to some extent, a reactionary role, responding to liberal ideals of citizenship.



Given this emerging shift in literature, from comparing the liberal and civic-republican, to comparing the liberal and communitarian, it was originally my intention to exclude civic-republicanism from my overview of different traditions. When starting the study in 1999, I suggested that with communitarian thinking being used both to critique liberalism and to drive citizenship in new directions, civic-republicanism was being edged out of contemporary citizenship discourse. With its origins in antiquity, civic-republicanism tended to be presented in literature as a useful tool for critiquing liberal ideals, but rarely as offering a practical way to develop citizenship (though see Heater (1999) as the exception). However, within the last two years, members of the advisory group on citizenship who produced the Crick Report, have started explicitly to promote a civic-republican reading of citizenship (Crick 2000; Kerr 2001). For example, Kerr states that the Crick Report's:

working definition [of citizenship] was deliberately founded on elements of past approaches updated to meet the particular needs of modern democratic society. The definition was centred on 'civic-participation' and based on the 'civic-republican' concept of citizenship. Above all, it picked up and strengthened elements of other approaches providing a workable third way between the competing 'liberal-individualist' and 'communitarian' concepts of citizenship. (2001, unpublished draft material)

Additionally, in his writing, Crick can be seen broadly to distance himself from both liberal and communitarian thinking. He states both that "voluntary service... is not a sufficient condition for full citizenship in our tradition" (2000 p7); and that:

...the connotation of political education and political literacy was too narrow in the 1970s. 'Citizenship' conveys better than 'political education' the ancient tradition, long before the democratic era, of active, participative inhabitants of a state exercising both rights and duties for the common good, whether in official or voluntary public arenas. (2000, px)

My question is what is it about civic-republicanism Crick thinks so valuable that he is now explicitly promoting such an interpretation? Discussing civic-republican thinking alongside liberal and communitarian ideals may give some indication. For this study, what is important is that civic-republicanism is being attributed educational relevance by those working at a policy level. It is once again actively entering into debates about citizenship, and this time, debate situated explicitly in the context of education for

citizenship. This merits the inclusion of civic-republican ideals in any ‘backdrop’ for analysis.

To reflect so far, I have identified civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions of citizenship as dominating citizenship’s development, and as relevant to contemporary debates about citizenship’s meaning. Furthermore, these traditions have been referred to explicitly within the context of education for citizenship.

In addition to the shifts in thinking identified above, there have been a further set of developments in thinking about citizenship, which have promoted moves towards defining citizenship in terms of single issues. Isin and Woods (1998), for example, have defined citizenship in terms of sexuality and ethnicity. Turner (2001) has explored citizenship through the themes of “work, war and reproduction”, arguing that these represent “three routes of effective entitlement” (p194). I am, however, doubtful as to the merits of such issues-focused definitions. Given this, finally, before setting out civic-republican, liberal and communitarian ideals in detail, I think it important that I also briefly justify my focus on traditions of citizenship, rather than specific issues.

Broadly speaking, I want to explore civic-republican, liberal and communitarian ideals, using the issues raised by feminists (e.g. Lister 1997, Arnot 1998, Voet 1998); advocates of multiculturalism (e.g. Kymlicka 1995); environmentalists (e.g. Van Steenberg 1994), and so on, as tools of critique. There are a number of reasons I have chosen not to structure my backdrop for analysis specifically around these issues, which I set out below.

Firstly, by exploring citizenship’s historically dominant traditions, I am able to draw attention to the ways in which interest groups have drawn upon different traditions to further their own agendas. The feminist movement as a whole, provides a good example of this. Feminists have, in general, sought “to understand what has caused women’s subordination in order to campaign and struggle against it” (Weiner 1994, p53). Some feminists have responded to this by following a liberal emphasis on rights, and have campaigned for additional rights for women. Others have noted how women have been largely excluded from traditional forms of politics, and in line with communitarian

ideals, have advocated voluntary, community-centred activity as a way of furthering women's interests (Weiner 1994, p63). Thus, although united in their concern to enhance women's status, different branches of feminism have drawn on different dominant traditions of citizenship.

Secondly, if researchers are not to impose theory on data, and are to allow teachers the freedom to determine the issues they talk about during data collection, a focus on different traditions appears as a more appropriate backdrop for analysis, than one structured around specific issues. For a literature review structured around, say, Turner's issues of 'work, reproduction and war' to provide a valuable backdrop for analysis, teachers would also have to talk about those issues. Different traditions encompass a number of issues, so while I am not supposing that teachers will talk directly to any single tradition of citizenship, my approach still allows me to see:

- (i) what issues teachers see as important/ relevant to programmes of education for citizenship;
- (ii) if there are instances in which teachers' understandings speak more clearly to one tradition than another;
- (iii) how, or indeed if, teachers have adapted and blended different ideals of citizenship to form their understandings; and
- (iv) whether/how teachers are responding to the difficulties found in historically dominant traditions.

A final point to be made is that at a time when communitarian thinking is gaining currency, (especially so in a policy context), it is important to maintain an historical overview of the meanings given to citizenship by different traditions. In a policy climate where voluntary activity is increasingly being advocated to combat social exclusion, there is, I feel, a danger that focusing too exclusively upon contemporary issues may lead to the neglect of traditional forms of citizenship. The emphasis on citizens' participation in government, central to civic-republican thinking and, to a lesser extent, liberal thinking, cannot simply be neglected or dismissed as outmoded when debating citizenship. If we are critically to consider the sort of democracy which education for citizenship might help to foster, it is important to explore teachers' understandings

against a range of historically dominant traditions, so that a full range of issues and ways of participating can be considered.

Having further justified my focus on civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions as forming a context for analysis, the rest of this chapter is devoted to exploring each tradition in detail.

#### 2.4) Civic-Republicanism

In this section, I want firstly to set out the civic-republican ideal of citizenship, and then discuss how this relates to a contemporary context. Civic-republicanism is the term widely used to refer to the form of citizenship practised in the city states of “classical antiquity” (Heater 1999, p4). It is premised upon “the involvement of the citizenry in public affairs to the mutual benefit of the individual and the community” (Heater 1999, p44), and relies upon citizens:

taking a positive interest in public affairs and, above all, refraining from according priority to a private life of wealth, luxury and ease, over commitment to the general, public good. (Heater 1999, p49)

In a civic-republican state, the benefits of being a citizen, namely securing one’s liberty, come from communal participation in government. As Mouffe (1992) states:

It is only as citizens of a ‘free state’, of a community whose members participate actively in the government, that individual liberty can be guaranteed. [As citizens] we must cultivate civic virtues and devote ourselves to the common good. The idea of a common good above our individual interests is a necessary condition for enjoying individual liberty. (p228)

Following this, citizens are seen as duty bound to participate in government in order to uphold the common good.

Thus, there are two potentially contradictory strands to a civic-republican understanding of citizenship. On the one hand, by actively participating in government, citizens are able to secure their individual freedoms. On the other, they have a duty to

participate, and in this sense are not free. Given this, it is important to give some further thought to what is meant by 'liberty' in a civic-republican society.

A useful starting point for exploring civic-republican notions of 'liberty', is Held's (1996) characterisation of civic-republicanism as hostile towards the power of monarchs and princes. This draws attention to civic-republicanism's rejection of forms of top-down, imposed government. As noted above, civic-republicanism encourages citizens' direct participation in government. The civic-republican citizen is, as Aristotle states, to "participate in a public realm in which the individual debates and deliberates in the public good" (Ignatieff 1991, p27). Citizens are not simply to be governed, but are to take part in deciding how they are governed. It is this process of taking part in government decisions which secures citizens' liberties.

However, the duty this places on citizens to participate, also has coercive potential. When participating in government, citizens are to take part in the public, political realm - i.e. in forums which allow them to participate in state-based, decision making processes. In this realm, civic-republican citizens are expected to act for 'the common good', taking decisions out of public, rather than self interest. In civic-republicanism there is "a strong emphasis on the notion of a public good, prior to and independent of individual desires and interests" (Mouffe 1992, p226), which tempers citizens' individual liberties.

Lister (1997) argues that this emphasis on 'the common good' can undermine citizens' individual freedoms. To explain, a concern to promote 'the common good' may lead to specific individual or group interests, being excluded from the public, political realm. Lister (1997) comments:

[in civic-republicanism] political participation designed to further individual or group interests is deemed outside the pale of citizenship which.... has to be directed towards the pursuit of the 'common good'. (p29)

Reflecting on this, Heater (1999) asks, "How can men subject themselves to government, which is necessary for security, while, at the same time, retaining their freedom, which is their moral right?" (p50) More simply, the question to be asked of

the civic-republican ideal, is how far should specific individual or group interests be sacrificed for the good of the community?

In civic-republican thinking, the theoretical solution to this conundrum comes in the form of 'the General Will', proposed by Rousseau. This draws together citizens' active and passive roles, firstly as political actors, taking part in government, and secondly, as the governed. On the one hand, when taking part in government, citizens need to debate what is in the common good and how policy can reflect this. In this, they have the freedom to present conflicting ideals, and to seek a widely acceptable way of resolving these. Thus, although guided by 'the common good', citizens are also obliged to take part in democratic processes to determine this 'good'; their freedoms are not restricted from the outset. On the other hand, in their passive role as the governed, citizens are made subject to the majority consensus resulting from public debates. Marrying these roles, the overall ideal is that citizens will:

come together to achieve common ends with those different from themselves and in so doing to transcend their specific interests and concerns and identify with the wider collectivity rather than with any particular group. (Lister 1997, p40)

The situation is one where, "in behaving obediently individuals live as subjects of the state; in contributing to the formulation of the General Will they live as citizens." (Heater 1999, p50).

Having set out this theoretical ideal, the question is, of course, how far this principle may be able to operate in practice, and, if it is to guide education for citizenship, how far it may be able to operate in a contemporary context. Many of the difficulties with realising the civic-republican ideal, relate to the disparity between the ancient city-states in which civic-republicanism developed, and the nature of modern democracies. With citizenship being, as Wexler (1990) notes, a product of time and place, there is a general feeling (in the literature at least) that:

A civic-republican tradition cannot stretch across space and time. Its emergence in the context of city-states and under conditions of 'social exclusivity' was an integral part of its successful development. In circumstances that are socially, economically and politically highly differentiated, it is very hard to envisage

how a democracy of this type could succeed without drastic modification. (Held 1996, p312)

Drawing upon this, there are arguably two key areas in which civic-republicanism requires 'drastic modification'. The first is with how people are identified as citizens in a civic-republican state. The second relates to the kind of participation required from civic-republican citizens. Below, I address these issues in turn, drawing attention to empirical difficulties with the civic-republican ideal.

Taking the issue of how people are identified as citizens, it is important to note that civic-republican citizenship is potentially a very exclusive form of citizenship. In its traditional form, there are clear criteria for deciding who can be awarded the status of citizen, and who should be excluded. The citizens of ancient city states in which civic-republican ideals are grounded, were a highly exclusive, homogenous group. The status of citizen was open only to native-born, free-men - in effect an elite with the time and money to participate actively, and continuously, in the affairs of government. There are two points to be made about this. Firstly, all women, non-landed men and slaves, were excluded from the citizen community. Their interests did not have to be taken into account when determining the public good. Secondly, the means to participate were assumed of citizens – hence only landed men were seen as citizens. That, as characterised here, civic-republicanism simply does not address the political and social problems caused by differentiation, makes it ill-suited to a modern context.

The points made above, also do much to suggest that 'the General Will' may only successfully operate in a very specific, uniform, population. For 'the General Will' to work, the citizen community needs to be "a community that constitutes the very identity of the individual" (Mouffe 1992, p226), "organised around a single, substantive idea of 'the common good' " (Mouffe 1992, p231). That such a scenario might be found in a contemporary context, is extremely doubtful. It is now recognised that people often consider themselves in terms of multiple identities, based on race, gender, belief systems, and any other number of variables (e.g. Said 1994). In addition, there can be conflict between these identities, in terms of the views and social positions commonly associated with them. Recognising this, Held (1996) argues:

a system of exclusively direct participation can only work in associations with limited numbers of members, where those involved share similar sets of views, skill levels and social positions, and where they are faced by relatively simple and stable administrative functions. Unless we believe in... a world in which... members of our local community agree on a common vision of life, [and] the social basis of all group and class conflicts is eliminated as well, direct democracy is in itself not a good gamble. (p313)

Simply, a multi-faith, multi-racial society, is not part of the traditional civic-republican set-up. Indeed, when in a modern context, “a community that constitutes the very identity of the individual” is conceivable, it may be less desirable than a civic-republican ideal would lead us to believe. Although admittedly atypical, Northern Ireland provides a case in point. The situation is one in which more or less all public actions have become a way of expressing one’s religious identity. The result is that at any time, one half of the wider community appears to be in denial of the other half’s freedoms.

More generally, in a modern context, the sort of affiliation to a common good required by the civic-republican ideal, is likely to relate most closely to sectional interests. Thus, rather than creating a citizen body which “incorporates every member as an indivisible part of the whole” (Rousseau cited Heater 1999, p50), there may be much greater potential for a geographic community, consisting of smaller, isolated sectional communities to arise (Burtonwood 1998). Moreover, those promoting sectional interests often believe they are acting for the common good. For example, in debates about the Euro, both pro-Euro and anti-Euro campaigners believe they are acting in the nation’s best interests. This raises the highly pertinent question of “where sectional interest (‘bad’) ends and group identity (‘good’) begins.” (Phillips cited Lister 1997, p30).

In a contemporary context, there is also the question of how far citizens can be expected to participate in government in the ways envisaged in civic-republican thinking. Direct participation in public forums is very demanding and time consuming, as reflected in Oldfield’s observation that:

Civic-republicanism is a hard school of thought. There is no cosy warmth in such a community. Citizens are called to stern and important tasks which have to do with the very sustaining of their identity. There may be, indeed ought to be, a sense of belonging, but that sense of belonging may not be associated with inner peace and, even if it is, it is not the kind of peace that permits a relaxed



and private leisure, still less a disdain for civic concerns. (cited Lister 1997, p32)

Further to this, the more time citizens spend participating in government, the less they have to pursue their private interests. To this extent, civic-republicanism can be considered to infringe citizens' liberties, if only by denying them the time to do other things. As Heater (1999) notes, in a contemporary context:

Most people lead a very full life with their family commitments, leisure pursuits and employment.... Yet the republican citizen must, in addition, allocate time, summon up the energy and generate commitment to an involvement in public affairs. It is obvious, however, that there is a limit to the elasticity of a person's lifestyle, and in order to accommodate active participation in public affairs something has to give. Serious questions arise from this requirement.... Is it fair and is it desirable that the demand should be made? If harmony and happiness are the intended outcomes of civic-republicanism, as they certainly are - it can be plausibly argued that this infringement of private life would have precisely the contrary effect. (p73)

Given long working hours, high rates of marital breakdown, increasing reliance upon private child care, it is fair to ask whether society might actually benefit more from freeing citizens' time for private purposes, rather than demanding their participation in government.

Further to this, even if citizens wish to participate directly in government, it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to do so in an informed way. Simply, in a contemporary context, state-based politics is perhaps too demanding, too complex, and too hard to access, to invite widespread, popular participation. Again, to cite Heater (1999):

political affairs in the modern world are exceedingly complex and often technically difficult, especially in the field of economics, and so mastering this material in order to make informed detailed judgements is difficult..... Even if a citizen were to be equipped to with sufficient information, time and energy, most modern states are so large and centralised that penetration to and participation in 'high' politics are possible only for the few. (p74)

Thus, it seems that promoting citizens' widespread involvement in politics in a contemporary context, will require a much broader understanding of ways of participating than civic-republicanism allows for. What is needed, argues Held (1996):

is a system to promote discussion, debate and competition among often divergent views - a system encompassing the formation of movements, pressure groups and/or political parties with leaderships to help press their cases - seems unavoidable. (p313)

This acknowledges that there are many other ways citizens can express their views about what is in the common interest, and bring them to the attention of government. For example, in his work on environmental activism, Yearly (1992) notes that rather than participating directly in government, many of the activities citizens engage in, such as public demonstrations, are intended to create a climate for social and legislative change. In this way, citizens' actions can have an indirect impact on the decisions made by government.

The question is, however, whether encouraging citizens' to act upon specific issues (such as environmental concerns), might undermine the civic-republican ideals of 'the common good' and 'the General Will'. For example, Carothers (2000) notes that:

Clean air is a public good, but so are low energy costs... some environmental groups are intensely, even myopically, focused on their own agendas; they are not interested in balancing different conceptions of the public good. (p14)

This shows that extending the civic-republican definition of participation, brings with it both gains and losses. If civic-republican ideals are to be adapted to fit modern states, they will, however, certainly need to be extended.

To conclude this look at the civic-republican tradition of citizenship, it is useful to present a summary of civic-republican ideals, and to note how they relate to a contemporary context. Firstly, on a positive note, civic-republicanism requires political participation. If the revival of education for citizenship is seen, in part, as a response to falling voter turn out figures (Davies et al 1997; QCA 1998), and apathy about state politics in general (Kerr 2001), the civic-republican ideal of direct involvement presents an important aspiration. If citizens are to have a part in determining how they are ruled so that will not be subject to the arbitrary use of power, they have to participate. Even in a modern democratic system, in which citizens are further distanced from the state, this remains the case. Secondly, that civic-republicanism assumes it is natural for citizens to work together to achieve mutual ends, may promote a sense of duty towards

others. Its stress on citizen participation creating “a community that constitutes the very identity of the individual” (Mouffe 1992, p226), may provide people with a sense of who they are and where they are *as citizens*, acting to counter fragmentation. For citizens to be able to identify with their society, and to feel that they have a stake in it, can provide the motivation for them to participate politically (Dahrendorf 1987). These issues all provide grounds for re-establishing a strong notion of civic-republican style citizenship.

However, civic-republican citizenship can also be considered demanding to the extent of being coercive. Heater (1999) goes as far as to suggest that “the direction of individuals into involvement in the public arena and mobilising the resources of education... to [generate commitment to an involvement in public affairs] smacks of paternalism” (p73). In addition, the civic-republican view of participation is a narrow one. It does little to acknowledge ways in which citizens can participate indirectly in government, and it is often too difficult for the vast majority of citizens to engage directly with matters of government. A civic-republican ideal may also exclude specific, legitimate, individual or group interests from public debate.

The criteria presented by civic-republican ideals for acquiring citizenship status are also highly restrictive, making politics a male dominated, elitist activity. The cohesive community civic-republicanism sets out to create, while a clear counter to fragmentation, also appears unacceptable in today’s pluralist, democratic society. As Oliver and Heater (1994), note, when a single, substantive notion of ‘the common good’ is presented, it can act to “smother particular interests, reinforcing the rights and identities of the privileged.” (p37) Civic-republicanism also implicitly assumes that “all citizens are more or less equally well placed to fulfil obligations” (Lister 1997, p40). This leads Lister (1997) to ask:

Where.. does that leave those women (and men) who, for whatever reasons of choice or constraint, including severe disability or chronic illness, do not participate politics, at whatever level? Do they not deserve the accolade of citizenship? Are they somehow lesser citizens? (pp40-41)

There are as many points against reviving a civic-republican ideal as there are in favour of it. What it seems is needed, is to develop a more inclusive model of civic-republicanism, geared to the needs of contemporary society, which can create the conditions necessary for as many citizens as possible to participate in public life. This would give citizens greater potential to participate, which, in turn, arguably “increases the likelihood that they will do so, thereby further developing their capacities as participating citizens in a virtuous circle of citizenship participation.” (Lister 1997, p33)

To some extent, liberal traditions of citizenship have responded to this, incorporating this idea of providing citizens with the conditions necessary for participation into their thinking. Whether or not liberal ideals may lead to a ‘virtuous circle of citizenship participation’ is, however, much more questionable. Whereas civic-republican thinkers cast citizens’ participation in government as a duty, liberal thinkers tend to stress citizens’ rights not to participate. In the next section, I explore liberal traditions of citizenship, looking at how this phase in citizenship’s history both built upon and challenged civic-republican ideals.

### 2.5) Liberal Thinking

Liberal thinking on citizenship is often presented as a response to the ideals of civic-republican citizenship. The easiest way to see this, is to outline liberal ideals in very stark terms, and to juxtapose them with civic-republican ideals. This is, however, perhaps to rather overstate the case. Some would argue for a much more subtle interpretation of liberal ideals, which sees these as adapting civic-republican citizenship, rather than marking a complete break from it. In addition, there are also a number of varying traditions within liberal thinking itself, which present different ways of interpreting the core ideals of liberalism. To reflect this, I firstly set out liberal ideals in stark relief, and then move on to present more subtle interpretations, looking at social-liberal and neo-liberal variations.

Characterised starkly, liberal thinking on citizenship rejects one of the core ideals of civic-republicanism, namely that there can be a single, substantive ‘common good’. While civic-republicanism presents ‘the ‘common good’ as superior to individual

interests, liberalism presents the opposite. In general terms, at the heart of liberal thinking lies a belief that individual rights and interests cannot be sacrificed to a 'greater, general good'. As Mouffe (1992) comments:

The liberals argue that... ideas about the 'common good' can only have totalitarian implications. According to them, it is impossible to combine democratic institutions with the sense of common purpose that pre-modern society enjoyed..... Active political participation, they say, is incompatible with the modern idea of liberty. Individual liberty can only be understood in a negative way as absence of coercion. (p228)

Mouffe claims that in liberal thinking, questions of identity, morality and values, are matters for individual construction. Liberal citizens are cast as essentially private and autonomous individuals, freed from the duty to participate in government, or to act for 'the common good'. This appears to reject many of the central tenets of civic-republican citizenship. According to Mouffe (1992), it reduces citizenship to:

a mere legal status, setting out the rights that individuals hold against the state. The way these rights are exercised is irrelevant as long as their holders do not break the law or interfere with the rights of others. Social co-operation aims only to enhance our productive capacities and facilitates the attainment of each person's individual prosperity. Ideas of public mindedness, civic activity and political participation in a community of equals are alien to most liberal thinkers. (p227)

Yet, such stark characterisations, while they may capture the essence of liberal thinking, are too simple. They set up what is, in many ways, a false dichotomy between individual freedoms and collective interests. While liberal thinking on citizenship, with its emphasis on individual freedoms, can be presented in opposition to civic-republican ideals, the two schools of thought also share many key features. For example, both see government as a means of protecting citizens' freedoms. Even though seeking to free citizens from the state, in liberal thinking the state is still thought to:

exist to safeguard the rights and liberties of citizens who are ultimately the best judge of their own interests; the state is the burden individuals have to bear to secure their own ends; and the state must be restricted in scope and restrained in practice to ensure the maximum possible freedom of every citizens. (Held 1996, p299)

Thus, even though liberal and civic-republican traditions present a different balance between individual freedoms and ‘the common good’, they both cast the state in the role of mediator, legislator, and protector of citizens’ freedoms. In each tradition, citizens need to act to uphold the legitimacy of the state - even if liberal citizens are free to decide if they want to participate, while civic-republican citizens are duty bound to take part in government.

Taking a more subtle approach to presenting liberal ideals, and recognising areas of overlap with civic-republican thinking, it is possible to identify two strands in liberal thinking. These appear in potential conflict. On the one hand, liberal thinkers are concerned to ensure citizens as much freedom as possible. To this end, the state is to be “restricted in scope and restrained in practice” (Held 1996, p299). On the other hand, liberal citizens can also be interpreted as having the common task of upholding one another’s freedoms - in part by acting to uphold the state. A helpful way to explore these strands further, is to look at Durkheim’s work on moral education. This details two contrasting forms of liberalism which reflect the strands I have just identified.

The first form of liberal thinking identified by Durkheim is ‘egoistic individualism’. This tallies with Mouffe’s stark characterisation of the liberal citizen, freed from the state and from the need to act with regard for others. Durkheim’s second form of liberalism is, however:

radically different... Whereas in [egoistic individualism] everything is subordinated to the private interests of the individuals, this second individualism is concerned with the fundamental rights which are basic to the dignity of all men. This individualism is concerned with the glorification not of the self, but of the individual in general. In other words true community and true social solidarity are achieved only when they are founded upon the respect for individual rights, for only then is a society moral and just. (cited Hargreaves 1982, pp110-111)

In this, there are arguably clear overtones of a civic-republican ideal citizenship. Durkheim suggests that citizens must participate for the greater good. By presenting community and solidarity as founded upon respect for individual rights, Durkheim casts individuals, acting upon their rights, as acting for the good of all individuals and not just in their own interests. In Durkheim’s mind, to foster ‘true community’, citizens

must defend their freedoms, which in turn requires public participation. If education for citizenship is, as the Crick Report suggests, to foster participation and a sense of social and moral responsibility, a liberal philosophy, as presented here, appears entirely coherent with the type of society being promoted through policy documents.

Thus, rather juxtaposing liberal and civic-republican ideals, it is more useful to distinguish between them by looking at how these traditions strike a balance between individual rights and the common good. Where this balance is struck does much to determine (i) the degree of public participation expected of citizens; (ii) how citizens are expected to develop a subjective sense of citizenship; and (iii) how exclusive a status citizenship is thought to be.

Taking the first of these points, while civic-republicanism requires citizens' direct participation in government, liberal thinkers recognise that "people do not want to participate always and everywhere" (Voet 1998, p39). They also realise that given the freedom to decide if they want to participate, citizens may choose to devote significantly different amounts of time to political activity. Thus, as stated earlier, unlike civic-republican citizens, liberal citizens are to be free, as far as possible, from government coercion and/or the obligation to participate. Following this, liberal thinkers tend to promote a representative model of democracy. This has distinct implications for the role citizens are expected to play in government, marking a clear contrast from civic-republicanism's direct democracy.

To reflect the workings of a representative system, Walzer (1983) proposes a distinction between liberal citizens in terms of 'the citizen voter' and 'the citizen politician'. Each role brings with it an alternative set of considerations. Voet (1998) argues: "the citizen voter may use his or her own conception of the good life in questions concerning the aims of politics, whereas the politician has to think of the most efficient means to achieve them" (p40). As such, it is only 'citizen politicians' who need to look for ways to reconcile competing interests, and to act explicitly for 'the 'common good'. This representative system gives the vast majority of citizens a lot of freedom, and in this sense, acts as a counter to the civic-republican tradition. It also means that

for the majority of citizens, participation in government need be no more than minimal and primarily self-interested.

However, the minimalist nature of participating in government purely by voting, can also make it difficult for liberal citizens to develop a subjective sense of what it means to be a citizen. If liberal citizens see themselves primarily as autonomous individuals who can participate at will and need only be concerned to further their personal interests, it can be difficult to get away from 'egoistic' forms of liberalism. Having taken away the stress on 'duty', 'community', and 'shared identity' found in civic-republican thinking, it may be hard to promote cohesive forms of liberalism, such as that put forward by Durkheim when he suggests:

true community and true social solidarity are achieved only when they are founded upon the respect for individual rights, for only then is a society moral and just. (cited Hargreaves 1982, p111)

The central question raised by this, is one of how community and solidarity can be promoted, without, at the same time, undermining citizens' freedoms to pursue their own ideals of the 'good life'. Addressing this dilemma, Mouffe suggests that the only way a sense of community can be legitimately fostered in a liberal society, is if it focuses upon the values of representative democracy. She argues that upholding the values of democracy - which include tolerance, and respect for different ideals of 'the good' - can be seen as a 'common good' which may unite liberal citizens, without undermining their individual freedoms. She argues that in a liberal society:

what we share and what makes us fellow citizen... is not a substantive ideal of the good but a set of political principles..., the principles of freedom and equality for all. These principles constitute a 'grammar' of political conduct. To be a citizen is to recognise the authority of those principles and the rules in which they are embodied; to have them informing our political judgement and our actions... It implies citizenship not [just] as a legal status, but as a form of identification, a type of political identity: something to be constructed not empirically given. (Mouffe 1992, p231)

Yet, the difficulty with this is that if citizens are to develop a unifying 'political identity', then arguably, they need to participate in government. And then, even when liberal citizens do participate, their participation may be extremely minimal, fragmented and self-interested.



Despite these criticisms, liberal traditions of citizenship do tend to present a unifying idea of 'the common good', not in the form of a unifying identity as such, but by committing citizens, in various ways, to promoting citizenship as an equalising status. Through this, liberal thinkers respond to one of civic-republicanism's core weaknesses. Instead of restricting the status of citizen to those with sufficient resources to participate in government, liberal thinkers tend to look for ways to extend the numbers who are able to participate as citizens.

To illustrate this aspect of liberal thinking, I want to refer very briefly to Rawls "A Theory of Justice" (1971). In broad terms, liberal thinkers seek to create a more inclusive citizen community than civic-republicanism allowed for, and Rawls' work sets out two principles of justice which *extend the possibility of participation*. These principles are succinctly summarised by Voet (1998):

1. Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all.
2. Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both: (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged.... and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under the conditions of fair equality and opportunity. (p36)

Here, there is some recognition of the social and political problems of differentiation. The desire to extend participation, (and in this, to allow for a more democratic, rather than oligarchic society), is actually backed up by social and economic measures. Thus, for Rawls citizenship is about two things. Firstly, it is about citizens' freedoms - freedoms to participate, and to pursue their own ideas of 'the good life'. Secondly, it is about redressing social inequalities, by "publicly affirming the status of equal citizenship for all" (cited Voet 1998, p36) - in other words, creating a basis for unity among citizens. Thus, while in private, citizens are to be free to live as they wish - they are not coerced into holding a particular cultural identity, nor to take an active part in shaping public affairs - they still have an obligation to aid others, and to this extent a common good is assumed.

This general presentation of ‘equality’ as put forward by Rawls, has been variously interpreted by different schools of thought within liberalism. Having set out the basic principles of liberal citizenship, I now want to explore two different ways of thinking about citizenship within a liberal tradition, looking firstly at the ‘social-liberal’, as epitomised by the work of T.H. Marshall (1950); and secondly, at the neo-liberal (e.g. Nozick 1986), seen as central to the policies of the Thatcher and Major governments. Broadly speaking, social-liberals have been largely concerned to promote citizenship as an equalising status, with this being backed up by social welfare rights. Neo-liberals have, by contrast, presented equality in terms of giving citizens the same rights to be unequal.

### 2.5.1) Social Liberalism and the Work of T.H. Marshall.

To explore social-liberal ideas about citizenship, I want to refer specifically to the work of T.H. Marshall (1950). Marshall’s presentation of citizenship is widely considered to exemplify social liberal ideals (e.g. Voet 1998; Giddens 1998; Heater 1999), making it a useful focus for discussion.

Marshall (1950) defined citizenship as having three distinct, yet interdependent strands:

- i) civil citizenship: the rights necessary for individual freedoms, including the right to own property and accumulate wealth; and freedoms of speech, association and thought;
- ii) political citizenship: the right to participate in the exercise of political power;
- iii) social citizenship: the rights to social heritage, economic and welfare security.

Through these different strands of rights, Marshall presented citizenship as an inclusive and egalitarian status. Firstly, civil and political rights were to provide citizens with the freedoms to participate in government, and to pursue their own ideals of ‘the good life’. Secondly, rather than restricting these rights to those who already had time and money to spare, Marshall included a third strand of social citizenship. This was aimed at

redressing social and economic inequalities, and in doing so, was intended to extend the status of citizen to a greater sector of the population. For example, Lister (1990) notes that without the right to welfare, certain groups may find their ability to participate in the exercise of political power restricted, perhaps due simply to such practical considerations as the cost of transport or child care.

In short, as presented in social-liberal thinking, rights can be considered:

as resources which actors might draw upon. Implicit within this is the idea that rights do not dispose persons to particular courses of action... Rights tend to facilitate social actions in various ways. In this sense rights are integral to the social fabric.” (Barbalet 1988, p28)

Drawing these characteristics together, a social-liberal interpretation of citizenship can be considered to make three key contributions to debates about citizenship, which build upon civic-republican thinking.

Firstly, a social-liberal interpretation of citizenship presents a much broader definition of political activity than civic-republicanism, by extending citizens’ opportunities to participate in government. The emphasis on civil rights in addition to political rights allows for the formation of movements, pressure groups and/or political parties (Held 1996, p313). For example, Marshall intended that the civil rights of citizenship, while vested in the individual, could be exercised to “create groups, associations, corporations and movements of every kind... In this sense civil rights are a form of power” (Marshall cited Barbalet 1988, p19). As such, social-liberal thinking anticipates the development of an independent civil society (defined by Aigner et al (2001) as the “institutional core of voluntary associations outside the spheres of the state and economy... that owe their existence to our needs and initiatives rather than the state” (p498) ).

It is significant that, in social-liberal thinking, citizens can act outside of government through the institutions of civil society, *and that civil society can put pressure on the government and act to hold it accountable*. This provides a further way for citizens to act to protect their freedoms, and ensure that the state does not unreasonably interfere in their private lives. If, as Heater (1999) suggests, “a government is to be reckoned legitimate in so far as it can be held accountable to the citizenry” (p162), it is important

that citizens are able to act, outside of government processes, to make their views known. Thus, civil society provides a sphere of activity which can usefully mediate between the state and citizens' private lives. This point is illustrated by Phillips (1993), who distinguishes between the acts of women who are:

campaigning in public for men to do their fair share of housework and [women who are] simply sorting out the division of labour in [their] own homes; in the case of the former we are acting as citizens, in the case of the latter, which is nevertheless significant, we are not. It is thereby accepted that the terrain of political citizenship is the public sphere, while underlying how it cannot be divorced from what happens in the private, which shapes its contours. (cited Lister 1997, p28)

Secondly, through social welfare rights, a social-liberal understanding of citizenship presents "an alternative route to social resources and material conditions... for those who are disadvantaged" (Barbalet 1988, p18). For example, Marshall saw citizenship as evolving, ideally:

towards a fuller measure of equality, an enrichment of the stuff of which the status is made and an increase in the number on whom the status is bestowed.... In [Marshall's] ideal world there is equal treatment of and equal results for citizens where their civil and political rights and citizenship obligations are concerned. In this ideal form of citizenship the universal possession of citizenship rights will modify social and private inequalities. (Voet 1998, p35)

Access to social rights was again seen as enabling citizens to pursue their own ideals of 'the good', whether privately, by participating in government, and/or by participating in civil society organisations. By increasing the numbers of citizens able to exercise of civil and political rights, social-liberal forms of citizenship may again serve to enhance democracy.

Thirdly, a social-liberal understanding of citizenship may also be considered to go some way towards reconciling individual interests with community interests, moving beyond the stark scenario where one is sacrificed to the other. On the one hand, social-liberal thinkers have sought to protect individual freedoms by presenting rights as individual, and their exercise as a matter for individual discretion. Through citizenship rights, citizens have the potential to participate should they wish to, and to act, in a variety of ways, to hold the state accountable. In this respect, there is no obligation or coercion.

At the same time, however, a social-liberal understanding of citizenship does present a partial idea of 'the good life', in that it places both a moral and legal obligation on citizens. Citizens are still expected to contribute to the welfare of others (administered by the state), and not to infringe others' rights.

Thus, while in one respect, social-liberal ideals do, to some extent, place restrictions on citizens' actions, in another, they can also be seen as enabling citizens to present their own interests, and to uphold democracy. Overall, the intended outcome of social-liberal citizenship was to enhance democracy by enabling greater numbers of citizens than ever before, to be able to act in legitimate ways, to influence decisions made at a government level.

Having set out the social-liberal ideal, and noted how it develops civic-republican thinking, I now want to consider the criticisms levelled against it. As with the civic-republican tradition, many of the criticisms made relate to the context in which social-liberal ideals about citizenship were developed. Social-liberal ideals are most closely associated with the development of the welfare state in the 1940s and 1950s and as such, are grounded in a society which was, in ethnic terms, more homogenous than today, and had a much more clearly differentiated class structure and explicit gender roles. There are two major areas of difficulty with transferring ideals of citizenship from such a context to the present day. The first relates to those images of the good life citizens may pursue with approval, for the social norms associated with social-liberal thinking, based upon class and gender difference, may appear unacceptable today; and the second relates to assumptions about the nature of capitalism, which underpin social-liberal thinking on citizenship.

When looking at the first of these issues, namely the ideas of 'the good life' citizens are expected to pursue, the difficulties inherent in social-liberal thinking can be considered illustrative of wider difficulties with the liberal tradition per se. In liberal thinking, it is often claimed that citizens can pursue their individual ideals of 'the good life' through the exercise of rights. However, this tends to overlook the fact that citizenship rights are themselves based on particular understandings of 'the good life'. Marshall, for example, presented the nuclear family, with clearly delineated gender roles, as the

norm, and did not make separate allowance for women to exercise social rights. Further to this, his presentation of citizenship assumes an ethnically homogenous society, divided primarily by class difference. Consequently, while Marshall includes the right to social heritage as a social right, he saw this as a way of allowing the lower classes access to the knowledge most valued by society, not as a way of allowing multiple cultural heritages to be recognised. In other words, the right to heritage was included within his tripartite model of citizenship to allow the lower classes to acquire cultural capital, and through this, to achieve greater equality of social (rather than simply legal) status. Consequently, while the exercise of rights tends to be presented as a way of upholding citizens' freedoms, the social norms and values embodied in these, can also be considered constraining.

Thus, talking more generally, there appears to be a central contradiction in liberal thinking, namely that to exercise one's rights as a citizen, it is necessary to conform to dominant cultural expectations. And yet, liberal thinkers also cast the exercise of rights as central to pursuing one's own idea of 'the good life'. Most fundamentally, the 'need' to conform, may undermine citizens' abilities to pursue alternative ideas of 'the good' - in which case, a democratic system which allows for different ideas to be voiced and reconciled, may be undermined. Noting such difficulties, Osler (2000) proposes:

we need to develop a shared understanding of citizenship which is based on a broader theoretical base than that of Marshall, recognising that, despite formal equality, various groups may encounter barriers to claiming their citizenship rights. (p35)

Some liberal thinkers have recognised this need, and sought to develop a more inclusive understandings of rights which may allow minority groups more freedom to pursue their own ideals of 'the good'. Interestingly, these thinkers suggest that minorities actually need more rights than majority groups, in order to overcome social inequalities. For example, Kymlicka (1995) makes a distinction between the needs of different groups of citizens, arguing that women and indigenous populations should benefit from extra group rights in addition to individual rights. This, he argues, may allow interests relating specifically to marginalised groups to be better represented within a democratic system. Kymlicka's ideal society is one in which additional identities and interests are

incorporated to develop a bigger picture of an inclusive 'citizen community' - in effect, presenting an expanding jigsaw of different identities and values.

What is interesting about this, is that writers such as Kymlicka are developing upon social-liberal ideals, using the emphasis on rights to adapt citizenship to meet present day needs. For example, they are expanding the idea of 'social heritage' as a right, to recognise that nations are made up of multiple heritages (Appleby et al 1994; Grosvenor 2000). In this, while heavily criticised, Marshall's model is serving as a basis for developing contemporary forms of citizenship. For example, as Gilbert argues "if rights of access to cultural expression are to be realised, the civil, political and social rights of traditional citizenship are also necessary." (1996, p58) This said, even when 'updated', the question of how to integrate minority and majority cultures still remains. The paradox is that while, in Kymlicka's view, creating a community of citizens depends upon integration, it also relies to some extent, on labelling outsiders and creating a 'them and us' mentality. As Turner (2001) comments:

Citizenship is both an inclusionary process involving some reallocation of resources and an exclusionary process of building identities on the basis of a common or imagined solidarity. Citizenship entitlement provides criteria for the allocation of scarce resources and at the same time creates strong identities that are not only juridical, but typically involve assumptions about ethnicity, religion and sexuality. (p192)

In sum, inevitably, the citizen community can never be as inclusive as liberal theories suggest it should be, simply because it does depend, in part, on creating a " 'constitutive outside', an exterior to the community that makes its existence possible." (Mouffe 1992, p235) This exclusion is both legal - with people being denied national citizenship, and social - with people being effectively excluded for following different beliefs about 'the good life'.

Nevertheless, social-liberals stress the importance of social and economic welfare as a way of enabling all citizens to take part in civil society and government, with this bringing the discussion onto the second key area of difficulty with social-liberal thinking - namely, its treatment of capitalism. Advocates of social-liberal citizenship, such as Marshall, often simply assumed that capitalist state would be able to support the continual expansion of social rights. They believed that as the welfare state developed,

greater equality between citizens would follow, and that citizenship would therefore become an increasingly inclusive status. “What matters” argued Marshall, “is that there is a general enrichment of the concrete substance of civilised life” (cited Heater 1999, p22).

However, in a contemporary context, the cost of state provided welfare has become such that the citizen’s right to social welfare, has come into conflict with the capitalist ideal of wealth creation. As Oliver and Heater (1994) note, there is some question as to whether “the extension of citizenship has gone so far that the principle of social welfare is in danger of undermining the advantages of capitalist wealth creation.” (p39) There are, it seems, economic limits to citizenship’s inclusiveness, which means that citizenship can never truly act as an egalitarian status. The fact is, when exercising their social rights, citizens can only consume to the extent that the state or other citizens are willing to invest in welfare services, and “capitalism has proved far more resilient to the spread of social citizenship than Marshall allowed for.” (Heater 1999, p20)

The potential for conflict between citizens’ social and civil rights lies at the heart of the matter. Citizens have civil rights to accumulate wealth and own property, these rights being coherent with the capitalist emphasis on wealth creation. Social rights, which rely on the redistribution of wealth to benefit the least advantaged, are considered by some to undermine citizens’ civil rights, leading to a fissure within the social-liberal ideal. Of this, Dilnot comments: “what if the top ten percent of tax payers, who pay fifty percent of all income tax, get fed up paying. What happens if none of them use the National Health Service or state schools that they are effectively funding?” (cited Social Sciences 2001, p6). The sense of moral obligation which social-liberals rely on to uphold a system of social rights, is, it seems, being increasingly eroded.

A further criticism of the way social-liberal thinking presents social rights, is that, when played out empirically, those who actually receive welfare may find themselves denied opportunities to participate in government, instead being cast as passive wards of the state. Rather than acting to demand accountability from the state - whether through government or civil society - citizens who receive welfare may think it expedient ‘not to bite the hand that feeds them’. Recognising this, commentators have suggested that the



realities of welfare provision are far from the social-liberal ideal. For example, Ignatieff (1991) argues that rather than empowering citizens to pursue their own ideas of 'the good', the welfare state established "a coercive relationship between strangers which abridged the liberties of both rich and poor while infantilising the poor" (p27). He comments:

the welfare state... [encouraged] the emergence of new styles of moral self-exculpation, not only among welfare dependants but among the tax paying public. 'It's the council's job' became everyone's first line of defence when confronted with vandalism, the neglect of civic property, or more seriously, abuse of children or abandonment of the aged. (p33)

Having detailed both the social-liberal ideal of citizenship, and the difficulties associated with realising this, a number of concluding comments can be offered. Firstly, in its social-liberal form, liberal thinking on citizenship can be seen to expand civic-republican ideals in a number of ways. Social-liberal citizens are given more opportunities to participate in government, and are presented as having much greater freedom to determine their own ideals of 'the good life'. The provision of social welfare rights provides an economic underpinning for this. These aspects of social-liberal thinking provide a theoretical basis for enhancing citizens' participation in public issues in practice.

However, there are also a number of rather more critical issues to be considered. Empirically, there may be conflict between citizens' rights and their duties towards others, and the question of where a balance should be struck remains. Social rights, although presented on a theoretical basis as empowering, may in practice, also have the potential to disempower, actually acting to infringe rights. Further to this, the very basis of rights can be founded on exclusionary practices, for example, through the subordination of women and minority groups. There are ways to legislate for their inclusion, but difficulties in achieving equality of status remain on a social and economic basis.

Neo-liberal thinkers have tried to address these latter, negative points, through an emphasis on the values of capitalism. Rather than letting welfare undermine capitalism, neo-liberals have sought to use the values of capitalism to create a new form of

citizenship, better able to uphold citizens' freedoms. Neo-liberals have further sought to free citizens from the state, shifting the emphasis away from citizenship as a public status and onto citizens' private freedoms. Neo-liberal thinking is characterised by the right to be unequal, as opposed to the social-liberal emphasis on rights as a means of ensuring equality. I explore this in detail below.

### 2.5.2) Neo-liberalism.

Neo-liberals tend to view citizenship as having distinct moral and economic strands. Economically, citizens' freedoms are seen as coming from independence from the state, not from social rights guaranteed by it. Citizens are to be freed, as far as possible, to pursue individual wealth and take advantage of the vagaries of market-place competition. This marks a move against the collectivism of the welfare state seen in social-liberal citizenship. To a large extent, in neo-liberal thinking it is seen as coercive and unjust to make citizens legally responsible for upholding others' rights to welfare (Faulks 1994, 1998; Giddens 1998; Heater 1999). Simply, in neo-liberal thinking, rather than seeking to promote equality of status, citizens are to be free to be unequal.

Neo-liberals also recognise that making wealth creation and market place competition central to citizenship, may undermine any sense of moral obligation to others (and therefore community cohesion) as encouraged in social-liberal thinking. Neo-liberals have responded to this in two ways. Firstly, they have tended to present a 'regressive' stance on identity. In neo-liberal thinking promoting a common identity has been seen as a way of strengthening community cohesion, with this being widely linked to exclusive, singular ideas of 'nationhood' (Beck 1996; Carrington and Short 1996; White 1996).

In addition, neo-liberals suggest that voluntary, philanthropic activity may take the place of the welfare state in presenting a 'common good'. Recognising the potential for conflict between civil rights and social rights, neo-liberals also suggest that voluntary activity need only be undertaken by those citizens with time and money to spare, who can afford to provide welfare without their right to accumulate wealth being significantly diminished. As such, in a neo-liberal society, the ideal citizen is to be a

successful “entrepreneur with a social and moral conscious” (Hyland 1991, p87) - entrepreneurial success being prerequisite to more philanthropically inspired activities.

What I want to do now, is to consider each of these strands of neo-liberal thinking in more detail, looking firstly at the neo-liberal casting of citizenship as an economic project.

### Neo-liberal Citizenship as an Economic Project

Firstly, to take neo-liberalism as an economic project, it presents a clear challenge to social-liberal assumptions about the capitalist market place. Neo-liberals concentrate on the fact that wealth has to be generated somehow, from somewhere; the maintenance and expansion of social rights is not taken as read. In neo-liberal thinking, therefore, citizenship is suggested to be a largely economic, rather than social or political project. The argument is that wealth can only ‘trickle down’ through society if economic growth can be successfully generated and sustained. This makes the market place the basis for citizenship.

Thus, while in social-liberal thinking, participation in public life (whether through civil society or government) is seen to serve the ‘greater good’ and to justify state welfare, in neo-liberal thinking, successful entrepreneurship takes this role; above all, neo-liberal citizens have a duty to be enterprising. For example, writing in the Scotsman (07.09.01) the current Chancellor presents the image of:

spreading the message of enterprise throughout the country and to opening up the opportunities of enterprise to all. I want every young person to hear about business and enterprise in school; every college student to be made aware of the opportunities in business; every teacher to be able to communicate the virtues of business and enterprise. I want business men and women to go into schools and teach enterprise classes;... I want every community to see business leaders as role models.... And as we spread the spirit of enterprise from the classroom to the boardroom, our aim for this parliament is to contribute to the creation of a deeper and wider entrepreneurial culture where enterprise is truly open to all.

Within this entrepreneurial culture, citizens’ responsibilities are cast as primarily individual. Put bluntly, instead of having a responsibility to uphold social rights, citizens

are to look after themselves so as not infringe others' freedoms; as Faulks (1998) argues, in a neo-liberal state:

It is up to individuals to succeed or fail according to their abilities to manipulate, to their own advantage, the laws of supply and demand. A society which maximises liberty and minimises state interference is one where citizens can best prosper. (pp59-60)

This emphasis on entrepreneurism has created a climate in which the collectivist nature of social rights and the welfare state, has become increasingly open to attack. It has, for example, been argued that for the state to decree how much of an individual's income should be allocated for spending on public services is essentially immoral, "infringing the rights of those individuals who want to spend more or less than the democratically agreed mean" (Ignatieff 1991, pp30-31). Similarly, Heater (1990) comments: "to put the matter curtly: it is unethical to expect hard-working citizen to meet their obligation to pay a high rate of tax in order that listless citizens shall enjoy their rights to social welfare payments." (p26)

Thus, in emphasising entrepreneurism and wealth accumulation above social rights, when compared with either social-liberal or civic-republican thinking, neo-liberalism presents a number of significant shifts in thinking about citizenship. In making citizens responsible for meeting their own needs, neo-liberal thinking erodes the ties between citizens and the state, central to earlier traditions. It recasts citizens as consumers, who rather than accepting what the state has to offer, are able to buy the services they require in the market place - an ideal embodied by the privatisation of public services. In allowing them to choose between competing service providers, citizens are seen as empowered, having a right to make their own decisions, rather than the state making decisions on their behalf. Allowing citizens to invest in services which best meet their needs, has also been seen as a way of fostering 'a common good' among the citizen body. Neo-liberals have assumed that giving citizens the opportunity to become economic stakeholders, will create a vested interest in the maintenance and effective running of services among the citizen body. The idea has been to free citizens to invest in the services they want, rather than the services the state chooses to provide.

Thus, rather than uniting citizens and encouraging participation, Heater (1990) argues that the emphasis on entrepreneurship and consumerism (i) “reduces political citizenship by substituting market for political decisions”; and (ii) “undermines the quality and quantity of social rights” (p155). Following this, Oliver and Heater (1994) have argued:

Not every economic transaction is an expression of citizenship. It can be plausibly argued that the obligations which the state owes to its citizens in parallel to their responsibilities of loyalty and duties should embrace a guarantee of decent living wages. What cannot be argued on the same grounds of citizenship is the right of the individual to compensation for a delayed journey on British Rail. That’s a customer’s complaint.... This is not to deny the need for improved public services; rather to insist that this need be argued on commercial grounds, in order to protect the concept of citizenship from confusion and devalued meaning. (pp50-1)

In addition, the neo-liberal emphasis on economic investment is only empowering for those citizens who can afford to invest. For those who lose out in the market-based competition for wealth, the status of citizen is likely to become increasingly rhetorical. For example, increasingly restrictive criteria for accessing legal aid (as laid down in the 1988 Legal Aid Act), means that while in terms of status all citizens have equal access to the law, economically poorer groups may not be able to act upon their status. Those whose position makes them citizens by rhetorical status alone, become, Dahrendorf (1994) argues, ‘second class citizens’ - “politically harmless and economically superfluous” (p4). In this, the social-liberal ideal of extending citizenship as an egalitarian status, is undermined.

To conclude this look at neo-liberalism’s economic dimensions, the emphasis on consumerism and entrepreneurship found in neo-liberal thinking, has the potential to be both empowering and disempowering. On the one hand, compared with civic-republican and social-liberal traditions of citizenship, citizens are seen to have much greater freedom to pursue their own images of the good life, with state intervention in citizens’ lives being minimised as far as possible. In addition, by casting citizens as consumers, citizens are able to demand accountability from service providers. At a time when global forces are making it increasingly difficult to demand economic accountability from the state (Heater 1999), this can be seen as a way of maintaining ideas of accountability

between citizens and service providers - in this case, private companies rather than the state.

On the other hand, the neo-liberal emphasis on market place competition can also be considered to undermine citizens' rights. For example, Heater (1999) argues that by highlighting contradictions between civil and social rights, and choosing to champion individual rights to wealth creation, neo-liberals suggest "the social rights leg of Marshall's tripod should be cut off and citizenship become properly bipedal." (p27) This judgement perhaps errs towards leniency, for by emphasising citizens' participation in the market place rather than in government, neo-liberalism may also be seen to undermine political rights.

Having set out the economic case, I now want to consider neo-liberalism's second major strand – namely how it presents citizenship as 'a moral project' (Bottery 1990).

#### Neo-liberal Citizenship as a Moral Project.

Neo-liberals recognise that while making wealth creation central to citizenship may further citizens' freedoms, this freedom is not without drawbacks. The neo-liberal emphasis on the citizen as a successful entrepreneur, has been linked to many of the negative social trends associated with modern society – including high divorce rates and levels of crime. Sociologists have widely suggested that the shortfall between citizens' expectations of economic success, and the success they are actually able to achieve, is a trigger for criminal behaviour (e.g. Merton 1936 in Bilton et al 1981). More generally, the competitive, self-interested nature of the market place, is often seen as detrimental to social cohesion (e.g. Giddens 1998, 2001); as Margaret Thatcher famously stated "there is no such thing as society. Only men, women and their families." (cited Kerr 1999, p5)

Responding to such trends, neo-liberals have sought ways to promote social cohesion, without inhibiting citizens' economic freedoms from the state - this being considered as neo-liberalism's 'moral project'. Moves to promote social cohesion focus upon three themes – identity, law enforcement and philanthropic behaviour, which I detail below.

Firstly, to take the issue of identity, promoting a common 'citizen identity' has been seen as a way of strengthening community cohesion. A subjective sense of 'being a citizen', which can unite citizens, has been presented as an important counterbalance to market-place competition. To try and find a basis for such a unifying identity, neo-liberals have often harked back to the idea of an exclusive, 'constitutive community', found in civic-republican thinking. They have tended to focus on a singular idea of nationhood, and on the 'signs and symbols' (Gilbert 1996) associated with this. While competition has been encouraged in the market place, on the level of identity and culture, neo-liberals have suggested that any great pluralism might undermine the aim to create social cohesion. For example, Beck (1996) draws attention to this notion within Thatcherite discourse. He comments:

Mrs Thatcher's reference to 'people' (implicitly *white* people) being fearful of being 'rather swamped by people of a different culture' (implicitly black people) was a particularly blatant instance of the use of ostensibly deracialised discourse for clearly racist purposes. (p182)

At least, while social-liberals, such as Marshall, may be criticised for assuming a single British nation, the rights they advocate may be adapted to suit a more pluralist society as Kymlicka and Gilbert suggest. In recasting the rights set out in social-liberal thinking, neo-liberals seem to deny this potential for citizenship to become more inclusive. This marks a distinct contrast from Mouffe's suggestion that a respect for democratic values might form the basis on a unifying citizen identity, while still allowing citizens to hold different cultural identities. While social-liberals may at least be forgiven for being "of their time" (Heater 1999 p19), neo-liberals have no such defence and have deliberately excluded multiple heritages from their understanding of citizenship.

Concerns about fragmentation and anomie, have also been reflected in the legislative programmes pursued since the advent of Thatcherism. To respond to high levels of crime, successive governments have taken a more coercive stance on using the law as a means to regulate citizens' behaviour. Acting to ensure an orderly, law abiding society, has been presented as allowing citizens the security to pursue their own interests. This has suggested a minimalist interpretation of liberal citizenship, in which citizenship is largely reduced to:

a mere legal status, setting out the rights that individuals hold against the state. The way these rights are exercised is irrelevant as long as their holders do not break the law or interfere with the rights of others. Social co-operation aims only to enhance our productive capacities and facilitates the attainment of each person's individual prosperity. (Mouffe 1992, p227)

However, while requiring little more than for citizens to act within the law, there is also a coercive element to this. For example, the Criminal Justice Act passed while John Major was in power, has restricted the forms of public gatherings considered legal. This may be read as infringing citizens' civil rights, even though presented publicly as protecting citizens' property (Faulks 1998).

Further to this, in line with moves to free citizens from the state and to make citizens take responsibility for their own welfare, concerns about crime and social fragmentation have also been made 'the citizen's problem'. This is seen in Bottery's comment that in a neo-liberal society, "if society has an increased crime rate, greater violence, fragmentation... then all of its members are to blame for this state of affairs, as they are all contributors to this society" (1990 p138). This is reflected in Hurd's statement that:

The challenge of the 1990s is to rekindle our strong tradition of citizenship. The game of dodging responsibility, of passing the parcel of blame from one group to another simply has to stop. (Daily Mail 10.10.88)

Thus, while the state can legislate to 'protect' citizens, neo-liberals also suggest that citizens can help themselves by acting upon civic-responsibilities. To develop a sense of civic-responsibility, citizens must have:

a pride in one's society and its institutions, which will result in a desire to uphold the laws and norms of that society;  
a belief that one has a duty to help in the upholding of these laws and norms;  
an understanding that people must work together if they are to exist in a society worth living in. (Bottery 1990, p138)

This idea of having pride in one's society, and upholding its laws and norms, relates strongly to the themes of identity and legislation discussed earlier. In addition, the third strand of civic-responsibility set out above, namely "an understanding that people must



work together”, introduces the idea of philanthropic behaviour as a means of promoting social cohesion. It presents an:

ideal of the public good and civic virtue which finds its expression in the largely voluntary contribution to society of citizens acting either as individuals or in association with one another. The need was deemed to arise for three main reasons: that too great an emphasis on the self-reliant individual acting in competition can undermine social cohesion; that associations are needed to mediate between central government and the individual; and that the delivery of social rights at a level appropriate to a civilised modern democracy may be threatened by the expanding need and slow economic growth. (Hollis 1992, p20)

If public action as a citizen is restricted to the organisations of civil society, and then limited further to acts of charity and philanthropy on the part of the well-to-do, arguably, it serves to make citizenship “a minor decoration, limited in its spheres of action and restricted in practice.” (Skillen 1992, p57). While it can be considered to empower those providing charitable aid, allowing them to dictate who should benefit and the virtues beneficiaries must display, for those in receipt of welfare:

Hurd’s idea of active citizenship reinforces the familiar damaging, disrespectful division of society into active givers and passive receivers, betraying the potentiality for mutual give and take essential for active citizenship to function as a democratic value. (Skillen 1992, p60)

Thus, in emphasising entrepreneurism and philanthropy above other forms of activity, neo-liberal thinking acts to “systematically discredit [state politics] as a way of organising and regulating people’s lives.” (Faulks 1998, p208)

To conclude, neo-liberalism presents a number of shifts in thinking, compared with either social liberal or civic-republican traditions. The key difference is that neo-liberal thinkers commonly appear opposed to state-collectivism. They criticise previous emphasis on participation in government, and, with specific reference to social-liberal thinking, any emphasis on social rights. Neo-liberals seek to maximise citizens’ freedoms, furthering questioning the extent to which ‘a good’ can be assumed on behalf of citizens. With the exception of law and order policies, freedom is presented primarily as freedom from the state, rather than that secured by the state. Citizens’ participation in politics expected to be minimal, with the emphasis on markets and citizens’ abilities

to manipulate these, doing much to reduce the idea of citizen-state accountability. In this respect, neo-liberal ideas about citizenship act to erode the idea that citizens should participate in government. Entrepreneurial activity and philanthropy, are instead cast as citizens' active contributions to the state.

Interestingly, rather than redressing the erosion of democratic accountability and political rights presented in neo-liberal thinking, further contemporary traditions of citizenship have instead taken up the stress on philanthropic, voluntary activity, found in neo-liberal citizenship. Communitarianism, the final tradition I want to detail, (and one which is closely associated with the present Blair government), builds upon the idea of civic-responsibility found in neo-liberal thinking, while leaving its economic project intact.

### 2.6) Communitarian Thinking.

Communitarian thinking on citizenship focuses almost exclusively on ways of fostering social cohesion, and tackling the negative trends associated with the enterprise culture. It looks to the organisations of civil society as the basis for creating a unifying sense of citizenship, and stresses citizens' involvement in community groups. In this, communitarians tend to draw heavily on the idea of philanthropic activity, introduced in neo-liberal thinking. Rather than seeking to re-engage citizens with the state, communitarians are often keen to promote community-based activity as an alternative to participating in government. There are a number of strands to this. Firstly, communitarians see community organisations, (run by citizens for citizens), as generally better placed than the state to provide for citizens' welfare needs. Citizens are to help each other, drawing upon the resources held by their communities. These resources tend to be seen as 'social' rather than economic; in communitarian thinking, the focus is on what citizens can do to help each other in an informal, voluntary capacity, as opposed to through the market place.

Secondly, continuing their emphasis on community, communitarians often view citizens primarily as community members, rather than autonomous individuals. As such, what is deemed 'good' for the community, is also seen, by default, to be good for individuals

who comprise that community. To some extent, this reintroduces the ideas of 'the common good' and 'the General Will' as seen in civic-republican thinking, and marks a contrast from liberal traditions.

Thirdly, while citizens' participation in community groups is often promoted at the expense of participation in government, there is also, specifically within social policy, a growing interest in the idea of partnership between community groups and the state. For example, O'Malley (2001) notes:

The rhetoric of 'partnership' and 'collaboration' associated with new local governance, has come to pervade the community sector..... Pacione (1992) has argued that partnerships and decentralisation offers community groups the chance to compete and influence decisions in economic and political spheres. (pp30-31)

Reflecting on these different strands, 'community' appears as the common theme underlying communitarian thinking, presenting a move away from the liberal emphasis on 'the individual'. Given this, to consider communitarian thinking in more detail, I want to look firstly at the communitarian notion of 'community', asking what resources are communities seen to have, and how are citizens expected to identify with their communities? Following this, I look more specifically at the idea of community-state partnership. Finally, having set out the ideals underlying communitarian notions of citizenship, I consider the criticisms levelled against these.

### 2.6.1) The Communitarian Notion of Community.

Communitarians, like neo-liberals, endorse moves to shift responsibilities from the state and onto citizens. However, rather than casting citizens as individually responsible for their own well-being, communitarians cast 'communities' in this role. Freed from the constraints of the state welfare system, community members are to work together to ensure the well-being of their community as a whole. Underpinning this, is the belief that "persuasion by communities rather than coercion by the state [will] produce a more moral and better society." (McVeigh 2002, p262). This also appears central to current political discourse; as Driver and Martell argue:

For New Labour community will create cohesion out of the market culture of self interest. If communitarianism is New Labour's answer to Thatcherism, so too is Tony Blair's rebuff to Old Labour. Community will restore the moral balance to society by setting our moral duties as well as rights.(cited James 2001, p213)

The communitarian focus on 'community' can be understood as a way to counter the fragmentation associated with the neo-liberal stress on the market place. Such an understanding does much to evoke the language of civic-republicanism, for, marking a contrast with liberal ideals, communitarians once again bring the notion of duty to forefront of citizenship. Illustrating this, Tony Blair has publicly presented:

duty [as] the cornerstone of a decent society [which] recognises more than self. It defines the context in which rights are given. It is personal but owed to society. Respect for others, responsibility to them, is an essential prerequisite of a strong and active community." (Tony Blair in The Guardian 23.3.95)

Noting the dual emphasis on community and duty, McVeigh (2002, p262) suggests the key distinction between liberal and communitarian traditions is that "liberals might prefer a civil society over a good society, while communitarians prefer a good society." By fulfilling their duties towards one another, communitarian citizens are, ideally, to create a unifying sense of community, which can transcend self-interests. They are once again seen as members of a 'constitutive community', with communitarian writers stressing the "communal construction of social individuals, social formations, and of values and practices" (Frazer 1999, p1). This in turn, suggests that citizens must act for 'the common good' in a way reminiscent of civic-republican thinking.

However, the way in which a unifying identity is to be developed, differs markedly from civic-republican, or indeed liberal thinking. Communitarians see strong interpersonal relationships between citizens as the key to developing a unifying 'citizen' identity, and to helping communities meet their members' needs. As such, communitarians tend to argue that the resources citizens need to act are primarily non-material, and are generated through face-to-face encounters. Instead of emphasising cultural and/or economic capital as the basis for 'being a citizen', communitarians stress the importance of developing a sense of citizenship by building 'social capital'. Social capital refers to "processes of social interaction leading to constructive outcomes." (Bankston 2002, p286) The resources most widely associated with social capital, are those which help

citizens to develop strong interpersonal and inter-community relationships. These include “trust, reciprocity, mutuality and interdependence and the communal realisation of values such as freedom, equality and rights.” (Frazer 1999, p1) ‘Community building’, in the sense of generating social capital through interpersonal encounters, can relate to any number of community associations - be they dance classes; gardening clubs; in short, any organisation whose participants, by being members of an organisation, may feel better integrated into their communities.

It is this emphasis on community which “accounts for the frequent theoretical inference in communitarianism that community is transcendent, rising above the mundane and material relations, so that in communities we relate to each other soul to soul.” (Frazer 1999, p80) This offers a clear contrast to liberal and civic-republican thinking, in which resources are generally considered in more substantive terms, focusing on legislative power, legal status, and citizens’ rights.

Communitarian thinkers present this shift away from the citizen-state relationship, towards an interpersonal citizen-citizen relationship, as having a number of benefits for citizens. For example, Bridger and Luloff (2001) characterise social capital:

[as] an attractive concept. After all, it holds out the possibility of developing voluntaristic solutions to problems that have not been solved through market mechanisms, or government programmes of legislation. (p467)

Similarly, Turner (2001) comments that “the rolling back of the state appears to have created a social vacuum in which the third sector has expanded to satisfy communal needs.” (p199) He further argues:

The third sector and more specifically voluntary associations, can provide opportunities for social participation... and thus for active citizenship. They are essential to the survival of the public sphere... Voluntary associations have the potential to be the principal organising force in society providing public welfare and the primary means of democratic governance. Indeed, if government really is part of the problem, [voluntary associations] should be all the more attractive since their primary aim is to reduce the scale and scope of affairs administered by the state... Such a system would support a process where citizen choice is combined with public welfare and, because voluntary associations have the capacity for a high level of communicative democracy, this devolved political structure would allow for widespread consultation, co-operation and collaboration. (2001 p200)

In these instances, both Turner and Bridger and Luloff are referring to communal needs in terms of the services and resources available to citizens and their communities. Rather than presenting this as absolving the state of its responsibilities towards citizens, communitarians see such developments as going “hand in hand with pressures towards greater democratisation. All of us have to live in a more open and reflective manner than previous generations.” (Giddens 1998, p37)

More generally, communitarians argue that the dual project of freeing citizens from the state and encouraging them to ‘build communities’, places citizens in a position to “actively to accept responsibilities for the consequences of what we do and the lifestyle habits we adopt” (Giddens 1998, p36). In encouraging citizens to take responsibilities, communitarians anticipate the curbing of any anomic excesses encouraged by the liberal emphasis on the individual. In addition, given such factors as Britain’s ageing population, as shown in the 2001 census, an emphasis upon voluntary associations to take pressure of the state welfare system, can be considered a necessary response.

Simply, communitarians envisage a situation in which the development of social capital provides citizens with the resources they need to look after each other, and thereby contribute to the greater good. By presenting community activity primarily as a ‘moral good’ – i.e. one which allows citizens to take responsibilities and act for their communities’ well-being – communitarians are able to suggest that participating in community groups is a common duty, rather than one restricted to those with time and money to spare. This also has the potential to present a much more inclusive understanding of citizenship than any put forward by earlier traditions.

### 2.6.2) Communitarian Thinking and Social Inclusion.

To look specifically at the issue of inclusion, in communitarian thinking, all citizens are seen as having the potential to generate social capital. Everyone is cast as a community member (at the very least, in a geographic sense), and so everyone is presented as being in a position to engage with others to meet their community’s needs. As such, communitarianism anticipates a society made up of multiple ‘communities of interest’.

To explain, communitarians tend to concentrate, initially at least, on fostering a sense of community at a local level, their focus on interpersonal relationships making this a practicable starting point. Expanding outwards, communitarians see these cohesive local level communities as the basic blocks from which a broader, unifying, citizen identity can be formed, with communities joining together to pursue common interests. It is useful to use an analogy to explain how this works. Instead of treating different communities as, in effect, pieces of a jigsaw to be put together, communitarian thinking works on what I shall call 'the Russian doll principle'. By this, I mean that it presents smaller communities as sitting harmoniously within larger communities. As Frazer (1999) comments:

communitarians are happy enough to desegregate 'the community' into what they understand to be its constituent parts: firms and corporations, schools and neighbourhoods, villages, towns, voluntary associations, states and societies. Each of these are also communities, and they are in a 'nested' relationship: individual is nested in family, is nested in a formation of community organisations like schools, is nested in the society at large. (p190)

This is very different from the idea of 'community rights' promoted by Kymlicka (1995) in which with minority groups are afforded extra rights so that they can gain recognition. Communitarians tend not distinguish between communities, or indeed individuals, according to their different ideas of 'the good'. Generally speaking, communities are seen as united – both in themselves, and with each other – through the values of trust, reciprocity, mutuality and respect. These values, central to developing social capital, are widely presented in communitarian thinking as "values we all share" (Frazer 1999, p197), with social capital acting, in effect, as 'the glue' which can hold diverse communities together.

Through this, communitarianism suggests an understanding of citizenship which, in theory, is able to negate the significance of national heritage. This idea has been drawn upon in educational literature. Isin and Wood (1998), for example, suggest that education for citizenship should focus on citizens' 'common humanity'. Lynch's 1992 book, 'Education for Multi-Cultural Citizenship', relies upon a harmonious progression from local, to national, to international and finally to global levels of citizenship, again drawing upon the ideas of 'common humanity' and human rights. This idea of

interlocking communities, where common values and interests transcend both geographical and political boundaries, also raises a number of issues which suggest changes in thinking about citizenship, particularly in relation to the public, political arena.

### 2.6.3) Communitarian Thinking and Politics

The idea that common values and concerns are shared across political boundaries detracts from the traditional emphasis on domestic politics found in liberal and civic-republican traditions. Giddens argues that communitarians have moved debate away from the liberal idea of ‘emancipatory politics’ (i.e. politics which is concerned with ‘life chances’ and promoting equality through the provision of rights), to:

life politics, concerning life decisions. It is a politics of choice, identity and mutuality. How should we react to the hypothesis of global warming? Should we accept nuclear energy or not?..... Nearly all the questions of life politics.. require radical solutions or suggest radical policies, on different levels of government. All are potentially divisive, but the conditions and alliances required to cope with them don’t necessarily follow those based upon divisions of economic interest. (1998, p44)

Giddens goes on to argue that to engage in the issues raised by life politics, citizens need not act in relation to the state, and instead suggests that citizens work together to build “bottom-up alliances” (Giddens 1998, p45) to address the issues raised by life politics.

Further to this, when issues of life politics are presented as transcending economic and geographic boundaries, it is comparatively easy for communitarian thinkers to present citizens’ engagement with life politics as a ‘moral exercise’, motivated by concern for ‘the common good’ as opposed to self-interest. This casting of ‘politics’ as a moral enterprise is seen as a way to counter:

[the] central force behind the widespread apathy toward national elections [namely] the pervasive sense that politics at this level is so corrupted by money and special interests that meaningful reform is virtually impossible. Thus, the call for renewal of democratic institutions at the grassroots is a natural and understandable response to this feeling of hopelessness. (Bridger and Luloff 2001, p459)



In addition, in a society characterised as increasingly fragmented, but in which the issues to be publicly addressed take on global proportions, turning inwards to their local communities also “becomes a means [for citizens] of exercising some control over at least a portion of [their lives].” (Bridger and Luloff 2001, p460). And, as Bridger and Luloff note, ‘community’ is, moreover, “conceptually manageable” for citizens (2001, p461). Citizens can act on a local level, using their local knowledge to engage with the issues of life politics. Multiple communities can then unite to pursue common aims, linking citizens to larger, potentially, global networks.

Within this, there is also the potential for community groups to engage with the state in order to further their pursuit of ‘the common good’, with this idea of partnership becoming much more prevalent in social policy. The fact that in such partnership, the impetus for ameliorative change comes from the community rather than the state, is seen as a democratising measure, for the state is responding to its citizens’ interests and working in partnership with them. For example, community groups who are concerned to protect the environment may want the state to legislate on their behalf, to make citizens legally as well as morally accountable for their actions. In this instance, the state is able to provide resources which social capital cannot provide, in order to further ‘a common good’ identified from the bottom-up. Thus, rather than divorcing citizens from the state, Carothers (2000) argues that:

Good, non-governmental advocacy work will actually tend to strengthen, not weaken state capacity. A clear example is U.S. environmental policy. Vigorous civic activism on environmental issues has helped prompt the creation of governmental environmental agencies, laws and enforcing mechanisms. (pp16-17)

With this potential for partnership in mind, Giddens (1998) argues that what may appear to some:

as a process of depoliticisation - the draining away of influence from national governments and political parties is actually a spread of political engagement and activism [through] the emergence of ‘sub-politics’ - politics that has migrated away from parliament towards single issue groups in the society. (p48)

It is perhaps this return to an image of society in which:

self interest and the interest of the community are in some sense identical... [and where] the concord of mutually agreed strivings and achievements minimizes anti-social behaviour and thus reliance on coercive policing for maintaining the peace. (Heater 1999, p72)

which Crick wants to promote when encouraging a civic-republican emphasis in programmes of education for citizenship - the difference being that, as I have characterised it, civic-republicanism excludes civil society, while communitarians are less concerned with the state, their primary concern being to develop community organisations.

The difficulty is, however, that communitarian citizens have no obligation to engage with the state - the idea of citizen-state partnership is a relatively small strand within communitarian thinking as a whole. Specifically in terms of education for citizenship, it is philanthropically oriented activity, rather than community-state partnerships, which tend to be advocated (see, for example, materials from 'Community Service Volunteers' at <http://www.csv.org.uk>). And, as we saw in the introductory chapter, it is a focus on community activity to the exclusion of state-based politics, which so concerns Crick.

Having set out the theoretical ideals underpinning communitarian thinking, it is also important to consider how these may be mediated in practice, and by doing so, to raise criticisms about the communitarian ideal. It is not, however, my intention simply to 'knock down' the potential benefits of communitarian citizenship, but to balance these by considering some of the assumptions underlying communitarianism, and discussing the empirical reality of communitarian ideals. I ask to what extent social capital can meet citizens' needs, and whether communitarian ideals of citizenship really have the potential to enhance democracy.

#### 2.6.4) A Critical Consideration of Communitarian Ideals.

Criticisms of communitarian thinking tend to relate to (i) the premises underlying the development of social capital, and (ii) the claims made for social capital as a resource.

Commentaries draw attention to underlying assumptions of material wealth; a reliance on an immediate 'what works' strategy to social change; and the coercive use of dominant cultural norms as a way to regulate citizens' behaviour.

Firstly, it is pertinent that communitarians rarely address issues of wealth creation. While they propose means of curbing the excesses of the market place, they do not suggest an alternative economic project to the one advanced by neo-liberals. In many cases, it appears that the economic resources generated by the workings of the market, are taken for granted by communitarians. Take, for example, Hartman's (2001) argument that:

New Labour believes it can extend the notion of responsibility beyond the individual to the community but a condition of doing so is to make every citizen self-sufficient and financially independent. (p7)

But if communitarianism presents no formal mechanisms for redistribution, or social rights, how is this precondition to be met? A central difficulty is that social capital, whilst centring upon non-material goods such as trust and respect, is itself, perhaps, grounded upon economic success. For example, Bridger and Luloff (2001) argue that social capital relies upon "norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement" (p466). They suggest that citizens invest in each other's interests not out of pure philanthropic sentiment, but in the expectation that their investments will be repaid. Bridger and Luloff describe the situation as one of "short-term altruism and long-term self interest..... working to reconcile self-interest and social solidarity." (p466) With this in mind there is a question as to whether communitarian thinking moves beyond Mouffe's stark liberal scenario where:

social co-operation aims only to enhance our productive capacities and facilitates the attainment of each person's individual prosperity..... [making] ideas of public mindedness, civic activity and political participation in a community of equals.. alien to most. (1992, p227)

Thus, by comparing the 'pre-economic' ideal (Gamarnikow and Green 2000), with the economic reality of communitarian citizenship, we can see a number of tensions within communitarian thinking. Contemporary political rhetoric draws attention to these. For example, Tony Blair has argued:

Duty is an essential Labour concept. It is at the heart of creating a strong community or society.... Without it, freedom turns to ashes. We are left either with a crude form of individualism; or an overbearing state. Neither is acceptable or *in our self interest*. (Guardian 23.3.95 - my emphasis)

What is particularly interesting here is Blair's use of the phrase 'our self interest' (singular). Duties can operate in *our self interests* (plural) - as in neo-liberal thinking where citizens have an individual duty to be entrepreneurial. Similarly, they can operate in *our common interest*, as in civic-republican thinking, or through the social-liberal welfare state. To have, as Blair seems to propose, a common self-interest, is perhaps more problematic. As Bridger and Luloff (2001) note, despite the emphasis upon social capital and community groups, in communitarian thinking:

the underlying conception of the individual remains unchanged. Individuals maximise their utility by calculating the costs and benefits of pursuing alternative courses of action. In the end...the picture [is one] of discrete, separated and independent individuals. (p467)

As a result, "social capital tends to be undervalued and undersupplied by private agents." (Bridger and Luloff 2001, p470)

Consequently, while on the one hand, communitarianism's focus upon community and social capital suggests ways of extending active citizenship, on the other, it may act to hide inequalities while providing no concrete means to redress them. This leads onto criticisms made of communitarianism's 'what works' approach.

To explain, a number of communitarian writers have argued that material resources are not actually necessary for citizens to bring about ameliorative changes in their communities. For example, citizens can improve their local environment by organising groups to pick up litter from their local park. This is something citizens can do independently of the state, and which will be of immediate benefit to their local community. In short, it works, albeit on a micro level.

Some advocates of communitarian thinking have taken the argument further, suggesting that strong networks of emotional support, can compensate for insufficient material

resources. For example, from her study of economically deprived communities, Vondra (cited Frazer 1999, p189) concludes:

where very poor people do maintain an orderly existence, and do not succumb to the kind of chaos that can overwhelm deprived people, it tends to be because they have strong church ties and strict family rules.

In other words, these communities have social capital. *This does not, however, serve to meet the basic material needs of such communities.* In this instance, social capital only ‘works’ to the extent that it may stop deprived communities ‘succumbing to chaos’. It is unlikely to enhance their status or provide them with greater access to civil, political and social rights.

Generally speaking, in communitarian thinking there is a strong “reluctance to acknowledge the power of deep structural inequalities... [and] to challenge the powerful on behalf of the powerless.” (Lister 2001, p431) This brings with it the attendant danger that social inequalities will be constructed as a problem:

lying primarily within deprived neighbourhoods and the motivation of the individuals living in them.... In this way, New Labour’s problem-solving... ‘what works [for a community]’ approach... diverts attention from the need for more systemic structural change. (Lister 2001, p434)

and in addition:

if neighbourhood action is seen as a substitute or cheap alternative to structural change the result will be ineffectiveness and disillusion. (Kleinman cited Lister 2001, p433)

It will, however, protect the citizen’s economic freedoms, so beloved of neo-liberals.

Weissberg (2000) takes a much more critical stance on the role social capital might play in marginalised communities. He cites Collins’ suggestion that black people should form friendship groups to study black literature, music and history, as this will enable them to “reject society’s imposed negative definitions... It is banishing stigma, not tangible self-enhancement that begets power” (p17). In response, Weissberg argues “this in your head empowerment replaces mastery with self-delusion... allowing

inequalities to go unchallenged” (p17). Similarly, with specific reference to history education, Grosvenor (2000) notes that while:

since the early 1980s there have been significant advances on the development of British Black and Asian historical studies..... it is by no means inevitable that this process will be accompanied by an end to the marginalisation or exclusion of Black experiences in historical narratives of Britain’s past. First, what is currently being documented and written is generally described as ‘Black history’. This compartmentalisation has the effects of reinforcing the marginal status of Black historical experiences. (p154)

Further difficulties with communitarian ideals, relate to the idea of reciprocity. Rather than facilitating the integration of citizens from different backgrounds into a united, cohesive, citizen community, some communities may choose not to invest in those unable to repay the investment later on. This means that in practice:

there tend to be relatively few linkages among elite and non-elite organisations, leading to a situation in which it is exceedingly difficult to develop the level of trust necessary for effective collaboration and successful collective action. In such situations, pockets of social capital, each isolated from one another, tend to exist. (Bridger and Luloff 2001, p469)

O’Malley (2001) also notes this possibility for isolated pockets of social capital. She suggests that in some cases, having been denied access to more mainstream groups, ethnic minority communities have had to form their own action groups to respond to the issues of life politics. The ‘common good’ community groups claim to present is, therefore, much more likely to be a narrower, sectional interpretation of ‘the good’. Consequently, despite extending citizens’ opportunities for participation by emphasising civil society and community activity, in a communitarian society, state policies may still be skewed in favour of those who have material and cultural capital. Indeed, Carothers (2000) warns that far from enhancing democracy:

the proliferation of interest groups in mature democracies could choke the workings of representative institutions and systematically distort policy outcomes in favour of the rich and well connected. (p15)

Notably, even within individual communities or organisations, there can be a contradiction in the associations promoting democracy if the communitarian emphasis on “in-group solidarity trumps internal debate and dissent” (Hoffman 2002, p361).

Despite being an ardent advocate of 'community', Etzioni (1996) draws attention to this potential weakness in communitarian thinking. He comments:

If the values the community fosters and the form of its structure (allocation of assets, application of power, shapes of institutions, and mechanisms of socialisation) do not reflect its members' needs, or reflect only the needs of some, the community's order will be ipso facto imposed rather than truly supported. (cited James 2001, p213)

Thus, rather than promoting "the values we all share", communitarian thinking may result in an assimilationist approach, which effectively denies citizens the right to pursue their own ideas of 'the good life', and to hold identities which differ from the majority. Interestingly, rather than seeking to redress this, Etzioni does much to endorse the use of dominant expectations as a means of social control. Pursuing a seemingly neo-liberal stance, Etzioni advocates the public naming and shaming those who are, according to his conservative morals, deviant. He points out that:

community censure represents 'a major way that communities uphold members' commitments to shared values and service to the common good - community order. And indeed, community censure reduces the reliance on the state as a source of order. (Etzioni 1996, cited James 2001, p215)

Consequently, far from creating a cohesive society, this may further isolate and stigmatise marginalised groups. Lister (2001) argues that this sort of moral conservatism has: (i) prevented barriers to full citizenship for lesbians and gays from being dismantled; and (ii) stigmatised those who have not fulfilled their duties to society – especially those unable to work. The scenario this presents may be considered to reflect de Tocqueville's 'tyranny of the majority', in which:

the unchecked power of the majority... sapped the individual's capacity to act independently by silently encouraging... conformity to majority taste, whether in ethics, in politics or in philosophical views. Without knowing it - even while extolling their freedom and autonomy - Americans, Tocqueville observed, conformed to a limited range of aspirations.... Madison worried that majority factions could crush individual rights through the exercise of majority rule, and Tocqueville feared that majority opinion would eclipse the desire to soar beyond conventions. (Appleby et al 1994, pp287-8)

Conforming to convention may thus act to disempower citizens. However, at the same time, only certain (conventional) activities are attributed social capital building status. Social capital has, as Gamarnikow and Green (2000) note:

acquired a normative edge and specified desirable institutional form, the traditional nuclear family..... Social capital is thus a normative conception in that it distinguishes between different forms of social relationships and institutions and claims social capital building status for some, but not for others. (p99)

And those activities which have social capital building status, may not, as was suggested earlier, be those best able to empower society's marginalised members. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated in communitarianism's treatment of women. On the one hand, in looking to civil society to take over some of the state's responsibilities, women's traditional domestic roles, unrecognised in citizenship's liberal and civic-republican modes, are publicly acknowledged (Yamashita 2001). For example, the Chancellor, in calling for a 'new culture of civic patriotism', stated:

Labour..... no longer sees charities as a threat to what government should do, but as more in touch with local people and issues and better placed to innovate. Put it this way: we once thought the man in Whitehall knew best.... Now we know the woman from the WRVS or the playgroup movement might know better. (Guardian 10.02.00)

While this recognises traditionally female, community-based roles, it may actually do little to enhance women's status as citizens. As working for the WRVS or the playgroup movement are largely voluntary activities, they do not afford women any greater access to rights, nor economic recognition for the part they play. In such ways, "state and social power enter right into families. As feminists have pointed out, 'private' advantage or disadvantage spills over into 'public' advantage or disadvantage." (Frazer 1999, p185) More generally, Heater (1999) suggests that:

Communitarianism has the smack of an authoritarian firming up of the status quo, even a retrogression to some supposed more attractive age. Feminists are especially unhappy about this: 'family values', 'mutual care' - do these items on the agenda not foretell a retying of the apron-strings? (p78)



Thus, even with resources of a non-material nature, there are still questions as to how these can be fairly generated and distributed. Frazer suggests that there is a strong gender division relating to the development of social capital. She comments, “one person’s (usually in the literature a man) ‘social support’ is another person’s (usually in the literature a woman) loss of care and attention, and reason for discontent.” (1999, p187) In these respects, communitarian ideals can also be seen to disempower and marginalise particular groups of citizens.

To conclude, and in doing so, draw the different strands of communitarian thinking together, communitarians can be seen as primarily concerned with the development of social capital. They see a sense of duty towards others as integral to curbing the anomic tendencies of the market place, and creating a more inclusive, unified citizen body.

Positively, working together to identify and respond to the needs of their communities, communitarians present citizens as having greater control and influence over decisions which affect their lives. By extending the potential for active citizenship to all community members, communitarian thinking also, to some extent, seeks to redress problems of exclusion and passivity, relating to previous traditions of citizenship. Its focus upon civil society also presents a response to:

[citizens’] growing disenchantment with the government’s typically large-scale, bureaucratic solutions to the nation’s most intractable social, environmental and economic problems.... [and] deep pessimism about both the national and global political culture. (Bridger and Luloff 2001, p459)

In this, civil society organisations are seen as allowing citizens an active, and often direct part in “decisions about distribution and protection. The emphasis is on the construction and reconstruction of norms through mediating organisations and associations.” (Frazer 1999, p139) To this extent, communitarian thinking can be considered to promote democracy, by giving citizens a greater say in public issues.

More critically, the difficulty with communitarianism is, argues Frazer, that it “overlooks precisely the politics of ‘community’ to such an extent... that communitarianism barely looks like a political theory at all.” (1999, p2) The criticisms

are, broadly speaking, two-fold. Firstly, while communitarianism can be considered a reaction against the impersonal nature of state institutions and the limited opportunities they give citizens to participate, by distancing itself from state activities, communitarianism tends to ignore state power, and the inequalities generated by the unequal distribution of power at this level.

Further to this, communitarians are often keen to stress commonality - to focus on what citizens share, rather than how they may be treated unequally. The idea of 'nested communities', (Frazer 1999) in which all communities, from a local to global level, share the same ideals, is the ultimate embodiment of this. The emphasis this places upon social harmony, seems to overlook issues of conflict - whether on a macro or micro level. By focusing fairly exclusively on points of commonality, communitarianism arguably presents a model of society which is 'on the face of it' "pre-political" (Gamarnikow and Green 2000, p97); there seems to be little anticipation of conflict on any level. This is in contrast even to civic-republicanism's emphasis on a substantive 'common good', for civic-republicanism at least allows for a level of conflict in determining 'the good' and deciding how to pursue it. Communitarianism, by contrast, suggests no process for the mediation of conflicting interests. In this way, while communitarianism tends not to deal explicitly with politics in terms of power relations, the way in which it presents citizens as social actors, exerts power. It can, for example, be regarded as coercive, in requiring community level participation, and only attributing some activities social capital building status.

In any event, communitarianism's attempts to extricate citizens from the state, have far reaching ramifications for what it is to be a citizen. That communitarians often simply assume that generating social capital will enhance social justice, can be considered particularly problematic.

### 2.7) Some Reflections on the Meanings Different Traditions Give to Citizenship.

In exploring citizenship's development, and looking at how civic-republican, liberal and communitarian schools of thought define citizenship, two key issues have shaped discussion. These can be characterised as: the individual versus society; and private

versus public participation. For the sake of clarity, the civic-republican can be broadly characterised as centring upon the needs of society and public participation; liberalism as concerned with individual needs and the rights to privacy; and the communitarian, as focusing upon ways in which citizens can meet the needs of society through private activities - by which I mean activities which fall outside of state-based, political procedures.

While it may be convenient to think in such dualistic terms, the situation is, as we have seen, much more complex. The general concerns of the individual versus society; and private versus public participation, each encompass a much wider range of issues. These include the conflict between the civil right to wealth accumulation and the social right to welfare; the question of how far individuals should be able to determine their own images of the 'good life' and to hold distinct identities; the relationship anticipated between rights and duties, between citizens and the state, and between citizens themselves; the forms of equality or social justice anticipated by different schools of thought, and the ways in which citizens may pursue these.

Nevertheless, reflecting on the literature, a number of trends can be discerned. Most clearly, a move away from state-centred collectivism, towards duty-based, philanthropic activity, is suggested. A number of more uncertain moves, drawing attention to contradictions and tensions relating to this, have also been noted. For example, in reacting to the individualistic nature of the market place, communitarian thinking might also mark a return to the community consensus (with the strong possibility of moral coercion) associated with a civic-republican model of society. There is a question as to whether, in communitarian thinking, citizens' freedoms are being doubly sacrificed by the current emphasis on community and private activities, rather than state assured rights.

While in terms of politics and social policy, a communitarian orientation seems to be gaining dominance, concerns about this are spurring a defence of citizenship rights from some quarters. Authors such as Kymlicka have continued to advocate citizenship rights as a means of defending minority identities. From a social policy perspective, Lister (2001) has expressed concerns that the decline of welfare rights may further marginalise

poor communities. Addressing the erosion of democratic accountability between citizens and the state, Faulks (2000) and Heater (2002), both explore ways in which citizenship rights may be employed to transcend domestic politics and address the issues of life politics raised by communitarianism, and thereby ensure a strong citizen-state relationship.

Thus, as alternative ways are sought of resolving the conflicts inherent in citizenship, there are not right and wrong answers as such, as much as differing emphases. Authors tend to be keen to stress the importance of balance between competing ideals, but do so in two broadly different ways, which would suggest very different aims and contents if used to shape programmes of education for citizenship. On the one hand, Etzioni suggests the need for citizenship to be defined so as to 'correct' societal trends, arguing: "[it] must respond like a person riding a bicycle; it must continually correct tendencies to lean too far in one direction or the other, as it moves forward over a changing terrain." (cited James 2001, p226) If one follows such an argument, Etzioni's emphasis on community and collective values can be justified as a response to perceived fragmentation and anomie. If employed in an educational context, it suggests a focus on social capital building exercises, such as community service, rather than upon rights, and how to exercise these effectively.

On the other hand, authors such as Heater argue that any understanding of citizenship presented in an educational context must be balanced *in itself*. Heater, for example, argues that while there is a distinction to be made between status and moral standing, both are integral to citizenship and combine to form it. To focus too exclusively upon moral standing, as Etzioni seems to suggest, would, argues Heater, undermine the political dimension of citizenship, with citizenship being impaired as a consequence. This also raises the question of whether programmes of education for citizenship should be about citizenship per se, as a theoretical ideal, or about responding to society's perceived needs.

What I want to consider now, in the remaining part of this study's literature review, is how such debates have entered into discussion specifically about *education for citizenship*, and the directions it is suggested schools' programmes might pursue. To do

so, in the next chapter, I discuss the understandings of citizenship presented in QCA documentation on education for citizenship, and in the literature relating to these. I explore these under the headings of (i) rights and duties; (ii) citizen identity; and (iii) spheres of activity. These are themes which emerge from the QCA documents and literature relating to these, as well as being themes which can be considered to go across the traditions set out in the literature review. Rather than seeking to label documents, or aspects of debate, as belonging to one tradition or another, I want to see how the understandings presented in a broad educational context, relate to the issues raised in wider philosophical debate.

### 3) Education for Citizenship and the Meanings QCA Documents Give to Citizenship.

#### 3.1) Introduction.

In this chapter, I want to look at how citizenship has been defined for educational import from the 'top-down'. My focus in this is on the understandings presented in the Crick Report (QCA 1998), the statutory order for citizenship (DfEE/QCA 1999), and the QCA\DfES scheme of work for Key Stage 3 (2001). I have selected these documents for the range of positions they occupy in communicating understandings of citizenship from the top-down, to those actually educating for citizenship.

The Crick Report presents an explicit consideration of citizenship's meaning from a philosophical standpoint, as well as within the context of education for citizenship. Crick (2000), claims that the Crick Report served as a foundation for the statutory subject order, with the definition of citizenship formulated in the Report underlying the order's requirements for learning. The QCA scheme of work for Key Stage 3 then builds on the order's requirements, suggesting how these might be realised within programmes of education for citizenship.

Given the links between these documents, when exploring the understandings they present we can ask whether, as a body, the QCA itself presents a (seemingly) unequivocal position of what citizenship means. How far it does so, can be considered to have significant implications for how far teachers can be expected to work towards common goals when educating for citizenship. If the meanings given to citizenship within QCA documents appear ambiguous, or indeed, appear contradictory, this in itself has significant implications for the implementation of education for citizenship. As the Crick Report noted, if teachers are not "given a clear statement of what is meant by citizenship education and their central role it" (1998, para 4.10), they are likely to make widely divergent readings, even of statutory learning objectives.

Acknowledging Frazer's argument that (i) "those engaged in practical policy interventions are well aware of the relevance of philosophical arguments... so there is no very clear distinction.... of the origin of ideas" (1999, pp13-14); and also (ii) that the

understandings presented are likely to be “much more variable in their precision and clarity than philosophical presentations” (1999, pp13-14), I treat QCA documents as playing a bridging role, linking philosophical debates to empirical concerns, and as forming part of the existing literature on education for citizenship. My aim is to show how the ideals associated with different philosophical traditions of citizenship relate to policy documents on education for citizenship. I consider whether any clear philosophical directions are suggested in the QCA’s presentation of citizenship, and explore any ambiguities, contradictions, or tensions which appear. This provides a further dimension to the philosophical backdrop already developed by looking at different traditions of citizenship.

It is important to consider the ideals of citizenship presented in QCA documents, and to use different philosophical traditions as tools to highlight these, for although teachers have a great deal of freedom to define citizenship in their teaching, they still have, at the very least, to respond to the QCA’s statutory order for citizenship. (And, as outlined above, this is linked to the understandings presented in the Crick Report and Key Stage 3 scheme of work.) It is important to recognise that top-down policy documents are often intended to serve, if not as a catalyst, as a ‘signpost’ to guide implementation. Their role is to “create the felt need for moving in a particular change direction” (Fullan 1982, p96).

Looking at how different philosophical and political ideals may be embodied in QCA documents, thus provides an insight into the interaction between educational policy and wider philosophical debates. Researchers need to recognise that the QCA is not a neutral body and that deliberate decisions have been made about how citizenship should be presented. It is, for example, prudent to consider why the Labour Party has chosen to revive education for citizenship, and how political motives may be reflected in the work of a quasi state body such as the QCA. For example, Kahne (2000) suggests that:

The narrow and often ideologically conservative conception of citizenship embedded in many current efforts at teaching for democracy reflects neither arbitrary choices nor limits in our knowledge about teaching and learning per se, but rather political choices with political consequences. (p1)

Thus, exploring QCA documents, can give some indication of the networks of ideas, and webs of understandings that teachers may connect with when developing programmes of education for citizenship. Simply, although programmes of education for citizenship are developed at teachers' discretion, QCA documents provide another layer of meanings, lying between philosophical traditions and teachers' working realities, that teachers need to engage with. Given this, exploring the understandings of citizenship presented within QCA documents, provides a further valuable means of contextualising teachers' understandings, relating the issues raised in the literature review specifically to an educational context.

When considering the understandings embedded in the Crick Report, the statutory order, and QCA scheme of work for Key Stage 3, I present an analysis under the headings of: identity; citizens' participation in society; and rights and duties. These are themes which a close reading of the documents has suggested, as opposed to themes determined *a priori* (specific methods of data analysis are discussed in Chapter 4). I discuss each theme in turn, looking at how the QCA's presentation of citizenship blends, mediates and adapts the ideals associated with different traditions.

I argue that although the QCA's presentation of citizenship does not exclude a rights-based, state-centred dimension, much greater emphasis has been put on socially-oriented, duties-based concerns. Learning objectives relating to citizens' participation in the state have been focused predominantly on the mechanics of government, while community participation has been presented very much in terms of philanthropic, voluntary activity. I suggest that this does much to evoke a minimalist, liberal interpretation of political participation on the one hand, and a broadly communitarian approach to community participation in the other. Thus, rather than, as Heater advocates, presenting an understanding of citizenship which is balanced *in itself*, I contend that the QCA appears to follow Etzioni's 'corrective approach' to education for citizenship, suggesting a focus on philanthropic activity. I suggest that this is reflective of moves seen in literature and in social policy, to shift responsibilities from the state and onto citizens.



Having set out my argument in brief, I now want to move on to a thematic analysis of the Crick Report, the statutory order for citizenship, and the scheme of work for Key Stage 3, starting with the issue of ‘citizen identity’.

### 3.2) Issues of Identity

As we saw when exploring different traditions of citizenship, the question of how people are to identify themselves as citizens, has received much attention. Issues such as how a citizen identity may unite people who hold different ethnic and cultural identities, have proved particularly controversial. Nevertheless, the idea of a unifying citizen identity, held in common by all citizens, still enjoys much contemporary support. This is especially so in the context of education for citizenship. For example, the Crick Report suggests that if education for citizenship is to enhance and secure democracy, one of its central tasks must be to:

find or restore a sense of common citizenship, including a national identity, that is secure enough to find a place for the plurality of nations, cultures, ethnic identities, and religions long found in the United Kingdom. (para 3.14)

This view was again put forward by the Home Office Report into inner city riots in England in the summer of 2001, which suggested that by fostering a common identity and set of values, education for citizenship could help to quell anti-social behaviours and inter-racial tensions (O’Malley 2001, p2). Of the approaches to developing a common identity detailed in the literature review, some have appeared much less suited to this task than others. To recap briefly, across the various traditions, three distinct approaches to developing a citizen identity were noted. These were: (i) allegiance to a common, patriotically-based, national identity; (ii) developing a unifying political identity - where, when acting in the state-centred, political sphere, citizens identify with each other according to democratic principles; and (iii) by fostering an identity based on the values integral to social capital. With these approaches in mind, I want to explore how QCA documents address the issue of identity, and how they may blend, mediate and adapt the ideals associated with different traditions.

QCA documents, and published reactions to these, draw on all of the approaches set out above. Perhaps surprisingly given the multicultural nature of many modern societies, there is still the suggestion of a patriotically based national identity. This is most clearly seen in the Crick Report which states that:

Majorities must respect, understand and tolerate minorities and minorities must learn to respect the laws, codes and conventions as much as the majority - not merely because it is useful to do so, but because this process helps foster common citizenship. (QCA 1998, para 3.16)

This can be read as having assimilationist overtones - minorities must conform to a predetermined idea of the common good, with what it is to be a 'good' citizen being determined by the majority culture. In this respect, the Crick Report appears to promote a citizen identity which affirms the social and civil rights of the majority, while curtailing their exercise by minority groups. Following this line of thought, Osler (2000) presents a damning response to the Crick Report, stating:

It would appear that the Report of the Advisory Group for Citizenship, a document which has an explicit aim, that of developing a curriculum which strengthens our democracy, contains, albeit unwittingly, an example of institutionalised racism, in its characterisation of minorities as people who are, by implication, less likely to adhere to the laws, codes and conventions of our society than majorities. The implication must be that, as a result, minorities are in need of support within their citizenship education which will bring them into line with the actions and behaviours of the majority community. (p33)

In this, the Crick Report's stance seems to echo many of the criticisms levelled, firstly, against patriotically centred ideas of the good and citizen identity in relation to this; and secondly, of the use of community censure seen most explicitly in communitarian thinking. In addition, Osler suggests that the Crick Report's stance allows discrimination against minorities to be conveniently overlooked (p27). This echoes criticisms of communitarian thinking which challenge the supposedly inclusive nature of social capital (Grosvenor 2000; Weissberg 2000; O'Malley 2001).

The irony is that while attacked for being too directive and assimilationist, the Crick Report also receives criticism for not being definite enough in its stance on identity. For example, Starkey (2000), in his commentary on the Crick Report, suggests that it is:

cautious in its statements and applications of values, stressing diversity, tolerance, and thus inviting relativism.... the English syllabus would benefit from a more powerful expression of democratic values. (p41)

Starkey compares the Crick Report's approach to education for citizenship with that put forward in French curriculum documents. He suggests that compared with the Crick Report, the French approach presents "a confident focused enterprise with clear objectives and a clear sense of values." (p49) However, Starkey claims that this clarity comes from reference to:

a single national culture defined as republican, in other words based on the principles of freedom, equality and solidarity and on human rights. Its basis is the conviction that the state is responsible for transmitting its basic values and that these values are those of the public sphere. (p42)

Considered in the context of contemporary French politics, where the far right received high levels of support in the 2001 elections, just how far an emphasis on republican principles can counter the exclusive potential of a single national culture, is, I think, open to question. Further to this, Starkey seems to suggest that the French approach to education for citizenship is based upon an agreed understanding of 'republicanism'. However, as the literature review showed, there is no single tradition or understanding of citizenship around which to base education for citizenship. Even Pring's (1999, 2001) argument that citizens require a broadly liberal education gives no clear indication of the values to be promoted, and as the literature review showed, liberalism can act as an umbrella term for competing ideals.

The Crick Report's tendency toward exclusion is, however, much less evident in the statutory orders for citizenship. When talking about fostering an identity through education for citizenship, the statutory orders for citizenship do much more than the Crick Report to look outside of an exclusive, national context. At Key Stage 3, they require pupils to learn about:

the world as a global community, and the political, economic, environmental and the social implications of this, and the role of the European Union, the Commonwealth and the United Nations (attainment target 1i)

At Key Stage 4, pupils are to study:

the opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to bring about social change locally, nationally, in Europe and internationally (1f)

The United Kingdom's relations in Europe, including the European Union, and relations with the Commonwealth and United Nations (1i)

the wider issues and challenges of global interdependence and responsibility, including sustainable development and local agenda 21. (1j)

These requirements can be interpreted in a number of ways, and suggest an understanding of citizenship which blends ideals associated with different traditions. There is still some reference to the nation state as the context for developing a citizen identity, but this is then linked to other political bodies at European, Commonwealth and global levels. There is also some suggestion of strong citizen-citizen relationships being advocated. At Key Stage 4 in particular, opportunities for individual and voluntary groups to bring about social change might be interpreted as relying on strong interpersonal relationships, with citizens being able to identify with each other on a human to human level. Going one step further, the emphasis on citizenship at multiple levels – local, national and international, might be read in line with the idea of interlocking communities, where all citizens have a common identity based on the values of social capital. As such, the ideals presented can be read as speaking to a range of traditions in the literature.

This presents identity as a complex matter, relating it to (i) nationality; (ii) to identifying with others and fostering social capital; and (iii) to the idea of 'life politics', where issues of global importance are seen to have an impact on all citizens.

Although the QCA order can be read as suggesting multiple ways of developing a citizen identity, interestingly, it does least to speak explicitly to the idea of an identity based upon democratic values and due process, and which links citizens to state-based politics – referred to earlier by Mouffe as 'a grammar of political conduct'. On a theoretical level at least, a focus on democratic values presents a way of promoting a more inclusive sense of identity than one based upon the more substantive aspects of a culture, or which relies upon community censure. It may be that democratic values receive little explicit emphasis as the basis for developing a citizen identity more as a result of pedagogic concerns, as opposed to anything else. Simply, being abstract,

democratic ideals may be hard to demonstrate to pupils and hard for them to identify with. Even when democratic processes are modelled in schools, for example through mock elections, this may not help to promote a unifying citizen identity. Mock elections, although they allow pupils to model the electioneering process, rarely focus on the democratic values underpinning elections. They tend instead to focus upon achieving a desired outcome (i.e. electing a candidate) and encouraging pupils to be in 'one camp' or another. While this mirrors actual processes and presents an active way of learning about them, it does little to suggest a unifying set of values, which may form the basis of a citizen identity.

In any event, it is hard to present what are essentially abstract values in ways which pupils can identify with. For example, Rowe (1997), while presenting a focus on democratic values as central to education for citizenship, does so out of a concern that pupils should be able to articulate their own identities and to learn to respect others'. He argues:

Where individuals wish to engage with others over matters of shared moral concern, they need to learn the language and procedures of the discourse and to master the rules of engagement. In doing so, they should be free to re-examine or defend their own substantive values as appropriate. One of the purposes of education in this area is to help pupils become aware that their home traditions form part of a much richer tapestry. (p79)

Significantly, Rowe does not deny pupils' their identity in terms of their heritage, but suggests ways of articulating different identities and private ideas of the good in the public sphere. In this, it is not democratic values themselves which form the basis of a citizen identity – instead they are presented as a way of allowing the more substantive aspects of different cultural identities to be explored. However, how far this actually differs from the French approach detailed by Starkey, with its potential contradiction between promoting an exclusive national culture, while advocating freedom, equality and human rights, is open to question.

Briefly, to conclude this look at ways of fostering identity, of the QCA documents considered, the Crick Report seems to tend towards promoting an exclusive national identity, while the orders or schemes of work, do little explicit to address identity - though may nevertheless be considered to take a more inclusive approach. Depending

on where teachers take their lead from, if they talk about fostering a citizen identity, they may have very different ideals in mind.

### 3.3) Citizens' Participation in Society.

A further concern of the QCA's has been how citizens might participate effectively in a democracy, and this again appears as a central theme in its proposals for education for citizenship. For example, the Crick Report states its main aim to be to bring about:

no less than a change in the political culture of this country, both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing able and equipped to have an influence in public life...; to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves. (para 1.5)

More recent QCA documentation, setting out a scheme of work for Key Stage 3, reiterate such sentiments, presenting education for citizenship as "more than a statutory subject. If taught well and tailored to local needs, its skills and values will enhance democratic life for us all... beginning in school and radiating out." (2001, p3)

In this, what the QCA means by 'democratic life' is an issue of central importance. As we saw in the literature review, there are many different ways for citizens to participate in society, each anticipating alternative forms of democracy. Emphasis has been variously placed on activities in the public and private spheres; upon citizens' obligation to participate; and upon forms of direct participation, versus participation by representation.

Some theorists have sought to optimise citizens' involvement in ruling, by combining public and private interests and multiple forms of activity. For example, Held (1996) suggests that "the state and civil society must become the condition for each other's democratic development." (p322) In terms of education for citizenship, this suggests that if democracy is to be enhanced, it is not enough simply to teach about government procedures, or to get pupils involved in voluntary work in their communities. While both seek to explore citizens' potential influence, they do so in different ways and

anticipate different sets of underpinning relationships. Arguably, if pupils are to appreciate the wider relationships underpinning citizenship in a democratic society, and to participate in ways which can enhance democracy, both forms of activity need to be addressed and explicitly related. As such, what I want to consider here, is where, in the current drive to promote education for citizenship, the QCA has sought to strike a balance between state-based and community-focused activities, and whether these have been treated discretely, or as interdependent.

To look firstly at the Crick Report, in the body of the Report, there is a clear suggestion of overlap between citizens' potential for activity through the organisations of civil society, and in the public, political sphere. For example, the Crick Report's authors comment:

volunteering and community involvement are necessary conditions of civil society and democracy....we say only that... they are not sufficient conditions. Local communities are, indeed, not isolated from the state and public policy. (para 2.5)

They then expand upon this, relating the institutions of civil society, to the maintenance of citizens' freedoms:

We recognise that freedom and full citizenship in the political arena itself depends on a society with a rich variety of non-political associations and voluntary groups - what some have called civil society. (para 2.7)

The Crick Report goes on to suggest that those participating in civil society organisations must be politically aware, and should act to influence the state:

civic spirit, citizens' charters and voluntary activity in the community are of crucial importance, but individuals must be helped and prepared to shape the terms of such engagements by political understanding and action. (para 2.3)

In this, the Crick Report can be read as suggesting two key roles for civil society: firstly, as a way to create and maintain social cohesion - the important thing being that citizens engage with others through voluntary activity; and secondly, that civil society activity must be considered in relation to state-based politics.

However, little is done to carry these early understanding through in any explicit sense in later recommendations. In the statutory orders and Key Stage 3 scheme of work, citizens' participation in state-based processes has been presented as largely separate from citizens' participation in their communities. Learning objectives relating to state-based participation have been focused overwhelmingly on the mechanics of government, while community participation has been presented very much in terms of philanthropic activity. This, I would suggest, does much to reflect a minimalist, liberal interpretation of political participation on the one hand, and a broadly communitarian approach to community participation on the other. To reflect this distinction, in the following discussion, I look, in turn, at the QCA's presentation of state-based activity, and then at community participation.

Firstly, when the QCA Citizenship Orders for Key Stages 3 and 4 refer explicitly to democracy, they appear centrally concerned with government, elections and voting. The importance of voting and key characteristics of parliamentary government (KS3 1d, 1e) and of playing an active part in the democratic and electoral processes (KS4 1d) are listed as knowledge-based objectives for learning. Alternative means of engagement through civil society, *with the deliberate intention of influencing state decision making processes*, are not.

Admittedly, at Key Stage 3, pupils are also required to learn about "the work of community-based, national and international voluntary groups" (1f), and at Key Stage 4 pupils should consider "opportunities for individuals and voluntary groups to bring about social change, locally, nationally, in Europe and internationally." (1f) Yet, while these present alternative forms of participation, there is no clear suggestion of a relationship between voluntary groups and the state. Perhaps the best that can be said, is that the possibility to make such links is not excluded.

In effectively tying citizens' engagement in democratic government to the practice of voting, there is some doubt as to how far a programme of education for citizenship which meets the statutory order, might bring about a change in the political culture. The QCA's presentation of state-based politics appears to speak most clearly to a traditional liberal stance, which suggests that in a parliamentary democracy, citizens' primary role



is to select representatives. In this, it appears to draw heavily on the Crick Report's essential recommendations for learning (1998, p44). For example, the Crick Report recommends that in addition to acquiring knowledge about "Britain's parliamentary, political and legal systems... including how they function"; pupils need to develop skills which can be deemed central to 'wise selection' of representatives. These include the "ability to recognise forms of manipulation and persuasion"; to take "a critical approach to evidence put before one"; and to "consider... the perspectives of others". However, the way in which the Crick Report's recommendations are laid out, does nothing explicitly to suggest a link between knowledge about political institutions and the skills which can be essential to act within these. Notably, within the statutory orders for citizenship, what little emphasis the Crick Report placed on skills, is further diminished. While the orders place much emphasis upon knowledge relating to the functions and workings of government, when it comes to skills, they require only that pupils "use their imagination to consider others' experiences" (KS3&4 3a); "negotiate, decide and take part responsibly in school and community based activities" (KS3&4 3b); and "reflect on the process of participating" (KS3&4 3c).

Much of the above discussion can, I would suggest, be linked to the minimalist nature of liberal participation. In order not to anticipate a substantive common good; not to be seen to demand participation; and not to promote an understanding of community which could be 'coercive' in the forms of the good life it anticipates; there is perhaps little bar substantive knowledge about institutions, that is considered 'safe' in the context of education for citizenship.

And yet, civics teaching is something which has been strongly resisted by the vast majority of those with an interest in education for citizenship. Crick (2000a), for example, has argued that:

without the experiential, participative side of citizenship learning, some schools could turn the brave new subject into safe and dead, dead and safe, old rote learning civics. There is an awful lot that could be learnt and assessed about, say, local government. (p82)

Moreover, Wringe (1992) has suggested that by reducing the expectation of citizens' involvement in ruling to casting the periodic vote:

we lose the sense that a citizen is one who is expected to participate actively in the affairs of the city, and thus we run the risk that the good citizen may simply become synonymous with the serviceable citizen (p31).

The question arising from this is whether, if programmes of education for citizenship act to develop skills and knowledge sufficient to allow for the possibility of political action, but do not move beyond this, they can be considered broader than a civics-based approach? Will they lose the sense of active participation in government as Wringe fears they might? A further concern relating to this, is that a focus on the development of knowledge and skills will lend credence to arguments such as Pring's (1999, 2001), that to educate for liberal citizenship, humanities teaching is sufficient. In this scenario, what happens to the understanding that citizens need to act in relation to the state to uphold democracy and the freedoms this allows?

To reflect thus far, it appears that the way in which democracy and the democratic process are, in the main, referred to by the QCA, may in fact owe more to traditional civics-based learning, than the search for new forms of involvement which may reinvigorate political life. It is important to justify this claim further, for education for citizenship has not been presented as a subject dominated by the learning of facts about government. Active involvement in the community has been cast as of fundamental importance. However, it is really only when one looks beyond those learning objectives concerned with knowledge and understanding, that this becomes clear, bringing the discussion to focus on the presentation of community activity within QCA documents.

The QCA's scheme of work for Key Stage 3 (2001) provides a number of insights into the relationship anticipated between state-based and community-based activities. In the scheme of work, those activities explicitly suggested to be about democracy include: asking pupils to compare voter turn out figures; research aspects of parliamentary process; discuss the pros and cons of a representative system of government; and in terms of skills development, to take part in mock elections and schools' councils. Looking beyond these, the opportunities suggested for extending pupil participation include: pupils undertaking reception duties, office support and acting as guides for

visitors; producing displays for parents' evenings; fund-raising for local and national charities; acting as partners in community projects by talking to the elderly and helping adults with disabilities. These activities appear community-based and disengaged from citizens' participation in public, political forums. What needs to be taken into account is that while pupils who spend the afternoon, say, mowing pensioners lawns, are acting within the community, they are afforded little opportunity to develop an understanding of wider political, state-based participation. As Wringe argues:

personal ministrations may bring satisfaction to the individual, but in the end... it makes no real difference. Unless it is linked with political action, the old and disabled remain insecure and dependent on gratuitous acts of kindness or arbitrary enthusiasms. (p36)

The question is whether, unless presented in relation to state policies and citizens' potential to influence these, education for citizenship will be able to foster an "awareness that decisions made in the public, political process, directly and indirectly affect their private lives and futures." (Torney-Purta 2000, p2) In this case, if education for citizenship acts to change the political culture, it seems that this may be by further disengaging citizens from the state, and undermining citizen-state accountability. It is not unreasonable to ask whether, as 'good citizens', pupils are being 'trained' to take over the provision of services for the elderly in terms of, for example, providing home help, as opposed to developing the critical skills needed to engage in state-based politics.

With this in mind, it is notable that the Crick Report's authors suggest the wider shift from the state as the provider of social citizenship rights, to citizens as providers, acting outside of the formal political sphere, to be a prime consideration in their recommendations for education for citizenship. At the outset, the Crick Report states:

Preparation for [volunteering and community involvement], at the very least, should be an explicit part of education. This is especially important at a time when government is attempting a shift of emphasis between, on the one hand, state welfare provision and responsibility and, on the other, community and individual responsibility. (para 2.5)

However, there is little within the Crick Report, the subsequent statutory orders, or schemes of work, to suggest that this shift is indicated to pupils. Although the Crick Report places an additional emphasis on the development of political literacy skills, it does not propose that pupils should be helped to analyse the aims behind, and implications of their undertaking, community service. While the Crick Report advocates that education for citizenship should develop the skills needed for “conflict resolution and decision making, relating to the economic and social problems of the day” (para 2.11c), if citizenship’s political dimensions are seen to stand alone from its civic and social elements, the ways in which the status of citizenship as a whole can be affected by the erosion of welfare rights, cannot be adequately addressed. Admittedly, the Report does highlight the ways in which voluntary service can develop political skills, through fund-raising, publicising events and so on, but this is not to illuminate the Report’s reasons for advocating voluntary service as a component of education for citizenship, nor does it help pupils engage with state-based politics. That there are such debates underlying the QCA’s presentation of education for citizenship, is completely hidden from view in the statutory orders for citizenship and the Key Stage 3 scheme of work.

In the light of this, what is, I think, of particular concern, is that the QCA has acted to make community involvement a mandatory part of education for citizenship. Crick (2000) argued that in making such activity mandatory, the QCA Orders went “radically further than the [Crick] Report” which only “strongly recommended, as good practice..., pupil participation, both in school and in the local community.” (p81) Crick’s seeming condonation of this approach is a far cry from his suggested presuppositions for citizenship education, which include political freedom - “the making of choices and doing things of public significance, or of potential public significance, in a self-willed and uncoerced way.” (1999, p343) Furthermore, Crick states that “the politically literate person will question whether the distribution of goods, rewards and praise is fair or not” (p364), and that “part of political literacy is knowing that there are both alternative means towards any end and alternative sources of information” (p349). A programme which focuses fairly exclusively upon voluntary activity of a philanthropic nature may foster a proclivity towards involvement, and a feeling of responsibility towards others, while not developing, in the terms Crick uses here, political literacy.

Thus, the emphasis the QCA puts on voluntary activity within the community, may lead to a neglect of the political (in terms of state influence), and the need for the democratic resolution/acceptance of differences.

This marks a clear divergence from the political literacy movement of the 1970s, which although having a focus on politics as embedded in the community, retained a state dimension. One of the central intentions of the political literacy programme (Crick and Porter 1978) was that pupils should be able to develop the skills, knowledge and attitudes to be able to discern the influence of state decisions and partisan politics on a local level, to examine these critically, and in turn, to be able to act explicitly in relation to the state.

The emphasis on community service also suggests a link between the QCA's approach and communitarian thinking about citizenship. In line with most communitarians, the QCA emphasises face-to-face encounters, with the argument in communitarianism's favour, namely that it "brings [political activity] down to its proper level - the level of the personal and human encounter" (Frazer 1999, p42), being equally applicable. When pupils do not have a full range of political rights, this focus on community may be seen to provide a useful basis for active learning. A further consideration is that such an approach, in not drawing explicit attention to issues of power and inequality, nor the state's influence, may help teachers to resolve many of the dilemmas which can arise within education for citizenship; as Stradling (1985, p9) notes, "the controversies which do tend to be problematic [for teachers] are those issues on which our society is clearly divided and significant groups within society advocate conflicting explanations of solutions based on alternative values." This said, in the broader context of theoretical debate on citizenship's meaning, the presentation of understandings which tend towards communitarianism in the ways outlined above, is, perhaps, of dubious merit. As Held (1996) argues, such an approach brings with it:

the danger of weakening those aspects of our political traditions which need protecting and nurturing - such as the notion of an impartial and circumscribed political authority, and the maintenance of many key liberal democratic rights and obligations - without necessarily gaining new and effective political resources. (p328)

To reflect upon the QCA's presentation of democracy and community involvement, the implication is that the democratic process and activities which relate citizens to the state, have been cast as largely separate to citizens' involvement in their communities. The former presents a fairly passive form of citizenship focused on voting, while the latter is active and focused upon voluntary and charitable works. Pupils are to learn about the mechanics of state-based democracy, and so to acquire knowledge, but in terms of active participation, the QCA appears much keener to focus upon voluntary activity, often of a philanthropic nature.

To state the case starkly, if education for citizenship comes to present these two separate modes of citizenship, it might actually act to diminish public life and the democratic process. Commonly, theorists such as Held (1996), argue that enhancing democracy depends on "a process of double democratisation: the interdependent transformation of both state and civil society." (p316) If education for citizenship presents these separately, it seems unlikely to anticipate such an interdependent transformation. Again, much depends on how, and indeed if, teachers choose to engage with such issues.

### 3.4) Rights and Duties.

A narrative overview of citizenship's dominant traditions suggests that in a contemporary context, a shift away from citizenship as primarily rights-based, to citizenship as primarily duties-based, is in evidence. As Giddens (1998) argues:

Third way politics looks for a new relationship between the individual and the community, a redefinition of rights and obligations. One might suggest as a prime motto for the new politics, no rights without responsibilities. (pp65-6)

At the same time, there has also been a limited backlash in favour of a rights-based orientation to citizenship. With a special resonance for education, the British government has, for example, been accused of failing to respond to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (BBC News 04.10.02). It is reported to have done little to allow children:

to make their views known and to have these views given due weight in legislative and administrative measures and policies undertaken to implement the rights of the child. It is suggested that the State consider the possibility of establishing further mechanisms to facilitate the participation of children in the decisions affecting them. (James 2001, p225)

Referring specifically to the Crick Report, James (2001) further notes:

It is perhaps indicative of current thinking about children's status as citizens that in its list of entitlements, rights appear last, after duties and responsibilities. (p218)

How far this is can be considered the case with regard to the QCA's presentation of citizenship in general, is something which will now be explored.

Looking firstly at the Crick Report, it is interesting that while, in the first instance, advocating Marshall's triad of citizenship rights (para 2.7), the advisory group have adapted this, proposing their own model of citizenship which consists of: (i) social and moral responsibility, this being cast as a 'precondition' to active citizenship; (ii) community involvement, to include learning through community involvement and service to the community; and (iii) political literacy, where pupils learn to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge of and preparation for conflict resolution and decision making. By defining citizenship in this way, the Crick Report casts a sense of community and of respect for others, as integral to all social action, be it in the public or private sphere. Moreover, where political action (as opposed to knowledge about political institutions) is explicitly referred to, it is in the context of working in voluntary bodies. In this, aspects of the Crick Report tend towards communitarian thinking; a subjective relationship of trust and mutuality between citizens is seen as of primary importance.

Reflecting upon this, Gamarnikow and Green (2000) draw a comparison with Marshall's presentation of citizenship, arguing that:

whereas Marshall viewed civil citizenship as the foundation for individual rights and freedoms, the Crick Report sees this level as the exercise of social and moral responsibilities of reciprocity and social trust as a foundation for sociability. (p104)

In addition, by casting “socially and morally responsible behaviour” as an essential precondition of citizenship, it is duties and conforming to a moral consensus, rather than, necessarily, acting in accordance with democratic principles, which the Crick Report casts as the cornerstone of citizenship. As Gamarnikow and Green further note in their commentary on the Crick Report:

the proposed consensus is around a moral regime of values, duties and responsibilities... and an emphasis on social cohesion and social solidarity in the absence of a commitment to social justice. (p108)

Such an argument appears coherent with the wider societal shifts suggested in the literature review, where the state is being absolved of responsibilities to its citizens, with a number of these being recast as duties which citizens must take upon themselves. Simply reflecting on the previous sections, it has already been suggested that the Crick Report sits most clearly in line with communitarian thinking, with political, and to some extent, civil rights, being negated, while social rights are recast as philanthropic duties. Indeed, even the types of rights referred to by the QCA can be considered indicative of such a shift.

To explain, in a context in which rights are becoming ever more difficult for states to uphold (Heater 1999, 2002) it may be that the forms of rights the QCA explicitly draws attention to, are those considered most viable at present - and are notably those which rely least upon the state. For example, in the Crick Report’s essential elements for learning (1998, p44), of the thirty-eight objectives listed, only four explicit references are made to rights, these being:

- i) pupils should develop a concern for human rights;
- ii) pupils should understand human rights charters;
- iii) pupils should understand the rights and responsibilities of citizens as consumers, employees, employers, family and community members;
- iv) pupils should understand the legal and moral rights and responsibilities of individuals and communities.



Similarly, the QCA Orders state that pupils should be taught about legal and human rights, (KS3 & 4 1a) and at Key Stage 4 “the rights and responsibilities of consumers, employers and employees.” (1h)

Considering the implications of promoting these sorts of rights, firstly, as seen when exploring neo-liberal citizenship, an emphasis on consumer rights, which promote a consumer-provider rather than citizen-state relationship, may act to negate social and political rights. Secondly, the QCA’s focus upon legal rights is interesting, for in the context of education for citizenship, legal rights tend to be presented in a very specific manner. In addition to basic knowledge about the legal rights acquired with age, in education for citizenship, there is often a focus on giving pupils knowledge which they can use to protect themselves in various situations. The Young Citizens’ Passport (Citizenship Foundation 2000), for example, details children’s rights in relation to leaving home, and their rights should they be questioned by the police. In this sense, talk of rights is not so much about how citizens can exercise their freedoms and take part in ruling, but is about self-preservation in response to very particular circumstances. As with consumer rights, legal rights, as discussed here, may serve to place the citizen in a responsive role, rather than one in which they are expected to act to initiate social change.

Thirdly, in addition to legal and consumer rights, the QCA advocates learning about human rights. I would suggest that the increasing advocacy of human rights may, as with consumer rights, be considered part of wider moves to disengage citizens from the state. For example, Vasista (1999) argues that education for citizenship should focus on an interpersonal ‘human level’, stating “we should not refer explicitly to ‘citizens’, because human rights are the entitlement of the individual - they are not the privilege of the passport holder.” (p10) The implication is that the promotion of human rights within programmes of education for citizenship may tend towards the communitarian emphasis on a ‘good, moral society’. This coheres with Gamarnikow and Green’s argument that the Crick Report is concerned to promote social cohesion and solidarity, at the expense of promoting an active concern for social justice.

Thus, where rights are explicitly focused upon within QCA documents on education for citizenship, this may not have been with the intention of presenting pupils with knowledge about substantive rights, and the expectation of exercising these. The QCA's emphasis on human rights is perhaps intended to do more to promote a sense of moral obligation, and to encourage the provision of philanthropic aid, than actually to suggest means of exercising freedoms against the state. Reflecting upon this, James (2001) goes as far as to suggest that in current policy documents, especially relating to education, children and young people are seen "as having only responsibilities and no rights, and only the need to conform and to obey authority, rather than to participate democratically." (p222) Indeed, on a more general level, in preparing for the introduction of education for citizenship, it seems that teachers are often expected to act to secure children's rights, while children themselves remain passive. For example, Osler and Starkey (1996) provide a check list of things for teachers to consider to create a human rights ethos in their schools and classrooms (pp24-5). This includes such measures as ensuring integrated provision for teaching English as a second language; providing staff with guidance on the use of physical restraint; and making sufficient provision for children with special needs. Pupils are not, however, expected to engage with the exercise of rights.

To conclude, while the Crick Report claims to be premised on a rights based model of citizenship, arguing that education for citizenship should "identify and relate all three of Marshall's dimensions, not to call any one of them on its own true 'active citizenship'" (para 2.7) this is not carried through in the Report or later QCA publications. Although Crick claims the Crick Report to be civic-republican in sentiment, and characterises a civic-republican society as "one in which the public have rights to be involved in things that are of common concern... and cannot merely exercise these rights but are presumed to have a civic duty to do so" (2000, p5), there is little mention of rights in the Report's recommendations or in later documentation.

Learning about the exercise of rights can be considered a tacit part of many of the QCA's knowledge-based objectives, such as, in the statutory orders, learning about "the importance of playing an active part in democratic and electoral processes" (KS4, 1d), but rights receive little explicit attention. A move towards the communitarian maxim of

“no rights without responsibilities” (Giddens, 1998, p65) is, to my mind, most clearly suggested as the maxim expected to infuse teachers’ presentation of citizenship.

### 3.5) General Reflections on the QCA’s Presentation of Citizenship

My aim in exploring the understandings of citizenship suggested within QCA documents, has been to look at the philosophical and political ideals being drawn upon in an attempt to direct education for citizenship from the top-down. Having explored the issues of identity, participation, and rights and duties, I would argue that although a rights-based, state-centred dimension has not been excluded from education for citizenship by the QCA, such an understanding is marginal to more socially oriented, duties-based concerns. Rather than presenting an understanding of citizenship which is balanced *in itself* as Heater advocates, the QCA appears to follow Etzioni’s ‘corrective approach’ to education for citizenship, suggesting a focus on philanthropic, voluntary activity, in response to perceived social trends. Thus, on a general level, the QCA’s clear advocacy of voluntary activity, can be considered reflective of wider philosophical and political moves to make citizens, rather than the state, responsible for upholding social justice.

The merits of pursuing such a direction within education for citizenship, are open to debate. From a communitarian perspective, it can be argued that promoting duties within the community empowers citizens. Voluntary activity allows citizens to see direct outcomes from their actions, and to feel, as a result, that they can make a positive difference to their communities. Relating this specifically to education for citizenship, given that pupils are as yet unable to vote, a duties-focused presentation of citizenship does offer them a means of active participation, which may, in turn, encourage pupils to act upon their rights to participate in state-based politics, once acquired.

More critically, however, a duties-based presentation of citizenship, focused on philanthropy, can equally be considered disempowering. By appearing to endorse the divorce of citizens from the state, it arguably undermines political, civil and social rights. Furthermore, it can be considered to create a coercive citizen identity. It promotes a clear set of values and behaviours which ‘the good citizen’ must identify

with and actively pursue. Moreover, by presenting philanthropic behaviour as a 'moral good', it invites alternative views of the good life to be derided, and allows little room for democratic dissent. Relating this to an educational context, James (2001) suggests that the focus on a moral consensus, cohesion and solidarity, found in contemporary policy documents, may undermine children's rights. James comments:

for children who have relatively few rights, demands that they live up to their responsibilities as members of a community, that they observe and conform to dominant norms and expectations, are inherently problematic in the absence of any necessary or taken for granted commitment by children to the value consensus. (2001, p215)

He takes this further, proposing that even when, in education for citizenship, steps are taken to provide pupils with rights, for example through schools' councils, these:

have the potential to act as a further mechanism of social control. Designed to deal with dissident students, under the guise of an apparently democratic and participative process, schools' councils may work as a forum in which complaints can be 'managed' by the school without major compromise or disruption. (James 2001, p217)

In sum, whether regarded positively or negatively, if we return to the analogy of top-down documents as 'signposts' for educational change, the direction most clearly indicated by the QCA is towards a philanthropic, duties-based presentation of citizenship. Looking at teachers' understandings of citizenship, will give some indication as to how far this philanthropic orientation is coherent with the aims being pursued at school level. Perhaps, as Halpern et al (2002) suggest, identifying teachers' understandings of citizenship and considering how these relate to current directives from the QCA, will provide the impetus for change at a policy level. Halpern et al argue:

citizenship education needs to overcome the potential contradiction between centralisation and decentralisation by ensuring that central direction and guidance is complemented by ideas and innovations from schools. (p218)

With this in mind, the rest of this study is devoted to exploring teachers' understandings of citizenship, considering these in terms of different traditions, and looking at the directions being pursued at school level. The first task in this, is to explain how

teachers' understandings were accessed and analysed. The next chapter, detailing the study's methodology, addresses this task.

## 4) METHODOLOGY

### 4.1) Introduction

This study is primarily concerned to explore the understandings that teachers, as teachers, have of citizenship. It identifies teachers' professional understandings of citizenship, and explores how, in the context of education for citizenship, teachers justify defining citizenship in different ways. In this chapter, I explain how teachers' understandings of citizenship were accessed and analysed. I detail my methods of data collection and the processes by which I made sense of the data, laying these open to scrutiny.

A significant part of this chapter is devoted to discussing my methodological approach, sampling strategy, and methods of data collection. To provide a brief outline of the methods employed and my underlying rationale, I have taken a qualitative approach to data collection. Using a case record strategy, a variety of data have been collected from each of the seven teachers involved in the research. These include: (i) documents produced by teachers in relation to their programmes of education for citizenship; (ii) observational data from lessons identified by teachers as teaching citizenship; and (iii) interview data, exploring teachers' understandings of citizenship in general, and the understandings of citizenship presented in documents and during lessons. These data sources allow an in-depth insight into the teachers' understandings, and importantly, provide a range of insights into teachers' understandings of citizenship specifically in their role as teachers.

By collating the different sources of data outlined above, insights are provided into the teachers' understandings of what education for citizenship is about; the understandings they want to promote through education for citizenship; and what they understand citizenship to be. Exploring how these subtly different contexts relate, provides further insights into teachers' understandings *as teachers*. As such, this study's approach marks a stark contrast from earlier studies, most notably the IEA study, which used quantitative methods to give a broad indication of trends in teachers' thinking about citizenship.

My approach to data analysis also receives explicit attention. I detail how themes for analysis were determined through a process of scanning and categorising the data. To explore: (i) commonalities across the teachers' understandings; (ii) understandings particular to individual teachers; and (iii) nuances within the understandings presented by individual teachers; I combined horizontal analysis (i.e. thematic across schools) and vertical analysis (i.e. school by school analysis). Analysing the data school by school, also allowed me to explore links between a school's local community and the understandings the teachers present, and through this, to draw attention to education for citizenship as a 'light touch' initiative.

In addition, by exploring the teachers' understandings in the context of different traditions of citizenship, I have been able to consider critically the roles the teachers have cast citizens in. In doing so, the different traditions of citizenship characterised in the literature review, have been treated as a set of "analytical touchstones" (Bowe et al 1992, p143) to provide clear points of reference when exploring teachers' varying perspectives. I have considered how aspects of the teachers' understandings relate to the philosophical ideals contained within different schools of thought. In short, the traditions set out in the literature review have been used as tools to help unravel teachers' understandings, and to situate these in the context of theoretical debates about citizenship's meanings.

It is important to be clear that different traditions were employed in analysis after the data had been categorised, for, as I stated in the introductory chapter, if research is not to be pre-emptive of teachers' understandings, researchers cannot impose their own understandings of citizenship, or ideas from the literature, on data collection or analysis. Simply, as I see it, my role has been to respond to the teachers' understandings, and in my responses, to bring in ideas expressed in literature, in an analytical capacity.

Having set out my position in brief, the rest of the chapter is devoted to discussing methodological issues in much greater detail. Firstly, I explain my decision to work within a qualitative research paradigm. Following this, I discuss research genre in a more restricted way, providing greater detail about the research strategy, timetable

for data collection, and methods of data collection. Finally, I draw attention to the steps taken to analyse the data, explaining the process by which I went from raw data, to the analysis of teachers' understandings presented in chapters five and six.

#### 4.2) Introducing the Benefits of a Qualitative Approach to Research.

As the literature review showed, citizenship does not exist as a total, substantive concept. It is not just that there are disputes about how to interpret particular aspects of citizenship, but there is much debate about the very content that exists to be disputed. The "clear and linear accounts" (Lister 2001, p422) presented by different traditions in an attempt to make sense of citizenship, are, themselves, problematic, and present a range of competing ideals. Heater (1999) has argued that if these different ways of theorising about citizenship are to be reconciled we need to "shift our sights from the hardened positions of idealistic theory to the softer compromises of reality." (p157)

Teachers' understandings of citizenship can, perhaps, be regarded as representing the softer compromises of reality. Compared to the understandings presented philosophically, teachers can be expected to present understandings which blend, mediate and adapt different ideals of citizenship to form what I shall call their own 'mosaics' of citizenship. In terms of research methodology, what this means is that the methods used to find out about teachers' understandings of citizenship, must allow for "the presence of uncertainty, ambiguity, contradictions and general incoherence" (Bowe et al 1992, p35). This suggests a qualitative approach to research to be most suited to my aims; the scientific assumption that there is a singular 'truth' to be uncovered simply cannot hold sway.

To explain, qualitative modes of enquiry, unlike their positivist counterparts, are united by the belief that there is no single means of interpreting a given thing. This distinction between qualitative and positivist suppositions is elaborated upon by Patton (1990). He states:



The idea that there is a singular... reality and therefore propositions are ultimately true or false, is associated with logical positivism. The idea that what is true depends upon one's perspective, and is, therefore, inherently definitional, situational and internal, is associated with phenomenology. Qualitative data will tend to make the most sense to people who are comfortable with the idea of generating multiple perspectives rather than absolute truth. Tolerance for ambiguity seems to be associated with comfort in dealing with perspective rather than expecting certainty and truth. (p483)

As methodological maxims, the needs to generate multiple perspectives and tolerate ambiguity, concur well with the belief that there is no singular definition/experience of citizenship. A central tenet of qualitative research is the idea that researchers can "get to a construct...[by]... seeing different instances of it, at different moments, in different places" (Miles and Huberman 1994, p29). Working within a qualitative paradigm thus enables researchers to draw attention to the variety of understandings teachers may express when talking in relation to education for citizenship.

A further benefit that comes from working within a qualitative paradigm, is that its associated methods allow a focus on "culture, meanings and processes... rather than variables, outcomes and products" (Crossley and Vulliamy 1997, p6). In this study, a focus on culture and meanings can be considered necessary both to (i) clarify and explicate teachers' understandings of citizenship; and (ii) to consider that teachers may be variously motivated to present similar understandings. Importantly, looking at the understandings underlying teachers' presentation of citizenship, allows me to see differences which may not be apparent on a surface level. Using different traditions of citizenship as tools in analysis, has helped to explore this possibility.

Drawing heavily on the work of Lincoln and Guba (1985), the final issue I want to draw attention to when discussing research paradigms in this general way, is that of 'trustworthiness'. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985):

the basic issue in relation to trustworthiness is simple: How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of? What arguments can be mounted, what criterion invoked, what questions asked, that would be persuasive of this issue. (p290)

What this means, is that when conducting research, researchers need to ensure that the data they collect, and their subsequent analysis, provide as honest and as accurate a reflection of the phenomenon being studied as possible. Establishing what is an honest and accurate reflection is, however, a contentious exercise, and depends a lot on the researcher's general perspective. As qualitative and positivist researchers work from different premises, when assessing trustworthiness, their work needs to be considered against different criteria. Making these criteria clear at the outset, may help the reader to form their own judgements as to the strengths and weaknesses of my approach.

#### 4.2.1) Criteria for Establishing Trustworthiness.

Crudely put, researchers working within a positivist paradigm, tend to be concerned with measuring and quantifying the social world. They seek to establish clear, causal relationships between different variable factors. This places the emphasis in data collection upon controlling and measuring the impact of different variable factors, and then validating data through its replication. It is supposed that "each repetition of the same application of the same, or supposedly equivalent, instruments to the same units will yield similar measurements." (Ford cited Lincoln and Guba 1985, p292).

However, when, as in this study, it is assumed that there are multiple, changing truths, it seems unlikely that such scientific measures will be able to reflect the complexity of teachers' understandings. Qualitative research, in emphasising culture, meanings and processes, is more suited to exploring teachers' complex webs of understanding, moving beyond the simple ideas of cause and effect. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) state, in a qualitative approach, "all entities are [thought to be] in a state of mutual and simultaneous shaping so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects." (p38) In line with this, qualitative research works from the premise that the more detailed a picture a researcher is able to develop, the less chance there is of s/he making simplistic links between cause and effect. In addition, rather than seeking to ensure the trustworthiness of data by replicating results, qualitative

researchers are more concerned to see multiple instances of the phenomenon being studied.

To reflect, the key point to be made here, is that a qualitative approach to research brings with it its own measures trustworthiness, in many ways distinct from those used by positivist researchers. How trustworthy a piece of qualitative research appears, depends on how far it can be considered to:

represent multiple constructions adequately, that is, that reconstructions.... which have been arrived at via the inquiry are credible to the constructors of the original multiple realities. (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p296)

With this in mind, the emphasis in this study has been upon developing as detailed and in-depth an account of teachers' understandings as possible, taking into account contextual factors, the transient nature of social interactions, and so on. The trustworthiness of the data presented relies, in part, on demonstrating that when collecting data, I invested:

sufficient time to achieve certain purposes: learning the "culture", testing for misinformation introduced by distortions either of the self or of the respondents, and building trust. (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p301)

The issue of trustworthiness is one to be considered throughout, as I discuss my research strategy and methods of data collection in more detail.

#### 4.3) Concerns Underlying the Study's Research Strategy.

Working from the premise that (i) teachers' understandings of citizenship are "inherently definitional, situational and internal" (Patton 1990, p483); and (ii) that teachers may hold multiple perspectives on citizenship, I wanted to develop a research strategy which would allow me to access teachers' understandings in a variety of ways. This was felt to have three main benefits:

- It would help to ensure the validity of any data collected, by allowing me to present as accurate a picture of as possible of the teachers' understandings, taking contextual factors into account.
- Using multiple methods and data sources could provide an insight into "when and why there are differences" (Patton 1990, p476), both within the understandings presented by individual teachers, and also across a sample. Different ways of accessing teachers' understandings could also help me "to judge the meaning of statements within specific contexts" (Davies 1992, p99). In short, I would be able to acknowledge that teachers – individually and across a sample - might present multiple understandings of citizenship. This would, in turn, help to guard against (i) the possibility of making simplistic causal links; and/or (ii) assuming that certain findings may be generalised across contexts.
- Accessing teachers' understandings in a variety of ways would also serve as a means of "reducing systematic bias in the data... by which the researcher can guard against the accusation that a study's findings are simply an artefact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator's bias." (Patton 1990, p470). The use of multiple sources of data and methods of data collection (known as triangulation), "improves the probability that findings and interpretations will be found credible" (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p305), and helps to offset any 'distortions' that may result from the researchers' involvement in the process of data collection.

Taking these concerns into account, the decision was made to conduct in-depth studies in a number of schools, drawn from a sample of schools with well established programmes of education for citizenship. I want now to detail what I mean by an in-depth study; and then to discuss my sampling strategy.

#### 4.3.1) In-depth Studies Using a Case Record Strategy.

To be able to explore the different ideas teachers draw together to give citizenship meaning, I needed to gain a detailed insight into their understandings. I had to go

beyond simply reporting the teachers' understandings on a surface level, and look at the ideas underlying these. To maintain this tight focus on teachers' understandings, I adopted a case record strategy. Crossley and Vulliamy (1997) define this as:

the accumulation of documents... including those created through interviews and direct observation which compared to more traditional ethnographic studies... involves much shorter periods of field work with a greater reliance on data derived from the transcripts of tape recorded interviews. (p15)

This raises several points to be expanded upon with specific reference to this study. Firstly, the more condensed nature of a case record strategy, makes it possible for a single researcher to develop a fairly comprehensive picture of teachers' understandings in a number of schools. In being tightly focused, a case record strategy allows researchers to develop 'thick descriptions' relating to their specific research aims, without generating large amounts of redundant data. This not only frees up researchers' time, but also has a number of ethical benefits. It means that the researcher will not be encroaching unnecessarily upon teachers' time, privacy, or goodwill. This is an important point, both for gaining access to schools, and for securing teachers' co-operation during data collection.

Secondly, although condensed, a case record strategy still draws together multiple sources of data. This allows data sources and methods to be triangulated. To develop a case record for each school, I looked at (i) the teachers' understandings as demonstrated in a range of written materials - schools' policy documents, lesson plans, pupil worksheets; (ii) the understandings they presented to pupils when teaching; and (iii) the understandings they presented in interviews when asked about what they think citizenship is, and their aims when educating for citizenship.

Importantly, I did not simply assume that the triangulation of methods and data sources would equal the corroboration of findings. In each instance of data collection, I needed to treat the understandings presented as a valid representation of the teachers' understandings in that particular context. By drawing together the ideas expressed in different contexts, some indication of the complexity of the teachers' understandings was provided. A case record strategy, with its use of multiple methods and heavy reliance on interviewing as a way of exploring understandings, is

well suited to allowing the complexity of teachers' understandings to be recognised.

To reflect, adopting a case record strategy has had a number of benefits. It has allowed me to gain multiple insights into the teachers' understandings. In using different data collection methods; allowing different sources of data to be accessed; and in giving the opportunity to check my interpretations through interviewing; a case record strategy has helped to ensure the study's trustworthiness. In addition, that it invited a tight focus and condensed periods of field work, enabled me, as an individual researcher, to gain an in-depth insight into a number of research settings.

In concrete terms, to build up a comprehensive case record for each teacher involved in the research, I anticipated a minimum of three meetings: firstly, to interview them about their understandings of citizenship and their school's programme - what was being taught and why?; secondly, to observe lessons and collect any lesson plans/worksheets/other documentation relating to these; and thirdly, through interviewing, to explore issues raised by observations, documentary analysis, or earlier interview data. If the test of a study's trustworthiness is that the data it presents appears "credible to the constructors of the original multiple realities" (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p296), it was essential for me to be able to verify my interpretation of the teachers' understandings by visiting each teacher a number of times, and accessing a variety of data sources.

Having set out my reasons for adopting a case record strategy, the next task is to explain my sampling strategy and how it relates to this.

#### 4.4) Sampling Strategy

##### Criteria for Selection

To be able to employ a variety of methods when collecting data, and to build up a number of case records, I needed to develop a research sample made up of schools with established programmes of education for citizenship. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, I wanted to visit schools with relatively stable programmes

of education for citizenship, in which a variety of data sources would be open to me. Where teachers were involved in established programmes, it was much more likely that I would be able to observe lessons, collect worksheets, and see any policy documents produced within the school, than if I visited schools still at the planning stage.

A second point relating to this, was that as, at the time of research, the majority of schools were still only planning how to teach citizenship, schools with established programmes were being looked towards as models of good practice. For example, Halpern et al (2002) justified their survey of practice relating to education for citizenship by stating that “the findings may help decision-makers ensure that the implementation of the citizenship order in England takes into account best practice.” (p218) If, as Halpern et al indicate, schools with ‘expertise’ (or simply more experience and better developed programmes) are to lead, determining the directions they may be leading in, is an important task for research.

Thirdly, I wanted to focus on teachers involved in established programmes as they were more likely to have spent time reflecting on what they understood by citizenship, and as such, when interviewed, might be better able to offer ‘thought out’, as opposed to immediate and probably much more ‘transient’ understandings. Moreover, when understandings are, in part, embedded within a programme (especially in the form of written materials), they are less open to quick reinterpretation, or to being influenced by a researcher’s presence.

Thus, in as far as was possible in qualitative research, I felt that focusing on established programmes of education for citizenship would provide reliable sources of data. I would have the opportunity to:

verify what had been discovered...by going back to the empirical world under study and examining the extent to which the emergent analysis fits the phenomenon and works to explain what has been observed. (Patton 1990, p60)

with this providing a useful check on my interpretation of data. While qualitative researchers cannot, as in positivist research, expect to replicate findings exactly, they can, as Lincoln and Guba (1985, p299) note, still comment on “continuity” and “dependability” as a means of enhancing trustworthiness.

As well as visiting established programmes, to explore the idea of education for citizenship as a ‘light touch’ initiative, the schools I visited needed, ideally, to present a range of like and contrasting local circumstances. I wanted to look at the interaction between the contexts the teachers worked in and their understandings of citizenship. Exploring the understandings of teachers working in a variety of circumstances would allow me to see, within the confines of my sample, whether some understandings appeared specific to certain contexts. At the same time, looking at whether understandings went across contexts, would provide a guard against simplistic assumptions of cause and effect. To what extent there is already a coherence across teachers’ understandings (regardless of the community they work in) has important implications for policy makers. If, for example, there appears to be some uniformity across teachers’ thinking, it may be much easier to overcome “the potential tension between central control and diversity” identified by Halpern et al (2002, p218).

Having set out my criteria for establishing a sample, I now want to explain how the sample was drawn.

### Establishing a Research Sample.

To reiterate, I wanted to develop a sample of schools with (i) established programmes of education for citizenship; (ii) which represented a range of like and contrasting local circumstances. To maximise my chances of meeting both of these criteria, and minimise the cost of field work, I decided the best strategy would be to identify a single LEA with a reputation for supporting the development of education for citizenship, and then to identify schools within that LEA. I felt that where there was a strong top-down impetus from the LEA for schools to establish programmes of education for citizenship, there might be more opportunity of finding a number of



schools with established programmes. In addition, since LEAs tend to cover communities with a variety of socio-economic circumstances, by selecting my sample from within a single LEA, there was a good chance of it including teachers working in very different contexts: inner city areas, affluent commuter belt villages and so on.

From information arising in the course of my literature review, I was able to identify one such LEA. (To protect both its identity, and the identity of the schools visited, the pseudonym of 'Lavant LEA' is used). I noted that both inspectors from Lavant LEA, and teachers working within the LEA, had been involved with the advisory group who produced the Crick Report, and with projects run by the British Council to develop materials for education for citizenship. Programmes of education for citizenship run by schools in the LEA, had also received national media coverage. Identifying schools within Lavant LEA also gave me the opportunity to identify schools with well established programmes in a range of settings. The area covered by the LEA presents a number of contrasting contexts, from London commuter homes, to large council estates which are part of government funded regeneration schemes.

Having identified a suitable LEA, I then took two approaches to establishing a research sample within this. Firstly, when reviewing the literature, I noted that it was the same group of three or four teachers who had been involved with the advisory group on citizenship and the British Council. I contacted these teachers by letter, expressing an interest in finding out more about their programmes of education for citizenship. Of these, three teachers, working in two schools, agreed to take part in my research.

Following this, to extend my sample within Lavant LEA, I asked the LEA inspector with responsibility for education for citizenship to help me identify schools which would be information rich. Instead of suggesting specific schools, he invited me to review the findings of a questionnaire survey sent to schools by the LEA, in spring 2000. This was aimed at determining what provision was actually being made for education for citizenship. (It is important to stress that I used the data generated by the LEA questionnaire for the sole purpose of identifying schools which were

potentially information rich. As teachers had completed the questionnaire on the understanding that it would only be used by the LEA, it would have been unethical for me to do otherwise. Recognising this, when contacting teachers identified by their questionnaire responses, the LEA inspector invited me to say that he had recommended them to me.)

Moving on to give some details about how I used the questionnaire, firstly, the LEA specified that the questionnaire should be completed by the teacher with responsibility for education for citizenship. For my purposes, this identified 'information rich cases' within 'information rich schools', upon whom I could focus my research. The teachers completing the questionnaires were likely to have a directive role in determining their schools' approaches to education for citizenship.

Secondly, when completing the questionnaire, teachers were asked to comment on the provision they were making to meet each of the Crick Report's three strands: social and moral responsibility; community involvement; and political literacy. Nothing was done to define these strands, with the teachers being asked simply to rank their coverage of each strand on a likert scale ranging from 'covered well', to 'not covered at all'. They were also asked to rank these strands in order of perceived importance. Finally, the teachers were asked about the materials they used in their teaching and, if additional funding was made available to support education for citizenship, how they might use it. I thought it reasonable to assume that the majority of teachers with established programmes would have responded to this questionnaire, if only because the question about funding offered an incentive to reply. Nevertheless, there was a relatively low response rate; of the seventy plus secondary schools in the county, only twenty six responded. Given this, I doubted that any questionnaire I sent out in order to identify established programmes, would fare any better.

Working from the LEA survey, I chose to contact the sixteen teachers who, in their responses, had commented on each of the Crick Report's strands. I excluded the other teachers on the ground that I did not want to distort the data from the outset by, for example, ending up with a sample of teachers who might claim to focus

exclusively on community involvement. Of the teachers who commented on each of the Crick Report's strands, eight claimed to have "good coverage for citizenship learning across the school", and eight claimed "some coverage". All sixteen thus claimed to meet my criterion of having an established programme (though admittedly some better than others). In each case, I wrote to the teacher who had completed the questionnaire, explaining that I was interested in how schools were choosing to introduce education for citizenship into the curriculum, and adding that they had been recommended to me. Of these, four teachers agreed to participate.

Overall, from the two strategies employed, I was able to develop a sample of seven teachers working in six schools, which covered a range of socio-economic circumstances (the sample's characteristics are detailed in the next section). Within the sample, there was a naturally occurring split between those who had established discrete programmes of education for citizenship (four teachers), and those who saw education for citizenship as a cross-curricular initiative (three teachers). Later on, when it came to collecting data, this split in the sample was also reflected in the amount of data I was able to collect in relation to each teacher. Those who discussed citizenship in a cross-curricular way agreed to be interviewed and to supply policy documents, but were unable (or unwilling) to identify lessons or course materials relating specifically to education for citizenship. I had to accept this, for if I was to access the teachers' understandings of citizenship, I could not try to identify relevant materials for myself.

Thus, despite the imbalance in the amounts of data collected across the sample, I felt it important that the understandings presented by both groups of teachers were still reported in the research. I had no justification for disregarding some teachers' understandings simply because there was less data relating to them. Finally, while one cannot, perhaps, search for negative instances within a sample of established programmes of education for citizenship (not least because there is some question of what constitutes an established programme, and logically, a negative case would be one with no programme at all), to consider both integrated and discrete approaches, may be seen to fulfil the same role with regard to enhancing the study's validity on an analytical basis.

#### 4.4.1) Characteristics of the Sample.

To give some further details of the final sample, as stated above, the sample was made up of seven teachers (six men and one woman), teaching in six schools. The schools are all mixed comprehensives, and the teachers are all Heads of Department: five of Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE); one of Personal, Social and Religious Education (PSRE); and one of Humanities.

At this stage, I want to provide some contextual information on each school, so that in later analysis, the teachers' understandings of citizenship can be explored in relation to the communities they teach in. To provide directly comparable data, basic information about each school's population and approach to education for citizenship, is presented in Table 1. Further details on the schools' catchment areas and ethos are provided below.

#### Comments on the catchment area served and school ethos:

- Kessel School: Kessel School is situated on the edge of an inner city council estate, with a mixture of houses and high-rise accommodation. The school, which is part of an Educational Action Zone (EAZ), draws its pupils exclusively from this estate.

On joining the school, over one third of Year 7 pupils have a reading age of less than eight years old, and pupils' academic achievements are severely hampered by poor literacy and numeracy levels. For example, OfSTED comment that in history, while pupils are skilled at evaluating pictorial sources, low literacy levels prevent them from applying their skills to written sources.

At the time of data collection, the school had recently come out of special measures, and has lately been being characterised by OfSTED as much improved and improving. The numbers of pupils achieving 5 A-C GCSE grades are still, however, less than 15%, and the school is in the process of replacing half its GCSE options with National Vocational Qualifications.

Table 1. Basic data relating to school population:

The figures presented here come from each school's most recent OfSTED report.

Numbers have been rounded to help preserve the schools' anonymity, and numbers of pupils with English as an additional language adjusted accordingly.

School Name	No. of pupils	No. of pupils known to be eligible for free meals	No. of pupils on school's register of special educational needs	Ethnic make-up of school population	No. of pupils with English as an additional language	Provision made for education for citizenship
Kessel School	850	300	500	school population is exclusively white, British	0	discrete element of PSHE
Egerton School	1,100	180	200	very few pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds	5	discrete element of PSHE
Hitherwood School	900	70	150	very few pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds	3	discrete element of PSHE
Starina High School	900	40	200	very few pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds	2	integrated throughout the curriculum + a discrete element of PSHE
Damask School	900	80	270	very few pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds	10	discrete element of PSRE (personal, social religious ed.)
Cornbrooke School	850	80	300	very few pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds	4	integrated throughout the curriculum

A number of measures to raise pupils' self-esteem have been made central to the school's drive to improve standards. In terms of what the school does well, OfSTED comment on the school's positive ethos, which encourages "good behaviour, friendly relationships and significantly improved attitudes to learning". OfSTED also draws attention to the school's extra-curricular activities which extend pupils' work in drama, dance, art, physical education, and computing.

The estate in which Kessel School is situated, is also part of a government funded urban regeneration scheme, and pupils have been involved in the consultation processes arising from this. Pupils have been provided with frequent, structured opportunities to meet local government officials and community policing officers. They have also had direct input into how regeneration funds are spent - for example, in terms of the provision made for leisure facilities.

•Egerton School: Egerton School is situated in a relatively prosperous area of owner-occupied housing, which effectively marks the boundary between the urban spread from the nearest city (where the Kessel estate is) and the start of more rural communities, which clearly lie outside the city. While drawing some pupils from its immediate catchment area, the school loses out in competition to two other larger, better equipped schools, whose catchments border Egerton's. Consequently, the school is left to draw a large percentage of its pupils from a council estate about three miles from the school, which is, as at Kessel, part housing, part high-rise. The estate was purpose built in the 1970s as an 'over-spill' for the Kessel estate, but has a much more negative stigma attached to it, not least, perhaps, because there is such a stark contrast between the estate and its surrounding communities. The other main group in the school's intake, are pupils from farming communities or country villages, for whom Egerton is the closest state secondary school. The school also has a very good reputation for special needs teaching, and has a special unit to cater for pupils with specific learning difficulties. As a total population, pupils' socio-economic circumstances are below average, but their academic attainment, as a whole, is more or less or par with national averages.

In terms of ethos, the school is friendly and well ordered, being characterised by OfSTED as having “very good relationships between teachers and pupils and between pupils themselves” and as “caring very well for its pupils, making very good provision for their personal, social and health education, and for their moral and social development.”

- Hitherwood School: Hitherwood School is situated about eight miles from Egerton, in a prosperous market town. It is surrounded by farming communities, and commuter belt-housing, with the school’s immediate catchment being characterised by economic advantage. Although Hitherwood has relatively little competition from other state sector schools, there are four thriving independent schools in the immediate area alone. Despite its catchment, the school’s academic results remain broadly on par with the national average, as are Egerton’s. OfSTED comment that teachers expect too little of pupils, but at the same time, however, the school is characterised as having good relationships between staff and pupils.

Hitherwood’s programme of education for citizenship includes a discrete course taught by the Democratic Services Manager from Lavant Council, and titled “Enhancing Local Democracy”. This introduces pupils to specialist knowledge about local government and citizens’ potential involvement in this. To reflect this element of Hitherwood’s programme, the understandings presented by the Democratic Services Manager, are also reported within the study.

- Starina High School: Starina High School serves a community similar to Hitherwood’s, being situated on the edge of a prosperous market town and surrounded by rural farming communities and commuter homes. The school’s catchment area is characterised by economic advantage and has a significant minority of pupils from military families. Pupils’ academic attainment is above the national average, and in addition to its academic record, OfSTED specifically comment on the school’s “very effective personal, social and health education courses, promoting pastoral care and pupils’ personal development.” The school’s provision for education for citizenship has received recognition from the British Council, and been presented as a model of good practice by the QCA.

• Damask School: Damask School serves a mixed catchment area, drawing pupils from (i) rural communities; (ii) a relatively isolated private housing estate situated between two market towns - each about ten miles away, and surrounded by military owned land; and (iii) approximately 15% from service families stationed in the area. On starting the school, pupil's attainment tends to be below the national average, and pupils' performance at GCSE is again similarly below national average. On the whole, the school is characterised by OfSTED as satisfactory in most respects, though problems with discipline, pupils' general behaviour, and above average levels of truancy, are noted.

The school's programme of education for citizenship has received favourable media coverage and been highlighted by the QCA as a model of good practice. The Head of PSRE has acted in an advisory capacity both during the Crick Report's production, and has been directly involved in writing the QCA's schemes of work for citizenship.

• Cornbrooke School: Cornbrooke School is, in geographic terms, situated between Kessel and Egerton. In socio-economic terms, since the sale of publicly owned housing, Cornbrooke's catchment area is now largely privately owned, though about 15% of pupils can still be characterised as experiencing high levels of social deprivation. On joining the school, pupils' attainment is well below the national average. On leaving, about 30% achieve 5 A-C GCSE grades, this also being below the national average. The school is also specially adapted to cater for pupils with physical disabilities, having around forty pupils with disabilities on role. Relations between staff and pupils are formal, and OfSTED states that to improve, teachers must set realistically high targets for pupils' attainment.

What this overview shows, is that the sample contains schools with a number of like and contrasting elements. Looking at whether understandings are held in common across the sample as a whole; are held only in relation to certain circumstances; or indeed, differ despite like circumstances, may provide an interesting insight into education for citizenship's light touch nature. Further to this, that the sample



contains schools with like and contrasting elements can provide a useful check on my analysis of data. Cross-case comparisons can help to guard against the danger of making simplistic causal assumptions between a set of community circumstances, and the understandings presented.

#### 4.5) Data Collection Schedule.

To provide an easily accessible overview of the amount of data collected, and the schedule for data collection, this information is presented in a tabular form (Tables 2 & 3). Table 2 shows the amount and types of data collected per school, while Table 3 clearly sets out the timetable for data collection.

#### 4.6) Methods of Data Collection.

As already touched upon, the data reported in this study comes from three sources: interviews, lesson observations, and documentary analysis. Using these three methods has allowed me to look at the teachers' understandings of citizenship presented in different contexts, though all related education for citizenship. Lesson observations and documentary analysis were used as a means to access teachers' understandings - both (i) directly where possible, through the documents and observations themselves; and (ii) by providing a stimulus for interviews during which understandings and the teachers' justifications for presenting these, could be explored explicitly.

Thus, lesson observations and documentary analysis allowed me to see what understandings were being made public within the teachers' programmes, while interviews allowed me to uncover understandings which had not been made public in these ways.

In this section, I want to explain, concretely, how data was collected using each of these methods. In this, I give much more attention to interviewing than the other methods employed, this weighting being necessary to reflect the complex nature of qualitative interviewing. To explain briefly, in lesson observations and documentary

Table 2. Data Collected (continued overleaf)

School name	Documents Collected	Lessons Observed (topic)	Interviews
Kessel School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>worksheets on culture</li> <li>worksheets on voting</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>culture (1 lesson)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>General interview to gain overview of the Head of PSHE's understandings</li> <li>Interview relating to QCA order and course materials (brought to interview by Head of PSHE)</li> <li>Interview on lesson observed/ general reflections</li> </ul>
Egerton School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>curriculum audit</li> <li>all lesson plans for the school's programme of education for citizenship (Years 7-11)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>non-violent direct action (three lessons)</li> <li>government (1 lesson)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>General interview to gain overview of the Head of PSHE's understandings</li> <li>Interview to discuss QCA order and curriculum audit</li> <li>Interview to discuss lesson plans</li> <li>Interview reflecting on the school's programme as a whole (i.e. the understandings embedded in this; the Head of PSHE's aims etc.)</li> </ul>
Hitherwood School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>pupils' workbook for the module "Enhancing local democracy"</li> <li>documentation produced by the Democratic Services Manager on the Council's aims and involvement in education for citizenship (internal to the Council and published in local government publications)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enhancing local democracy module (4 lessons)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 general interviews: 1 to gain overview of the Head of PSHE's understandings; 1 to gain overview of the Democratic Services Manager's understandings.</li> <li>3 interviews on lessons observed: 1 with the Head of PSHE; 1 with the Democratic Services Manager; 1 joint interview</li> <li>3 interviews on general reflections: 1 with the Head of PSHE; 1 with the Democratic Services Manager; 1 joint interview</li> </ul>

School Name	Documents Collected	Lessons Observed (topic)	Interviews
Starina High School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>School policy document on education for citizenship.</li> <li>Curriculum audit</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>no lessons observed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 general interviews to gain overview of the teachers' understandings: 1 with the Head of Humanities; 1 with the Head of PSHE</li> <li>telephone conversation with the Head of Humanities to check my interpretation of interview data</li> </ul>
Damask School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>worksheets for the whole school's programme of education for citizenship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>developing a wish list (1 lesson)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>General interview to gain overview of the Head of PSRE's understandings</li> <li>interview on worksheets</li> <li>interview reflecting on lesson observed + general reflections</li> </ul>
Cornbrooke School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Curriculum audit</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>no lessons observed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>General interview to gain overview of the Head of PSHE's understandings</li> <li>Interview on curriculum audit/QCA order</li> </ul>

## Notes:

- As the above table shows, significantly more data was collected from some schools than from others. This reflects the extents to which the teachers were able/willing to identify documents and lessons relating to their programmes of education for citizenship. At Cornbrooke and Starina High, where a cross-curricular approach was taken, the teachers were unable/unwilling to identify lessons, or course materials relating specifically to education for citizenship, which could provide both a stimulus and justification for further interviews.
- Some teachers were much more willing to participate in the research than others. Rather than standardising the number of visits made to each school, I made as many visits as possible to each research site in order to develop as detailed an insight as possible into each teacher's understandings.

Table 3. Data Collection Schedule (continued overleaf)

School	Easter 2000	Autumn 2000	January 2001	Easter 2001	Summer 2001	Autumn 2001
Starina High	03.04.00 Interviews		08.01.01 Telephone conversation			
Damask	04.05.00 Interview		12.01.01 Lesson observation	08.05.01 - Interview		
Egerton		11.09.00 - Interview	09.09.01 Lesson Observation	26.03.01 - Interview 28.03.01 - 30.03.01 Lesson observations (x3) 27.04.01 - Interview		
Kessel		05.10.00 - Interview	16.01.01 - accompanied Head of PSHE to LEA planning meeting: “How can the LEA support education for citizenship?”	27.03.01 - Interview 06.04.01 - Lesson Observation (a.m.); Interview (p.m.)		
Cornbrooke		28.09.00 - interview (general) 03.10.00 - Interview (curriculum audit)				

School	Easter 2000	Autumn 2000	January 2001	Easter 2001	Summer 2001	Autumn 2001
Hitherwood				04.04.01 - Interview (Head of PSHE) 09.04.01 - Interview with Democratic Services Manager 25.04.01 - Lesson observation 02.05.01 - Lesson observation	26.06.01 - lesson observation 05.07.01 - lesson observation	07.09.01 - Interview Head of PSHE 11.09.01 - meeting + Interview (Democratic Services Manager) 28.09.01 - Interview - joint

Notes.

When teachers participated in the research depended, in part, upon when they would be teaching citizenship - hence the late inclusion of Hitherwood and the District Council.

With the exception of Starina High, I was able to return to all the sites (but even at Starina High, I was able to talk one of my interviewees by telephone following my visit to the school). This gave me the opportunity to check my interpretations, and collect further data. Overall, this meant that I was able to develop a more comprehensive and, therefore, probably more trustworthy insight into the teachers' understandings of citizenship.

analysis, because researchers are looking at understandings which have already been public, their role is a responsive one. Researchers have to decide how to interpret these understandings, with their influence being restricted to the process of analysis. By contrast, in qualitative interviewing, because researchers “are interviewing people to find that which we cannot directly observe” (Patton 1990, p278) they are effectively creating an artificial situation, designed to elicit certain insights. In this, the “inquiry outcomes depend upon the nature and quality of the interaction between the knower and the known, epitomised in negotiations about the meaning of data.” (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p41)

Significantly, therefore, the data resulting from interviews is shaped, in part, by the dynamic between the researcher and interviewee. This means that in an interview situation, the researcher has a much greater opportunity to shape the data available to be collected than when observing lessons, or analysing documents. This makes ensuring the trustworthiness of interview data particularly complex.

Having outlined some of the central issues relating to my methods of data collection, I want to talk briefly about my use of documentary analysis, and then lesson observations. Following this, I present a detailed discussion of the interviewing process, detailing how I structured interviews, the questions asked, and the measures taken to ensure trustworthiness.

#### 4.6.1) Documentary Analysis.

In this section, I want to comment, firstly, on the benefits of using documents as a source of data; and secondly, more practically on their role in the study, and how documents were selected and analysed.

##### The benefits of using documents as a data source

As stated previously, I wanted to gain multiple insights into the teachers’ understandings of citizenship. Documents can play an important role in this. Teachers produce documents for multiple purposes and audiences; a policy

document designed to impress OfSTED inspectors may present a rather different interpretation of citizenship to worksheets designed as part of a school's programme. Analytically, it is important to draw attention to the differences that authorship and intended audience can make on how best to interpret a document. When looking, in particular, at lesson plans and worksheets devised by teachers, these documents are likely to have been shaped by a deliberate intention to communicate a particular understanding of citizenship. Compared with my earlier analysis of QCA documents, it can, perhaps, be much more readily assumed that "the meaning constructed in the text is what the author intends" (Weiner 1994, p99). In line with this, I have treated documents produced by teachers as primary representations of their understandings. In other words, I have assumed that such documents - be they lesson plans, policy statements, pupil worksheets - have been produced by the teachers for their own purposes. They present meanings and understandings which are actually embedded in the teachers' programmes of education for citizenship, and "appear in the natural language of that setting" (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p277).

As well as allowing multiple insights into teachers' thinking, documents also present:

a stable source of information, both in the sense they may accurately reflect situations that occurred at some time in the past and they can be analysed and reanalysed without undergoing changes in the interim. (Lincoln and Guba 1985, pp276-7)

With this in mind, the 'dependability' and 'confirmability' of documents can be considered important criteria for establishing trustworthiness.

#### Practical steps taken to access and analyse documents.

Recognising that documents are produced for a range of purposes and audiences, I asked each teacher taking part in the study if they could provide:

- any worksheets designed for pupils
- any resources packs used when teaching citizenship
- any lesson plans

- the school's policy document on education for citizenship
- the school's curriculum audit, showing how citizenship relates to the school's existing curriculum
- any other materials the teachers thought relevant.

These documents were considered to fall into one of two categories: (i) pedagogic; and (ii) oriented towards external agencies. The pedagogic refers to worksheets, lesson plans, and teaching materials. These allowed access to the teachers' understandings by working through their programmes of education for citizenship. The second category refers to primarily to policy documents, and other ways in which schools' programmes have been presented to external agencies, such as OfSTED, parents, the LEA. Documents falling into this second category allowed me to see how the teachers have presented their understandings in relation to other stakeholders' interests.

The amounts and types of documentation provided differed across the sample (see Table 2). At Egerton and Damask, lesson plans and worksheets were provided for the schools' entire programmes, and the Democratic Services Manager from Lavant Council supplied all the documentation relating to his module on enhancing democracy. At Hitherwood and Kessel, a sample of lesson plans and teaching materials, covering about five lessons at each school, were provided. At Starina High and Cornbrooke, the schools' policy documents for education for citizenship, and curriculum audits, showing how education for citizenship was integrated across other subjects, were made available.

There were a number of reasons for the differing amounts and types of data collected across the sample. In some cases, certain types of data were not available - for example, not all of the schools had conducted curriculum audits. Teachers at Starina High and Cornbrooke were unable (or unwilling) to identify particular lessons or materials as relating specifically to education for citizenship. At Kessel and Hitherwood, it may have been that the sheer volume of material available in the form of, say, lesson plans, led teachers to be selective, choosing a few examples of the different topics they covered.



One of the difficulties with using documentary analysis as a means of accessing teachers' understandings, is that the volume of documents available, may mean that there is insufficient time for researchers either to look at all the documents, or check their interpretations with teachers. There is a need to be selective, the issue being whether teachers provide a sample of materials relating to their programmes, or whether researchers focus on the understandings which interest them, chosen from within a larger sample.

When analysing documents, my general approach was to note: (i) any declarative statements defining citizenship; (ii) any explanations relating to these; and (iii) any aims attributed to education for citizenship. These were then explored through interviews, allowing me to check my interpretations. When teachers had provided resource packs, I asked them to explain the understandings they wanted to communicate when using the resources. Where teachers provided a copy of their school's curriculum audit, I asked teachers to talk me through this, and to explain the overlaps they saw between citizenship and the existing curriculum.

This process also highlighted a further limitation of documentary analysis – namely that while teachers may produce documents based on their understandings of citizenship, their understandings may not be evident within the documents themselves. For example, when writing a lesson plan, teachers may do more to detail pedagogic strategies than the understandings they want to communicate. Nevertheless, the analysis of documents did provide some interesting insights into teachers' understandings, and perhaps more importantly, further stimuli for interviews.

#### 4.6.2) Lesson Observations.

Lesson observations were employed in similar ways to documentary analysis. They were used to access teachers' understandings by looking through their pedagogic approaches, and considered primarily as providing a stimulus for interviews. As with documents, it was also assumed that the understandings presented during lessons,

had been arrived at for the teachers' own purposes, and were unaffected by my research.

The data I was able to gain through observations was particularly valuable in allowing me to get beyond teachers' general understandings, and to access their understandings in relation to specific aspects of their educational programmes. Follow-up interviews then allowed these understandings to be explored in greater detail. I would also suggest that observing lessons played an important part in establishing a more trusting and open relationship with the teachers. Although my research focus was upon their understandings rather than pedagogy, to gain acceptance, it was important for me to see lessons and engage with the teachers' working realities. Notably, having observed lessons, teachers were often more 'open' in subsequent interviews. They made such comments as 'you've seen the sorts of attitudes our pupils have', and would present their views in the context of this newly 'shared' knowledge.

Moving on to talk in practical terms, to set up lesson observations, I expressed an interest in seeing lessons, leaving it entirely to the teachers' discretion to select what I saw. When actually observing lessons, I used a very open observation schedule, with spaces to make notes on the introduction to the lesson, the main activity, the plenary, and any additional comments. I would briefly outline the activities taking place, and note the ideas I thought the teachers were trying to communicate during these activities, either aurally or in written form. In addition, I noted anything the pupils contributed relating to the ideas being communicated by the teacher, and how the teacher responded to these. When observing, my role was non-participative; I would usually sit at the side of the classroom recording the understandings presented.

Despite the value of lesson observations, the use of observations in the study is, however, relatively limited. The difficulty of negotiating access, and the time consuming nature of observations restricted the amount of data I was able to gain in this way. Other weaknesses with using lesson observation as a source of data, were that some lesson activities, although determined by the teachers' understandings of

citizenship, were not explicitly intended to communicate their understandings. For example, at Damask, I was invited to observe a lesson run by the prison service, which gave pupils an insight into the daily life of prisoners, designed as deterrent to breaking the law. The Head of PSRE had incorporated this lesson into his programme of education for citizenship because he believed it promoted 'good citizenship' – i.e. responsible, law abiding behaviour. However, watching the lesson, did not provide any direct insights into the Head of PSRE's understandings. Nevertheless, despite such difficulties, I feel that the benefits of observing lessons, if only in making teachers more open during interviews, far outweigh such limitations.

Having explained how understandings were accessed through documentary analysis and lesson observations, I now want to look, in detail, at my third method of data collection - interviewing.

#### 4.6.3) Interviewing

To give a general statement of purpose, interviewing allows researchers to "find out that which we cannot directly observe", with the deliberate intention of "obtaining research relevant information focusing on content specified by the research objectives" (Powney and Watts 1987, p6). Accessing understandings which have not already been made public is, however, a particularly complex process. Interviewing can "only reveal the levels of truth that a person is willing to disclose to that interviewer on that occasion" (Powney and Watts 1987, p51), and so researchers must take steps to maximise their chances of accessing teachers' 'true' understandings. To discuss the steps I took, firstly, I draw attention to the interviewer/interviewee relationship; and then to the way in which interviews were structured. Finally, I discuss any distortions of the data which may have arisen as a result of the interviewing process. Ethical issues are considered throughout.

#### The interviewer/interviewee relationship.

Perhaps the greatest barrier to accessing teachers' understandings and the full range of truths pertaining to these, is that "anyone who agrees to be interviewed takes

risks. For example, they may expose their ignorance, prejudice, apathy or intolerance” (Powney and Watts 1987, p9). That I needed to focus upon ‘information rich’ cases meant I was talking to teachers who, should they appear prejudice or to lack knowledge, had much to lose. As such, any perceived need for ‘preservation’ on the teachers’ parts, may have been used to mediate or select the understandings presented to me during interviews.

To some extent, the need for ‘preservation’ can be countered by establishing clear ethical principles at the outset, and making teachers aware of these. Broadly speaking, researchers must ensure that their research:

- should not result in any risk of harm, detriment or unreasonable stress to participants. Educational interventions should not result in any educational disadvantage or loss of opportunity;
- [that] all participants... should understand the significance of their role (i.e. be informed), and should consent to their involvement in the [research]. Informed consent assumes that consent is freely given with proper understanding of the nature and consequences of what is proposed;
- [that] persons and institutions who participate in research have the right to anonymity and non-identifiability... Research reports, dissertations, theses and publications must not permit the identification of any individuals or institutions. (Statement on ‘Ethical Research and Teaching’, Research Support Unit, University of Exeter, 2002)

Acting upon these principles, I needed to assure the teachers there would be no negative repercussions arising from the study, nor, for that matter, increased interest of a positive nature if this was not desired. To do so, I guaranteed confidentiality, stating that I would use pseudonyms in my work for teachers, schools, and the LEA. I also stated that my study was intended only for a narrow, academic audience. This greatly restricted the potential for any negative repercussions to arise from the reporting of data; I would not be reporting the teachers’ understandings in the context they worked in, nor to people with influence over them.

In addition, if I was to achieve as in-depth an appreciation of the teachers’ understandings as possible, I also needed to minimise any “power differential” (Maykut 1994, p80) between myself in the role of interviewer, and the teachers as interviewees. To do this, I needed to make the significance of the teachers’ involvement in my study clear from the start, showing that, as far as I was concerned,

they were the experts in the interview situation, having knowledge which I did not. To provide the teachers with a proper understanding of the nature and consequences of my research, I stated that I was interested in how teachers understood citizenship *in the context of education for citizenship*. I explained that my background was in the theory of education, which meant that if I was (i) to understand what actually went on in programmes of education for citizenship; and (ii) to make recommendations which would reflect teachers' concerns, I needed to be able to see things from their point of view. I also stated that I would not offer any feedback - formally or informally - on the data collected. My role was to find out what teachers thought about citizenship, not to present a judgement on their practice.

Generally speaking, the teachers widely accepted me in the role of one learning about education for citizenship, possibly not least because I was much closer in age to the teachers' pupils or own children, than to them or their colleagues. Usefully, the teachers often assumed little knowledge on my part, and did not ask me to give advice on matters relating to education for citizenship. It was, for example, widely considered that I would have little knowledge of QCA documentation, and teachers often brought this to meetings to explain to me.

I was also not seen as having sufficient influence for my concerns to be of any consequence outside of my study. As a result, I would suggest I was actually able to access a greater range of understandings and truths pertaining to these, than would have been open to someone with higher status. For example, at Egerton, it was only after explaining that the LEA Inspector, from whose questionnaire I had generated my sample, would not have access to the data collected, the Head of PSHE agreed to participate in the research. The Head of PSHE later explained he had filled in the Inspector's questionnaire as he felt he was expected to, his only reason for completing it at all, being to express an interest in extra funding.

There were, in addition, two unanticipated factors which led teachers to volunteer much information about their programmes on their own initiative. The Heads of PSHE at Kessel and Hitherwood had children writing undergraduate dissertations, and at Egerton, the Head of PSHE's wife was studying for an MA in Education. As

such, they had some insight into the research process from my perspective, making comments which showed that they were aware of the difficulties of gaining access, the importance of having co-operative interviewees, and of the measures generally taken to ensure confidentiality. These teachers were particularly helpful in contributing written materials, explaining their understandings in interviews, and inviting me to observe lessons. The second unanticipated factor was that during the most intensive period of data collection, I had a throat infection which resulted in the teachers talking more, seeking less verbal reassurance, and taking the initiative to explore issues without waiting to be prompted. This minimised my potential to shape their thinking, and that I was clearly making an effort to talk to the teachers, was more than reciprocated. These factors, combined within my lack of perceived status, helped to ensure the trustworthiness of data gathered through interviews.

### Interview Structure.

There are a number of ways in which researchers can structure the course of an interview and the questions they ask, to help them develop an in-depth insight into their interviewees' understandings. When interviewing within a qualitative paradigm, it is important that researchers act in a facilitating role, helping interviewees to express their ideas, rather than imposing understandings upon them. In some instances of qualitative research, this has led to interviews being treated more as conversations, without predetermined questions or structure. I have, however, employed a more structured approach, seeking to balance the freedom teachers need to express their own ideas, with the need to facilitate their thinking. Taking a more structured approach has also allowed me to ask the same questions of different teachers, providing a basis for cross-case comparability.

To expand on these points, firstly, when talking about a topic as complex as citizenship, it is important that interviews are constructed in a way which teachers will find conceptually manageable. Given that citizenship is such an amoebic and diverse construct, I could not simply expect the teachers to be able to talk about their understandings without firstly "providing a framework within which

respondents can express their own understandings in their own terms” (Patton 1990, p290).

When starting to collect data, I wanted to be able to gain a comprehensive overview of each teacher’s understandings, and their vocabularies relating to citizenship. I also wanted to be able to collect comparable data, which would help to ensure the validity of later cross-case analysis. At this early stage, using a standardised interview guide (Fig. 1) - defined by Patton as “a set of topics or subject areas which within which the interviewer is free to explore, probe and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject” (1990, p283) - helped to fulfil these needs.

Fig.1) Interview Guide.

- What do you do to teach citizenship?
- Why / how are these things relevant / important to citizenship?
- What factors have influenced your decision to teach these things?
  
- What aims do you have for your programme of education for citizenship?
- What factors have influenced these aims?
- Is there anything that you think is important but you don’t teach?
  
- What would you ideally like to teach / achieve in teaching citizenship?
- What barriers do you think there might be to achieving this?
  
- Why do you think you’re being required to teach citizenship?
- Do you think it’s important to teach citizenship? Why?
  
- Final comments / reflections.

My questions were open ended, allowing teachers the freedom to express their understandings in their own terms. They were also intended to invite the teachers to talk about their understandings in different contexts, my intention being to gain insights into different aspects of the teachers’ understandings of citizenship, in their role as teachers with responsibility for education for citizenship. The questions used during the initial interview with each teacher moved from a focus on the familiar and concrete - i.e. the teachers’ pedagogic approaches and the understandings embedded

in these, to more abstract issues about what citizenship means and the role of education for citizenship. The interview covered three contexts, namely:

1. the understandings embedded in the teachers' programmes - e.g. by asking: what do you do to teach citizenship? How are these things relevant to citizenship? What aims do you have for teaching citizenship?
2. the teachers' general understandings of citizenship related to an educational context - e.g. by asking: do you think it's important to teach citizenship? Are there aspects to citizenship which you think are important but don't teach? Is there anything which you would ideally like to teach?
3. the teachers' understandings relating to other stakeholder interests - e.g. by asking: why do you think you're being required to teach citizenship?

The interview guide also included a number of questions intended specifically to probe teachers' justifications for presenting certain understandings. The teachers were asked about why particular activities had been included in their programmes, my intention being to see how they justified presenting certain understandings. In addition, asking the teachers if there was anything they thought important but did not teach, was intended to give them the opportunity to emphasise their understandings as teachers, and distinguish these from their more general understandings of citizenship. At the end of every interview, teachers were also invited to add any other comments or reflections, giving them carte blanche to (i) raise any issues they felt significant which had not been addressed; and/or (ii) clarify any issues arising.

At this initial stage, by using the same set of questions with different teachers, I was able to develop a comparable overview of the teachers' programmes and their understandings of citizenship. Further to this, in as far as is possible in qualitative research, the interview guide also provided me with another way of ensuring the reliability of data collected in the study's early stages. It allowed me to collect data through a process which, although it could not be replicated exactly, could be essentially repeated.



Having developed this comparable overview, the flexibility of a case record strategy then allowed me to focus on the schools' individual programmes. It was important to move from the general and easily comparable, to a specific school by school data collection strategy. I had to collect data in a way which was "adapted to a description of the multiple realities encountered at any given site." (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p41). The lessons I observed, and the documents I analysed, were school specific, as were the precise contexts the teachers worked in. Only by tailoring my research instruments to each schools' programme, could I hope to develop the in-depth insight required by my research aims.

As such, later interviews were structured specifically in response to each teacher's individual understandings. Although these later interviews were not standardised across the sample, the detailed insight they allowed, still gave me the opportunity to see whether aspects of the teachers' understandings were transferable across schools - whether in like or contrasting settings. For later interviews, I drew up a list for each teacher of issues I wanted to explore/clarify, and used these to guide my questioning. For example, at Damask, the Head of PSRE provided pupil worksheets for a module he had devised titled "Thinking European". These included activities which required pupils to draw goods associated with other European countries, such as a pizza from Italy. When interviewing, I then probed the understandings of citizenship underlying these activities, and explored the Head of PSRE's justifications for presenting citizenship in this way.

Importantly, in each instance of data collection, I was exploring the teachers' understandings and being responsive to these. Although having already completed the literature review, I was not using my knowledge of the literature to impose certain understandings on the data collection process. Patton notes that there is a danger that prior knowledge of the literature can "bias the researcher's thinking and reduce openness to whatever emerges in the field" (1990, p163). However, rather than acting as a constraint, that I entered into data collection with an understanding of philosophical literature, can be considered beneficial. It meant that when interviewing, I was able to play the role of "one who is responsive to the appropriate arguments, but in whom the contending forces are balanced rather than

non-existent.” (House cited Patton 1990, p231) Moreover, as Powney and Watts (1987) argue:

the researcher must be aware of the dynamic aspect of the interview and be ready to develop any interesting cache of information. It is essential for the researcher to be fully conversant with the theoretical framework of the study so that any such avenues can be pursued creatively and to the purpose in hand. (p114)

To this end, I also developed a list of ‘issues to be aware of’ (Fig. 2), providing a convenient summary of philosophical debates which I could keep to hand during interviews (even when the interviews were school specific). This list was for my reference only, and intended to alert me to opportunities to explore the understandings in relation to wide ranging debates about citizenship’s meaning. It was only used in response to teachers’ understandings; I wanted to see what issues arose naturally in the teachers’ thinking. I would also add, this list was structured around issues which go across different traditions of citizenship, as opposed to summarising different traditions. This acted as a guard against the danger of inadvertently imposing the ideas presented by different traditions upon the interview situation, when probing teachers’ understandings.

Having set out the ways in which I tried to ensure, as far as possible, that I would be able to access the teachers’ ‘true’ understandings when interviewing, I still have to acknowledge that inevitably, the data collected will have been shaped, to some extent, by the interview situation. While researchers have to guard against unduly influencing their respondents’ thinking, it is equally important that they acknowledge ways in which the data generated through interviews may have been shaped by the interview situation. As such, the final topic I want to discuss in relation to data collection, is how, in an interview scenario, the understandings presented may have become distorted.

#### Possible distortions in the data arising from the interview scenario

There are six possible ‘distortions’ (Patton 1990) which seem most likely to have shaped the data *as a direct result of the interview situation*, namely that:

Fig. 2) Issues to be aware of when interviewing

- **Community / pupil variables: e.g. Gender, class, ethnicity, expectation of employment etc.** (question of different experiences of citizenship according to social situation - e.g. Lister 1990, 1997, Faulks 1994)
- **Skills / knowledge / attitudes** (Crick's objectives for learning (1998, p14), QCA guidance presented under these headings - also question of citizenship as a status? feeling? activity? What activities are skills/knowledge/attitudes intended for?)
- **Social responsibility / community involvement / political literacy** (Crick's strands)
- **Economic issues - enterprise / entrepreneurship** (links to neo-liberal citizenship?)
- **Political / apolitical** (relationship between civil society and the state; question of whether/how citizenship is considered as a political status in terms of involvement in state-based decision making processes.)
- **Community issues** (civil society forms and the role of civil society; community as identity? What influence have community circumstances had upon experiences of citizenship and the presentation of citizenship?)
- **Level of society - local, national, EU, world etc.** (different implications for status/feeling of citizenship, requiring different substantive knowledge, different forms of government and different forms of civil society- therefore different government-citizen, civil society-government, citizen-civil society, citizen-citizen relations.)
- **Democracy, community, human rights, equality, involvement, inclusion, values etc.** (values underpinning citizenship)
- **Reality -v- ideals** (is citizenship a set of ideals to be striven for and preserved - e.g. welfare provision cast as a right, or should reality be allowed to mediate the ideals presented - e.g. welfare as unrealistic.)

- i) stress may have been placed by the interviewee upon their favourite/best understood programme elements, possibly at the expense of other elements or understandings;
- ii) the potential for positive outcomes may have been 'overplayed';
- iii) contingent factors may have been emphasised in order to disguise uncertainties or gaps in knowledge;
- iv) certain information may have been omitted on the assumption that as a non-teacher I would be unable to relate to it, or because it was felt damaging to the school's/teacher's reputation;
- v) as a non-teacher, some of the teachers' meanings may have been unfamiliar to me;
- vi) the questions I asked may have been leading, tacitly imposing my preferences upon the teachers.

The effects of each 'distortion' must be taken into account when data is analysed, so that the researcher, rather than being tempted to present the understandings demonstrated in interviews as singular, unassailable truths, recognises their partial nature.

Points five and six in my list of possible distortions - the possibility of teachers' understandings being unfamiliar to me, or of asking leading questions, have already been addressed when talking about interview structure and my relationship with the teachers. As I stated earlier, the teachers often explained terms which they assumed I would not understand, or documents they expected I would have little knowledge of. To reduce the risk of asking leading questions, I asked open ended questions, giving teachers the freedom to present their own understandings. The questions asked were, moreover, determined by my research focus on teachers' understandings, as opposed to the traditions outlined in the literature review.

To address the other issues raised in my list of possible distortions, those which relate to interviewees overplaying particular aspects of their programmes, may be considered largely positive. Where interviewees exaggerate, this may actually serve to explicate the understandings they wish to present. To give an example, some of

the teachers presented their understandings of citizenship in stark juxtaposition with those they thought the QCA wanted them to promote.

Assessing the influence of the other distortions suggested above, is much more difficult. If, for instance, teachers are unwilling to reveal truths other than those relating to a contingent level - such as the limited time available for education for citizenship in the curriculum - there may be little the interviewer can do to get beyond this. In such cases, the only thing that can be satisfactorily concluded is that interviews can “only reveal the levels of truth that a person is willing to disclose to that interviewer on that occasion” (Powney and Watts 1987, p51), but that these may not be the only truths.

This restricted access to ‘the truth’, is also integral to the possible distortion of ‘understandings omitted’. The effects of this are unknowable and cannot be wholly resolved by triangulation of methods or data sources. Triangulation can highlight differences and multiple instances of a phenomenon, but cannot highlight understandings which are totally omitted. It is possible, for example, that at times my non-teaching status may have lead teachers not to mention issues if they felt only an ‘insider’ could appreciate them.

Consequently, while I have suggested that there were benefits to my non-teaching status in allowing me to access teachers’ understandings, I cannot tell what was omitted at any one time. Simple matters, such as whether or not I was invited into the staff room, suggest that different levels of access were accorded in different schools. Often, when first meeting teachers, I was made aware that how credible I was perceived to be as a researcher, would determine the information I would be allowed to access. Teachers often asked about my academic background, and would ‘test’ my knowledge of issues relating to secondary education. I can say, however, that over the course of the research, teachers tended to forget that I did not teach, and I was asked on several occasions what had made me give up teaching. In addition, over time, interviews became much less formal affairs, with teachers becoming less guarded, and more ready to supply documents or invite me to see lessons.

Most notably, at Egerton, the Head of PSHE came to see taking part in the research as a form of professional development, giving him the opportunity to reflect on his practice. Having completed data collection, he later asked me to act as a referee for his threshold payment assessment on the grounds that I knew more about his programme than anyone else. It gives some indication of the levels of trust built up, that when I suggested my lack of teaching or academic status, and position regarding feedback, made ill suited to this role, he asked if I would provide a reference on the proviso he would not ask to see it. That such levels of trust were established, bodes well for the trustworthiness of the data collected.

A final measure taken to try and ensure that the teachers did not hold back information during interviews, was to give them a choice as to how I recorded these. When interviewing, my preference was to tape record, as this would provide me with a relatively comprehensive record of what was said. I did not, however, want teachers to feel the need to censor their understandings, nor to be selective about the understandings they presented as a result of this. In each case, it was not until after I had outlined the topics I wanted to talk about (e.g. I hoped we could talk a bit about why you think you're being asked to teach citizenship, and then a bit about what you do to teach it...), that the question of how the data would be recorded, was introduced.

I felt that providing some prior idea of the issues to be raised, would allow the teachers to assess the 'level of risk' that might be involved, and to choose whether they would feel better able to discuss their understandings if I took notes, instead of tape recording. If teachers were anticipating 'taking risks', for example, by admitting to gaps in knowledge, it is understandable that to ensure confidentiality, they may not have wanted an exact record to be made. In some cases, it was important to establish a relationship of trust before the teachers were willing to be tape recorded. At Egerton, it was only after my third visit the Head of PSHE suggested I record our conversation, having felt it necessary to get to know me and establish my interest in his work. When the teachers expressed a preference for note taking, as well as taking notes during the interview, immediately afterwards, I would speak my recollections

and thoughts onto tape. I would then use these two sources to reconstruct the teachers' responses as accurately as possible.

There is some debate about the merits of tape recording interviews, compared to note taking. Arguably, by involving the researcher in different levels of analysis at different stages, they represent fundamentally different ways of doing research. While it is undeniably the case that tape recordings provide a more accurate record of what was said than taking notes, the arguments surrounding this are somewhat academic. In reality, pragmatic factors, rather than analytical concerns, are likely to hold more sway. Simply, when to enhance the likelihood of getting a detailed, open response, note taking is required, so be it. Note taking may not be entirely accurate, but in some cases, it can still allow a greater level of insight into teachers' understandings than a tape recorded interview, during which understandings are deliberately withheld. The other point I would make, was that the strategy of repeat visits gave me the opportunity to check my interpretations, and when the same understandings were expressed on several occasions, this provided a useful way of verifying any notes taken.

To reflect overall, so far I have discussed my epistemological assumptions, and the methods used to collect data. There has been a clearly discernible concern uniting both of these areas, namely that teachers must be allowed to speak for themselves. During data collection, I took a number of measures to ensure that teachers would be able to present their own understandings without my concerns, or ideas from the literature, being imposed upon them.

My approach to data analysis presents a rather different case, my aim having been to explore the teachers' understandings through reference to different traditions of citizenship. As such, this chapter concludes with a detailed explanation of my approach to analysis.

#### 4.7) Data Analysis.

In this study, there are two key areas to be discussed in relation to data analysis. The first is quite general, and regards the relationship anticipated between different philosophical traditions of citizenship, and teachers' understandings of citizenship. The second is much more specific, and details the processes by which I moved from raw, empirical data, to develop the analysis presented in this study.

##### 4.7.1) Exploring Teachers' Understandings in the Context of Different Traditions of Citizenship.

As stated at the study's outset, I wanted to explore the teachers' understandings with reference to different traditions of citizenship. I have argued that rather than simply reporting teachers' understandings, it is important to introduce a critical dimension into analysis, drawing upon existing literature. In this study, the narrative overview of civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions of citizenship, set out in the literature review, provides the context for introducing a critical dimension. I have considered it a matter of interest if teacher's understandings embrace certain ideals while neglecting others, for this in turn, suggests that they may be educating for a particular form of citizenship. My analytical approach has allowed me to consider the wider ramifications of teachers' understandings of citizenship, both in terms of the type of society they anticipate and citizens' role within this.

There are a few points arising from this which I wish to clarify. The first is to stress, once again, that I have not sought to label teachers as exclusively of one tradition or another. I have stated throughout that a linear relationship between different traditions and teachers' understandings cannot be anticipated. Teachers' thinking is likely to reflect a range of ideas about citizenship, and in any case, different traditions of citizenship themselves have areas of overlap. Expanding on this, it is important that empirical work acknowledges "the presence of ambiguity, contradictions and general incoherence" (Bowe et al 1992, p35) in the understandings teachers present, (and hence my decision to work within a qualitative paradigm). The teachers' understandings are likely to present a blend of many



different ideas, influenced by a myriad of factors - social, economic, political, personal, pedagogic - and as such, to be highly complex. Bowe et al (1992) go on to note that this makes it extremely difficult for researchers to make sense of teachers' understandings in a way which captures their full complexity, commenting of their own work:

the extent of the complexity we have found in our case-study schools produces considerable difficulty in assembling a sensible and concise account and to achieve this we have resorted to some simplification. The main aspect of this simplification is the use of organising categories, which are essentially analytical touchstones and most certainly, do not constitute an exhaustive conceptual framework. (p143)

In this study, the different traditions of citizenship presented in the literature review have served as a set of "analytical touchstones", providing clear points of reference when exploring teachers' varying perspectives. Clearly stated, I have used different traditions of citizenship as tools to help unravel the teachers' understandings. This has allowed me to draw attention to the multifaceted nature of their understandings, both on an individual basis and across the sample as a whole. Through reference to literature, I have been able, firstly, to present a detailed exploration of the teachers' understandings, using different traditions to help explain aspects in their thinking; and secondly, to situate the teachers' understandings in the context of broad debates about citizenship. This has enabled me to draw attention to issues beyond the teachers' immediate understandings, allowing the purposes they attribute to education for citizenship to be critically examined.

As in Bowe's study, this process of analysis has, inevitably, entailed some simplification on my part. It goes without saying that any links made between the teachers' understandings and different traditions of citizenship are of a tentative nature, and represent *my* attempts to make sense of the teachers' understandings. I have noted aspects in the teachers' understandings which, *to my mind*, speak to particular traditions, and instances where I have been better able to make sense of the teachers' understandings, by considering them in the context of a particular tradition. In this, the problem of circularity noted in the literature review, again has to be acknowledged. There is no real way of resolving this - if I suggest a particular

aspect of a teachers' thinking can be best understood through reference to liberal traditions, this is a reflection on my characterisation of liberalism, and my interpretation of the data. To reiterate, in my defence, it is not the labels of liberal, civic-republican or communitarian which are important, but the ideas I have associated with each tradition in the literature review. These labels are simply a useful means of encapsulating a number of related ideas, providing "analytical touchstones."

To summarise, and clearly state my position, I believe that the benefits of exploring the teachers' understandings through reference to different traditions of citizenship, are sufficient to offset any criticisms of the potentially circular nature of my approach to analysis. To set these benefits out in bullet form:

- firstly, such an approach to analysis allows me to build upon previous studies in the field of education for citizenship. To date, researchers have been largely concerned to identify general orientations in teachers' thinking. By noting that different aspects in the teachers' understandings speak to different traditions of citizenship, I am able to build up a much more complex picture of the ways in which teachers interpret citizenship.
- secondly, considered against a range of schools of thought, I am able to explore instances in which the teachers appear to embrace particular forms of citizenship, while neglecting others. In an analytical capacity, this enables me to draw attention to issues beyond the teachers' immediate understandings, allowing the purposes they attribute to education for citizenship to be critically examined. As Siraj-Blatchford (1994) comments, researchers need "to provide explanations that go beyond the immediate intentions of the actors" (p12), and should not "uncritically accept all of their opinions" (p46). By exploring the teachers' understandings through reference to different traditions, I am able to act upon these points.
- thirdly, by taking an approach which draws upon philosophical ideals to analyse empirical data, I am able to counter a number of those criticisms levelled against the

qualitative research genre as a whole. For example, Atkinson and Delamont (1985) argue that:

if studies are not developed into more general frameworks, then they will... remain isolated one-off affairs, with no sense of cumulative knowledge or developing theoretical insight. Regrettably, this failing of 'illuminators' renders their work a rather pale version of qualitative research. (p39)

[If researchers are] unwilling to grapple with formal concepts and theories.... their work is doomed to return to 'square one' conceptually speaking. (p45)

My approach to data analysis addresses any such concerns about work within a qualitative paradigm being purely 'reflective' (Silverman 1993). While reporting teachers' understandings is, in itself, intrinsically valuable, research also needs to acknowledge that neither schools, nor teachers, exist in a social and political vacuum. Research points to the fact that "teacher and school cultures are linked to ideologies, practices and material conditions at the macro level of society" (Pike 1997, p219); and that there are no clear boundaries between philosophical ideals, the intentions expressed in policy documents, and practical activities (Frazer 1999). Further to this, Kerr (1999) has argued that those involved in education for citizenship need to engage with "the wider social and political context of rapidly changing relationships between the individual and the Government and the decline in traditional forms of civil cohesion" (p277).

In conclusion, by presenting a narrative overview of different traditions of citizenship, and using this as a context for discussing the teachers' understandings, my analytical approach takes these considerations onboard, and is able to build upon them. Simply, at the end of the day, analysis of this nature is a highly subjective exercise. Rather than seeing this as in some way invalidating any suggested links made in analysis between aspects of the teachers' understandings and particular traditions of citizenship, by explaining the links I suggest, my thinking is made explicit and laid open to scrutiny. In any event, the process of exploring aspects of the teachers' understandings through reference to different traditions of citizenship does help to demonstrate the mosaic nature of the teachers' understandings, and the fact that they do draw together different ideas about citizenship to form their

understandings and give citizenship meaning within their programmes of education for citizenship.

#### 4.7.2) The Process of Data Analysis: Moving from raw data to the presentation of teachers' understandings within the study.

To provide some more concrete details about the actual process of data analysis, the first stage in this, was to convert data into a written form which I could easily access. This meant transcribing any tape recordings made during interviews in full, my reason being that it is much easier to scan backwards and forwards through a transcript and locate specific points, than when working with a tape recording. This said, when transcribing, it is difficult to capture meanings which might be communicated through an interviewee's voice, such as uncertainty. However, in this study, such losses were not considered significant; the teachers came across as confident in their understandings, something which, given their role in established programmes of education for citizenship, I anticipated. With this in mind, when transcribing interviews, I felt that the transcripts could be made easier to read by imposing punctuation without disguising aspects of the teachers' thinking. Obviously, where interviews had been reconstructed from my notes, the impositions were much greater, relying more upon my phraseology and vocabulary to present the teachers' views.

With all the data in written form, the second stage in analysis was to identify themes within the teachers' understandings. Pike (1997, p148) refers to this process as "horizontal analysis" i.e. that which is thematic across all the schools in a sample. To do this, I simply went through the data, making a note in the margin of the topic/s addressed at any specific point - e.g. community values; voting; changing the community; European citizenship and so on. I then sought to group these topics under general headings, my aim being to develop "a few general constructs to subsume a mountain of particulars" (Miles and Huberman 1994, p18).

Early readings suggested the broad categories of identity, and state/community involvement, and these are reflected in the chapter headings when presenting my

analysis of teachers' understandings. Grouping teachers' understandings under these headings, also allowed me to distinguish between statements which addressed the same topics, but in markedly different ways. I noted, for example, that when teachers talked about community change, at times they referred to activities designed to achieve substantive outcomes, while at other points, talked about changing pupils' attitudes and self-image. The latter says more about pupils' identities as citizens, while the former speaks more to citizens' state/community involvement.

With these broad categories identified, I then needed to refine these in order to draw attention to the particular understandings subsumed under each heading. To achieve this, I employed a "scanning process moving backwards and forwards between the raw evidence and the developing analysis" (Ebbut 1987 p105). I used my awareness of issues in the literature to ask questions of the teachers' understandings. For example, where teachers talked about activities designed to achieve certain outcomes in the community, I considered a number of issues, looking at the nature of the activities proposed; the relationship anticipated between citizens and the state; whether the activities appeared primarily rights or duties oriented, and so on. This process identified both (i) further themes within each category which were common to all the teachers' understandings; and (ii) understandings which were particular to individual teachers.

Having noted that some understandings were particular to individual teachers, at this stage, I also employed a process of "vertical (i.e. school by school) analysis" (Pike 1997, p148) which allowed me to capture nuances in individual thinking, as well as significant differences between teachers' understandings. Employing a vertical approach to analysis was also particularly important in allowing me to draw attention to the light touch nature of education for citizenship as an initiative. Given that the teachers in my sample work in a variety of contexts, a school by school analysis was important in allowing me, directly, to explore links between a school's local community and the understandings teachers present. As Lincoln and Guba note, "the mutual shapings found in a particular context may be explicable only in terms of the contextual elements found there." (1985, p41)

A school by school analysis has also played an important part in guarding against the danger of making simplistic causal links between certain sets of community circumstances, and particular ways of interpreting citizenship. By exploring the understandings of teachers working both in similar and dissimilar circumstances, I have been able to consider whether the same ideas are:

replicated across cases, and through the contrasts observed, to distinguish between cases on dimensions that are conceptually meaningful. The effect is much more powerful than a series of individual case studies over several years. (Miles and Huberman 1994, pp31-33)

Thus, by employing both a thematic and school by school analysis, I have been able to build up a detailed picture of the overlaps and differences found within the sample.

This study is, of course, not the first to recognise the benefits of employing both vertical (school by school) and horizontal (thematic) modes of analysis, and as such builds on existing research traditions. Using both vertical and horizontal analysis is a recognised means of “seeking out similarities among all schools and individual differences that distinguish one from another” and of enabling researchers to “present a sufficiently comprehensive portrayal of practitioner perceptions” (Pike 1997, p148) In this, my study follows the methods employed in previous research looking both at teachers’ understandings (e.g. Pike 1997), and at how teachers interpret and implement educational initiatives (e.g. Vulliamy 1985), these areas being particularly relevant to my research focus.

Having categorised the data (and within each category, noted differences in teachers’ thinking), I considered how the ways in which teachers had presented aspects of citizenship, appeared to embrace, or could be most readily explored, through reference to particular traditions of citizenship. For example, when teachers talked about community activity in terms of philanthropic, voluntary service, making no reference to the state, I explored their understandings through reference to neo-liberal and communitarian traditions - both of which have a strong philanthropic dimension. By looking at how the understandings teachers presented in relation to

different topics or themes related to different philosophical ideals, I was able to explore the range of ideas demonstrated by the teachers' understandings. To take, for example, the theme of identity, the teachers often presented different (and potentially conflicting ideals), when talking about identity at local, European, and global levels. Referring to different traditions of citizenship helped to demonstrate such variations.

The analysis of documents was approached in a similar way to the analysis of interview data. QCA documents, discussed in Chapter 3, were also made subject to a processes of categorisation, through which I identified 'citizen identity'; 'citizens' participation in society', and 'rights and duties', as issues running across the Crick Report, the statutory order for citizenship and the Key Stage 3 scheme of work. I explored how the understandings within each category related to ideals associated with civic-republican, liberal and communitarian schools of thought. When exploring QCA documents, I also employed 'intertextuality', i.e. the reading of texts "with and against one another" (Bowe et al 1992, p21) - thus echoing the horizontal and vertical analysis used to explore the teachers' understandings. This allowed me to question whether, as a body, the QCA itself has presented a (seemingly) unequivocal position on the understanding of citizenship to be promoted within education for citizenship. It was considered that if different QCA documents appeared at odds, any potential for a common understanding of citizenship to be fostered from the top-down, would be undermined.

With documents produced by teachers, my approach to analysis differed slightly, in that the themes being addressed were often indicated explicitly by the teachers themselves - this being especially common with lesson plans. I still, however, had the secondary role of exploring the understandings subsumed within each theme through reference to different philosophical traditions of citizenship.

Finally, during analysis, I also discussed my interpretation of the teachers' understandings with a range of professionals involved in education for citizenship (Table 4). This served as a way of alerting me to different possible interpretations, preventing me from being too far blinded by my own logic. In order not to breach

Table 4. Data Collected From Professionals Involved in Education for Citizenship With No Connection to Lavant LEA.

Professional Interviewed*	Easter 2000	Autumn 2000	January 2001	Easter 2001	Summer 2001	Autumn 2001
Middlefield School (co-ordinator for citizenship)		30.10.00 - discussion of data				
Borough Council (council member responsible for county youth parliament)				10.05.01 - discussion of data, with special regard to understandings presented at Hitherwood.		
Author - published widely on citizenship and political education						26.09.01 - discussion of the study as a whole. (lit. review/ data/analysis)

\* No professional connection with Lavant LEA or specific schools within it.



ethical principles, these professionals had no connection with Lavant LEA, and as such, were not in a position to identify the LEA, nor the schools/teachers visited. These meetings effectively ‘punctuated’ the process of data collection and analysis. After the first set of interviews, I was able to talk to a teacher with responsibility for education for citizenship about the understandings revealed, and how I might respond to the issues raised when collecting further data. Secondly, when, at Hitherwood, the district council’s involvement in education for citizenship became apparent, I talked to a county youth officer about this alternative stakeholder position. Lastly, at the end of the data collection process, when all the data had been categorised and an initial analysis made, I met with an expert who has published widely on citizenship. This allowed me to discuss my findings explicitly in relation to different traditions of citizenship.

#### 4.8) Conclusions.

To conclude, the overall research strategy, methods used, and analytical procedures, have allowed me to address my research question in a variety of ways. Working within a qualitative paradigm, and using a variety of methods for data collection, has allowed me to see many different instances of the teachers’ thinking, and their understandings of citizenship. By employing a case record strategy, the study has produced a much more in-depth insight into the meanings teachers give citizenship than have previous studies on this topic. Working with a small sample of teachers, selected purposively for their involvement in education for citizenship, has enabled me to do this. My methods of data collection have allowed teachers the freedom to express their understandings on their own terms, while my approach to data analysis, means that teachers’ understandings have not had to be accepted uncritically.

If we are to consider the wider ramifications of the understandings teachers want to promote, in terms of how they anticipate the citizen’s role within society, it is necessary not just to report their views, but also to consider them in the context of broader debates about citizenship’s meanings. The approach taken in this study, has addressed both of these concerns.

## DATA ANALYSIS

### Introduction and Overview.

In the following chapters, I explore the understandings that teachers, as teachers, have of citizenship. I draw upon the ideals set out in the literature to contextualise the teachers' understandings in terms of philosophical and policy oriented debates about citizenship. This helps to illuminate the ramifications of teachers' understandings, both in terms of the type of society they anticipate when talking about citizenship, and how they see the citizen's role within this.

I am also concerned to draw attention to those instances in which teachers have chosen to embrace certain forms of citizenship while neglecting others, for this has implications far beyond the teachers' understandings themselves. It is this aspect of analysis, which does most to allow me to raise critical points about the understandings teachers are seeking to promote. In addition, to capture the complexity of the teachers' understandings, the data are explored thematically, with chapter headings drawing attention to general themes, such as identity, and within each chapter, exploring a number of sub-themes. For example, in the case of identity, these include: identity in relation to local citizenship, European citizenship, and global citizenship.

It is important to note that the data has been analysed from the perspective of one with a detailed overview of the teachers' understandings. I have been well placed to identify times at which the teachers do appear to speak more clearly to one tradition than another. This overview is something the reader can only really have retrospectively, having looked at all the different aspects of the teachers' understandings, and considered how these link up. For example, it is, perhaps, not until looking at the teachers' understandings of ways of acting as a citizen, that differences between say, (i) a teacher who talks about the importance of fostering a citizen identity based on interpersonal relationships, and excluding a state-based dimension; and (ii) a teacher who sees an identity based on interpersonal relationships as the basis for developing partnerships between community groups and state bodies; can be seen. Thus, there may be significant differences between the teachers' understandings and underlying justifications, which focusing on single aspect of their understandings, might not reveal.

Consequently, there are, perhaps, a few instances where the associations I make between teachers' understandings and particular traditions of citizenship, are something which, initially, I may have to ask readers to take on trust, until they have developed an overview of the teachers' understandings. To try and counter this, and, from the outset, give the reader some impression of what the teachers' understandings look like as a whole, in Table 5, I offer a brief overview, which may act as guide to interpretation. In addition, in each chapter, I have sought to signpost links between the teachers' understandings of identity, and ways of acting as a citizen.

Table 5. Overview of the Understandings Presented in Each School

School	Core Principles	Understandings of Citizen Identity	Understandings of citizen-state relationship	Understandings of citizens' relationship with the community	Summary comments
Cornbrooke	Emphasis on developing social capital and philanthropic activity independent of state bodies.	Building social capital is seen as integral to fostering a citizen identity. This is exclusive to a local level. A European identity is seen as inappropriate to pupils' circumstances.	Voting is seen as a symbol of democracy, though as affording the citizen little influence in government.	Philanthropic activity seen to benefit the individual and community as a whole by building social capital	Social capital is seen as 'insurance' against losing out in the economic market place. Strongly opposed to rights-based citizenship.
Starina High	Emphasis on developing social capital and philanthropic activity independent of state bodies.	Building social capital is integral to fostering a citizen identity. Pupils are assumed to have the cultural and economic capital necessary to build social capital.	Voting is seen as a symbol of democracy, though as affording the citizen little influence in government.	Philanthropic activity seen to benefit the individual and community as a whole by building social capital. Some sense that there is a reciprocal relationship between what the individual contributes to the community and receives from it in return. Such contributions and returns can be economic as well as social.	Social capital seen as a complement to economic and cultural capital. Idea of citizens with time and money to spare having a duty to act philanthropically.
Damask	Emphasis on developing social capital and philanthropic activity independent of state bodies.	Building social capital is integral to fostering a citizen identity. It may be necessary for citizens to identify with tangible aspects of a culture as a basis for developing social capital outside of a local level.	Voting is seen as a symbol of democracy, though as affording the citizen little influence in government.	Citizens are to act within their communities in ways which go 'under' and 'over' the state to achieve ameliorative outcomes at any level – local to global.	Citizens are seen as directly responsible for their community's well-being at all levels, from local to global.

School	Core Principles	Understandings of Citizen Identity	Understandings of citizen-state relationship	Understandings of citizens' relationship with the community	Summary comments
Kessel	Emphasis on social welfare and cultural capital as a means of securing equality of status	Citizen identity developed by (i) acquiring cultural capital; and (ii) acting upon rights vis-à-vis the state.	Three way relationship between citizens, their communities and the state. Social capital is seen as an inadequate basis for active citizenship. The state is understood as resource which citizens can draw upon. To achieve ameliorative changes within their communities, citizens need to act in partnership with the state.	Three way relationship between citizens, their communities and the state. Social capital is seen as an inadequate basis for active citizenship. The state is understood as resource which citizens can draw upon. To achieve ameliorative changes within their communities, citizens need to act in partnership with the state.	Emphasis on the exercise of rights vis-à-vis the state, grounded in a community context.
Egerton	Emphasis on social welfare and cultural capital as a means of securing equality of status	Citizen identity developed by (i) acquiring cultural capital; and (ii) acting upon rights vis-à-vis the state.	Social capital is seen as an inadequate basis for active citizenship. The state is understood as resource which citizens can draw upon. Citizens are presented as having a duty to act upon their rights vis-à-vis the state, and to engage directly with state-based democratic processes. Citizens' ability to exercise their civil rights as a way of putting pressure on the state from outside formal state processes is also emphasised. Citizens are to exercise their rights for the good of the community.	Social capital is seen as an inadequate basis for active citizenship. The state is understood as resource which citizens can draw upon. Citizens are presented as having a duty to act upon their rights vis-à-vis the state, and to engage directly with state-based democratic processes. Citizens' ability to exercise their civil rights as a way of putting pressure on the state from outside formal state processes is also emphasised. Citizens are to exercise their rights for the good of the community.	Citizens are presented as having a duty to exercise their rights vis-à-vis the state for the good of their communities.
Hitherwood	Need to respect multiple ideals of the good life – both publicly through democratic debate, and privately, within communities.	Citizen identity developed by a focus on the principles of due process, which allow citizens to articulate their private ideals of the good life.	Three way relationship between citizens, their communities and the state. Civil society seen as a means to enhance democratic government, not as an end in itself. To achieve ameliorative changes within their communities, citizens need to act in partnership with the state.	Three way relationship between citizens, their communities and the state. Civil society seen as a means to enhance democratic government, not as an end in itself. To achieve ameliorative changes within their communities, citizens need to act in partnership with the state.	Emphasis on enhancing democratic practice, through partnership between citizens, communities and the state.

## 5) Teachers' Understandings of How an Identity as a Citizen is Developed.

### 5.1) Introduction.

How an identity as a citizen might be developed, was one of the key issues the teachers talked about when expressing their understandings of citizenship *in the context of education for citizenship*. This appears to fall in line with rhetoric, both from the QCA (1998) and Home Office (Blunkett 2001), which suggests that one of the central tasks of education for citizenship is to foster a common citizen identity and set of values.

In this chapter I consider how the teachers sampled understood citizenship in 'normative' and 'psychological' terms (Sobisch 1997); the 'normative' referring to "those personal qualities identified with being a 'good citizen' " (p76), while the 'psychological' refers to:

a sense of belonging to a collective body of people bound together by some commonality... identification with a group, in turn, will tend to inspire loyalty and allegiance... a healthy sense of identity with a community, or nation, may arouse feelings of responsibility, empathy or altruism that could motivate people to act on their obligations. (pp79-80)

To reflect the topics the teachers referred to when talking about citizen identity, I explore the teachers' understandings under three main headings. Firstly, I look at the teachers' understandings of citizen identity on a local level. Secondly, I consider the understandings the teachers presented in relation to citizenship at a European level, and thirdly, at a global level. Throughout, I explore the relationship between the values the teachers see as integral to their pupils' local communities, and the citizen identity they want to foster.

The understandings reported in this chapter suggest that when deciding what understandings to communicate through education for citizenship, much depends on: (i) the environment teachers teach in; (ii) the needs they believe their pupils to have; (iii) their awareness and interpretation of government policies; and (iv) their own understandings of what it is to be a 'good citizen'.

In some cases, the teachers suggest that the citizen identities they want to foster through education for citizenship, conflict with pupils' local identities and values. The data also reveal instances when teachers teaching in like circumstances construct their pupils' identities in different ways, and present contrasting interpretations of citizen identity. Similarly, there are times when the teachers' understandings appear to cohere despite local differences. This is seen most clearly when the teachers talk about identity in a global context.

Overall, two distinct tendencies can be seen in the teachers' understandings. Some see a citizen identity as an integral part of their pupils' local identities, with their pupils as having de facto membership of a citizen community. Others understand a citizen identity as an additional identity to be acquired, which may allow pupils to transcend their local circumstances and gain membership of a citizen community. In either case, citizenship is suggested to be an exclusive, rather than inclusive status.

Notably, at local and European levels, even once the teachers' understandings are 'unpacked', no common strand emerges in their thinking which might serve as the basis for a common citizen identity across my sample schools. Even when the teachers' appear broadly united in their understandings - as when discussing citizen identity in a global context - the understandings they present still act to exclude certain groups, and the activities they promote are still grounded exclusively within a local community context. Reflecting upon this, I suggest that while fostering a common identity and set of values, is widely seen by those outside of schools as a central task of education for citizenship, if the teachers' understandings provide any indication of wider trends, the light touch nature of education for citizenship seems likely to undermine this aim.

Having set out the main points to be made, I now move on to explore these in more detail, looking firstly at the teachers' understandings of citizen identity in relation to a local context, and then in European and global contexts.

## 5.2) Teachers' Understandings of Citizen Identity, Relating to Citizenship, Practised on a Local Level

At a local level, the teachers' understandings suggest three approaches to developing a citizen identity. To reflect their differing natures, I present each approach discretely. Outlining these, firstly, teachers at Starina High and Cornbrooke adopt a stance which suggests that voluntary, philanthropic activity, lies at the heart of citizenship. In each instance, building social capital is presented as integral to fostering a citizen identity. This understanding appears either to be premised upon, or presented as a response to the economic, marketplace values, the teachers believe to be embedded in their pupils' local communities.

Secondly, and distinct from this, the Head of PSHE at Hitherwood puts forward a set of broadly liberal ideals in relation to developing a citizen identity. In this, he focuses upon the principles of due process, seeing these as allowing citizens to articulate private ideals of 'the good life' through public debate. He presents this understanding as a response to differing sectional identities within the school's catchment area. It is particularly interesting that despite working in like contexts, his understandings appear distinct from those presented at Starina High. This reflects the importance of exploring both: (i) teachers' understandings of what it is to be a citizen; and (ii) how teachers view their pupils' circumstances, and construct identities in relation to this.

Thirdly, and in contrast to both of the approaches set out above, teachers at Egerton and Kessel go against developments seen in literature, and present understandings which appear reminiscent of social-liberal citizenship. In response to the high levels of deprivation found in their schools' catchment areas, at Kessel and Egerton, the Heads of PSHE want their pupils to develop a rights-based identity. They argue that holding such an identity will allow their pupils access to the broader 'citizen community', which their local circumstances might otherwise exclude them from. While, as at Hitherwood, their focus is upon political participation, this has been interpreted rather differently. At Egerton and Kessel, the Heads of PSHE encourage the exercise of substantive rights, seeing this as central to fostering a citizen identity. At Hitherwood,



by contrast, the focus is upon principles - the idea that diversity should be respected, and that citizens have the right to hold distinct private identities.

I then conclude this look at citizen identity in a local context, by drawing these different strands together and making some general observations about the understandings presented.

### 5.2.1) Understandings of Citizen Identity at a Local Level Presented at Cornbrooke School and Starina High School.

At Cornbrooke and Starina High, teachers address the issue of citizen identity by seeking to foster a duties-based identity, founded upon the development of social capital. In both schools, the teachers see their pupils' identities as members of their local communities as strongly influenced by competitive, economic and individualistic values. The teachers believe that fostering a duties-based identity can temper the rights-based orientation of pupils' local identities.

Despite holding these understandings in common, there are, however, notable differences in the teachers' reasoning. To demonstrate this, I explore the understandings presented at Cornbrooke and Starina High in turn, looking at (i) how the teachers construct their pupils' local community identities; (ii) the citizen identity they want to foster; and (iii) their justifications for this. This allows differences in the teachers' understandings to be seen, and raises questions about (i) the light touch nature of education for citizenship; and (ii) the possibility of fostering a common citizen identity.

To look firstly at the understandings presented at Cornbrooke, at the outset, the Head of PSHE presents her aims for education for citizenship in terms of countering "the values foundation of the enterprise culture, which celebrates self-interested individualism and materialistic achievement" (Hyland 1991, p87). She makes an explicit link between the neo-liberal policies of the Thatcherite government and what she sees as the breakdown of community feeling. She suggests that the Thatcherite

emphasis on competition has created a society of atomised individuals, and sees her pupils' local identities as having been shaped by this. For example, she states:

Personally, I think [education for citizenship] is a response to Thatcher's Britain which was all 'I'm all right so I don't have to think about anybody else - I'm for me and me alone.' So I think ultimately the whole purpose of citizenship is actually putting people back in the puzzle, making them see themselves as members of the community. I really do think it's a response to the 1980s - you know, we've never had it so good - lots of money floating around, you've all got to own your own house and this, that and the other. Then that all goes belly up and what are you left with - a lot of very angry people who want something for themselves. So actually, this is turning round and saying 'no we're all in this together, we're a community', and trying to restore that sense of being a community member and identifying with others in the community.

Although the argument presented here appears fairly general, it can also be considered integral to how the Head of PSHE has interpreted her pupils' local circumstances, and their identities relating to these. To look briefly at the community Cornbrooke serves, local norms and expectations have arguably changed significantly over the last decade, this change being linked to government policies. Since the sale of publicly owned housing, the catchment area Cornbrooke serves, now consists largely of privately owned housing. The vast majority of local residents have explicitly sought 'to climb the social ladder', quite literally buying into the neo-liberal image of the independent, property owning citizen. Responding to this, what particularly worries the Head of PSHE, is what happens when people find themselves unable to live up to the image of the successful entrepreneur. She comments:

So, it makes being a citizen all about money, being a successful economist, encouraging competition and then shock horror people fail and they get angry and there's rising crime rates and joy riding and vandalism, no sense of community.

This concern also leads her to be critical of the QCA orders for citizenship, which she again perceives as promoting market place values and the image of the economically independent citizen:

I think the way they've presented it, citizenship's middle class aspirations for middle class children, and whoever's written [the QCA orders] does not actually have a sense of not a middle class child who's coming from a

different area. The whole thing about knowing about your money - they actually want you to tell them about the stock exchange and bank accounts and mortgages which for huge numbers of people is absolutely unrealistic.

Faced with what she sees as an emphasis on economic values, both from the top-down and from the bottom-up, the Head of PSHE wants to use education for citizenship to promote an alternative sense of what it is to be a citizen. She appears to feel, in line with critics of neo-liberalism, that “too great an emphasis on the self reliant individual acting in competition can undermine social cohesion” (Hollis 1992, p20), and in response, has cast education for citizenship in what I shall call a ‘restorative role’. She comments:

schools are being expected to rebuild some sort of order in society, so it all comes down to teaching kids that a good citizen is someone who is responsible in their community, helping others, and doing things to benefit the whole community.

In this, she echoes Parry’s (1999) suggestion that:

reconstructive or regenerative theories of civic education are usually a response to perceived crises.... A sense of dissolution of the polity is met by a call for a new generation to remedy the loss, often entailing a sharp break from the past and present. The prospect of the reinvigoration of the social world... by the newly educated children has clear appeal to communitarians. (p29)

Indeed, the Head of PSHE does suggest a sharp break from her pupils’ local community values, by promoting social capital as *an alternative* basis for developing a citizen identity. She sees this as replacing, rather than supplementing, locally held values and identities. In fact, the break she makes is such, that she appears to put forward a ‘pre-economic’ understanding of citizenship - i.e. one in which citizens can act without material resources (Gamarnikow and Green 2000). Further to this, as we shall see in the next chapter, when talking about the different ways people may participate as citizens, she focuses almost exclusively on philanthropic activity, at the expense of discussing ways of participating in the state.

Congruent with this, Cornbrooke’s Head of PSHE presents the successful development of a citizen identity and a unifying feeling of citizenship, as depending

solely on the quality of interpersonal relations. Different aspects of this are seen at various times within her understandings. Firstly, the importance of interpersonal relationships in developing an identity as a citizen, is clearly presented. She states:

A lot of work on caring and sharing and supporting is done from the earliest age and making education for citizenship part of our curriculum is just a more formal extension of that I think.

Secondly, that an economic basis is not assumed, can be seen in the way she talks about citizens' duties. She comments:

Everyone has a duty to the community, and when you help others so you don't gain anything from it materially, although, mentally, spiritually or whatever, you might have gained a lot by helping in that situation therefore you carry on doing that.

In each case, her understandings seem to suggest a desire to present citizenship as an inclusive identity. She seems to feel that promoting social capital as the basis for a citizen identity, provides a much more all-encompassing frame of reference, than entrepreneurial, market-based values. Put simply, when the values of social capital are presented as the basis for developing a citizen identity, it is no longer necessary to be a successful entrepreneur in order to be a citizen. In line with this, it seems that Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE sees a shift away from entrepreneurship and onto social capital, as allowing her pupils membership of a citizen community. Given the Head of PSHE's concern that her pupils may not be able to live up to entrepreneurial values, (they are, as she often states, "not middle class children"), her emphasis on inclusion in non-material terms, may be considered an important response to local community circumstances.

Thus, in sum, the understandings presented by Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE appear to reflect the:

worry that a market economy... [does] not produce citizens with a commitment to the interests of anything wider than themselves and their families. The cohesiveness of community is thus always in danger of disintegrating, and the role of intermediate associations is to generate social

solidarity which can hold the community together. The problem, in other words, is to make people feel that they are citizens. (Norman 1992, p45)

By focusing on interpersonal relations, the Head of PSHE aims to create this feeling, and to foster a cohesive sense of identity. This echoes shifts seen in the literature away from state-based citizenship, with a strong citizen-state relationship, to a more philanthropically oriented notion of citizenship, with strong citizen-citizen relations.

Moving now to look at Starina High, the situation is quite different, in that the school is situated in an area which OfSTED describe as characterised by social and economic advantage. It seems that as a consequence, teachers at Starina High do not have the same fear of pupils being excluded from the status of citizen, when this is cast in terms of competitive, economic values. Rather than being the result of particular government policies, teachers at Starina High see entrepreneurial success and the private ownership of property as well established community norms. For example, the Head of Humanities suggests that pupils will already hold a rights-based understanding of citizenship, by virtue of their local community's values. He comments:

In a catchment area like this where people are pretty well off, pupils do come into school with a much higher level of linguistic skill than they might do in other schools. They are the sort who have discussions with their parents, who watch the news, who are informed and able to engage in discussion. Their parents are likely to vote, they have certain expectations of the role of a citizen which they will fulfil by following this example, so they are already well aware of their rights. So I do not need to label citizenship explicitly in this sense because such ideas are already built into the pupils' community.

The Head of Humanities goes on to suggest that fostering a duties-based identity through education for citizenship, provides what is, in effect, 'the other half of the picture', allowing pupils to become "well rounded citizens" (Head of Humanities). He suggests that although his pupils are likely to have a strong sense of rights as a result of their local community circumstances, they are unlikely to have a corresponding sense of duty. He states:

Within the school and in our dealing with pupils we are dealing with people who are not necessarily mature, who can't fully appreciate the needs of

others and so it's our job to make them realise that they do have duties to others. We can't present citizenship as 'here are your rights'. It would be taken in a very self-centred way - what can I get out of this for my personal benefit, which is what already motivates them. I think, therefore, that it's necessary to constrain their belief in rights, not to let them have rights when they don't have the necessary maturity.

This presents an understanding of education for citizenship as having a 'corrective role', being used to restore a balance between rights and duties.

The understandings presented by Starina High's Head of PSHE, actually do more at times tacitly to endorse the community's economic values, than to provide a counter balance. Indeed, the Head of PSHE suggests that being able to act upon one's status as a citizen is dependent, primarily, upon economic independence from the state. For example, he states:

we wouldn't look at issues of welfare provision, as it's a question of sensitivity and a question of the people to whom you're speaking. You've got to be very aware whose feet you're treading on.... so it's being aware of the cultural situation which people are in, so we don't go around trying to upset people.

In claiming that it is sensitive to overlook economic inequalities, the Head of PSHE seems concerned to present citizenship as an inclusive identity. He perhaps believes that talking about welfare could lead to the implicit labelling of those who are not economically independent, as being, what Dahrendorf (1987) terms 'second class citizens'. Drawing attention to those who do not meet the local community's economic norms, might act to promote citizenship as an exclusive identity.

To counter this potential, the Head of PSHE presents a further set of understandings which appear oriented towards an inclusive, communitarian stance on creating a citizen identity. In an attempt not to exclude any group from a citizen identity, he often refers to citizens as 'humans', suggesting citizenship to be an all-inclusive status. He states: "We're all human beings and therefore as a teacher I cannot define what it is to be a citizen and say, in effect, you're a citizen and you're not." Further to this, the Head of PSHE also seeks to promote a duties-based dimension to

citizenship, which presents an active concern for others as integral to being a citizen.

As he explains, his programme includes compulsory community service, in order to:

get youngsters to think in terms of giving back to the community which has so far supported them and to think in fairly specific terms, what the nature of community participation is and what the real nature of involvement is, which is about co-operating and helping each other, and that inevitably brings in questions of responsibility and commitment.

It is interesting to compare this stance with that presented at Cornbrooke, and in doing so, to draw attention to the light touch nature of education for citizenship. At Cornbrooke, we saw that the Head of PSHE thought a citizen identity which encouraged a focus on rights and entrepreneurial success, was detrimental to the local community. She wanted to foster a duties-based identity, which could *replace* the emphasis on rights she saw as integral to her pupils' local community. She presented the understanding that building an identity based on philanthropic duties, would allow her pupils to be included within a citizen community without having to be entrepreneurial.

However, at Starina High, where pupils are seen as secure in their economic status, a duties-based identity appears to be understood more as an addition, or supplement, to pupils' existing expectation of rights. The Heads of Humanities and PSHE are looking for ways *to extend* their pupils' existing identities, adding a duties based dimension to the pupils' existing rights-based identities. The community service element of the schools' programme is designed to address this, promoting "the ideal of the public good and civic virtue which finds its expression in the largely voluntary contribution to society or citizens acting either individually or in association with one another." (Hollis 1992, 20). I would suggest that in promoting such duties-based activities, but at the same time, appearing tacitly to endorse entrepreneurial values, the understandings presented at Starina High perhaps speak towards the neo-liberal ideal of creating citizens defined as "entrepreneurs with social and moral consciences." (Hurd cited Hyland 1991, p87)

To conclude, at Starina High, there appear to be two strands with the teachers' understandings. Firstly, the Heads of PSHE and Humanities feel that their pupils will

already have a well developed rights-based understanding of citizenship. Importantly, they seem to believe that their pupils' local community holds the cultural and material resources needed to exercise rights. Secondly, rather than seeking to challenge pupils' expectation of rights, it appears that the Heads of PSHE and Humanities, want to add a duties-based dimension to pupils' existing identities. Arguably, two forms of citizen identity, one rights-based and one duties-based, are understood as able to coexist, more or less harmoniously. Any understandings of voluntary activity intended to promote duties, are not used, for example, explicitly to address the impact of economic values upon community cohesion. In restricting the presentation of duties-based activities to those which allow pupils "to display civic-mindedness" but "are markedly non-political and entail virtually no power" (Skillen 1992, p56), any sense of duty which may be promoted appears quite context specific. Given this, perhaps the citizen identity the Heads of PSHE and Humanities want to foster, may be most closely aligned to the Thatcherite idea of active citizens as those "with the time and money to spare" (Skillen 1992, p57).

In assuming certain levels of cultural and economic capital of citizens, in a number of respects, the understandings presented at Starina High, also appear reminiscent of civic-republican citizenship. The resources needed to participate are assumed of citizens, and the social and political problems caused by differentiation are simply not addressed. The understandings presented at Starina High also draw attention to the criticism made in relation to much communitarian thinking, namely that social capital "is treated as an unproblematically egalitarian social glue, rather than as imbued with social inequalities and differentiated effectiveness." (Gamarnikow and Green 2000, p110) A fitting summary of the understandings presented at Starina High is perhaps provided by Hyland's observation that while "social harmony and a caring society are no doubt, partly dependent upon a certain level of material wealth, the motive for acquiring this wealth is normally economic, not altruistic." (1991, p87) In doing nothing explicit to challenge pupils' expectations of rights, and by presenting community service as a discrete activity, Starina High's approach to education for citizenship may do little to discourage the egoistic exercise of rights in the first instance. This marks a contrast to the understanding presented at Cornbrooke, which appear 'pre-economic' and perhaps more closely attuned to communitarian ideals.



Finally, when compared with Cornbrooke, it is interesting that even when teachers ostensibly present the same understandings of citizenship, their rationales for doing so, may be very different. At Cornbrooke the Head of PSHE wants to create a duties-based identity as an alternative to a rights-based identity, whereas teachers at Starina High try to accommodate both, and have a tacit expectation of successful enterprise. These differences can be linked to features the schools' local communities.

What is, I think, most interesting about this, is that although in each school, the teachers focus on duties as a way of fostering an inclusive citizen identity, they do so by looking inwards to their pupils' local communities, using economic criteria to label others as outsiders. Thus, even though in literature, community service and other philanthropic activities are often presented as 'non-economic' and able to transcend differences in status, the teachers seem to see such activities as specific to fostering a cohesive local identity, which potentially excludes others. The teachers may be seeking to tackle social exclusion and fragmentation by promoting a duties-based identity, but they seem to be doing so by creating what Bridger and Luloff (2001) refer to as isolated pockets of social capital. Consequently, when presented in the context of education for citizenship, how far their understandings can help to foster a common citizen identity, is open to question.

The understandings presented at Hitherwood mark an interesting contrast to this, for while the Head of PSHE's understandings are still grounded in his pupils' local community, unlike teachers at Starina High and Cornbrooke, he looks outward, linking local concerns to national, political forums.

### 5.2.2) Understandings of Citizen Identity at a Local Level Presented at Hitherwood School.

At Hitherwood, when talking about one's identity as a citizen, the Head of PSHE focuses on the values of due process. He sees participation in democratic processes as central to developing a citizen identity. In this, the democratic values presented as integral to a citizen identity, overlap with the values promoted by social capital, such

as trust and respect. However, at Hitherwood, the development of a citizen identity is not seen as restricted to activities which are ‘markedly non-political’ (Skillen 1992, p56), as tends to be the case with social capital. Rather, Hitherwood’s Head of PSHE is concerned to explore how a private identity can be articulated in public, *through* a citizen identity. In this, he presents a citizen identity as an ‘umbrella identity’; he sees it as providing a set of common values which may unite citizens in public, while still allowing them to pursue their private ideals of ‘the good’. To explore these understandings in detail, I look firstly at how the Head of PSHE characterises his pupils’ local community and his pupils’ local identities; secondly, at the citizen identity he wants to foster through education for citizenship; and thirdly, at his justifications for this.

The first point to be made, is that despite serving a similar community to Starina High School, the Head of PSHE at Hitherwood views his pupils in very different terms. At Starina High, the Heads of PSHE and Humanities see their pupils’ local community as homogenous, united by cultural and economic values. At Hitherwood, however, the Head of PSHE sees the school’s catchment area as consisting of distinct, sectional interest groups. Rather than trying to promote a single identity and to assume an ideal of ‘the good life’ on his pupils’ behalf, Hitherwood’s Head of PSHE is much more concerned that pupils should explore the conflicting views found on this local level. In this, the understandings he presents appear to emphasise the liberal freedoms to determine one’s own idea of ‘the good life’. To give an example, reflecting the urban/rural divide found in the school’s intake, the Head of PSHE has chosen to discuss fox hunting with his pupils, knowing that opinions on this will be divided. As he explains:

Fox hunting is always a good one. We’ve had some incredibly heated debates because we’ve got a split community here. A number of our pupils come from [London commuter villages], while others come from countryside villages. Some of them take part in the local hunt and for them its a perfectly acceptable way of life, it’s part of who they are. For others it’s primitive, it’s barbaric, but it’s something they all have an opinion on and they engage with, bringing in questions of rights and freedoms. It does divide them and get them to challenge each other, making the principles of democracy and debate all the more important.

A number of the issues raised in the literature review are particularly pertinent to this. Again, we may ask whether, when different sectional interests and identities are acknowledged, a common citizen identity can be fostered. Is it possible for such sectional interests be reconciled with the ‘greater good’ of the citizen body?

Rather than focusing on what the literature calls ‘emancipatory politics’ (i.e. looking at how citizens can secure the resources needed to pursue their private ideals), the Head of PSHE focuses more upon ‘life politics’ (Giddens 1998). The emphasis in this is upon creating a cohesive citizen body, in which citizens have a duty to respect and accommodate multiple ideas of ‘the good’, and to act to meet each others’ needs. This can be seen when the Head of PSHE defines citizenship as, in his own words, an “articulating tool”. By this, he means that while individuals should be able to construct their own identities, citizenship needs to be understood as offering them a way of articulating, and perhaps revising their private ideals, through public, democratic processes. The Head of PSHE suggests that for this to happen, (i) citizens need to appreciate that one’s own view of ‘the good life’ is not the only valid view; and (ii) that in debate, citizens should have equal opportunity to express their preferences. As he explains:

Citizenship is about being able to appreciate others’ points of view, understanding that me is not always top of the heap, having debating skills, knowing when to listen, being able to question, having faith in your own arguments, being willing and able to change your opinions.

Further to this, at Hitherwood, the expression of individual interests is explicitly contextualised in terms of democratic values. The Head of PSHE comments:

It’s important that [pupils] understand the principles and see themselves in the context of the wider community so that they can look at something broader and bigger and more significant than a way of getting what I want. It’s a means to an end but it’s also more than that. It’s a set of principles, a need to respect others. Process is the focus.

As such, the Head of PSHE’s focus on ‘process’ may be considered to promote social and moral responsibility in terms of pupils having: (i) a personal responsibility to justify and revise their opinions in debate; and (ii) a responsibility to others to act

in accordance with democratic values - understood principally in terms of respecting others' views. This offers an interesting contrast to understandings which focus on community service as the basis for developing social and moral responsibility. As in liberal and civic-republicans tradition of citizenship, Hitherwood's Head of PSHE maintains a state-based dimension in the understandings he presents, suggesting that different ideals of 'the good' should be discussed in public forums.

As such, the way the Head of PSHE presents a citizen identity, speaks directly to Rowe's suggestion that education for citizenship should focus upon "the languages and procedures of discourse" (1998, p79). Rowe argues that by engaging in discourse, pupils can "become aware that their home traditions form part of a much richer tapestry." (1998, p79)

In addition, the Head of PSHE's understandings also speak to Kymlicka's characterisation of education for citizenship in a liberal society. Kymlicka argues that education for citizenship should help pupils to see:

that revising one's ends is always possible, because one's current ends are not always worthy of allegiance. A liberal society... [makes] such questioning and revision... genuinely possible (cited Levinson 1999, p50)

Consequently, although, in the first instance, the motivation for participating in democratic processes appears, perhaps, self-interested (i.e. to present one's own view of 'the good'), at Hitherwood, this is tempered by the Head of PSHE's understanding that once engaged in debate, citizens must justify their views, and have the opportunity to revise them. The Head of PSHE suggests that it is through such processes that pupils can develop a respect for others, with this forming the basis of a unifying citizen identity. In this, his understandings appear reminiscent of Mouffe's argument that in a liberal society:

what we share and what makes us fellow citizens... is not a substantive ideal of the good but a set of political principles..., the principles of freedom and equality for all. These principles constitute a 'grammar' of political conduct. To be a citizen is to recognise the authority of those principles and the rules in which they are embodied; to have them informing our political judgement and our actions... It implies citizenship not [just] as a legal status, but as a

form of identification, a type of political identity; something to be constructed not empirically given. (1992, p231)

The Head of PSHE also presents democratic values as providing a unifying framework which can transcend the boundaries of locality; citizenship at an individual or local level simply represents one level of citizenship within what he terms 'concentric citizenship':

spiralling out from the individual - so the individual as a citizen, as a citizen in their local community, which links to the structures of law and local councils and to national councils and parliament.

The Head of PSHE is not, as it appears at Starina High, talking about different images of the good life within an already bounded *economic* community. He presents an understanding of citizenship which promotes inclusion and equality of status for different views of the good life *within a 'political community'*. As the Head of PSHE understands it, identifying with issues in the local community does not create an exclusive local identity. Rather than, as teachers at Starina High and Cornbrooke have done, looking 'inwards' to the pupils' local community and its values, Hitherwood's programme looks outward. Instead of referring to social capital as a means of negating conflicting interests, Hitherwood's Head of PSHE seeks to temper the way in which pupils present their understandings of 'the good'. It is also interesting that the Head of PSHE presents the idea of interlocking communities based on democratic values and a grammar of political conduct, rather than social capital per se, as in communitarian thinking.

To conclude, at Hitherwood, the Head of PSHE understands citizenship to provide a means of articulating different ideas of 'the good', and sees *the process* of discussing conflicting ideals and interests, as central to developing a citizen identity. What this does, is to suggest that a common citizen identity is something grounded upon a shared respect for democratic values, and which can create a sense of community in a diverse society. This has allowed the Head of PSHE to present citizenship as an inclusive status, without having to go as far as to strip citizenship of distinct meaning, by, for example, suggesting 'citizen' to be synonymous with 'human'.

Significantly, however, at no point has Hitherwood's Head of PSHE referred to economic status and the resources needed to exercise rights. As is often the case in literature (e.g. Kymlicka 1995) he avoids the dilemma raised by Starina High's Head of PSHE, as to how citizenship can be presented as an inclusive identity, when the economic basis needed to act as a citizen is exclusive. This said, Hitherwood's Head of PSHE does talk, primarily, about fostering a citizen identity through classroom debates, linking the principles on which such debates are run to "the values of justice, freedom and personal autonomy which [democratic] machinery seeks to embody." (White 1999, p60) His primary concern is to promote democratic processes as intrinsically valuable, not to explore the economic reality of acting as a citizen.

I turn now to look at the understandings presented at Egerton and Kessel, exploring the last of the approaches to developing a citizen identity at a local level, seen within my sample. The Heads of PSHE at Egerton and Kessel present an understanding of citizen identity grounded in 'emancipatory politics', as opposed to 'life politics'. In this, their understandings appear to hark back to social-liberal ideals. The Heads of PSHE believe that if their pupils are to develop a citizen identity they must adhere to the norms of communities with higher social status. This appears contrary to current trends in thinking about citizenship. The growing popularity of communitarian thinking suggests a shift away from cultural capital and onto social capital as the basis for citizenship. At the same time, educational approaches, such as Osler's or Rowe's, increasingly stress equality, inclusion and diversity. Now, I want to move on to explore the reasons the Heads of PSHE have for 'turning against this tide'.

### 5.2.3) Understandings of Citizen Identity at a Local Level Presented at Kessel and Egerton Schools

In contrast to any of the understandings presented so far, the Heads of PSHE at Egerton and Kessel see the acquisition of cultural and economic capital, or in other words "an enrichment of the stuff of which the status [of citizen] is made" (Voet 1998, p35) as central to developing a citizen identity. For example, the Head of PSHE at Kessel comments that in educating for citizenship:

Really, at the end of the day, I want the children to be able to develop a political identity, and so to be able to get for themselves a 'bigger slice of the cake', to make others aware that they exist.

Notably, in this instance, the Head of PSHE is focusing upon emancipatory politics - i.e. that which is concerned with achieving specific, substantive outcomes. In contrast to Hitherwood, the process of participation is not seen as the primary means of developing an inclusive citizen identity, but as a means of securing resources. In this sense, the understandings presented at Kessel and Egerton are much more instrumentally oriented than at Hitherwood. In this, they appear reminiscent of social-liberal thinking, stressing that access to material goods will, in turn, provide access to a unifying citizen identity.

What is particularly interesting about this, is that the ways the Heads of PSHE at Egerton and Kessel justify their understandings, appear directly to mirror those presented at Starina High. This, it seems, reflects the stark contrast in the schools' local communities. At Egerton and Kessel, the Heads of PSHE see their pupils as having a cohesive sense of community, but as lacking the expectation of rights pupils at Starina High have as members of their local community. This is seen in the ways in which the Heads of PSHE at Egerton and Kessel construct their pupils' local community identities. For example, the Head of PSHE at Egerton explicitly compares his pupils to those at Hitherwood, suggesting the latter to have a greater expectations of their status as citizens. He states:

There's a barbed wire fence and minefield on [the road] between the mentality here and the Hitherwood mentality. Our lot would be happy to be knuckle dragging brick layers. They don't see that they have rights, influence and that through being a citizen they can represent their views, climb socially, do better. They need a kick in the behind to recognise this. They see how disadvantaged they are in comparison to Hitherwood students, they know they're slipping, but they don't bother to think why and what they can do about it.

Similarly, while at Starina High, to talk about welfare is felt insensitive, at Kessel, welfare rights are presented as one way of acquiring the resources needed to gain membership of a citizen community. As the Head of PSHE comments:

I'm most interested in the pupils' rights, so naturally we look a lot at issues relation to their community environment which means a lot on unemployment, so welfare, what they are entitled to, what organisations there are, grants there are, benefits there are.

It is interesting that for the Head of PSHE at Kessel, fostering an inclusive sense of citizenship involves talking about welfare rights, while at Starina High, such a focus is understood as contradicting moves to create an inclusive citizen identity.

This suggests that at Egerton and Kessel, the Heads of PSHE understand their pupils to be 'the excluded', in effect, making up what Mouffe terms the " 'constitutive outside', an exterior to the political community that makes its existence possible" (1992, p235). Consequently, while at Starina High, the Head of PSHE comes to treat 'citizen' and 'human' as synonymous so as not to exclude communities like Egerton's and Kessel's; at Egerton and Kessel, the teachers' stress is on helping pupils to develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes they need to exercise their rights and become 'the included'.

As well as acquiring material resources, the Heads of PSHE present cultural capital as a resource which their pupils need to acquire if they are to have social status as citizens. The Heads of PSHE identify certain ideals of 'the good life' as allowing 'membership' of higher status communities, and present these to pupils as the ideals they need to aspire to if they are to gain status as citizens. In other words, the Heads of PSHE believe that if their pupils are to develop a citizen identity, they need to distance themselves from their communities' norms and values - these being seen as a constraining force. For example, the Head of PSHE at Kessel comments:

I don't try to do anything to promote a sense of community identity or anything because the children already have, quite frankly, a too strong sense of identity as a member of [their council estate]. It holds them back. They can't even identify with life in [the next town] and so they think that everyone has got it in for them. When the children come into school with a strong sense of failure in the wider scheme of things, it makes achieving things much more difficult.

Arguably, as within social-liberal traditions of citizenship, the Heads of PSHE see their pupils as having a right to acquire cultural capital, and through this, acquire



status. For example, Marshall's tripartite model of citizenship included the right to social heritage to ensure all social groups the right to 'high status' knowledge. In this, an interesting contrast with Cornbrooke is seen; Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE is worried about her pupils becoming the excluded, so focuses on social capital as providing the basis for an inclusive citizen identity. At Kessel and Egerton, however, rather than reflecting the shift from cultural to social capital seen in literature, the Heads of PSHE are still focused upon cultural and material capital as the bases for developing a citizen identity.

In this, the understandings of citizen identity put forward at Kessel and Egerton are quite utilitarian. For example, at Kessel, an essential part of distancing pupils from their community identity and its associated norms, is seen as improving pupils' literacy skills. As the Head of PSHE comments:

Right now I can't enter the children in the youth debating competition because they won't be able to hold their own against pupils from better areas. It would just be humiliating for them and make them feel that they're not good enough, and that feeling's strong enough already. As a school, improving literacy is our first priority. With better literacy they can get qualifications, confidence, become better informed, feel able to say what they have to say. They don't have to give up at 16 and pack boxes for the rest of their lives. It's about trying to give them some ambition too.

This stress on cultural and material capital is again seen at Egerton, where the Head of PSHE explicitly addresses the issue of cultural capital in terms of ascribing to society's dominant values. For example, he refers to Britain's Asian population, suggesting that his pupils need to think in similar ways:

Asian minorities recognise that they've got the right to education and they take it and use it to become informed and know how to act as a citizen. But here people just accept the position they're in. They don't bother to act upon their rights and do something about it. Here it's 'hello, please trample over me. I'm a nothing and determined to stay that way.'

In the literature, traditions of citizenship which emphasise the acquisition of cultural capital have, however, received much criticism for requiring conformity to white, middle class values (e.g. Heater 1999, Osler 2000, Turner 2001). That the Head of

PSHE at Egerton draws specific attention to Asian minorities precisely because they conform to dominant expectations, offers support to such criticisms.

Given that the acquisition of cultural capital can be presented as both negative and, as in the teachers' understandings, positive, it is useful to clarify the teachers' thinking by exploring the rationale behind their understandings in greater detail. Firstly, to reiterate, it is important to keep in mind that the Heads of PSHE at Kessel and Egerton believe that the norms and values integral to their pupils' local communities, such as the dismissal of education, stop pupils from acting to pursue emancipatory politics and social justice. In response to this, the Heads of PSHE have taken a stance in which one's status as a citizen is seen as dependent, in part, upon holding cultural capital.

Thus, on the one hand, their understandings can be interpreted negatively, for they suggest that developing a citizen identity depends on conformity rather than, as at Hitherwood, upon integration. On the other hand, as the Heads of PSHE argue, what benefit is there in reinforcing an identity which denies pupils the opportunity to climb socially and achieve greater equality of status? Significantly, it needs to be noted that the Heads of PSHE are not talking about multiculturalism in the sense that authors such as Osler and Kymlicka are. They are talking, more precisely, about 'class culture' within an homogenous ethnic culture, just as in Marshall's exposition of citizenship. In this latter scenario, rather than seeking ways to acknowledge pupils' local identities in public, strong arguments have been made for pupils to acquire cultural capital through formal schooling precisely so that they can challenge their local identities. For example, Hargreaves (1982) argues:

The working classes have a culture in [an] anthropological sense... Most children learn their class culture in this sense without any help from the school and there is certainly not enough working-class culture that is worth turning into a formal school curriculum... Bingo and greyhound-racing have little to offer a formal education. (p119)

The obvious danger here is of creating a second class education for second class citizens, through curricula restricted to local horizons. But what we intend is... not to fit children for their station in life in an ascriptive sense. It is to accept that many children must live out their lives in deprived areas and

to inspire them to think boldly about it rather than lapse into resigned apathy.  
(p120)

It may be stereotyped to talk about bingo and greyhound racing, but it does mark a clear contrast from Starina High's local community, where the expectation of exercising civil and political rights, and of achieving entrepreneurial success are seen as integral. Making such comparisons, the Heads of PSHE at Egerton and Kessel see the development of a rights-based identity, promoting cultural capital, as warranted. This falls in line with Hargreaves' further argument, which cites a report into Educational Priority Areas (EAPs). This suggests that:

If we are concerned with the majority of children who will spend their lives in EAPs ... then the school must set out to equip their children to meet the grim reality of the social environment in which they live and reform it in all aspects, physical, organic, technical, cultural and moral. Only if they are armed with intimate familiarity with their immediate problems may they be expected to articulate the needs they feel and create the means for satisfying them. (p120)

And at this point, it should not be forgotten that Kessel School is, itself, part of an Education Action Zone (EAZ) - the current equivalent of EAPs.

Wanting to promote a rights-based identity does, however, present the Heads of PSHE with the dilemma of how they are to create the critical distance needed to encourage pupils to act to pursue social justice, rather than simply accepting their current position. They recognise that for a rights-based identity to have relevance to their pupils' realities, it must, to some extent, be grounded in their local communities. However, they feel that if pupils identify too closely with their local communities, this may prevent them from developing a rights-based citizen identity.

The Heads of PSHE at Egerton and Kessel seek to resolve this dilemma by, as at Hitherwood, presenting a citizen identity as a way of articulating private interests in the public sphere. The difference is, that at Kessel and Egerton, pupils are encouraged to identify needs in their communities and then, through activity in the state sphere, to set about pursuing concrete, material outcomes. For example, the Head of PSHE at Kessel comments that when participating in state-based processes:

There has to be something in it for the children, they have to gain something and I think that making them politically active in their community is the way to do this. We're lucky in a way because in deprived areas such as this there are funds for regeneration. The pupils are able to achieve concrete improvements in their lives and in the life of the community, and hopefully that encourages them to act politically and see themselves as political.

In this instance, the understanding of citizenship put forward sounds rather civic-republican in tenor - pupils are to identify themselves as citizens so that they can act in the state sphere for 'the good' of their local community. In contrast to Starina High or Cornbrooke, where rights are considered to be individual and to encouraging egoistic behaviour, the understandings presented at Egerton and Kessel support Frazer's observation that:

the egalitarianism that is prescribed in... social liberal thought must presuppose a quality of relationships between persons - a sense of common membership of some collective, a sense that our relations with others are relations of reciprocity, fraternity and concern about the needs of others. (1999, p30)

Further to this, the Heads of PSHE see the development of such relationships as dependent upon citizens acting in public, in state-based processes. The potential separation of the community and state found at Starina High and Cornbrooke, would not serve to meet the purposes attributed to the development of a citizen identity at Egerton and Kessel.

In overview, the Heads of PSHE at Egerton and Kessel cast state-based activity, with the aim of achieving social justice, as central to developing a citizen identity. In this they present a broadly social-liberal stance, drawing on citizens' right to social heritage (i.e. to acquire cultural capital) as well as social rights, in the form of welfare. In contrast to teachers at Starina High, who appear to accept and build upon what they see as pupils' local values, at Egerton and Kessel, the Heads of PSHE are keen to promote a sense of 'liberal revision'. Pupils' local community circumstances are seen as providing the motivation for them to participate in state-based processes, with the aim of securing substantive resources.

The Heads of PSHE also suggest that their pupils should be encouraged to question whether the values of their local community are worth upholding. Such questions are raised, not, as at Hitherwood, by allowing for different ideals of the good to be debated, but by identifying forms of the 'the good life' which carry social status, and may allow access to a citizen community.

While this is to pursue a common citizen identity, by encouraging pupils to change their local identities to fit others' expectations, this may also be considered to stifle diversity, requiring conformity to particular ideals of 'the good life'. As such, the Heads of PSHE may be seen to present a stance which is, perhaps, contrary to shifts seen in the literature away from cultural capital, and onto social capital. It is, however, interesting to note that while social-liberal traditions do most to capture the stress on emancipatory politics found at Egerton and Kessel, with specific regard to culture, the understandings presented may also be considered to speak to more contemporary traditions of citizenship. The need to acquire cultural capital is seen in neo-liberalism's 'morally regressive' stance. In communitarian thinking, we find the idea of "community censure" representing "a major way that communities uphold members' commitments to shared values and service to the common good." (Etzioni cited James 2001, p215). Both can be considered to promote conformity, and to this extent, the understandings presented at Egerton and Kessel are perhaps more attuned to contemporary traditions than they are when social rights and welfare provision are discussed.

Finally, it is notable that even while the Heads of PSHE appear to be 'bucking' current trends in their presentation of social welfare and emphasis on rights, they are also, in line with the QCA's light touch approach, doing so deliberately to respond to their pupils' local circumstances. As at Cornbrooke and Starina High, it is pupils' socio-economic status which appear highly influential in their thinking, not issues of national heritage. It is interesting to consider that the light touch nature of the QCA's proposals, may, while allowing teachers to respond to local circumstances, actually act against particular directions presupposed by the QCA orders and schemes of work. It seems doubtful that a common, inclusive identity, suited to a multicultural

society will be promoted at Egerton or Kessel, nor indeed, at Cornbrooke or Starina High.

#### 5.2.4) Some Reflections Upon Teachers' Understandings of Citizen Identity at a Local Level

When talking about developing a citizen identity in relation to pupils' local communities, there appear to be three main factors which have influenced the teachers' understandings. These are: (i) their pupils' local community circumstances; (ii) the teachers' responses to these; and (iii) how the teachers conceptualise citizenship.

These factors work in conjunction to shape the teachers' overall presentation of citizen identity. Differences in their pupils' local community circumstances partly explain the variety of ideals presented. The teachers are starting from very different points, and may interpret citizenship in very different ways to fit local circumstances. Similarly, the teachers' own understandings of citizenship may shape how they interpret local community circumstances. In either case, there are still significant differences within the sample, which can be related to pupils' local circumstances. For example, at Starina High and Cornbrooke, the teachers interpret their pupils' local communities as supporting an individualistic and egoistic, rights-based identity. By contrast, at Kessel and Egerton, rights are seen primarily as something to be exercised on behalf of the community, benefiting individuals as community members.

Further to this, even when teaching in like circumstances, teachers may seek to construct citizen identities founded upon different ideals. At Hitherwood, the Head of PSHE sees the local community as consisting of multiple, potentially conflicting communities, and presents citizenship primarily in terms of democratic processes. By contrast, at Starina High pupils are seen to belong to an homogenous, economic community, with a duties-based identity being promoted, if not to temper local values, to provide a point of balance.

Such differences in the teachers' thinking, highlight the difficulty of promoting a common identity through education for citizenship. Even understandings which appear to promote the same form of identity, once explored in terms of their underlying justifications, can be seen to present very different aims for education for citizenship. That there are so many variable factors shaping the teachers' thinking, suggests that no matter what recommendations or statutory objectives are put forward by the QCA, it cannot ensure that a common citizen identity is promoted across schools. Its very light touch nature seems to mediate against this.

### 5.3 Teachers' Understandings of Citizen Identity in Relation to European and Global Levels

The remainder of this chapter looks at how the teachers address the development of a citizen identity at European and global levels. The QCA orders place stress both upon the European Union as a context for citizenship; and upon citizenship as an international status, with references begin made to 'global responsibility and interdependence' and 'the world as a global community' (KS3 1i; KS4 1i, 1j). The teachers present understandings relating to both of these contexts. With specific regard to developing an identity as a citizen of Europe, the understandings expressed are sometimes negative, dismissing a European context within education for citizenship.

Looking at how the teachers envisage the development of a citizen identity at European and global levels, also offers some empirical criticism of perspectives in the literature. Firstly, the harmoniously interlocking communities anticipated in communitarian thinking, are not borne out when going from a local to a European, or global context. Even though talking about a European identity, pupils' local community identities are still seen to be highly directive in shaping the understandings the teachers present. Again, as at a local level, the teachers often focus, in a fairly insular way, upon local norms and values. Secondly, a link between the economic status of pupils' local communities, and the teachers' willingness to foster an identity as a European citizen in their teaching, is suggested. In a European context, the links between social capital and economic status implied at a local level, are made much

more explicit. This offers a critique of communitarianism and its pre-economic presentation of citizenship.

Interestingly, despite presenting different understandings at local and European levels, all the teachers sampled appear broadly unified in the form of identity they want to promote at a global level. They all construct identity at a global level in similar ways, focusing on philanthropic activity. They do little, however, to address those very issues which may be seen as global in character, such as global warming, or nuclear energy.

Further to this, although a global level may, simply due to its geographical scope, be considered the most inclusive context for citizenship, it is when talking about global citizenship, that the teachers stress the importance of identifying oneself as a U.K. citizen. The teachers use a global context to juxtapose those who benefit from being citizens of a democratic nation-state, and those who do not. They suggest that those who live in democratic states owe a duty of care to those who do not. As at a local level, the teachers are, effectively, identifying 'the included' and 'excluded' - the difference being that at a global level, simply by being resident in the U.K., they see their pupils as among the included.

Given that the understandings presented in relation to European and global citizenship are so different, I consider these in turn, looking firstly at the teachers' understandings in relation to a European context.

### 5.3.1) Teachers' Understandings of Citizen Identity in Relation to Europe.

At the outset, there are a few brief points to be made about the teachers' understandings as they relate to a European context. Even though a European context is explicitly referred to in QCA documentation (and features in the statutory orders at Key Stage 3 1i, and Key Stage 4 1f, 1i) the teachers reactions to this have been very different. Firstly, the Heads of PSHE at Egerton and Hitherwood have simply not discussed a European dimension when talking about identity. Secondly, the understandings presented at Kessel and Cornbrooke were largely negative. At



both schools, the Heads of PSHE are concerned that their pupils may not be able to associate with the values promoted at a local level, if these are presented in a European context. Although aware that the European Union is referred to within the QCA orders for citizenship, they have chosen not to address this. Thirdly, teachers at Starina High and Damask have welcomed the inclusion of the European Union as a context for developing citizenship, and talk about ways of fostering an identity as a European citizen. Notably, Damask's Head of PSRE has concentrated almost exclusively on European and global contexts, doing little to talk about identity on a local level.

To reflect these differences, I look firstly at Kessel and Cornbrooke, and secondly, at Damask and Starina High.

#### Understandings presented at Kessel and Cornbrooke.

Before looking at the understandings presented at Kessel and Cornbrooke in detail, it is interesting to note that on a conceptual level, there is little reason why the Heads of PSHE in these schools could not have expanded upon the values they promoted at a local level, adapting these to a European context. Admittedly, with reference to Kessel, the provision of welfare is primarily a national concern. However, participation in the political sphere and the development of a political identity, can still be promoted at a European level, through the institutions of the European Union. Theorists, such as Faulks (2000) and Heater (2002), have stressed the importance of exercising rights outside of the nation state, as a way of maintaining the relevance of state-based citizenship. Equally, with reference to Cornbrooke's earlier focus on duties and social capital, in theory, the values which underlie social capital can be presented as transcending social and geographic boundaries. This principle is central to communitarian thought (e.g. Frazer 1999). (However, given the insular approach taken by Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE to identity on a local level, we should perhaps, not be surprised that her focus on social capital is not maintained at a European level.) Given that, theoretically at least, there is some potential for ideals to be transferred from a local to European context, we need to consider why at Kessel and

Cornbrooke, the teachers appear so strongly opposed to fostering a European citizen identity within their programmes.

Looking firstly at the understandings presented at Kessel, the Head of PSHE suggests that the pupils' local community identity, which is felt to deny them equal status as citizens on a national or even county level, also acts to exclude them from subjective membership of a European citizen community. Although they may be legally defined as European citizens, the Head of PSHE argues that his pupils cannot be expected to develop a feeling of Europeanness. He states:

to look at Europe or what it is to be European would just be fanciful, it would be so far removed from the children's realities. They can't even identify with life in [the next town] let alone in Europe. Their English is so far behind there isn't a hope for French, we only do it because we have to but it's pointless really. No, I want to help them to change their community, to shape its future, so local government and things are important and Borough Councillors come in and work with the children. We're looking at how we can get things done which are directly relevant the children. Europe is just too removed.

This marks an interesting contrast to the ideas he presents in a local context. While at a local level, the Head of PSHE understands that if his pupils are to develop a citizen identity and gain access to a citizen community, they need to 'look outside' of their local community, Europe is seen to lie too far outside. The Head of PSHE wants his pupils to look towards communities which are tangible to them. He believes that by juxtaposing his pupils' community with the nearest town, his pupils may be able to identify, concretely, with values and attitudes which carry social status. Within a local, or equally a national context, by labelling his pupils as excluded from higher status communities, he is able to draw attention clearly to the forms of cultural capital he think his pupils need to acquire to become citizens. At a European level, however, he perhaps sees the variety of languages, traditions and so on, as obscuring the forms of cultural capital he wants to promote. Other languages and traditions may be seen as something alien, rather than as knowledge, or 'capital' to be acquired. In any case, he sees such knowledge as too difficult for his pupils to access.

In addition to this, although the idea of political participation and the exercise of rights can be transferred to a European context, the Head of PSHE wants to maintain his stress on emancipatory politics. As in social-liberal thinking, the understanding of social justice driving Kessel's programme, clearly "locates moral and political responsibility for welfare and social justice in the nation state" (Gamarnikow and Green 2000, p106). The Head of PSHE's focus upon achieving specific outcomes, rather than democratic processes in themselves, would make it difficult to apply his understandings to a European context, should he find himself forced to address the QCA order's requirements. While his general focus on citizens' rights vis-a-vis the state could be maintained, his specific emphasis on social welfare rights could not. Consequently, for the time being, fostering a European identity cannot serve his purposes for education for citizenship.

The understandings presented at Cornbrooke School also suggest the development of a European citizen identity to be an inappropriate aim for the school's programme of education for citizenship. This is particularly interesting, for while the understandings presented at Kessel are, given the emphasis on welfare, tied to the nation state, at Cornbrooke, so far understandings of a broadly communitarian nature have been presented. As the values which make up social capital, such as trust, respect, and caring, have no specific material or institutional basis, theoretically at least, there is little reason why they should not be presented as transcending locality. When speaking in general terms, such a theoretical understanding is implied in the presentation of citizenship made by Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE. However, when talking about citizenship in a specifically European context, she also displays a tendency to turn inwards towards pupils' local community values, and so to label other groups as outsiders. At a European level, it seems that we are, in effect, seeing the 'flip side' of the understandings presented at a local level - to maintain 'local inclusiveness' others must be 'excluded'.

To illustrate this, it is useful, firstly, to draw attention to the understandings presented by Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE when talking about citizenship in general terms. Her overall emphasis is, as on a local level, upon inclusion. She suggests citizenship to be

a status which can unite diverse groups on an interpersonal level. Explaining this approach, the Head of PSHE draws a parallel with religious education:

R.E. can be funny people doing funny things in funny places, but it's of no relevance looking at strange people out there. But if you say 'what are you thinking, feeling, doing? How does it relate to what they're thinking, feeling, doing? You get into it that way. It's the same thing with citizenship. Everybody's a citizen. You're not talking about that person over there, they're different. Citizenship unites everyone.

Yet, when talking about the possibility of developing a European citizen identity, this commitment to a unifying, inclusive, citizen identity, is not borne out. Rather than, as her earlier understandings suggest, seeing a European citizen identity as based upon "the values we all share" (Frazer 1999, p197) she presents the development of a specifically European citizen identity, as dependent upon favourable socio-economic standing. Thus, although she does not refer to European citizenship in terms of substantive rights and institutions, she still sees it as an exclusive status:

Being a European citizen, that's such a middle class aspiration - 'oh yes, we're all Europeans now' but these are kids struggling to understand why they're doing French or Spanish - well I suppose one day they might take a holiday there, but it's nothing to do with them. So in a fantastic, wonderful, ordered society we'd all be European and 'oh you're German we love you'. Our lot still read The Sun and it's full of 'Hop off you Frogs' or something. This European sort of citizenship is middle class aspirations for middle class children and like I've said to you before, whoever's written [the QCA Orders] does not have a sense of not a middle class child.

Contrary to her earlier seemingly communitarian stance, at a European level, the implication is that she sees cultural, geographic and economic boundaries as too difficult to overcome to foster a European identity. Indeed, it seems that those living in other European Union member states are identified precisely as "strange people out there". Her focus has moved from the values she sees as integral to citizenship, to substantive aspects of other cultures, such as language. Pertinently, this also marks a move from a focus on unity and integration, to a focus on difference.

One possible inference in this, is that while as citizens, pupils are expected to be able to identify with multiple communities and images of 'the good life', the Head of

PSHE may view these ideals as contained within an exclusive, unifying framework. The nation-state provides one such context; citizens can be considered to hold a common identity through sharing concrete aspects of a culture, such as a common language, while holding different private ideals of 'the good life'.

But even if this is accepted, when the Head of PSHE talks about the QCA's requirement for pupils to learn about "the diversity of national, regional and ethnic identities" (KS3&4 1b), it seems that even within a national framework, she uses her pupils' local identity as a frame of reference, constructing those who do not fit this frame as 'other' - members of the 'constitutive outside'. For example, she comments:

actually, it's very difficult about diversity in the UK because you don't necessarily look at who's on your doorstep, rightly or wrongly. But if you're in somewhere like this which is largely white, Anglo Saxon, Protestant, where's your diversity? You don't want it to become 'oh there's a massive group of people called Muslims, they're the ones wearing head scarves, oh, the chap who owns the corner shop, he's from Pakistan', you don't want it to be like that. So, specific to PSHE, and citizenship as a part of that, diversity is really hard to do and it's not something we address.

To this extent, even if it is unintentional, the Head of PSHE can be considered to depict the state "in monolithic terms, as ethnically and culturally undifferentiated: that is, as white and Christian. Other groups, irrespective of their birthplace or lineage, are constructed as an alien intrusion." (Carrington and Short 1996a, p217) Thus, while I am by no means suggesting that the Head of PSHE has set out to create a singular citizen identity, her presentation nevertheless has distinct echoes of neo-liberalism's regressive presentation of nationhood. This, in turn, undermines the possibility of a developing a European citizen identity. The idea of "unity in diversity" (European Citizens' Charter [www.eurplace.org/orga/forumsoc/cartaen.html](http://www.eurplace.org/orga/forumsoc/cartaen.html)), propounded in the rhetoric of European Unification, has little place in Cornbrooke's programme. It is, perhaps, as Bauman suggests, that the need for citizens to "feel safe and secure in a world that is otherwise confusing and threatening" (cited Tester 2002, p442), means inevitably that they will "turn towards local and exclusive communities.... but at the expense of any possibility of a moral community, of a common humanity [which can transcend locality]." In this case "multiculturalism, means being with some others and refusing to be for some others." (Tester 2002, p443)

Drawing the understandings presented at Cornbrooke together with those seen at Kessel, in both cases, pupils' socio-economic status again appears highly directive in shaping the teachers' thinking. Pupils are not expected to learn foreign languages or to travel abroad; they are not seen as able to identify with other cultures in a positive way. Despite sharing this expectation of pupils' abilities and status, the teachers' understandings are nevertheless broadly different. At Kessel, the Head of PSHE sees a European focus as inappropriate to his aim to further social justice in substantive terms through education for citizenship. At Cornbrooke, however, we see a shift from inclusion on a local level, to exclusion - what is, in effect, a 'shoring up' of pupils' local identities. Thus, while both Heads of PSHE have chosen, deliberately, not to address the QCA's order's objectives for learning about citizenship at a European level, their reasons for this, and their understandings of a citizen identity, can still be considered very different.

#### Understandings presented at Damask and Starina High.

Moving on to look at those teachers who aim explicitly to develop a European citizen identity, it is interesting, firstly, to compare the understandings of identity on a European level presented at Cornbrooke, with those presented by the Head of PSRE at Damask School. The reason for this, is that at Damask, as at Cornbrooke, when talking about citizenship in general terms, the Head of PSRE focuses on developing social capital. However, in contrast to Cornbrooke, this concern to develop social capital is carried through to a European context. Rather than concentrating, in the first instance, on those characteristics which may be used to distinguish citizens from different nations, the Head of PSRE stresses those points of culture which citizens in different European Union members states share.

Again, to start with the Head of PSRE's general understandings, developing a citizen identity is equated with creating a sense of community through social capital. For example, the Head of PSRE understands friendship to be at the heart of citizenship, commenting:

Friendship is the basis of acting within your community. Communities are based on friendship. It's developing friendships which is going to make a difference and make kids recognise that they have to help each other within the community.

The Head of PSRE at Damask then seeks ways to apply this understanding to a European context, with the explicit aim of fostering an identity as a citizen of Europe. He recognises that if he is to promote such a feeling of moral responsibility on a European level, he needs to find a way to make European citizenship relevant to pupils on more than a rhetorical basis.

The Head of PSRE sees one way of doing this, as encouraging pupils to identify with concrete aspects of other European cultures. A scheme of work written by the Head of PSRE headed "Thinking European", includes a lesson titled "things we have in common". In this, pupils are asked to draw things which feature in their daily lives and come from other European countries. They are given the examples of a BMW car from Germany and a pizza from Italy. Other exercises in the Thinking European module include word searches where pupils have to find foods associated with different countries, and sentences which pupils have to complete with the name of a country or city. Examples include "I ate a croissant here...."; "Bockwurst is sold here...."; "Some people buy cannabis here...."; "a type of sprout is named after this city....." Thus, whereas, at Cornbrooke, differences are construed as undermining the potential for unity, at Damask, it is concrete similarities - things we have in common - which are emphasised, even if the focus is upon things which may, perhaps, be considered fairly peripheral to a culture. Pupils are expected to be able to identify with these aspects of other cultures in their own lives, as well as associating them with other countries.

Positively, it could be argued that by encouraging pupils to identify with such "tangible characteristics of national cultures" (Carrington and Short 1996a p210), Damask's Head of PSRE is fostering "the loyalties and attachments which serve to define citizens' identities" (Mendus 1992, p4). Once situated as 'the included', and identified as 'European' through a focus on tangible aspects of culture, it may be

easier to encourage pupils to develop social capital by establishing links with citizens in other European countries.

Nevertheless, as at Cornbrooke, there is, initially at least, a shift in the Head of PSRE's thinking, away from identification with the values of friendship, co-operation and so on, to focus on more tangible, often material, aspects of culture. Rather than emphasising "the values we all share" (Frazer 1999, p197), when talking about European citizenship, Damask's Head of PSRE more accurately emphasises the material items we all share. Indeed, in some cases his approach appears to reinforce stereotypes and, therefore, explicitly state differences between nations. If differences come to outweigh commonalities, this may, as at Cornbrooke, lead to the creation of a 'constitutive outside', undermining the ideals of integration, co-operation, and working together, which Damask's Head of PSRE claims to drive his programme. As Carrington and Short (1996b) argue, while a focus on the tangible aspects of other cultures and nationalities may, to the extent that "familiarity breeds liking" (p73) help to foster a common citizen identity, it may equally "breed resentment,... doing more than to demonstrate just how different and thus unBritish [nationals from other European Union member states] are." (p73)

The important point to be made here, is that Damask's Head of PSRE clearly believes that to emphasise common, tangible aspects of culture, shared within the various European Union member states, is one way of promoting a cohesive citizen identity in a European context. Consequently, at Damask, while in general terms, a citizen identity is thought of as something to be fostered by forming friendships and creating social capital, in a specifically in a European context, there is a shift towards identifying with the concrete aspects of a culture. This shift draws attention to the potentially problematic nature of communitarian thinking when applied to a European context. The Head of PSRE sees such a shift as coherent with his aim to promote social capital, but as noted above, there is also the potential to reinforce differences, which may have the undesired effect of undermining a common citizen identity in the context of Europe.



Only at Starina High School, is a focus on 'the values we all share' retained when talking about European citizenship. However, these values are seen in terms of entrepreneurial values as well as social capital - the implicit economic criteria for citizenship seen at a local level, being made explicit in a European context. The ways in which these dual concerns are played out in the understandings presented at Starina High, do much to reflect criticisms made of social capital in the literature. In particular, at Starina High, the teachers' understandings do much to suggest that moves to generate social capital, are often motivated by a promise of economic returns.

Firstly, to look at those aspects of the understandings presented at Starina High which speak to communitarian ideals of building social capital, the teachers put forward the idea of communities uniting through informal networks of an interpersonal nature. The school's programme of education for citizenship involves pupils in their town's 'twinning activities', which link the community served by Starina High to a like community in France. When people visit from their twin town, pupils act as guides for them; put on dance, music and drama performances; and are generally involved in extending the community's hospitality. They are, in turn, encouraged to take part in reciprocal visits. As at a local level, the emphasis is upon helping others, and developing a sense of community on an interpersonal, human-to-human level.

At the same time, Starina High's programme also has discrete elements premised explicitly upon an individualist, rights-based understanding of European citizenship. At Starina High, the Head of Humanities aims to extend his pupils' expectations of citizenship rights, by encouraging them to exercise the rights that come with membership of the European Union. Of these, the right to seek employment in another European member state, is given greatest emphasis. Work experience placements in other European countries are arranged for Year 11 pupils - often in Starina High's twin town. The emphasis upon employment rights is such that the school's policy document for citizenship tacitly suggests social union to be, in effect, secondary to furthering economic interests. It states:

Widespread structural employment will be with us for the foreseeable future whilst the gap between rich and poor is widening. Thus, there is the obvious need to encourage further tenuous improvement in the attitudes of Europeans towards each other.

The understandings presented in the school's policy document are, it appears, intended primarily to affirm the materialistic, economic values of the pupils' local community. In addition to seeking to improve attitudes and interpersonal relations, there seems to be a concern to maximise citizens' freedoms to accumulate private wealth. The emphasis put upon developing good relations with Starina High's twin town, is perhaps indicative of the idea that citizens invest in each other's interests, not out of pure philanthropic sentiment as communitarians might have it, but in the expectation that this investment will be repaid. As Bridger and Luloff (2001) suggest, it may be that:

the underlying conception of the individual remains unchanged... [with individuals]... calculating the costs and benefits of pursuing alternative courses of action. In the end... the picture [is one] of discrete, separated and independent individuals. (p467)

Further to this, the success of European twinning programmes depends, in part, upon citizens having the economic resources to invest in such activities, so that social capital can be generated.

Given this, rather than, as at a local level, trying to build a unifying identity from the basis of successful entrepreneurship, at a European level, the inference is that social unity may further competitive, individualistic behaviours. This reversal perhaps accounts for the fact that at a European level, the teachers anticipate tensions between a rights-based and duties-based citizen identity, while at a local level, these are seen to coexist without difficulty. For example, the Head of Humanities at Starina High comments:

We want to get pupils to see that they are citizens of the world, of Europe, of their local community, of Starina High School. How's their interest served by European membership? So looking after me and putting me first. But they also have a responsibility to see their interests in terms of what's best for everyone. Sometimes this is a happy coherence so there's no great conflict and sometimes there is, and that's life.

Thus, as in the other schools, transferring the ideals presented in a local context to the formation of a European citizen identity, is suggested to be problematic.

To reflect, even though the idea of interlocking communities, united by ‘the values we all share’, is presented as central to developing a European citizen identity, it is not assumed, as in communitarian thinking, that there will be a harmonious progression from the local, through to the European and global. Rather the Head of Humanities at Starina High seems to recognise that “a citizen with dual nationality or a citizen of the European Union [can] find his or her twin allegiances... pulled in opposite directions” (Heater 1999, p149).

### Some Reflections on the Teachers’ Understandings of a European Citizen Identity.

To offer some general reflections, in addition to those factors identified at a local level, the understandings presented in terms of European citizenship depend very much upon three factors: (i) what the teachers understand as the central purpose of citizenship/education for citizenship; (ii) how they see citizenship on a European level as serving this, if at all; and (iii) how they see their pupils as being able to relate to citizenship at a European level - this depending very much upon how the teachers perceive their pupils’ local identity. For instance, at Starina High, the values inherent in the pupils’ local community, are seen as replicable in a specifically European context. When conceptualising citizenship at a European level, the Heads of Humanities and PSHE at Starina High want to maintain pupils’ expectation of employment, economic independence and the exercise of rights. Pupils are seen to have the material resources, and ability to learn other languages, needed to pursue these expectations at a European level.

While, given differences in local circumstances, the understandings presented at Starina High may not appear appropriate to pupils from the other schools studied, Damask’s Head of PSRE suggests an alternative, more widely accessible approach, by encouraging pupils to identify with tangible aspects of other European nations. That this approach is not more widely adopted, can be considered a result of teachers’ alternative aims for education for citizenship, and their ways of constructing

identity. Although there is little which would prevent pupils at Kessel successfully completing the exercises set out in Damask's 'Thinking European' module, these do not fall in line with the underlying values and morality the Head of PSHE at Kessel wants to promote. Kessel's Head of PSHE understands citizenship to be about pursuing social justice through state-based politics. Identification with tangible aspects of other cultures, such as different foods, does not speak towards achieving such aims. At Cornbrooke, the fact the Head of PSHE constructs her pupils' identities, in part, by labelling differences and creating a 'constitutive outside', appears contrary to Damask's focus on inclusion.

Thus, in a European context, as in a local one, the teachers' understandings draw attention to the difficulty of promoting a common citizen identity across schools. Socio-economic status is once more seen as a dividing factor, challenging the QCA's assumption that learning about citizenship in relation to the European Union, is an appropriate statutory requirement for education for citizenship. Moreover, even when teachers do seek to foster a European identity, the understandings they present draw attention to the problematic nature of presenting certain ideals in a European context. At times, they also highlight the potential for conflict between local and European citizen identities. Assumptions of 'unity in diversity', or of interlocking 'nested communities' found in contemporary literature, are, as the teachers' understandings suggest, much harder to demonstrate in an empirical context.

Finally, where conflicts arise between local and European identities, it is likely that the ideals promoted at one level, may be undermined by those promoted at another. To what extent teachers will want to promote conflicting views, which rather than building upon earlier work, may seem to undermine it, is an issue which needs to be considered. How can programmes of education for citizenship promote both local and European identities and avoid the danger of one being seen to invalidate the other? How can social values be presented in a European context, without teachers having to shift their focus from 'the values we share' to the 'material goods we share'? These are questions which those working in the field of education for citizenship need to bear in mind.

### 5.3.2) Understandings of Identity Presented in Relation to a Global Context.

In contrast to the understandings of citizen identity presented at local and European levels, when discussing citizen identity in a global context, the teachers appear largely united in the identity they wish to foster. In this section, I focus primarily on the understandings presented at Egerton, Damask and Starina High, if only because the teachers in these schools talked most lucidly about developing a citizen identity in relation to a global context. Notably, however, teachers at these schools have, until this point, presented alternative understandings of citizen identity, and offered different justifications and aims for education for citizenship. This underlies the significance of the understandings they present in a global context, for it is only at this level that the teachers, as a whole, appear broadly unified in their thinking. I suggest that this may be largely because when talking about citizenship on a global level, they feel the context is simply too vast to justify a focus on the micro level of local community circumstances.

A first point in common across all the schools, is that at a global level, acting as a citizen, and through this, developing a citizen identity, is seen to involve philanthropic activity. In all of the schools, (bar Kessel, where the focus is exclusively upon acquiring knowledge about other countries), pupils raise money or provide other material resources for those in low income countries in Africa and India. To give some examples, at Damask, pupils sponsor a child in Mozambique; at Egerton money has been donated to specific building projects in Kenya; while pupils at Starina High raise money for the charity “World Vision”.

In addition to this focus on philanthropic activity, the teachers all construct a citizen identity in a global context by juxtaposing established Western democracies, with low income countries. To look firstly at Damask, the Head of PSRE states:

We do a whole course looking at human rights abuses in Rwanda, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, where people can't speak out, are discriminated against, are oppressed. They don't have the political freedoms that we have living in a democracy and it shows just how important it is for other countries to become democratic.

Here, the Head of PSRE suggests democratic institutions and the values “of justice, freedom and personal autonomy which this machinery seeks to embody” (White 1999, p60) to form the basis for a citizen identity. This presents a contrast to his previous focus on social capital and philanthropic activity. Indeed, it is only at this global level that the Head of PSRE draws attention to rights upheld by the state, and suggests the development of a state-focused ‘political identity’ as integral to being a citizen. The implication is that those who live in democratic states are citizens because they hold substantive rights vis-a-vis the state, while those who do not enjoy such rights (even if only in a passive sense) cannot be citizens.

Thus, rather than seeking to develop a citizen identity grounded in the ideals of democracy, the Head of PSRE actually appears to be constructing a citizen identity in a negative sense, looking at what *is not* democratic, rather than what is. For example, he comments:

In Britain it is fairly cosy, there’s not huge amounts to rebel against... I mean, they can go home and say I hate Tony Blair and no-one’s going to come knocking on their door and cart them off.

However, by constructing a citizen identity through such juxtaposition, (i.e. ‘you’re a citizen because you live in a country where torture is unacceptable’), there is very little consideration of what being a citizen of a democratic state actually means in terms of how citizens may act, the interests they may pursue, and their relationship with the state. The values and practices associated with democracy, such as affirming the importance of alternative viewpoints, and exploring societal conflict in terms of “a real divergence of interests, values or needs” (Bickmore 1993, p343), are given very little consideration. In effect, living in a democratic state is put forward as a ‘token’, a symbol of citizenship which pupils can identify with, while having little knowledge of what it might actually mean in practice. Just as at a European level, pupils are encouraged to identify with token aspects of other cultures, and when talking about citizenship in relation to global concerns, are encouraged to *label* themselves as citizens of a democracy. In the Head of PSRE’s understanding, it is the label which is important; the comparisons it allows are seen as providing the motivation for citizens to act on behalf of others who are not so privileged.

Taking a step back, this emphasis on juxtaposition perhaps also goes some way towards explaining why Damask's Head of PSRE presents democracy as a symbol of citizenship in a global context, but not in a European context. While democracy can be presented as a value shared across European Union member states, perhaps, at a European level, it is taken for granted, and so encourages an alternative focus on material goods. Also, it is notable that the inclusive orientation presented at a European level, becomes more complex at a global level; all those living in democratic states are included within a citizen identity because of their legal status, not just because of their abilities to build social capital.

It is, therefore, particularly interesting that acting as a citizen on a global level is still seen in terms of philanthropic activities which depend, in part, on social capital. The resources open to citizens of democratic states, which may help them to act on a global level, are not considered. For example, Wringer argues that for those who live in democratic societies:

One element in responsible citizenship at a global level is ensuring that the collective arrangements to which we give our assent, not to mention our positive support, do not secure the better life for some at the expense of a much worse life for others. Unlike the duties of charity, those of justice are duties not of imperfect but of perfect obligation which must be met if we are not, as citizens, to be at fault. (Wringer 1999, p9)

This would, however, require the Head of PSRE to present activity in terms of participation in the state - a stance which he may feel ill at ease with his overriding focus on social capital.

Turning now to look at the understandings presented at Starina High, in common with Damask's Head of PSRE, the Head of Humanities at Starina High presents different cultural norms in juxtaposition. This strategy is used, primarily, as a means of drawing attention to civil rights and the liberal freedoms more generally embodied by democratic values. For example, Starina High's Head of Humanities compares fundamentalist Muslim principles with those of a liberal democracy:

Pupils need to understand the importance of democratic principles, and the easiest way to do that is to look at a situation in which they're denied. If you take something like the fatwa against Salman Rushdie, it shows how one society's ideals can deny fundamental freedoms to follow your own values and present your own views, and how unjust this is. Respect and tolerance and managing conflict is of fundamental importance - it's not a case of smashing the opposition because you're intolerant.

Notably the Head of Humanities is not comparing like with like, and moreover, in making a comparison based upon religious and cultural ideals, the understandings he presents suggest overtones of cultural supremacism. Looking at the above quotation, the inference is that Muslim ideals fundamentally deny freedoms and promote intolerance. Justifying this, he states "I don't have a cafeteria approach about morals". Yet, he also presents one of his central aims for education for citizenship, as:

[making] pupils understand that there are different ways of living your life, and it is a relativist approach. It would be absolutely wrong for us to say that this way of living your life is right for you, but what you should do and this is the responsibility that comes with the freedom, is to be clear about the criteria you're using for saying 'this is a better option than that option.

But what then if you are a British Muslim? Given the school's almost exclusively white, and nominally Christian population, such a scenario is unlikely to arise in concrete terms. It appears that while pupils are presented as free to determine their own ideals of the good life, this is tacitly premised upon their working within a framework based upon their local community's values - both in terms of ethnic and economic culture - just as their Europeanness is. Thus, even when referring to a global context, the all inclusive stance of citizen as 'human' presented at a local level by Starina High's Head of PSHE, is not borne out. Referring to a global context, the Head of Humanities thinks it appropriate to label 'the included' and 'excluded'. Consequently, while at local and European levels, economic capital appears, primarily, as the divisive factor which determines how far one is able to develop a citizen identity, in a global context, civil and political rights are cast in this role. Specifically, at Starina High it is the right of other cultures and religious groups to hold values other than those of a broadly liberal, democratic nature, which is being questioned.



Looking, finally, at the understandings presented at Egerton, just as at Starina High and Damask, Egerton's Head of PSHE presents a juxtaposition, this time between Western democracies and low income African countries. While, when talking about citizenship on a local level, Egerton's Head of PSHE sees his pupils as disadvantaged, at a global level, he is (as at Damask) able to suggest that his pupils are privileged by virtue of living in a democratic society and holding substantive rights. He comments:

When we focus on poorer nations, like India or Kenya, what we're aiming to do is to demonstrate to pupils how much more they have than people there and that it's worth maintaining. What safety net have they got? How can they make themselves heard? So there's poverty and hardship in this country but it's nothing in comparison so lets get a degree of reality in this. We're all citizens, we have a welfare net, we have democracy. We're all privileged in comparison. If I lived in a war torn country, in fear for myself, for my family, I would sell everything I had to stow away in a container to get to Britain to start a new life. I would do that, and the way we solve problems like that is by bringing up standards of citizenship in a global context in countries like that... As a school we gave £150 to a Kenyan village to dig a well. £150 which is petty cash in Britain, changed the life of that village.

Presenting a comparison on such a large scale, the Head of PSHE treats each group (high income countries/ low income countries) as homogenous. As such, at a global level, he is able to overlook the inequalities which, at local, national and European levels, allow some groups greater access to rights than others. Thus, at a global level, Egerton's Head of PSHE no longer sees his pupils as 'other' to pupils at Starina High or Hitherwood. As citizens living in a Western nation, he sees his pupils as having equal status with those living in communities with higher socio-economic standing. In line with this, in the context of global citizenship, the Head of PSHE at Egerton sees that his pupils too can develop a citizen identity by acting philanthropically, motivated by a sense of 'noblesse oblige'. He understands them to be in a position to act for a 'moral good' - a 'good' held in common with all other citizens of Western nation states.

Interestingly, in contrast to the understandings presented at Damask and Starina High, the emphasis at Egerton is still, to a large extent, upon economic capital as the basis for membership of a citizen community - not upon 'common humanity', or social capital. Egerton's Head of PSHE can be interpreted as extending his concern

to promote social rights at a local level, to considering welfare on a global scale. Arguably, he is seeking to model the benefits citizens can receive on a national level in terms of social welfare, in a global context. In this, we perhaps see a shift from emancipatory politics, to life politics, for, in effect, what he is doing is to make citizens responsible for welfare provision - albeit in the restricted context of providing humanitarian aid for low income countries. As such, his understandings echo Wringe's observation that:

There can be no talk of de facto economic or social rights on a world scale. This situation is, however, widely regarded as unacceptable in the world at large and aid programmes... receive tacit support from the public in affluent countries. (1998, p19)

In addition, as at Damask, the Head of PSHE at Egerton does not acknowledge status in terms of citizens' actual capacities for action, only in terms of legal membership of a citizen community. Comparatively, pupils at Egerton may have less actual ability to bring about change in their community, than people with lesser resources living in low income countries. Although the Head of PSHE sees his pupils as privileged because they hold more substantive rights, it needs to be acknowledged that, as at Starina High, he is not comparing like with like.

To reflect, at a global level, regardless of their prior orientations towards different traditions and interpretations of citizenship, the teachers all construct a citizen identity by juxtaposing high income and low income countries, or democratic ideals with other forms of government. In each case, the idea that citizens should have the right to participate in democratic government, is presented as the criterion upon which people are either included within a citizen identity, or excluded from it. As such, the teachers' understandings fall in line with Wringe's argument that:

We must acknowledge that the condition of many of the world's inhabitants does not resemble citizenship in any recognisable form. At best they are the powerless subjects of their governments, if they are no the slaves of the local tyrant... We might perhaps say that such individuals are de jure citizens with the same rights as everybody else, who are simply oppressed de facto, but this would be to accept an unduly weak conception of citizenship. (Wringe 1998, p19)

It is interesting that the teachers do not present an all-inclusive citizen identity, but draw attention to citizenship's substantive, legal, basis. This tends to be overlooked in traditions which emphasise the importance of philanthropic activity.

Nevertheless, the teachers do not make a link between citizenship and the workings of modern democratic states, in any more than a token way. In a global context, citizens' activity is presented overwhelmingly in terms of voluntary, philanthropic activity. When addressing global matters, the teachers all appear to understand 'the good' and ways of acting morally as a global citizen, in terms which are 'pre-political' (Mouffe 1992; Gamarnikow and Green 2000) - i.e. they present a single, undisputed good, in the form of philanthropic activity. Following this, the teachers appear united in promoting a reflexive stance, which encourages pupils to consider themselves privileged in holding the status of citizen. Fundamentally, their focus is upon liberal principles only, not the actual exercise of rights. The understandings the teachers present do not acknowledge that citizens of democratic nations are:

already in a political situation vis-a-vis the rest of the world, particularly if we consider that the finding and implementation of acceptable solutions to problems by government and other organisations depends upon the pressure and support of public opinion. (Wringe 1999, p6)

Interestingly, for the teachers in my sample, promoting democratic values while focusing on voluntary, rather than state-based activity, may be seen to have a number of benefits. Firstly, for teachers who see a focus on interpersonal relations and building social capital as central to citizenship, talking about global citizenship allows them to introduce a state-based dimension, focusing on the principles of democratic government. By talking broadly in terms of principles, and by juxtaposing democracy with other forms of government, the teachers perhaps feel able to present rights without promoting an egotistic understanding of rights-based citizenship. In suggesting this, it is notable that it is only on a global level, that Damask's Head of PSRE draws attention to principles of democratic citizenship as embodied by the state.

Secondly, by presenting democratic principles, rather than the exercise of rights per se, as the basis for developing a citizen identity, all pupils, regardless of their local community circumstances, can be identified as citizens of established, Western democracies, and therefore as privileged. In emphasising the principle of equality of status, teachers are able to demonstrate that citizenship is, *in theory, and in the context of established Western democracies (or more precisely in the context of the pupils' nation-state)*, as:

A non-economic concept, defining people's standing independent of the relative value attached to their contribution to the economic process. The elements of citizenship are thus unconditional. (Dahrendorf 1994, p13)

This is particularly pertinent for teachers working in disadvantaged areas. For the first time, they see it as possible to present their pupils as among 'the included'. They are able to overlook inequalities on a national basis by drawing attention to the starker inequalities which exist between high income and low income countries. This may do much to explain the unity in the teachers' approaches when talking about citizenship at a global level, regardless of pupils' local circumstances. In addition, it is interesting to note that the teachers' juxtaposition of high and low income countries, marks an alternative direction for developing a citizen identity, to those suggested in literature. This is, perhaps, most pertinent in relation to the communitarian ideal of harmoniously interlocking communities. Given that educational literature has drawn explicitly upon communitarian ideals, promoting the idea of 'a common humanity' as the basis for citizenship (e.g. Lynch 1994, Isin and Woods 1998), it is interesting to note the teachers' divergence from such ideals. Even at a global level, the teachers act to create a "constitutive outside", and choose not to address issues relating to multiculturalism - unless one counts Starina High's presentation of Muslim culture.

Thus, while for the first time the teachers' understandings present what is, in essence, a common citizen identity, how beneficial this is, remains open to question. The tokenistic presentation of democracy and emphasis on voluntary, philanthropic activity, may not, for example, address the QCA's aim that education for citizenship should act to enhance democracy. Looking back to the understandings presented at local and European levels, it is ironic that while teachers at Kessel and Egerton

present understandings which link developing a citizen identity, to participating in government, to do so, they have, for the most part, labelled their pupils as ‘others’ excluded from a subjective, citizen community. Again the question of how far a unifying identity can actually be fostered, and can meet the QCA’s objectives for education for citizenship, is raised.

#### 5.4) Concluding Comments: Reflections on Teachers’ Understandings of How a Citizen Identity Might be Fostered Through Education for Citizenship.

One of the key issues to emerge when exploring different traditions of citizenship in the literature review, was ‘what makes individuals *feel* that they are citizens?’. What values, traditions and ways of life are ‘good citizens’ expected to identify with? These are questions which the teachers in my sample schools have clearly engaged with, raising many issues about how education for citizenship may be presented so as to give it personal relevance, and facilitate the development of a citizen identity.

In responding to such issues, inevitably, (though not in a conscious attempt to indoctrinate), teachers will present certain understandings of what it is to be a citizen, and of the values and behaviours felt to be central to this. For example, the Head of PSHE at Starina High, while he emphatically claims that no-one can say what it is to be a good citizen, also justifies the community service component of his programme by stating that “a good citizen is someone who gives back to the community through community service”, and aims that his pupils should, at a local level at least, develop a duties-based identity. This said, if education for citizenship is to have specific transformative purposes, for example “securing our democracy” (QCA 1998, para 1.5) promoting social and moral responsibility; or engaging pupils in community service activities; helping pupils to develop a citizen identity geared towards a specific role, can have an important part to play.

In addressing such issues, teachers draw upon a wide variety of traditions, and break the issue of identity into ‘conceptually manageable chunks’, looking at identity at local, European and global levels. Individual teachers may draw upon different ideals depending on the context being addressed - whether local, European or global. The

ideals they adapt, combine, and indeed, consciously choose to exclude, are influenced by a number of factors. The understandings reported here, suggest that (i) the environment they teach in; (ii) the needs they believe their pupils to have; (iii) their awareness and interpretation of government policies; (iv) their own understandings of what it is to be a 'good citizen', are all significant factors in determining teachers' presentation of a citizen identity.

Given that there are so many variable factors, it is quite possible, as this chapter has shown, that two teachers can teach in like environments yet present alternative interpretations of citizenship, with significantly different ramifications in terms of the type of society anticipated and the role citizens have. Even within my small sample, a range of understandings have been presented at any one level. In stark terms, taking the understandings presented at a local level, the Head of PSHE at Hitherwood discusses how a variety of identities may be included within an overarching citizen identity. At Starina High and Cornbrooke, the understandings presented fall broadly in line with the shift from neo-liberal thinking, with its emphasis upon cultural capital and entrepreneurial values, to a communitarian focus on building social capital. Finally, and in contrast to this shift seen in literature, at Egerton and Kessel, the Heads of PSHE are still talking in ways reminiscent of social liberal ideals, by encouraging pupils to develop a rights-based identity. A single teacher may also present alternative, and potentially conflicting ideals, when talking about developing a citizen identity in a variety of contexts.

With this in mind, whether education for citizenship can be expected to foster a common citizen identity, is open to question. It is interesting that the teachers focus on difference and exclusion when constructing citizen identities. This is significant, for the teachers' understandings appear largely to counter proposals such as Osler's (2000), where she argues that if education for citizenship is to foster a unifying *and egalitarian* citizen identity, it must focus on commonality rather than difference. As such, the teachers' understandings may also be read as presenting an empirical critique of the communitarianism's 'interlocking communities'.

Only at a global level are the teachers in my sample largely united in their approach to developing a citizen identity, but the benefits of the ostensibly pre-economic and pre-political identity they present in this context, are subject to much debate. Wringe, for example, suggests that presenting “moral commitments to other, especially poorer, parts of the world” as the teachers do, casts global citizenship as “simply part of the rhetoric of international do-goodery” ignoring that “we are already in a political situation vis-a-vis the rest of the world (1999, p6).

In any case, the analysis presented in this chapter has significant implications for the QCA’s light touch approach towards education for citizenship. Although schools are ostensibly aiming to meet the same attainment targets, the QCA’s statutory orders can be considered as geared more towards some communities than others - the issue of whether or not pupils can identify with the project of European unification, being a case in point. Further to this, while the QCA can arguably be interpreted as reflecting current moves towards inclusion found in the literature, as presented here, the teachers’ understandings often appear more ‘regressive’.

On the one hand, the QCA presents citizenship as a local, national, European, international and global concern. It suggests a shift away from cultural capital, emphasising citizens’ social and moral responsibilities and the need to respect “the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom” (Key Stages 3&4 1b). On the other, even within my limited sample, there are teachers who, in order to respond to their pupils’ local circumstances, are still talking in ways reminiscent of Marshall’s presentation of social citizenship, suggesting welfare and the right to social heritage, as forming the basis from which a citizen identity may be developed. Yet these are ideals which the literature and the QCA documentation have left behind, and moreover, suggest are no longer feasible. This suggests that while ‘class’ may no longer be an issue with much contemporary currency, it is still a pressing one for teachers when they come to look at how a citizen identity might be developed. Significantly, it seems that debates about inclusion, and in this case, specifically debates in an educational context, need to be less restrictive in terms of the inequalities they address.

Having made this point, it is also notable, however, that while contemporary debates, both within literature and in an educational context, are concerned to include multiple ethnic and religious groups, the teachers in my sample do very little to address such issues. Indeed, in some cases they appear to reinforce stereotypes, or label those who hold different beliefs as somehow inferior. While in literature, both civic-republican and social-liberal understandings are, to some extent, discredited for presupposing an homogenous society, the teachers often see their pupils' communities as homogenous, juxtaposing them with others. Arguably, they are, as the Head of PSHE at Cornbrooke comments, simply reflecting the homogenous nature of their pupils' local community. What this suggests, is that the QCA's light touch approach may actually mediate against teachers pursuing the directions it proposes. However, whether the QCA would be justified in acting in a more directive manner, is also open to doubt. Pupils cannot be divorced from their local community circumstances, and for the QCA to act, even if only tacitly, to cast aspersions upon privately held identities, can be deemed unacceptable.



## 6) Teachers' Understandings of What it is to Act as a Citizen.

### 6.1) Introduction

This chapter explores the teachers' understandings of what it is to act as a citizen. It looks at the types of activities they see as integral to citizenship and the concerns they think might properly motivate citizens to act. As different forms of activity can cast citizens in very different roles, this is an important task.

At the outset it is useful to set out some distinctions between issues of citizen identity, discussed in the last chapter, and citizen activity. The distinction I want to make is a fairly general one, drawing on sociological theory. According to Fuchs (2001), identity involves persons being able to "relate to themselves, to the external world and to other persons." (p26) Fuchs distinguishes identity from activity, arguing that the later involves:

the realisation of a purpose or goal, assisted by empirical knowledge about the world. The meaning of an action is understood once it is known what a person intends to do and how he or she plans to achieve a goal. Once... the situation [an individual] is in is known, that individual's actions can be understood as meaningful... It is persons who mean something, intend this or that and then do something about it. (Fuchs 2001, pp26-27)

Of course, how people are seen as citizens may have an impact on how they act, and/or are expected to act. For example, pupils at Starina High are already seen to have a strong-rights based identity, and to have the resources to exercise civil and political rights. However, in exploring activity, this chapter shifts in focus from the idea of developing a sense of 'belonging' as a citizen (detailed in the last chapter), to asking more squarely what the teachers believe citizens need to do to realise certain purposes or aims. We have already looked, to some extent, at what teachers believe citizens need to do to develop a sense of belonging and cohesive citizen identity. In this chapter, I want to consider the issue of activity more broadly.

The teachers in my sample schools present a range of activities as central to being a citizen, suggesting that they understand democracy, and the citizen's role within a democratic society, in a variety of ways. In some instances, the teachers understand acting as a citizen to involve working with those in government, while in others, they focus on voluntary, philanthropic activity.

In this chapter, for the purposes of analysis, I have divided the teachers into two groups. This reflects a split found within the sample between those teachers who see citizens' participation in civil society as intertwined with their participation in government, and those who see these as separate spheres of activity.

Firstly, I look at the understandings presented by teachers from Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask. Teachers at these schools suggest that there are two, mutually exclusive forms of activity, which are integral to citizenship. These are: (i) voting; and (ii) community service. When they talk about voting, teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask present a restricted view of the relationship between citizens and the state. They tend to concentrate on civics-based knowledge about the mechanisms of representative government. By contrast, when talking about ways citizens can act outside of government, the teachers present much more elaborate understandings. They see community service as empowering, helping citizens to build caring, cohesive communities. This presents an understanding of citizens as accountable to one another, effectively writing the state out of active citizenship.

Secondly, I look at the understandings presented at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood. In these schools, community activity and citizens' involvement in state institutions are understood as inextricably linked. When talking about acting as a citizen, teachers at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood suggest that: (i) the state has an obligation to respond to its citizens' needs and interests; and (ii) that citizens can work in partnership with those in government to improve their communities. The teachers also put forward the understanding that citizens have a duty to hold the state accountable, stressing the need for citizens to be actively involved in government.

I conclude by suggesting that there is a need for education for citizenship to strike a balance between these contrasting approaches, drawing together the themes of community service, participation in government, and partnership between community groups and the state.

With these points in mind, the rest of the chapter is concerned with exploring the teachers' understandings of ways of acting as a citizen, looking firstly at those understandings presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, and secondly, at those presented at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood.

## 6.2) Understandings of Citizen Activity Presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask.

The easiest way to explore the understandings of activity presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, is to discuss these under two separate headings: (i) the teachers' understandings of voting as an act of citizenship; and (ii) the teachers' understandings of community activity. The teachers treat these activities as exclusive and to reflect this, I discuss these activities discretely. Following this, I draw these two strands together, considering the understandings presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask as a whole. This allows me to draw critical attention to the wider ramifications of separating community activity from activities which involve citizens in the state. I question whether a programme of education for citizenship which separates these forms of activity, may actually do more to diminish rather than "enhance democratic life for us all" (QCA 2001, p3). Arguably, by placing the onus for community improvement upon citizens, the teachers' understandings largely act against the idea of the citizen and the state being linked by a relationship of two-way accountability. When discussing this, many of the issues raised earlier when exploring QCA documentation, are once again brought to the fore.

At Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, voting is the only form state-based activity the teachers draw attention to when talking about ways of acting as a citizen. Other forms of state-based activity which allow citizens to act outside of

state-processes, but nevertheless, with the deliberate intention of influencing decisions made by the state, (for example, by exercising civil rights) are not addressed.

At Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, the teachers present understandings of voting on two levels. On a fairly abstract plane, they present an understanding of voting as an important symbol of democracy. However, as an empirical exercise, they see voting as affording citizens little power within government. This may go some way towards explaining the split between voting and community activity found within their thinking - with the latter being seen as empowering.

Although the same basic understandings of voting are shared by teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, a number of subtle differences are also revealed through a school by school analysis. Teachers at Starina High and Cornbrooke distinguish between the ideal of voting to uphold democracy, and the actual practice of voting, emphasising citizens' right not to vote. Voting is not explicitly addressed in either schools' programme of education for citizenship. By contrast, the Head of PSRE at Damask talks explicitly about voting within his programme, drawing attention to the partisan nature of modern democratic states. His stress, however, is still upon citizens' freedom not to participate. The Head of PSRE also talks about why, in the context of education for citizenship, he feels debate about party political perspectives to be inappropriate. In this, he again appears to be motivated, in part, by a concern to uphold citizens' private freedoms.

To reflect these differences, I want to explore the teachers' understandings of voting by looking firstly at Starina High and Cornbrooke, and then at Damask.

#### 6.2.1) Understandings of Voting Presented at Starina High and Cornbrooke.

At Starina High and Cornbrooke, there appear to be three aspects to the teachers' understandings. Firstly, the teachers present understandings which suggest some disillusion with the voting system. Teachers in both schools have noted a disjunction between the ideals underlying a representative system of government, and their own

experiences of acting as ‘citizen voters’. For example, the Head of PSHE at Starina High comments:

It’s my right to vote, and so I do vote to uphold that right, even though my interests are rarely, if ever represented in any real way. When it comes to teaching citizenship, well of course they should know about voting, but it’s not important because it has no real impact on their lives.

Similarly, in response to the statutory objective that “pupils should understand the importance of playing an active part in the democratic and electoral processes” (QCA KS4 1d), the Head of PSHE at Cornbrooke states:

[pupils] can’t vote so what’s the point, and even when they can vote, what do they get out of it? I vote, and it doesn’t make a blind bit of difference to what goes on. So if you can vote and you do vote and you get nothing out of it even then, so what’s the point? Why bother?

In both these instances, the teachers are talking, primarily, about the influence which voting activity affords individual citizens. They suggest that even though voting is supposed to allow citizens an active role in governing, few ever see their interests well represented at a state level. The negative tone of their understandings can perhaps be interpreted in terms of what White (1999, p67) calls “fundamental distrust”, namely a “distrust directed to the aims or ends of a system or institution”; as Cornbrooke’s Head of PSHE asks, “why bother?”.

The teachers go on to answer this question of “why bother?” for themselves, revealing a second aspect to their understandings of voting. They draw upon their understandings of the role voting plays in upholding democratic states *on an ideal level*. Talking in the context of history education, the teachers allude to the idea that citizens must exercise their right to vote in order to secure their freedoms. For example, the Head of PSHE at Cornbrooke reflects:

I suppose when they’re doing the Nazis in history then there’s the suggestion that voting is important, because otherwise there are opportunities for dictatorships, with all the negative stuff coming out of that.

This link is also made by the Head of Humanities at Starina High, who comments:

Through looking at how democracy was undermined by the Nazis we are hoping to encourage the pupils to vote by looking at the importance of exercising the right to vote within that context.

Thus, when talking about history education, despite the teachers' own cynicism about voting, they still suggest, (albeit tacitly), that if democracy is to be upheld, citizens must exercise their right to vote. The idea that citizens are, in part, accountable for maintaining democracy by voting, still features in their understandings. That the teachers maintain these theoretical ideals, suggests they see voting as an important symbol of democracy – even if the reality does not match the ideal. This was something also seen in the last chapter, when the teachers talked about citizen identity in a global context.

To reflect so far, teachers at Starina High and Cornbrooke have presented understandings which show, firstly, that they see voting as affording citizens little power vis-a-vis the state, and secondly, that voting remains important as a 'token act', necessary to uphold the 'democratic' state. In addition to these, there is a third aspect to the teachers' understanding of voting. This relates to the idea, clearly presented in liberal schools of thought, that while citizens have the right to vote, they cannot be coerced into doing so.

Rather than presenting voting as a duty which citizens must fulfil, the teachers stress citizens' negative freedoms not to participate in government. Consequently, at Cornbrooke, while studying Nazi Germany is seen as a way of drawing attention to the importance of voting, the Head of PSHE suggests that the importance of voting is nevertheless:

something they'll need to work out for themselves because I cannot tell them 'democracy is good, you must vote', it's their right to think otherwise, but I think that in the case of history it should be fairly obvious.

At Starina High, the Head of Humanities similarly stresses citizens' freedoms not to vote:

Most emphatically we do not want to say that voting is right and you must vote, because just as it's your right to vote, it's also your right not to vote. We don't have a system whereby people are forced to, and we cannot go against people's freedoms in that way. We cannot say that democracy is the best there is and you have to participate.

It is interesting that on a symbolic level the teachers feel able to present democracy as 'the best there is', (as seen in their understandings of citizen identity), but when it comes to discussing democracy in terms of active participation, negative freedoms are given much greater precedence. In this, the teachers speak clearly to Galston's argument (see Parry 1999) that civic education in a liberal democracy cannot legitimately "advance a sense of participatory obligations" (p28). "It is not", suggests Parry, "that Galston thinks poorly of such [activity], but that to incorporate [such a sense of duty] into a public education goes beyond the remit of a genuinely liberal system" (p28). Heater's criticisms of civic-republican thinking are also particularly relevant to the teachers' stress on negative freedoms. Heater (1999) suggests that using education to foster a commitment to an involvement in public affairs "smacks of paternalism" (p73). This could be considered unacceptable in a liberal society where citizens are to be "free to flourish with minimum political impediment" (Held 1996, p299). And yet, as we shall see when exploring the teachers' understandings of community activity, they see it as acceptable to advance a sense of participatory obligation towards others on an interpersonal level, within the community.

To conclude, the understandings presented at Starina High and Cornbrooke bring into question how far, and in what contexts, voting can legitimately be presented to pupils as acting either to secure, or enhance, democracy. The teachers' emphasis on freedoms not to participate, raises a number of pertinent issues.

### 6.2.2) Understandings of Voting Presented at Damask.

The understandings presented by Damask's Head of PSRE, also have a number of different aspects. Firstly, when talking about voting, the Head of PSRE draws

attention to the way in which exercising the right to vote connects citizens to the state. He does this by presenting pupils with the following definition of democracy:

Democracy means that everybody has a say in government decisions... We choose people to make decisions on our behalf. Although we cannot vote directly in parliament, we can do so indirectly, by voting for a person to become our member of parliament (MP). If s/he does not act in the way we would like, we can vote for someone else at the next general election. So MPs are accountable to their electorate.

Here, the Head of PSRE explicitly refers to the idea that citizens are engaged in a relationship with the state, in which voting is suggested as a means for citizens to demand accountability.

Yet, although drawing attention to the principle of democratic accountability and the role voting plays within this, the Head of PSRE also casts the vast majority of citizens in what is, essentially, no more than a reactionary role. He suggests that citizens have only to choose between politicians' competing views. Quite what course of action might be considered appropriate for citizens whose views are not represented by politicians' agendas, is not addressed.

As such, this presentation might be considered to fall in line with Wringe's (1992) definition of a 'minimal democracy', where:

democracy is simply a state in which... rival elites compete for the right to govern by winning a majority of available votes... This kind of democracy... works best when ordinary citizens do not attempt to have too much say in the decisions it makes. (p31)

Notably, the Head of PSRE does not refer to additional forms of participation which give citizens the opportunity to place questions on the public agenda, or to "make decisions as to what matters are and are not to be decided [by state bodies]" (Held 1996, p310). Considered in the light of Held's more elaborate understanding of ways of participating in government, the Head of PSRE appears to assume little of citizens.



Thus, while the understandings presented by Damask's Head of PSRE appear more extensive than those put forward at Starina High and Cornbrooke, citizens' participation in government is still seen in minimal terms. Although Damask's Head of PSRE talks about accountability, the implication is that while citizens are subject to decisions made at a state level, they have little opportunity to take part in the decision making process. In this respect, the understandings presented at Damask are little different in sentiment to those presented at Starina High and Cornbrooke.

A second aspect of the Head of PSRE's understandings echoes the emphasis on citizens' negative freedoms seen at Starina High and Cornbrooke. Although the Head of PSRE talks about voting and democratic accountability, he also appears concerned to uphold citizens' negative freedoms, and does so by overlooking the partisan nature of modern democracy in his programme of education for citizenship. This draws attention to a split between his personal understandings of citizenship and those he sees as appropriate to education for citizenship.

Damask's Head of PSRE understands that to participate in an informed manner, citizens need to engage with the partisan nature of democratic government. Despite this, he also argues that:

[Education for citizenship] can't be politics with a big P. It can't have party politics. If citizenship is made a party political bandwagon it will destroy itself. It will end up across the headlines of The Sun as 'Trendy Lefties Warp Children', so it can't be party political in any sense. It has to stand apart from all that.

In excluding party politics from programmes of education for citizenship, the Head of PSRE appears to present a more expansive view of negative freedoms than even most liberal theorists. For example, Galston argues that in a liberal society, to demand that citizens vote or adhere to a certain moral code would infringe their freedoms. However, Galston also argues that an appropriate civic education in such a society is one which requires pupils to engage critically with party political arguments, so that as voters, they can "select wisely" (cited Parry 1999, p28).

Tentatively, I would suggest there is a further dimension to the Head of PSRE's understandings, which expands upon the idea of upholding citizens' private freedoms. This again mediates against his willingness to address party politics in the context of education for citizenship. When talking about his programme of education for citizenship, the Head of PSRE at Damask comments:

This is a staunchly Conservative area and parents may have very definite views. Now I don't care what you think because this is a school, and academic and the theory side is nothing to do with us. But I need to care what parents think. It's their right to bring their children up in whatever religion or beliefs they want and I can't be seen to challenge their authority.

Thinking about the understandings which might underlie this, it seems likely that the Head of PSRE holds a more complex view of citizens' freedoms than simply having the freedom to vote, or not to vote. He appears to distinguish between parents' private freedoms - i.e. their right to inculcate certain beliefs about 'the good life' - and pupils' individual freedoms to determine their own ideals of 'the good'. This distinction starts to touch upon a number of issues which are commonly raised in relation to liberal thinking. One of the fundamental difficulties found in liberal thinking, is that while, on an individual basis, citizens tend to be presented as autonomous and free to pursue their own ideas of the good, community norms may act against this. (This point was raised as a criticism of each of the traditions detailed in the literature review.) The ways in which citizens' can act with approval within their communities, may, in effect, be subject to community censure. The Head of PSRE appears to understand such informal forms of censure as extending to citizens' affiliation with political parties and how people vote. Thus, on a professional level, it seems that the understandings he presents may be less likely to relate to citizens' freedoms per se, than to parents' freedoms. The felt need to 'play safe' on a pedagogical basis, seems to have led to a split between his personal and professional understandings.

Having set out the understandings of voting presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, and within this, the understandings they see as appropriate to education for citizenship, I now want to move on to explore the discrete strand of community activity found in the teachers' understandings.

Given the teachers' understanding that voting affords citizens little power; and, as seen in the chapter on identity, their concerns about a lack of 'community spirit', it is perhaps unsurprising that, as we shall see, they cast active citizenship largely in terms of voluntary activity. What is particularly interesting, however, is that despite their emphasis on negative freedoms, teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask see it as acceptable to advance a sense of participatory obligations towards others on an interpersonal level.

### 6.3) Understandings of Community Activity Presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask.

Like the QCA, teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, are keen to stress the importance of citizens acting responsibly within their communities. The teachers all see community activity as enabling citizens to achieve certain types of ameliorative change, either by doing something to improve their local communities, or through charitable activity. In each case, the teachers' focus is exclusively upon what citizens can achieve for themselves without help from the state. They see the resources associated with social capital, as opposed to economic or legislative resources, as integral to achieving community change. In line with this, their understandings emphasise:

the sharing of benefits and burdens by members, the imperatives of mutuality and reciprocity, and the importance of increasing the density and multiplexity of relationships in a locality. [This] all adds up to the political project of building a community in a locality, making a locality into a community. (Frazer 1999, p146)

The teachers suggest that in the context of education for citizenship, voluntary community activity is more relevant to being a citizen than participation in government. In doing so, they present citizens as directly accountable to one another, and as responsible for their community's well-being. This echoes communitarian thinking on citizenship and its shift away from citizen-state accountability.

While holding these general understandings in common and presenting community activity as voluntary and philanthropic, the teachers focus upon different aspects of

community activity. Teachers at Starina High and Cornbrooke focus largely upon the process of participation and the benefits of this, while at Damask, the Head of PSRE does more to focus upon the actual outcomes which may be achieved through community activity. To reflect this, I look firstly at the understandings of community activity presented at Starina High and Cornbrooke, and secondly, at the understandings presented at Damask.

At Starina High and Cornbrooke, when the teachers talk about community activity, they focus on the actual process of participating. They draw attention to the importance of community activity on an interpersonal level, emphasising the importance of trust, respect, mutuality between community members. Their focus is, in other words, upon generating social capital, as opposed to the substantive outcomes of community activity.

At Starina High, this focus on social capital can be seen when the Head of PSHE talks about the ideas underlying his programme of education for citizenship. He states:

we're thinking fairly specifically in terms of what the nature of community participation is, which is helping each other, and what the real nature of involvement is, which is personal relations, working face-to-face. And that brings with it a focus on questions of responsibility and commitment.

Starina High's Head of PSHE also talks about citizens' rights and duties in the context of voluntary, community activity. He talks about citizens taking resources from the community, and then having a duty to provide these resources for others:

it's a question of giving back what you take, the idea that you don't get something for nothing, you can't just take and not give something back. So, with citizenship, we're asking youngsters to think in terms of giving back to the community which has so far supported them, so what they can now do for others.

Rather than seeing citizens as engaged in a reciprocal relationship with the state, the emphasis here is upon citizen-citizen accountability. As in much communitarian

thinking, the Head of PSHE casts citizens as responsible for meeting each other's needs. It is interesting that he presents community activity as having a reciprocal dimension, with citizens getting back from the community what they put in. To what extent the Head of PSHE is simply seeking to justify his focus on duties to pupils; or to what extent he may be presenting the market place ideal that citizens' 'investments' will be 'repaid' (Bridger and Luloff 2001), is open to question. In any case, the important point to be made, is that the understandings presented at Starina High mark a departure from ideas of citizen-state accountability, and appear to follow the shifting of responsibilities from the state and onto citizens, as seen in the literature review.

Moving on to look at the understandings of community activity presented at Cornbrooke, the Head of PSHE puts forward a number of understandings which can again be considered to speak to communitarian ideals of citizenship. She explicitly stresses the importance of pupils acting to "build a caring sharing community" (Head of PSHE, Cornbrooke), and focuses more specifically than teachers at Starina High, on the quality of citizens' interpersonal relationships. For example, she talks about how the process of raising money for charity can benefit the local community:

If you talk to kids and you say how many of you took part in the school sponsored walk, or this that or the other, and you say, 'you're good citizens, this is what you've done for others. You're not gaining anything from that materially, although mentally, spiritually or whatever, you all gain a lot, and so these activities are important and therefore carry on doing them.'

As we saw in the previous chapter on identity, Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE is keen to challenge what she sees as the individualistic ethos of the pupils' local community. She sees community activities which focus on what pupils can gain spiritually, rather than materially, as an important means of challenging her pupils' expectations and existing community norms. As such, the Head of PSHE appears to understand education for citizenship as a "constructive project of building new norms... matched by projects of building new relationships" (Frazer 1999, p139) – this approach being most closely associated with the communitarian project of creating social capital. As in the previous chapter, there is again a sense that the Head of PSHE is using

education for citizenship as a means to “reinvigorate the social world in response to a sense of dissolution.” (Parry 1999, p29)

This is seen most clearly on a pedagogic level. To create an environment in which existing norms may be challenged and new norms established, the Head of PSHE identifies the school as a community, and then gives pupils specific opportunities to contribute to the community’s ‘good’. In her own words, being a ‘good citizen’ of the school means:

...being a prefect, taking part in paired reading, being part of a group that raises money for charity within the school, and what we want to do is use this as a starting point for community involvement. We give them the means, i.e. training to become a prefect, and then they actually take off and do something about it. So with the paired reading scheme, Year 11s take up with Year 7s who don’t have terribly good literacy skills and help them to do something about it. Because the school’s a community and it’s helping to build and improve the school community, and therefore it counts as community service.

If active citizenship is understood as restricted to such activities, a state dimension is effectively ‘written out’ of the Head of PSHE’s programme of education for citizenship.

At Damask, citizens are again expected to act independently of the state, but there are a number of subtle differences in the understandings presented. As I will now go on to explore, Damask’s Head of PSRE sees generating social capital more as a ‘by-product’ of community activity, than the motivation for action.

For Damask’s Head of PSRE, to act as a citizen is to take part in activities which allow people to make decisions which have, what he terms, “real outcomes” for their community. It is this qualifier of ‘real’ which does most to distinguish the understandings presented at Damask from those presented at Starina High and Cornbrooke. It also acts to separate the Head of PSRE’s understandings of community focused activity, from his understanding of activities (such as voting) which involve citizens in the process of government. As the Head of PSRE at Damask explains:

Taking part in government doesn't have meaning for [pupils]. If I was teaching constitution and pupils don't see that as interesting or relevant I would understand if they said to me 'what's the point?', but the fact is we look at topics which interest the pupils and we cast them as active citizens. Because their interest is captured and they find the activities valuable they don't say this. You might think, 'why spend fifteen hours teaching them a module on 'owning your first car'', but if you look at how many people get killed in cars and how vulnerable young women are especially because they tend to have boyfriends with cars and in the front passenger seat they're more likely to get killed than the driver so these issues are really important to them.

In the Head of PSRE's module on "owning your first car", pupils are, for example, asked to consider the possible consequences of the decisions drivers make by looking at the emotional impact of motoring accidents, on a personal, family, and community level. This is used to stress the importance of acting responsibly on a day-to-day basis.

The Head of PSRE also sees citizens as having a duty to act responsibly by identifying needs within their communities, and then acting to address these independently, without relying on the state for help. Within Damask's programme, pupils are asked to write a list of things they, themselves, can do to improve the community. Two 'challenge days' are set aside a year so that pupils can act on some of their proposals. In previous years, activities have included making resources for the literacy summer school, and a project titled 'Cleaning up Damask', in which pupils cleared debris from a stream running through their town.

In this, the Head of PSRE does appear to leap straight from a dismissal of government structures as relevant to fostering active citizenship, to embracing activities which rely upon social capital to achieve change. For example, at no point in the 'Cleaning Up Damask' project were pupils' actions considered in relation to the state's role, by, for instance, discussing environmental controls, or the difficulties of enforcing by-laws which prohibit dumping.

What is particularly interesting about the understandings presented at Damask, is that despite the Head of PSRE's emphasis on direct accountability, he does not see acting as a citizen as restricted to parochial concerns. He sees community activity, which

allows citizens to act independently of the state, to have just as much potential to bring about change on an international level as on a local level. This can be seen in Damask's programme of education for citizenship, where the Head of PSRE presents activities which go, in effect, 'over' the state, in addition to those locally focused activities which go 'under' it. For example, the Head of PSRE comments that in his programme of education for citizenship:

We don't do voting or anything because it's not real, there are no real outcomes. Now, our human rights activities do have a real outcome - our pupils make a difference in campaigning for the release of political prisoners. We work with Amnesty International, organisations that get things done. The pupils all write letters asking for the release of a prisoner of conscience, so we can look at how their small individual actions can lead to the release of a prisoner, so that they are acting for human rights which are universal.

This raises a number of interesting points. The first is that the Head of PSRE suggests voting does not have a real outcome, while writing letters on behalf of Amnesty International does. The Head of PSRE seems able to make this distinction based upon his understanding of accountability. When talking about voting, the Head of PSRE presents citizens as largely absolved of responsibility, needing only to select a representative. By contrast, the school's work with Amnesty International requires a much higher level of involvement on the pupils' part, and to some extent, does have a direct, observable outcome. The pupils study the case of an individual prisoner of conscience, and then write letters requesting the prisoner's release. Following this, Amnesty International write to the school to thank pupils for their letters, explain the actions being taken on behalf of prisoners, and to tell pupils how their letters will be used. Through this, Amnesty International is able to stress the importance of individual participation, and to suggest to pupils that their activities can help to bring about a desired substantive outcome. The Head of PSRE sees this in a wholly positive light. Other more negative interpretations, for example, that such activities are coercive, and that pupils may have little awareness of the potential consequences of their actions, are touched upon in the next section, where the teachers' understandings are considered critically.



Thus, while in the Head of PSRE's understandings, upholding democracy vis-à-vis the state amounts to voting or not voting, in terms of community centred activities, it is a very different story. Citizens are presented as morally responsible for everything from clearing litter and preventing road accidents, to campaigning for those who live in non-democratic states to be able to exercise civil and political rights.

In this, the Head of PSRE appears to place primary importance upon the link "between successful social outcomes... and the presence of social capital" (Gamarnikow and Green 2000, p97). This is seen both at a local level, with pupils having to co-operate to achieve a desired outcome, and again at an international level, the pupils' work with Amnesty International connecting them to wider social networks with shared concerns.

Having set out the activities teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask see as integral to citizenship, both in terms of community-centred activity, and earlier in terms of voting, I now want to draw these strands together. To conclude this discussion of the understandings presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, I consider whether such a dualistic presentation of citizen activity should be endorsed in the context of education for citizenship.

#### 6.4) A Critical Consideration of the Understandings Presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask: Should programmes of education for citizenship which separate state-based and community-focused activities be endorsed?

In this section, I want to explore the societal ramifications of separating citizens' involvement in their communities, from their explicit participation in state processes. My contention is that rather than enhancing or securing our democracy, the understandings presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, might actually counter democratic practice in two key ways. The first is that the teachers' understandings appear to endorse (albeit tacitly) the break down of the citizen-state relationship. If the state is absolved of its responsibilities towards citizens, and citizens, in turn, are not expected to engage in state-based politics, the principle of democratic accountability between citizens and the state is eroded. The situation

anticipated appears to be one in which “accountability is impossible; legitimacy and citizenship are consequently impaired.” (Heater 1999, p162). Secondly, if democracy is considered as a means for competing ideas of the good life to be aired (see Held 1996), it appears undemocratic and coercive for the teachers to present community activity as unquestionably good, and to make it a compulsory part of their programmes of education for citizenship.

Starkly put, if education for citizenship comes to promote community activity in isolation from the state as the teachers’ understandings suggest, one of two interpretations can be made. On the one hand, the way in which the teachers present community activity could be considered empowering, seeking to increase citizens’ control over matters which directly concern them, by giving them an explicit role in bringing about change. This could be argued to enhance democracy by giving citizens more say over what their communities’ needs are, and the best ways of meeting these. For example, Hoffman (2002) argues that community associations can have democratic effects by “promoting trust and trustworthiness, that is ‘social capital’, enabling collective action to address a wide variety of problems... and to exercise autonomous decision making” (p360).

However, on the other hand, by presenting active citizenship as more or less independent of the state, citizens are also made responsible for everything from collecting litter, to securing the release of prisoners of conscience. As such, to place the onus for community improvement on citizens can also be interpreted negatively, being seen to absolve the state of its responsibilities to its citizens.

I want to pursue this second, negative interpretation, and in doing so, provide a critical interpretation of the understandings presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask. Arguably, separating citizens’ community-focused activities from their participation in government, can be as disempowering as it is empowering. A focus on community participation separated from participation in government, tends to overlook the idea of citizens having rights. Further to this, the forms of activity which tend to be advocated, may effectively restrict the ideas of ‘the good life’ citizens are ‘allowed’ to pursue. I explore these issues in relation to the understandings presented

at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, looking firstly at the issue of the citizen-state relationship, and secondly, at the potential for coercion/community censure arising from the teachers' understandings.

#### 6.4.1) The Citizen/State Relationship.

While suggesting that citizens are empowered to meet their own needs, a focus on voluntary, philanthropic activity, also detracts from the idea of citizens holding rights against the state, and struggling to secure resources – whether material or legislative. As Gamarnikow and Green (2000) note, “any notion of citizenship as a struggle for rights in relation to the both the state and other structures of power” (p107) is disappearing from debates about citizenship, and the teachers' understandings appear indicative of this trend. In the understandings they present, the teachers do not acknowledge the role that voluntary, as opposed to statutory provision, may play in:

depriving people of their rights and their dignity, for what is given voluntarily cannot be demanded, and must be received with gratitude. It may also inhibit the provision of more reliable forms of relief... Personal ministration may bring satisfaction to the individual, but in the end, like the action of the Samaritan, it makes no real difference. Unless it is linked with political action, the old and disabled remain insecure and dependent upon gratuitous acts of kindness or arbitrary enthusiasms, while the powerful remain free to trample over [citizens' attempts at environmental conservation]” (Wringe 1992, pp35-6)

In simply assuming that philanthropic activities benefit the community as a whole, the teachers' understandings can be considered indicative of the shift found in literature from emancipatory politics which focuses on the state, to 'life politics', which looks at solutions to current social problems which lie outside of the state.

Arguably, this shift both (i) acts to limit citizens' expectations of the state, again undermining the idea of citizen-state accountability; and (ii) perhaps creates false expectations of what citizens can achieve without engaging with state institutions and processes of government. As Held (1996) notes:

there is a profound sense in which civil society can never be separated from the state; the latter, by providing the overall legal framework of society, to a significant degree constitutes the former. (p314)

That the teachers treat citizens' participation in government as more or less separate from community participation, overlooks this symbiotic relationship. Simply, there is only so much citizens can achieve by themselves, acting independently of the state. Community groups may, for example, raise awareness about pollution caused by industry, but only the state has the legislative powers needed to force industry to reduce pollution levels. The state has power and resources which civil society organisations do not have, and social capital cannot substitute for these. Teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask may see voluntary activity as empowering, but if educational programmes were also to explore ways in which the state could further the interests of community groups, this may prove even more empowering.

#### 6.4.2) Coercion and Community Censure.

In promoting voluntary activity as 'good', the teachers' understandings can also be considered to impose a related set of norms and values on citizens' actions. The activities the teachers see as empowering, can require citizens to act in ways which might also actually undermine their freedoms. This is a feature of the understandings presented by teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, and in most instances, remains implicit, being something suggested when considering the societal ramifications of the teachers' understandings. The Head of PSHE at Cornbrooke, however, engages explicitly with this potential for ideals of citizenship which focus on philanthropy to undermine citizens' freedoms, and as such, her understandings form my focus for discussion. The way Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE presents the school as a 'contained community', provides a number of insights into power relationships on a community level. Of particular interest, is that the Head of PSHE is aware of some of the criticisms I want to raise, but does not see these as problematic.

To recap, Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE presents her aims for community activity as creating a "caring, sharing community". She states "acting as a citizen is empowering. It's about what you can do therefore go out and do it". Her presentation of

community activity echoes that found in communitarian thinking, with its emphasis on:

[citizens] coming together to achieve common ends... and in doing so to transcend their specific interests and concerns and identify with the wider collectivity rather than with any particular group. (Lister 1997, p40)

In the context of community activity, her understanding of empowerment appears highly context specific, determined by what she sees as 'the common good'. For example, she sees becoming a prefect as acting for the good of the school community. The Head of PSHE at Cornbrooke also sees it as acceptable simply to assume 'a good' on pupils' behalf when talking about community focused activity.

It is perhaps due to the nature of the good being imposed, that Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE feels to justify her presentation of community activity. On a surface level, who is going to disagree with the view that pupils should learn to be responsible and to respect and care for others? The fact is, however, that the 'good' anticipated, may be far from empowering for some community members. Firstly, the Head of PSHE presents understandings which appear to cast women in a subordinate role. She comments that in her school's community service programme:

Head of PSHE: There is a gender divide. Girls tend to take up the paired reading scheme and do a lot more to raise money for charity and help out and those sorts of things whereas boys aren't interested.

KK: Is that something you want to address?

Head of PSHE: No, it just reflects that girls are more helpful and caring and that's how it's always been and citizenship is empowering them by giving them a chance to show that side.

Yet in literature, Heater (1999), for example, suggests that the government's emphasis on voluntary service "foretells a retying of the apron strings" (p78).

In addition, having decided what activities best serve the 'common good', the Head of PSHE allows little room for democratic dissent. For example, pupils wanted to assert the right not to have to undertake litter duty on the grounds of personal health and safety, this being dismissed by teachers who considered a tidy school

environment to be of greater benefit to the school community. The Head of PSHE comments that such exchanges:

show them that they can't just get things. You can't just have I want. It's a community here and things are done for the good of the school, so they have to fall into line. They're not mature enough to have rights.

Of particular resonance here, is James' (2001) argument that the current emphasis on community service in debates about citizenship may mean "that children are being denied autonomous agency and the opportunity to develop responsibility for themselves" (p217).

That teachers have this ability to present certain ideals of 'the good' and reward some forms of activity while dismissing others, leads James (2001) to query how far initiatives like education for citizenship are encouraging teachers:

to exercise authority over children without any overall increase in the rule of democracy... In the light of the communitarian agenda of the present government... are children being expected to be responsible, without being given any substantive rights? (p214)

Further to this, the understandings presented above by the Head of PSHE, may be considered to echo James' criticism of communitarian thinking, namely, that it sees:

young people... as a threat that must be controlled and yet it tries to encourage them to accept their responsibilities to the community while not necessarily acknowledging their rights. (2001, p222)

Interestingly, the Head of PSHE at Cornbrooke is aware of such critical discourse surrounding education for citizenship, and in particular, community service. Unprompted, she defended her stance, stating:

You could say that citizenship is just about conforming to some government idea about creating citizens who are just some sort of zombies, doing nice things for nice people - that's a possibility isn't it, if you think about it, but teachers aren't going down that line, that's not what they do.... Yes, we are about caring and compassion and all that, but this is a school, and that's part of what schools do, it's part of the ethos, of creating well-rounded citizens. But we are in the standing up for your rights, so they do have things where

the police come in and talk to them about arrests and they do a role play and they're taught about what happens at the police station, having interviews and what the interview procedure would be so they can be safe - yeah that's the bottom line. So they can make a difference.

It is interesting that the way the Head of PSHE talks about rights here, does little to actually suggest 'standing up for your rights' in the sense of giving citizens an active part in ruling. Instead, her focus is effectively on self-preservation in response to very particular circumstances. Promoting rights in this way brings with it little danger of undermining any presentation of philanthropic activity as unquestionably 'good'.

In sum, by assuming a commitment to philanthropic ideals, the understandings presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask do much to echo communitarian thinking on citizenship, and appear subject to many of the criticisms levelled against communitarian ideals. In allowing no real room for debate or dissent about what is 'good', the teachers' understandings can be considered 'pre-political' (Mouffe 1992; Gamarnikow and Green 2000). By assuming, or imposing consensus, the teachers' understandings appear particularly restrictive of citizens' freedoms – even more so than understandings which promote a civic-republican stance, for this at least allows for 'the common good' to be debated. There can, as Hoffman (2002) notes, be a contradiction in associations promoting democracy when "in group solidarity trumps internal debate and dissent." (p361) This observation ties in with one of the central criticisms of communitarian thinking on citizenship, namely that it "overlooks precisely the politics of 'community' to such an extent that communitarianism barely looks like a political theory at all" (Frazer 1999, p2).

More generally, reflecting on the QCA's aims to bring about no less than a change in the political culture, if programmes of education for citizenship separate community activity from citizens' participation in government, it seems that they may do so by further disengaging citizens from the state. The understandings of active citizenship put forward at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask suggest moves to strengthen civil society, but it also needs to be recognised that a strong civil society does not equal a strong democracy. If community involvement is suggested as a substitute for political participation vis-a-vis the state, this could be considered to diminish public

life. While a programme of education for citizenship which focuses predominantly upon voluntary, philanthropic activity, may foster “a civic identity that includes commitment to a larger sense of social purpose and a positive sense of affiliation with society”, (Torney-Purta 2000, p2), it seems unlikely that it could promote “awareness that decisions made in the public political process directly and indirectly affect their private lives and futures” (Torney-Purta 2000, p2). And yet, this is an equally important concern.

To consider these claims more fully, the remaining part of this chapter explores the understandings presented at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood. Teachers in these schools present understandings which integrate community activity with the citizen’s role in government.

#### 6.5) Understandings of Citizen Activity Presented at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood.

Like their counterparts at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, teachers at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood are concerned to further citizens’ involvement in decision making and their ability to initiate change within their communities. However, what makes their understandings significantly different from those presented above, is their belief that to bring about change, citizens need to act with the deliberate intention of influencing decisions made by state bodies.

In stressing citizens’ involvement in the state, teachers at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood suggest a relationship of two-way, democratic accountability, between citizens and the state. There are two parts to this. Firstly, they suggest participation in government as a means of furthering private interests, grounded either: (i) in citizens’ local, geographic communities; and/or (ii) in the communities of interest to which citizens belong – such as, at Hitherwood, the pro fox-hunting lobby. Secondly, as in a civic-republican model of citizenship, the teachers also present citizens as having a duty to act upon their rights. Rather than endorsing the shift seen in literature away from the state and towards philanthropic activity, at Kessel, Egerton



and Hitherwood, the teachers appear keen to re-establish links between citizens and the state.

Instead of seeing citizens' participation in government as synonymous with voting, teachers at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood also explore further ways of acting in relation to the state, including lobbying, consultation and non-violent direct action. Notably, such forms of activity do not exclude the development of social capital, but see it as part of citizens' participation in the political process. As Frazer (1999) argues:

forging civic bonds... [creates] relations of obligation and loyalty, belonging and membership that are necessary in a democratic state where 'ordinary people' must be prepared to participate in government. (p205)

While sharing these basic premises, there are some differences in the actual activities presented at each school, and the exact nature of the relationship anticipated between citizens and the state. Pupils at Kessel are involved in a state-sponsored community regeneration project. As part of this, pupils work with state bodies, but do little to determine the nature of their involvement, or the issues they discuss. At Hitherwood, the emphasis is again on working in partnership with the state, though teachers have placed much greater stress on the struggle to secure resources and place private interests on the public agenda. Despite these differences, at both Kessel and Hitherwood, the understandings presented are reminiscent of:

the rhetoric of 'partnership' and 'collaboration' associated with new local governance... Partnerships and decentralisation offer community groups the chance to compete and influence decisions in economic and political spheres (O'Malley 2001, pp30-31)

The understandings presented at Egerton can be set apart, as they do little to draw upon such rhetoric. Instead, Egerton's Head of PSHE presents two strands to citizens' involvement with the state. The first encourages critical engagement with party politics, while the second explores ways in which citizens can act through the organisations of civil society to influence the state. Local circumstances, the

resources available to the teachers, and the teachers' own understandings, do much to account for these variations.

Having provided this brief overview of the understandings presented at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood, I now want to explore these in greater detail, starting with the Head of PSHE at Kessel.

#### 6.5.1) Understandings of Citizen Activity Presented at Kessel School

The Head of PSHE at Kessel School believes that if pupils are to act to improve their community, firstly, they need to secure resources from the state which will allow them to act. This can be seen in his central aim for education for citizenship, which is "helping pupils to get for themselves a bigger slice of the cake, to make others aware that they exist." While the Head of PSHE recognises that voluntary, philanthropic activity, can help to foster community cohesion (and so develop social capital), he sees this as an insufficient to bring about community change. For example, he comments:

I'm talking about community involvement in terms of political action. I'm interested in getting the children involved in the community, but I don't believe in all that cutting grass for old ladies and things. It's all very nice, but where's the point in that? I mean, it doesn't achieve anything for the children. So they do a few nice things, but, at the end of the day, they just don't have the chances or skills to do anything about their community if you just teach them to be nice. There has to be something in it for them, and I think making them politically active in their community is the way to do this.

In this, Kessel's Head of PSHE echoes criticisms levelled against those communitarian thinkers who see strong networks of emotional support as able to compensate for material deprivation. His understandings appear to fall in line with Kleinman's suggestion that "if neighbourhood action is seen as a substitute or cheap alternative to structural change [tackling inequalities], the result will be ineffectiveness and disillusion." (cited Lister 2001, p433)

Following this, as seen earlier when talking about citizen identity, Kessel's Head of PSHE again makes the case that to foster active citizenship, the state needs to be responsive to its citizens' welfare needs. He argues:

It's the pupils' right to try and create a better life for themselves, some would say their duty so they can get off welfare, off the estate, but they can't do it without support and resources.

In this, he suggests social rights to be both complementary, and prerequisite to, citizens' active participation both in government and in their communities. This can be considered indicative of one of the central ideals of social-liberal thinking, namely that social rights are:

particularly important because their long term legacy is to ensure that most people can make the 'informed choices' that give reality to their civil and political rights. In other words, social rights should minimise disadvantages caused by structural inequalities such as class and wealth, and should maximise self-realisation as well as civic and political participation. (Whitton 1997, p3)

In addition to this, the Head of PSHE at Kessel suggests that the active pursuit of social justice through state institutions, can benefit the community as a whole. He comments:

Acting to secure funds for regeneration is in the interests of everybody - the police, councillors, people on the estate, so it's in everyone's interests that the children are involved in bringing about change in their local community. In a way, we're lucky, because this need is recognised by all these different groups. We are part of an urban regeneration project, and so the children do get the opportunity to work together a lot with those in local government, and get involved in the processes of government. By getting them involved, that's how they learn the structures and processes, and negotiation, actually by doing it. Regeneration projects have to involve the children because they are the future of this area, and it's important that they know where they can get help from to improve their community for the future.

This presents a strong link between the exercise of rights and fulfilment of duties. While the Head of PSHE sees citizens as having rights against the state, he also sees them as having some responsibility for bringing about ameliorative change in their communities. In this, the understandings presented by Kessel's Head of PSHE, can be

considered coherent with those expressed by the current Home Secretary who stated:

local people have a responsibility to be involved in the solutions to social problems that manifest themselves at the local level. Whilst the government will provide resources, it is local people who have to be committed to change. (Blunkett cited O'Malley 2001, p2)

An interesting point to be considered here, (and which relates to the light touch nature of education for citizenship), is the extent to which the understandings presented by Kessel's Head of PSHE, are specific to his school's local community context.

The Kessel estate is part of a government regeneration programme, and also part of an E.A.Z. Funds have been made available for community regeneration, with the state, in effect, coming to the community, and actively seeking to involve residents in decisions about how to improve their community. O'Malley (2001) suggests that state-community partnerships of this nature are:

an inevitable response to poverty related problems and should be supported and nurtured by the state.... the more extreme the problems, the more likely it is that shared initiative will be used to overcome them: therefore in marginal areas, attempts at community initiative and collective problem-solving are more common than in more stable, successful areas. (p24)

It may be that the Head of PSHE feels able to present the individual exercise of rights as in the community's interests, and moreover, as a duty, precisely because of the levels of socio-economic deprivation experienced across the school's local community. In a different context where such 'blanket needs' which affect the whole community, are not apparent, it may be much harder to justify such a presentation of rights-based activity. At Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask for example, the teachers see the exercise of rights as inevitably egoistic, and as likely to undermine the community's 'common good'.

In addition to this, it is interesting to note that Kessel's Head of PSHE presents the resources provided by the state primarily in economic terms. There seems to be an underlying understanding that while the local community cannot generate the material

capital needed to support schemes for community improvement, the state can. For this reason alone, there is a need for members of the Kessel estate to engage in state processes. By contrast, at Starina High and Damask, and to a lesser extent, Cornbrooke, it is much more likely that 'grass roots' activities can be funded from within communities themselves, and in any case, the nature of the changes the teachers talk about in these schools are social rather than material. As a result, teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask perhaps see less need for citizens to engage with the state, than Kessel's Head of PSHE.

Drawing these points about Kessel's local community together, it is notable that while, on one level, the Head of PSHE sees his pupils' involvement in local regeneration projects as empowering, on another, he also sees it as:

a bit false really, in the larger sense. It doesn't normally happen like that. It's rare to be well represented and to have your concerns acted upon. In all the time I've been voting, I can really honestly say I've only had my views represented once or twice, but I'm probably better represented at a local level than a national one. The nature of this is very different, but I think it's important for the children to see that their opinions can make a difference and that the government can act to improve their lives, even if only in these fairly material ways.

Consequently, while involving pupils in local regeneration projects is seen as a valuable way of alerting them to what can be achieved with the state's help, the Head of PSHE also suggests that it is only when it is in the state's interests to provide such opportunities, that citizens are so empowered. This marks an interesting contrast to understandings presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, where being free from the state is seen as most empowering. Indeed, at Damask, citizens are presented as able to influence decisions made in other countries by going 'over the state'.

To reflect, by requiring some form of engagement with the state, the understandings presented at Kessel suggest a relationship of democratic accountability between citizens and the state, which is absent from Starina High, Damask or Cornbrooke. That pupils are able to participate in state-funded regeneration projects, also suggests that underlying the presentation of active citizenship within Kessel's programme, is an understanding that:

locally based politics offers the potential to transcend traditional class divisions and to extend representational democracy by redefining politics as ‘a process which stretches from daily experiences of ordinary life to wider decisions about resource allocation. (O’Malley 2001, p30)

How far this has been determined by the opportunities for community-state partnership initiated by state bodies, irrespective of the Head of PSHE’s intentions, is open to question. Fundamentally, however, this does not detract from the fact that an understanding of citizenship which involves community-state partnership, appears integral to Kessel’s programme of education for citizenship.

Teachers at Egerton and Hitherwood have not, however, been presented with such opportunities to involve their pupils in state projects. How they envisage the relationship between the state and community/individual interests, is something I will now consider.

#### 6.5.2) Understandings of Citizen Activity Presented at Egerton School

As at Kessel, the Head of PSHE at Egerton is worried about the emphasis being put on community service in the rhetoric surrounding education for citizenship. His main concern is that such an emphasis will detract from his preferred focus on citizens’ participation in government. He argues:

For me, community service is not citizenship. Of course, it’s important to learn to be considerate, to build up skills, links to the community, they put it on their RoA [Record of Achievement] and very good it looks too, enhances their employment prospects. But citizenship is all about democratic participation and decision making, the importance of welfare, voting, making laws, all those things that are to do with government. Without that there’s no hope of getting past their past their knuckle dragging mentality, showing them they have rights, and they can and should exercise them.

Of all the understandings discussed so far, the Head of PSHE at Egerton is the first teacher to suggest that citizens can act to shape the agenda for public, political debate. A worksheet for pupils written by the Head of PSHE explains:

In a democracy, everyone has a right to make their views known. This means we have to work together to make sure that everyone is heard and then try to

find the best ways to meet people's needs. That's what being a citizen in a democracy allows us to do. We can vote for someone to represent us in a bigger public debate, or, if we have special concerns, we can act to represent ourselves, but the point is that there are ways in which we can all get to be heard.

The Head of PSHE then expands upon this basic definition of democracy, by focusing on two strands of activity within his programme of education for citizenship. Firstly, he presents voting as an act of citizenship, and as more than simply a token act; citizens are to consider how well they are represented, and when it comes to electing representatives, who can most accurately reflect their views. He introduces pupils to the partisan nature of the democratic system, and encourages a critical approach towards party political views. Secondly, Egerton's Head of PSHE looks at ways in which citizens can act outside of state-processes, but still *with the deliberate intention of influencing decisions made by the state*. What is particularly significant about this, is that it furthers his expectation that citizens' private views can and should be represented at a state level. If citizens' views are not well represented by politicians, instead of simply expecting citizens to accept this (as seemed to be the case at Damask), the Head of PSHE at Egerton discusses other ways of placing private interests on the public, political agenda. In this, the Head of PSHE understands citizens' activities in the civil sphere, not as separate from the state, but as serving a 'bridging function', making sure that private interests can be articulated in the public sphere.

Taking his programme one strand at a time, and looking firstly at voting, Egerton's Head of PSHE presents voting as one element in a relationship of two-way accountability between citizens and the state. Voting is understood not just as 'a good' in itself, but also as allowing citizens access to a much wider network of rights, whose exercise can further their interests. As the Head of PSHE explains, he sees:

Everything forming part of a jigsaw, everything relates to everything else. Who you vote for has an impact on what welfare's provided, and how far you have equal opportunities, what sorts of laws are passed and so on. So it all relates to upholding democracy and making sure that citizens are equal citizens. It all links and I try to demonstrate this as much as possible.

That the Head of PSHE sees voting as part of a larger web of rights, and as only one aspect of citizens' relationship with the state, also sheds light on his understanding that it is citizens' duty to vote. He suggests that exercising the negative right to abstain from voting, effectively cuts citizens off from the larger network of citizenship rights, and as such, forfeits their access to other rights held against the state. The Head of PSHE justifies his stance by arguing:

So few people vote, and yet it's their democratic right. There's only 30% of the population taking part in local elections, but okay, as long as you're aware that it's your right not to take part, but either put up with whatever crap you get dealt or do something about it and take part. But if you don't take part, then you don't have the right to complain.

In addition, he is adamant that even if there is no-one a 'citizen voter' wishes to elect, they:

still have to exercise that right if you're going to get the benefits, or make complaints and demand better things, and so you go and you spoil your paper. That's your democratic right.

In presenting voting as a duty as well as a right, Egerton's Head of PSHE may be interpreted as speaking to the civic-republican ideal in which, "when individuals are protected by a stable, just and efficient state... enjoying the benefits surely requires... the payment of 'dues of membership'" (Heater 1999, p71). Notably, unlike teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, the 'dues of membership' and the benefits allowed to citizens are seen primarily in relation to the state, not in the first instance, to the local community.

When it comes to talking about the actual practice of voting, the Head of PSHE at Egerton speaks most clearly to the liberal ideal that "the voter may use his or her own conception of the good life in questions concerning the aims of politics, whereas the politician has to think of the most efficient means to achieve them." (Voet 1998, p40). Of all the teachers sampled, he is the only one to present a stance in line with Galston's call for a civic education which allows "selectors to select wisely" (Galston cited Parry 1999, p28). The Head of PSHE wants pupils to learn to evaluate



politicians' agendas so that they can vote in their own interests, and in turn, hold the state accountable when their views are not well represented.

These understandings can be seen as embedded within Egerton's programme of education for citizenship. In his teaching, the Head of PSHE discusses citizens' involvement in state institutions, both in relation to processes and structures for participation, as well as through an issues-based approach to party politics. In each case, a critical interpretation is encouraged. When talking about procedural or structural matters, rather than simply presenting pupils with civic-based knowledge, the Head of PSHE asks them to think about how far current systems of government can allow for citizens' views to be represented:

We talk about the House of Commons, the House of Lords, the effectiveness of those - so things like how many women are there? Why so few? What are the implications of that? And that links to work we do on equal opportunities and equal rights. It's not about getting teachers to brainwash pupils into voting, it's all about getting pupils to understand that in a democracy everyone's equal, everyone has a right to be heard and that's worth defending. If it's not like that, then maybe it should be and why isn't it, and what can you do about it?

When talking about party politics, Egerton's Head of PSHE encourages his pupils to consider how their private interests - whether individual, and/or as community members, are served by politicians' differing perspectives. To achieve this, within citizenship lessons, he chairs debates which allow pupils to present their views on an issue, and to consider how their interests relate to others' concerns. As a class, how different political parties look at the same issue is then explored. Of this, the Head of PSHE comments:

Asylum seekers, gays in the armed forces, single mothers, welfare to work, testing in schools, all sorts of issues are very controversial, very relevant, have an impact on the pupils' lives, and we have to let them make up their own minds about them, but also show them that they can hold opinions and that their ideas are not isolated from the government.

Here, what most clearly differentiates the understandings presented at Egerton from the other teachers' (most notably the Head of PSRE at Damask), is the Head of PSHE believes that as long as multiple viewpoints are explored and made subject to

equal scrutiny, citizens' freedoms can be upheld - both in terms of upholding citizens' freedom from coercion, and by suggesting that citizens' particular interests can be represented at a state level. Thus, while Egerton's programme addresses party political views, the Head of PSHE does not consider his presentation of state-based participation to be indoctrinating because:

What we do is issue driven. I am not promoting a single agenda. Our programme isn't party political. We present different viewpoints and try to make it controversial, to be on a knife edge at all times, involving pupils in things which are actually happening now. That's what makes government and politics relevant. These are things the pupils have an opinion on, that politicians have an opinion on, and it all links up - even if it is by questioning some of the crap that politicians come out with. What I'm trying to do is get a bit of healthy scepticism about party politics going. They can't open The Sun and believe it.

It also appears that in direct contrast to Damask's Head of PSRE, the Head of PSHE at Egerton places pupils' individual autonomy above parents' rights to educate their children in accordance with their own beliefs. He comments:

My job is not to tell pupils what to think but to get them to think, to question, to be critical, to think politically. This year is the year of the elections, so that's what we'll be doing. If they want to be Conservative in the morning, Labour in the afternoon and Lib. Dem. in the evening and do it all again tomorrow well fine, I'm happy with that. At their age that's what they should be doing, questioning things, changing their minds, thinking about it.

More generally, the understandings presented by Egerton's Head of PSHE do not seem to display the sort of "fundamental distrust" of the representative system (White 1999, p67), which appears influential at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask. While encouraging critical engagement both with party politics and structural issues, underlying Egerton's programme, there is still some belief that all citizens can be represented, and "that [citizens] can rely on the institutions within which they are living to be informed by goodwill towards all members of society" (White 1999, p67).

Thus, in contrast to Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, where pupils are simply to accept civic-based knowledge (and with this, a belief in voting as token), at Egerton, pupils are being encouraged to take part in what Kymlicka terms a 'liberal

process of questioning and revision' (cited Levinson 1999, p50). Importantly, in Egerton's programme, the "instrumental literacy" encouraged by the QCA, "which requires that democratic institutions, practices and processes must be understood" (Gamarnikow and Green 2000, p106) is being married with critical, political literacy, of the sort advocated by Crick and Porter (1978). In this latter incarnation, political literacy seen in terms of the skills, knowledge and attitudes needed to: (i) discern the influence of state decisions and partisan politics on a local level; (ii) to examine these critically; and in turn, (iii) to be able to act explicitly in relation to the state.

This concern to promote citizens' autonomy, extends into the second strand of Egerton's programme of education for citizenship, in which the Head of PSHE emphasises the role that civil society organisations may play in shaping decisions made by the state. The Head of PSHE suggests that if citizens feel their interests are not being well represented by the state, they can act upon their civil rights to make their views known. The Head of PSHE presents this understanding to pupils in lessons based around the theme of 'non-violent direct action'. In a lesson I observed, pupils were presented with a fictional scenario "Should the Head be allowed to go dolphin hunting in the summer holidays? If we wanted to stop him, how could we?" Firstly, class discussion was used to get pupils to consider the extents to which private interests may be pursued at the wider community's expense. This focused largely upon the idea, presented by a number of pupils, that environmental conservation is a common good and the Head's actions would be infringing this. Secondly, the class was asked if they wanted to oppose the Head's actions, how might they do so?

In answer to this, the pupils suggested five strategies: i) talking to the Head to persuade him not to go; ii) illegal actions, such as sabotaging the Head's boat; iii) complaining about the Head's actions to animal welfare groups; iv) mounting a visible protest, through organised demonstrations and/or presenting one's views in the media; and v) contacting MPs, the police, and other groups with the power to impose legal sanctions. Responding to these suggestions, the Head of PSHE made two points. Firstly, he questioned whether illegal activity could be justified, stating that while citizens have civil rights which allow them to protest, citizens have a duty to

obey the law and so such protest requires legal action. Acting illegally was stated to infringe others' rights. This marks a notable contrast to the understandings presented at Cornbrooke where the Head of PSHE draws attention to legal rights, but only in the context of one's rights on arrest, not, as at Egerton, as setting parameters for citizens' activities.

Secondly, the idea that rights and duties exist in a reciprocal relationship was clearly communicated, with the Head of PSHE stating that if citizens believe others' actions to be harmful to the community, they have a duty to oppose them by exercising their rights as citizens. This understanding was expanded upon, with pupils being asked to consider the state's influence in promoting certain forms of activity. For example, rather than simply expecting pupils to accept philanthropic activity as an unquestionable good, Egerton's Head of PSHE has been able to add a further critical dimension to his teaching by relating philanthropic action to state policies. He comments:

We've decided to support food aid for people in third world countries. But in deciding to do that, we talked about world debt and the challenges of welfare, and then asked should we give money to a third world country with a really well equipped armed force which is in fact creating poverty through building up its military. The whole thing is about balance and understanding that there are conditions attached to things. Maybe, despite all that, as a country we want access to their oil reserves, and so perhaps it would benefit us as much to send aid as it would for them to receive it. There's no simple moral right or wrong.

Consequently, while at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, philanthropic activities are presented, without question, as 'morally good', at Egerton, the Head of PSHE seeks to establish links between such activities and state policies, showing pupils how state power enters into private activities. The Head of PSHE wants pupils to be able to make informed choices when deciding how best to act as citizens. In his mind, this involves making pupils aware of issues which they might not otherwise consider. Indeed, the Head of PSHE appears highly suspicious of attempts on the state's part to promote civil society activity. He draws attention to what he understands as the 'false' nature of activities which provide pupils with the resources for activity, but in doing so, disengage them from democratic processes:

we can play at democracy, which is what some schools do. Take the Borough Council, we do work on lobbying and get all the kids writing about their concerns for their community to the Borough Council and we explain that their representatives have a duty to respond to their interests. We get all sorts - concerns about the environment, safety at night, lack of transport links, and some things which are just plain daft, but we send them all because they all have a right to be heard. And then what happened was rather than responding to pupils' interests, which is their duty, working with them, listening to their views, or coming in to talk to them, the Borough Council made a gift of £1000 to the school so pupils could set up their own project. That money has got big black ears on. It doesn't help the kids to understand the importance of democratic processes, or whatever they have to go through to secure an outcome, it's just 'give them the money and they'll think government's good'. It's too easy for the government to pay lip service to democracy.

The Head of PSHE is concerned that in this instance, the council is, in effect, seeking to 'buy' pupils' passivity. He suggests that such monetary 'gifts' detract both from the idea of exercising rights to secure resources, and from democratic processes which involve conflicts over resource distribution.

To reflect on the understandings presented at Egerton, by resisting moves towards a voluntary, philanthropic presentation of citizenship; and secondly, by expressing suspicion of the local council's attitude, the Head of PSHE echoes Davies' observation that:

the motives for developing political literacy in schools are becoming potentially less congruent with democratic forces... the factors which seem important today, despite the rhetoric of some European politicians, are more related to the need to encourage loyalty and quietism in the face of shrinking local government, a rising crime rate, a growth in consumerism (as opposed to politicisation) and a declining welfare state which needs the support of active citizens. (1997, p120)

More generally, while teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, have split the state and civil spheres, and suggest that citizens are only really empowered in the latter of these, the Head of PSHE at Egerton remains primarily concerned with citizens' rights vis-a-vis the state. It is his deliberate intention to present active citizenship in ways which marry the public and private, state and civil spheres. In this, he appears concerned to develop political literacy skills which may, as the Crick Report advocates, (para 2.11c), allow pupils critically to consider the major social and economic problems of today. He is also the only teacher in the sample to address

party political issues. While pedagogic concerns appear to have mediated against such a presentation at Damask, Egerton's Head of PSHE has sought to find ways to address party politics which can be considered pedagogically appropriate.

Finally, to move on to look at the understandings presented at Hitherwood, Hitherwood's module on democratic participation has actually been devised and taught by civil servants. The activities encouraged in this, are perhaps those Egerton's Head of PSHE would like to have developed, had he been able to secure the support of the Borough Council. It should be noted that Hitherwood School falls under different district and borough councils.

### 6.5.3) Understandings of Citizen Activity Presented at Hitherwood School

At Hitherwood School, as at Kessel, active citizenship is understood in terms of citizens working in partnership with state bodies. This idea forms the basis of a module within the school's PSHE programme, titled "Enhancing Local Democracy". This was devised and is taught by the Democratic Services Manager at Lavant Council, whose remit includes finding ways to increase citizens' involvement in local government. The module concentrates on ways in which citizens can determine the conditions of their engagement with the state, and place their interests on the agenda for public debate.

Underlying the "Enhancing Local Democracy" module, is a concern that significant sectors of the community see participation in government as irrelevant to their private interests. Specifically, the Democratic Services Manager suggests that the current policy emphasis on tackling deprivation through state-community partnerships, (around which Kessel's programme is based), may discourage those from wealthier communities from taking an active part in government. He is worried that those with social and economic capital may become isolated from the state decision making process, and that this in turn, will undermine the potential for elected governments to represent the views of all citizens. With specific reference to education for citizenship, he argues:

From a council perspective, education for citizenship is about involving youth, as a hard to reach sector of the community, in the democratic process. Surveys we've done show again and again that the under 25s are least satisfied with local services and local government and also least involved. If they're not to be frustrated and angry or simply bored with government and the way it treats them, we need to establish a dialogue between youth and councillors. The problem is, as I found when trying to establish a youth council, is that the only people who are widely encouraged to take part in such things are vulnerable people, people on the margins. But to be genuinely representative, looking at the needs of youth in the district, we need to involve youth from all backgrounds, and all areas, not just a few young people from a council estate.

The irony is that while, both in literature, and in the teachers' earlier understandings of identity, material wealth has widely been seen as the basis for acting as a citizen, here the Democratic Services Manager sees it as a potential basis for exclusion. His understandings suggest that Dahrendorf's 'second class citizens' may actually be more motivated to take part in the processes of government, than property owning citizens who have the economic resources to participate. Simply the contrast between the understandings presented at Starina High, with its focus on voluntary, philanthropic activity, and those presented at Kessel or Egerton, with their stress on welfare and resources provided by the state, appear to lend weight to this.

Responding to what he sees as a trend for more affluent sectors of society to opt out of participation in government and focus on voluntary service, the Democratic Services Manager presents the view that if democracy is to be enhanced, active citizenship cannot be equated solely with building social capital. As he explains:

We're [i.e. the Council] all for promoting community groups, and we recognise that they can have a lot of benefit for the community in terms of promoting a sense of community and giving local people the incentive to act together to improve their local facilities and environment. But the fact is, being in the bowling club or something doesn't help us [i.e. the Council] much. We have a lot of power to shape people's local environments and the services they receive, but we can only do our job of representing and supporting citizens well if we know what they want. So community groups are great, but we [i.e. the Council and community groups] have to act together.

In this, the Democratic Services manager suggests that creating a strong civil society is not, itself, the end of active citizenship. Rather he presents a strong civil society as

a basis for enhancing citizens' participation in state processes, and most pertinently, suggests that democratic renewal can only be achieved when community groups act in partnership with the state. In this instance, community groups can enhance democracy through:

'public sphere effects' whereby the decisions of discrete associations spill over into the public sphere, inspiring public debate and venues for voice; and 'institutional effects' that, by shoring up associations satisfy efficacy, and allow decisions to be transformed into aggregate action and policy making. (Hoffman 2002, p360)

It is this extended notion of enhancing democracy through community groups *which work with the state*, that the Democratic Services Manager appears to endorse. In line with this, the Council's module presents an understanding of the state primarily in terms of a set of resources which citizens may draw upon to support their activities. By virtue of his knowledge about local government, the Democratic Services Manager is able to present a much more detailed account of resources which the state holds and can be used to further citizens' interests, than is found in any of the other schools. The resources he presents are not simply material; the state's power to act on its citizens' behalf, for example, by lobbying private institutions, is highlighted. Thus, within Hitherwood's programme of education for citizenship, the idea that the state has resources which citizens may not be able to generate for themselves, is emphasised - regardless of pupils' existing levels of social, economic, or cultural capital. That citizens have access to such resources is presented as part of a reciprocal relationship between citizens and the state. Citizens benefit from resources provided by the state, but at the same time, by engaging with the state, the state is presented as benefiting from citizens' knowledge. For example, in the Council's module on 'Enhancing Local Democracy', pupils' local knowledge is presented as resource which the Council does not have.

On a pedagogic basis, to communicate the understanding that partnership between community groups and state institutions is central to active citizenship, the Council's module takes pupils through the process of participating by: (i) identifying needs within their community; (ii) considering how these needs might best be met, taking into account the interests of different groups within the community; (iii) considering



what powers citizens have to bring about change; and finally (iv) presenting proposals for community improvements to local councillors.

Importantly, because change in the community is presented as a joint project between citizens and the state, rather than placing the onus for ameliorative action solely upon citizens, the state is also presented as having a duty to respond to citizens' needs. This allows pupils to consider a much wider range of concerns than activities which depend entirely upon social capital may allow for. This point can be illustrated by comparing the approach taken at Hitherwood to that seen at Damask.

At Damask, where pupils are made directly responsible for improving their community, pupils are expected only to make changes which they, personally, have the resources to bring about. This greatly restricts both their spheres of activity - actions must be of a local, voluntary nature - and even within these parameters, the activities which pupils can pursue are limited.

At Hitherwood, however, citizens are suggested to have much greater power to initiate change by working through partnership with the state. Much depends upon the interests the pupils wish to pursue, as opposed to what outcomes they can achieve working by themselves. In some cases, pupils at Hitherwood have wanted to discuss housing policies, environmental issues, the implications of European Unification, and other topics of national and international significance. When such topics arise, there are opportunities to consider how local democracy relates to other levels of government, and how by making their views known at a local level, state bodies can act to present citizens' views at higher levels. At other times, the pupils choose to pursue local issues, such as the provision of leisure facilities. In either case, pupils are engaging with issues, which were they to draw upon social capital alone, may be considered outside their sphere of influence.

It is only at Hitherwood that this idea of the state acting on citizens' behalf, at whatever level of government, is so explicitly stated. Admittedly, at Egerton and Kessel, there is the idea that the state can provide economic resources and allow access to a wider range of rights, but I also feel that, at Egerton in particular, the

emphasis placed upon citizens' rights against the state may obscure the idea that citizens can work *in partnership* with the state. Yes, pupils at Egerton are encouraged to develop the skills to evaluate political agendas and vote in their interests, and the presentation of voting is quite expansive and elaborate. Pupils at Egerton are also encouraged to act outside of state processes but still with the deliberate intention of shaping decisions made by the state. Nevertheless, at Egerton, citizens' actual involvement in state processes is still presented in fairly restricted terms, being focused upon voting or writing to one's MP. I am in no way questioning the validity of such an approach, merely wishing to underline the fact that this marks a contrast from the emphasis in the Council's programme on partnership with the state. How far this difference is a result of the resources available to the Head of PSHE at Egerton, is open to question, but the differences in the schools' programmes remain.

Having made a number of general points about the Council's module, there are also a number of features in this, which I would like to draw more specific attention to. Firstly, when discussing the influence pupils already have to initiate changes in their community, the Democratic Services Manager presents a rather different interpretation of consumerism as an aspect of citizenship, than tends to be found in the literature. Generally speaking, casting the citizen as a consumer is seen to divorce the citizen from the state (see for example, Oliver and Heater 1994). By contrast, the Democratic Services Manager actually presents consumerism as a basis from which citizens can act to demand accountability *specifically from the state*. He draws explicit attention to pupils' power as consumers, pointing out the contribution they make to the local economy, and through the taxes they pay on goods, the contributions they make to the state. He then asks whether, given that they are investing in the state, pupils think they should see some return on this, and the forms this might take. Through this, the Democratic Services Manager introduces ideas of state funding, and also tries to present pupils with a stake in government which may encourage them to act in relation to the state. As at Egerton, the intention is to make pupils aware of the ways in which state power enters into their private activities. The idea of citizens' actions being connected to a greater network of rights and

relationships is presented - though in this case, it is in the less conventional terms of consumer activity, rather than by voting.

A second issue relates to the emphasis in the Council's module upon pupils' rights and their power to demand accountability and initiate change. The Council's stress on rights-based activity has been criticised by Damask's Head of PSRE. Like Hitherwood, Damask School falls within Lavant Council, being the only other school in the sample to do so. However, as Damask's Head of PSRE explained, he had decided not to use the Council's module as part of his programme, because he saw it as contradicting his emphasis on duties and voluntary service. He expressed unease about what he considers to be the instrumental and individualist nature of the Council module, stating:

we can't promote a scheme which simply gives pupils the impression that they have the right to pursue whatever they want. They have to learn to be responsible in their community. The focus needs to be on becoming responsible, not 'you have rights to get things.'

But what of the need to learn to exercise rights responsibly? Rather than presenting the communitarian maxim of 'no rights without responsibilities', the Democratic Services Manager sees the responsible exercise of rights as integral to citizens' involvement in democratic institutions. He suggests that at no point in the Council's programme are pupils being invited to 'abdicate responsibility', and simply to expect the council to meet their needs. Instead, pupils are required to work with councillors, to seek ways forward which are acceptable across the community, and to understand that not all needs can feasibly be met. He states:

young people have to understand that once they present their views to Councillors that isn't the end. They have a duty to make sure that their views are accurately represented, otherwise the course of action pursued might be very different from what they proposed, and might not bring the benefits they expect. If local people don't involve themselves in the development of projects at a Council level that's what happens, there are all sorts of examples of facilities being built in inaccessible places, all sorts of things, because that consultation process has broken down, and then people are dissatisfied. But if citizens don't participate, the Council can't represent them.

Thus, two interpretations of Lavant Council's module are presented within my sample. On a critical note, the Head of PSRE at Damask sees the Council's approach as encouraging pupils to make demands rather than fostering either: (i) a larger sense of social purpose, e.g. improving facilities and help for the elderly; or related to this, (ii) a sense of positive affiliation with the community, which can unite citizens on a subjective, as opposed to a purely instrumental level. However, in his defence, the Democratic Services Manager argues that it should not be assumed that what pupils want, will not also have benefits for others in the community. In correspondence, he commented:

we concentrate on what pupils want because we are realistic enough to know that participation often comes from a desire to change things that the individual has an interest in. I would argue, however, that individual aspirations that are taken forward require wider support and that, for example, a skate board park usually has wider support and implications beyond the facility itself - for example, it may encourage a sense of community as it is developed, a wider understanding of ways of participating democratically, an awareness of the needs of multiple groups within the community, and how a facility aimed at one group can actually benefit other groups - in this, by getting youth off the streets. So the individual can in a sense, be a community champion, promoting the common good, which is, after all, the very essence of representative democracy.

In this, a democratic system of government is suggested to be one in which individual interests need to be presented and reconciled, in order to determine policies which may act to the benefit of the majority. As Crick notes, "[politics] is not pure self interest... simply because the more realistically one construes self-interest, the more one is involved in relationships with others." (1962, p20) Thus, the understandings presented at Hitherwood through the Council's module, can be considered to marry activity of a self-interested, individualistic nature - often associated with liberal forms of political participation - with concerns of a more civic-republican orientation, where individuals are cast as united by the greater good - namely the good of the community. As Frazer (1999) notes:

republicanism seeks to build, by means of public participation and decision making, a society in which citizens enjoy the dignity which comes with fully participating in political decisions about the economic, social and political structures that will govern them (p210)

Reflecting on this, it appears ironic that at Damask, voluntary activity is seen more positively as a way of allowing pupils to achieve something they want, while the Council's approach is viewed negatively. For example, at Damask, if pupils wish to clean up their local park, they may organise volunteers to collect litter. Involving pupils in the process of local government does not alter this basic idea of pupils identifying needs and setting out to meet them. It can, in addition, extend pupils' understandings of democratic accountability and willingness to become involved in the state-based democratic process. Drawing these points together, the Democratic Services Manager comments:

Sometimes I find it disheartening when I find myself talking to yet another group about the possibility of building a skate park, but from a Council perspective, education for citizenship's a project with long-term outcomes. We're investing in this programme in the hope of seeing returns in terms of increased participation in the future. If, at this stage, pupils see their stake in the democratic process in terms of the possibility to build a skate park, stick up a few bus shelters so they don't get soaked on the way to school, maybe allowing them to pursue these can have the positive outcome of promoting their involvement, both now and in the future.

To conclude, within Hitherwood's programme of education for citizenship, the Democratic Services Manager aims to put forward the understanding, central to the rhetoric of community/state partnership, that "the knowledge and efforts of local people are essential... [allowing] the sort of democratic participation that is not possible in top-down strategies." (Bridger and Luloff 2001, p461) This sentiment can also be seen to underlie Kessel's programme of education for citizenship, but it appears much more explicit in the understandings presented at Hitherwood through the Council's module. Pupils at Hitherwood are encouraged to place their interests on the public agenda, and to act to secure resources from the state. The idea of partnership is clearly presented in terms of a reciprocal, two-way relationship between citizens and the state. Comparatively, pupils at Kessel are still being cast as 'consuming citizens' accepting what the state has to offer, rather than shaping the conditions of their involvement with the state.

In sum, three central understandings can be seen to underlie the module on 'Enhancing Local Democracy' which forms part of Hitherwood's wider programme of education

for citizenship. Firstly, by working with pupils' interests, the module helps to show pupils that they do have a stake in society and its political institutions. This is considered important in motivating pupils to act. Secondly, it presents an understanding of involvement in which young people are encouraged not just to act within their communities, but in conjunction with local government organisations. The idea that through such partnerships, those living in a community can help direct its development, is stressed. Finally, at a time when many are concerned about the irresponsible exercise of rights, the Council's module stresses the need for pupils to act responsibly. By engaging pupils in the process of local democracy, it helps to show that individuals need to take responsibility for their actions, and to consider the rights of others - marrying Damask's stress on direct accountability, with more traditional understandings of citizen-state accountability. In giving pupils the opportunity to present their interests to councillors, pupils have firstly to consider the impact of any proposals they make on the whole community. If councillors then act to take these ideas forward, the need for pupils to work with the council to ensure that their understandings are actually represented, is highlighted, presenting an understanding of democratic accountability as two-way.

#### 6.5.4) Reflections on the Understandings of Citizen Activity Presented at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood.

Although exact nature of the relationship anticipated between citizens and the state differs across the teachers' understandings, in each case, teachers at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood, appear critical of any presentation of citizen activity which relies upon social capital alone. They are, as Frazer (1999) comments:

sceptical about the power of a specifically communitarian analysis and communitarian politics actually to forge the kinds of relationship that will deliver the social power at the meso level of community groups that communitarians aspire to in the first place. The problem is that the 'spirit of community' or 'fostering a sense of community' is inadequate for the subsequent action... precisely diverting attention from the material conditions [or societal power] that might generate this agency. (p84)

To elaborate, the Head of PSHE at Kessel appears most sceptical of the suggestion that social capital can substitute for material capital as the basis for active citizenship. At Hitherwood and Egerton, the teachers appear primarily concerned that activities which fail to engage the citizen in the processes of government, may serve to divorce citizens from the state. As such, their emphasis is squarely upon deliberate and conscious engagement with the state.

These understandings mark a clear contrast with those presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, where social capital is seen as a sufficient basis for activity, with forms of activity being largely determined by a supposedly 'pre-political' and 'pre-economic' moral good (Mouffe 1992; Gamarnikow and Green 2000). The key difference between the two groups of schools, is that at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood, the teachers all see the state as supplying some of the resources citizens need to initiate changes in their communities. To greater or lesser extents, the teachers are concerned that citizens should be able to articulate their private interests in the public, state-centred sphere. In this, they reflect Phillips' argument that:

Campaigning in public for men to do their fair share of housework and simply sorting out the division of labour in one's own home; in the case of the former, we are acting as citizens, in the case of the latter, which is nevertheless significant, we are not. It is thereby accepted that the terrain of political citizens is the public sphere, while underlying how it can not be divorced from what happens in the private, which shapes its contours and which can be the proper object of citizenship studies. (cited Lister 1997, p28)

Thus, although the precise forms of activity they advocate differ, in sum, it can be said that at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood, the understandings presented suggest that citizenship must involve action in the public, state-based sphere, with the public and private spheres existing in a dialectic relationship.

## 6.6) Concluding Comments on the Teachers' Understandings of Citizen Activity.

To conclude overall, the teachers in my sample present a range of ideals which suggest alternative dynamics between citizens and the state. Their understandings present citizens and state bodies as having differing levels of responsibility for bringing about community change. As in the previous chapter, this again shows how the light touch nature of education for citizenship can lead to widely different ideals being promoted across schools.

When it comes to determining the understandings presented within a school's programme, much depends on the sorts of activities the teachers see as best suited to their aims for education for citizenship, and the resources needed to pursue these. In some instances, pedagogic factors have also had a direct impact upon the understandings the teachers feel able to present in their programmes of education for citizenship. At Damask, for example, fears about indoctrination have clearly mediated against the critical presentation of party politics, while at Egerton, ways have been sought to present party politics without inviting such charges. The resources available to teachers also appears to have had an impact on the understandings presented. The Head of PSHE at Kessel has been able to involve pupils in the decisions made within local government because the school's local community is part of a state-sponsored regeneration scheme. Hitherwood's programme, in being both devised and taught from a Council perspective, presents knowledge and understandings which might not be common to teachers.

In any case, the teachers' thinking has been shaped by a complex web of ideals, both philosophical and pedagogic. In this sample, their understandings have been considered to present two very different approaches to encouraging active citizenship. How far each approach may be considered appropriate to education for citizenship, and to the QCA's wider aims, has been laid open to debate.

The QCA suggests that education for citizenship should promote activity to enhance and "secure our democracy", and aim to achieve "no less than a change in the political culture of this country in which young people are individually confident of



finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves.” (para 1.5) Speaking generally, the teachers have presented one of two stances on active citizenship – either splitting citizens’ activity in the state and civil spheres, or seeking to integrate these.

Teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask have taken the first of these approaches, separating citizens’ participation in government from their participation in community organisations. At Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, the teachers still appear to see representative democracy as something which should be upheld. In this, their presentation of state-based activity does much to reflect liberal thinking on citizenship, focusing on citizens’ negative freedoms not to participate. By presenting state-based activity as synonymous with voting – with voting being seen as a token act - their understandings appear “effectively to discredit politics as a means of achieving ameliorative outcomes” (Faulks 1998, p208).

By contrast, their presentation of active, community-focused citizenship, speaks very much to communitarian rhetoric. This:

talks about responsibilities, obligations and duties and constructs these as the essential building blocks of sociability and social cohesion. The image here is one of society as bound together by multiple and interlocking networks of responsibilities and obligations. (Gamarnikow and Green 2000, p105)

It appears, as in communitarian thinking, the teachers “feel it more beneficial to bypass state structures so that action is in the hands of the community.” (Frazer 1999, p158)

To speculate, if the teachers’ programmes are driven by a desire to promote social capital, then perhaps it is likely (though by no means inevitable) that they will refer to participation in the state in a way which is fairly token and minimalist. An understanding of political activity which suggests citizens’ participation in government to be little more than perfunctory, is, in this respect, sufficient to meet their aims. The fewer demands placed on citizens vis-a-vis the state, the greater the opportunities for building social capital. Referring to the literature, the teachers’

understandings appear to overlap liberal and communitarian ideals, promoting the idea that when freed from the state, citizens will act for the good of the community. That the Head of PSRE at Damask chooses not to use Lavant Council's module as part of his programme of education for citizenship, perhaps adds weight to this suggestion.

In any case, when the state and civil spheres are split as at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, although pupils are being encouraged to explore their agency as citizens, it is really only in the very limited context of philanthropic activity. The teachers' understandings present a 'double edged sword' in that they can, on the one hand, be considered empowering, while on the other, they can be considered coercive and as having the potential to undermine citizens' freedoms.

The second approach, taken at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood, seeks to marry the private and public spheres. In these cases, the way in which the teachers talk about active citizenship appears to be premised on an understanding that "there is a profound sense in which civil society can never be separate from the state; the latter, by providing the overall legal framework of society, to a significant degree constitutes the former." (Held 1996, p314)

At Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood, the teachers recognise that decisions made by the state influence citizens' private lives, and as such they seek to involve their pupils in state processes. In doing so, the teachers retain the idea of citizenship as "a struggle for rights in relation both to the state and other structures of power" (Gamarnikow and Green 2000, p107). They present the state as a resource which citizens may draw upon when acting with the aim of achieving certain outcomes.

Critically, there is perhaps also a sense in which, (if communicated through programmes of education for citizenship), the teachers' understandings may encourage pupils to expect the state to fulfil a role which is becoming less and less viable. If, for example, the state cannot uphold welfare spending, and is seeking (to some degree) to shift responsibility for service provision onto the community, the

extent to which the state can be presented as a resource is perhaps more restricted than the teachers' understandings imply. As the Crick Report notes:

volunteering and community involvement are necessary conditions of civil society and democracy. Preparation for these, at the very least, should be an explicit part of education. This is especially important at a time when government is attempting a shift of emphasis between, on the one hand, state welfare provision and responsibility and, on the other, community and individual responsibility. (para 2.5)

To reflect overall, teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask follow this shift, while teachers at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood are looking at ways of involving citizens in state processes, and present the idea that the state must be responsive to its citizens' needs. There is, I would suggest, perhaps a need for education for citizenship to strike a balance between these two contrasting approaches.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

### 7.1) Reflections on the Study's Aims and Methodology

In addressing the question “what understandings do teachers, *as teachers*, have of citizenship?” this study has identified and sought to address significant gaps in our existing knowledge about education for citizenship. Firstly, to date, much of our knowledge about teachers’ understandings of citizenship has come from large-scale studies, which have relied upon standardised questionnaires to generate data. This study has, by contrast, drawn together data from interviews, documentary analysis and classroom observations. This has allowed teachers the freedom to define citizenship in their own terms, and to demonstrate their understandings in relation to a range of issues which they, themselves, have identified as integral to citizenship.

Secondly, the study has offered a much more detailed and elaborate exploration of the understandings teachers give to citizenship, than research has previously developed. In addition to identifying the general orientations pursued by teachers, I have noted nuances within individual teachers’ understandings and explored how teachers justify presenting certain understandings in the context of education for citizenship.

Thirdly, as I discussed in the study’s introduction, I felt a specific focus on teachers’ understandings was necessary to get away from the reflective reporting found in much research into education for citizenship. I contended that all too often (purportedly) ‘good’ pedagogic practice has been publicised, with little consideration being given to the actual understandings of citizenship underlying practice. While the “nitty gritty of the classroom” (Pike 1997, p219) is important, this study has sought to take a necessary step back and consider a number of fundamental issues relating to the understandings of citizenship teachers express in relation to education for citizenship. As such, this study has explored the wider ramifications of teachers’ understandings, both in terms of the type of society anticipated, and the citizen’s role within this.

Admittedly, my concern to contribute to our knowledge about education for citizenship by exploring teachers’ understandings in this way, has brought a number of limitations

with it. While pedagogic concerns may be an important factor in determining the understandings teachers present in the context of education for citizenship, to maintain a focus on philosophical issues, pedagogic concerns have largely been excluded from the study. Further to this, teachers' understandings can be difficult to access. It was often necessary for me to approach teachers' understandings indirectly, for example, by 'looking through' the ways in which they talked about fostering a citizen identity, and then inferring what the teachers understood by citizenship in relation to this specific context. Some of the understandings reported in the study are, perhaps, rather loose in definition if only because citizenship is so conceptually complex, and this makes it difficult to 'get to the heart' of teachers' understandings. For example, all the teachers talk about community when expressing their understandings of citizenship. While the study has highlighted many ways in which the teachers believe education for citizenship can benefit communities, it has not provided a clear insight into what the teachers actually understand by 'community' in the context of education for citizenship.

Simply, understandings of citizenship are complex, and difficult to express in concrete terms. The philosophical ideals set out in the literature review give some indication of citizenship's complexity - and that is without seeking to present citizenship specifically in the context of education for citizenship; in relation to pupils' needs; the current educational climate; broader social, political and economic debates - and so on. As such, it can hardly be seen as a failing of this study that teachers' understandings have, at times, been hard to access and/or clarify. Nevertheless, by approaching teachers' understandings from a number of different angles, and by considering the understandings expressed in different forms, and in different contexts, the study has sought to develop as clear and detailed an insight as possible into teachers' understandings.

The final point I wish to make about the study's aims and methodology, relates to my use of philosophical traditions of citizenship as 'tools' in analysis. By exploring teachers' understandings in the context of philosophical and policy oriented debates about citizenship, I have been able to highlight how "differences in worldview, ideology and emphasis, can lead to subtle, but distinctive, variations in meaning" (Pike 1997, p194) in the understandings teachers present. Even within the small-scale sample this study is based on, teachers have been found to anticipate many different forms of

citizenship, and to present alternative interpretations of society and the citizen's role within this. Drawing on the ideals associated with different traditions of citizenship, I have been able to direct attention to issues beyond the teachers' immediate understandings, allowing the purposes they attribute to education for citizenship to be critically examined.

This use of philosophical traditions to help 'unravel' and explore the ramifications of teachers' understandings, might be seen to invite a rather circular discussion; where teachers' understandings have been linked to certain traditions, this link has been made according to how I have characterised different schools of thought on citizenship. However, I believe that such criticisms have been offset in my analysis of the teachers' understandings. I have looked to see how the teachers' understandings relate to broad philosophical debates about citizenship's meaning, not to label their understandings as exclusively of one tradition or another. By associating certain ideals with certain traditions, I have been able to develop what Bowe et al (1992) refer to as "a set of analytical touchstones" (p143), providing clear points of reference when exploring teachers' various understandings. The ideals associated with different traditions, although presented starkly in this study, do overlap, and carry more nuances/subtleties of meaning than I have perhaps suggested. However, in the context of this study, the stark presentation of different traditions in the literature review, has allowed me to draw attention to the range of ideas about citizenship reflected in the teachers' understandings. I have been able to explore how teachers blend, mediate and adapt different ideals to form their own 'mosaics' of citizenship. This has helped to offer an in-depth insight into teachers' understandings of citizenship, in the context of education for citizenship.

## 7.2) Reflections on the Teachers' Understandings of Citizenship, and the Justifications Underlying These.

The understandings of citizenship presented in this study, suggest that there is little consensus among teachers as to the interpretation of citizenship educational programmes should promote. In the past, where a lack of clarity or consensus about citizenship's meaning has been reported, there have been calls for clearer statements of aims and values to guide the implementation of education for citizenship. For example,

Starkey (2000) argued that as a National Curriculum subject, education for citizenship would benefit from a strong, top-down, statement of values and underlying political philosophy. However, in the light of my study's findings, I would suggest that such an approach to developing education for citizenship is inappropriate.

Exploring the teachers' understandings of citizen identity and ways of acting as a citizen, has shown how, when defining citizenship in the context of education for citizenship, the teachers have developed complex 'webs', or 'mosaics' of understanding. They have responded to the social, economic, and political contexts they teach in - both on a macro-level, responding to societal trends, and on a micro-level, responding to features in their schools' local communities. Specifically in their role *as teachers*, the teachers have identified what they see as their pupils' needs, and considered how particular understandings of citizenship might address these. In doing so, they have drawn upon their personal understandings and experiences of citizenship. As such, it seems that any clear statement of values, or starkly defined political philosophy, would be unable to accommodate the complexity of teachers' understandings, and the wide range of concerns these reflect.

To reflect specifically upon the understandings presented by teachers in this study, even just looking on a general level, the teachers fall into two groups, each presenting a broadly different understanding of citizenship: the first, oriented towards philanthropy, duty and social capital; and the second towards citizen-state involvement, and citizenship with a strong rights (as well as duties) based, component. The first approach refers to the understandings presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask. In these schools, the teachers have focused on ways of encouraging pupils to make themselves *directly accountable* for the well being of their local community. The teachers have presented community service and philanthropic activity as the prime ways for pupils to act as citizens, largely excluding a state-based dimension from the understandings they are willing to present in the context of education for citizenship.

By comparison, at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood, the teachers' understandings appear oriented towards an explicitly rights-based conceptualisation of citizenship (though fulfilling duties is also seen as an integral part of citizenship). Their understandings stress the idea of two-way accountability between citizens and the state,

and encourage pupils to exercise their rights for the benefit of their communities - in this sense, presenting the exercise of rights as a duty. In addition to this, the teachers have sought ways to extend citizens' involvement in government. At Egerton and Hitherwood respectively, civil rights and consumer rights have been presented as a basis for interaction with the state.

What is particularly interesting about these two broadly different understandings of citizenship, is that across the sample, the teachers' understandings seem to have been guided by the same normative concerns. The teachers appear to have associated many of the same 'personal qualities' with the idea of 'good citizenship'. An understanding that citizens should act amelioratively, and seek to improve their communities, has been commonly presented. All the teachers referred to the importance of fostering a sense of duty towards others as part of educating for citizenship. In addition, the teachers expressed concerns about the same social trends - including citizens' apathy and disillusion with government; and community break-down - and have presented their understandings of citizenship in response to these.

Thus, it seems that what distinguishes the teachers' understandings, and has led to such wide variation within the sample, is less the teachers' personal understandings of citizenship, as much as the forms of citizenship they think best able to help their pupils become 'good citizens'. In this, it must be remembered that the teachers are starting from different points. For example, when talking about citizen identity, the teachers have acknowledged citizenship's potentially exclusive nature, and identified their pupils as belonging either to the 'included' or 'excluded'. The teachers' understandings of citizen identity may be broadly similar, but professionally, they are responding to the issue of identity from different community contexts.

In line with education for citizenship's light touch nature, the teachers have tended to justify their understandings by relating these to the norms and values they believe their pupils hold. At Cornbrooke, for example, the Head of PSHE has focused on building social capital, seeing this as a way of protecting her pupils from the vagaries of the market place. By contrast, at Kessel and Egerton, the Heads of PSHE have focused largely upon citizens' relationship with the state, placing specific emphasis on welfare rights. Justifying this, the Heads of PSHE at Kessel and Egerton have argued that



focusing on social capital and seeking to create a strong sense of community, would simply reinforce their pupils' marginalised position.

Interestingly, even when working in like contexts, the study draws attention to instances where teachers have interpreted their pupils' needs in different ways, and chosen to promote alternative understandings of citizenship. For example, although Starina High and Hitherwood are situated in communities of like socio-economic standing, teachers at Starina High have treated the school's local community as largely homogenous, while teachers at Hitherwood have seen their school's local community as made up of competing interest groups. This has been reflected in the understandings of citizenship presented at each school. At Starina High, the focus has been upon citizens acting for 'the good' of 'the community', with a 'common good' being assumed on pupils' behalf. However, at Hitherwood, teachers have concentrated upon the principles of democratic discourse which may allow competing ideas of 'the good' to be expressed.

By looking at the justifications underlying a particular presentation of citizenship, this study has also revealed instances where understandings which appear broadly similar, have actually been premised upon very different beliefs. For example, on a surface level, teachers at Cornbrooke and Starina High have appeared largely united in their understandings of citizenship, both seeking to promote social capital through community service activities. However, underlying this, the teachers have presented contrasting understandings about the role of enterprise in relation to citizenship. While at Cornbrooke, the Head of PSHE has seen social capital as a means of rejecting entrepreneurial values; at Starina High, community cohesion and the building of social capital have been implicitly premised upon entrepreneurial success.

Further complexities have been revealed by exploring the teachers' understandings on an individual basis. Individually, each teacher has been shown to present understandings which draw upon a range of philosophical ideals, and reflect aspects from a number of different traditions of citizenship. For example, when talking about the development of a citizen identity at a global level, the Head of PSHE at Egerton has suggested that citizens need to act independently of the state, in a voluntary, philanthropic capacity. Notably, however, he also believes that presenting this understanding within his programme of education for citizenship allows him also to promote the importance of

welfare rights, and to highlight the importance of citizens' participation in government. Similarly, at Hitherwood, the Democratic Services Manager has presented consumer rights as a basis for active citizenship. However, in contrast to the neo-liberal presentation of 'consumer citizenship' (Oliver and Heater 1994), he has suggested that consumer rights provide a basis for citizens to develop partnerships with the state, and through these, improve their local communities.

That the teachers have both (i) presented a blend of ideals which, in the literature, are seen to conflict; and (ii) have drawn upon different ideals to justify what are, ostensibly, the same understandings of citizenship, has a number of interesting implications for our thinking about citizenship - both generally, and in the context of education for citizenship. Heater (1999) has argued that if conflicting ideals about citizenship are to be reconciled, there needs to be a shift "from the hardened positions of idealistic theory to the softer compromises of reality" (p157). Some of the understandings presented by teachers in this study do suggest a workable 'middle ground', marrying rights with duties, and concern for the community with state-based activity. Most notably, at Kessel, Egerton and Hitherwood, the emphasis on identifying needs within the community, and acting, in relation to state bodies, to meet these needs, has married ideals associated with civic-republican, liberal and communitarian traditions of citizenship.

In addition to presenting ways of overcoming what Heater (1999) calls "an underlying fault-line in the very concept [of citizenship]" (p157) between rights and duties, the teachers' understandings also draw critical attention to some of the ideals presented in literature. For example, even though the ideal of interlocking communities has been presented in educational literature (e.g. Lynch 1992) the teachers suggest that such ideals may be hard to promote in programmes of education for citizenship. The Heads of PSHE at Cornbrooke and Kessel have suggested that European citizenship is beyond their pupils' 'station in life', while at Starina High, conflict between European and local level citizenship has been anticipated.

Further to this, when considered as a whole, the teachers' understandings lend empirical support to the criticism made of communitarian thinking, namely that social, economic and cultural 'barriers' mean that social capital is an insufficient basis for uniting citizens

across communities. The teachers in my sample have established their own barriers. For example, the Heads of PSHE at Egerton and Kessel have labelled their pupils as 'other' to those at Starina High and Hitherwood; teachers at Starina High have premised their understandings on entrepreneurial success, while the Head of PSHE at Cornbrooke has, in effect, turned inward to the school community, effectively 'cutting it off' from other communities.

The teachers have also presented understandings which, in effect, mount further criticisms of the ideals associated with citizenship's dominant traditions, not commonly found in the literature. For example, the Democratic Services Manager from Lavant Council, suggests one reason for falling voter turnout, is that those who already have economic resources, may feel they have no need to engage with the state. That teachers at Starina High and Damask focus their programmes on social capital, while teachers at Kessel and Egerton focus primarily on state-based activity, perhaps lends support to this suggestion.

There are also instances when the understandings presented by the teachers, have directly acknowledged criticisms made in the literature in relation to certain ideals. For example, at Kessel and Egerton, the Heads of PSHE suggest that community service cannot, in itself, redress the inequalities pupils experience - though some advocates of communitarianism, such as Vondra (cited Frazer 1999) have argued otherwise. In both schools, the Heads of PSHE suggest that without resources provided by the state, their pupils will not be able to gain status as citizens, nor act to improve their communities.

While this is, perhaps, a much more realistic assessment of their pupils' circumstances, and one which criticises much communitarian literature, the understandings presented at Kessel and Egerton raise a number of issues in themselves. At what stage, for instance, might teachers' 'realism' result in some pupils being educated in the expectation of 'second class' citizenship? Similarly, would teachers be justified in promoting an expectation of welfare rights which are already in decline?

The literature review identified a number of shifts in thinking about citizenship, most significantly, a shift from a strong citizen-state relationship, to the advocacy of strong citizen-citizen relationship. The teachers' understandings relate to this development in a

number of ways. As seen above, the Heads of PSHE at Kessel and Egerton are still educating their pupils in the expectation of being able to exercise welfare rights, and yet much of the shift towards communitarian thinking seen in the literature, is linked to a decline in state-provided welfare. Nevertheless, while the Heads of PSHE may, in terms of the literature, be harking back to social-liberal ideals, given that they see understandings of citizenship focused on social capital as reinforcing their pupils' marginalised position, maybe they feel they have little choice but to focus on rights held against the state.

Such dilemmas are not restricted to Kessel and Egerton. Concerns might also be expressed that teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask, have focused their programmes almost exclusively upon philanthropic, service-based activities. They have justified their minimalist, or tacit presentation of state-based activity, on the understanding that such activity has no "real" (Head of PSRE, Damask) outcome. The question is whether, by largely excluding forms of state-based citizenship from their programmes, the teachers are actually endorsing falling voter turn out figures and citizens' growing disengagement with state politics (Crewe 1997 cited Heater 1999, p163). The understandings presented at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask may perhaps be considered more symptomatic of democratic deficit, than as a viable means of rekindling citizens' involvement in democratic processes.

Having drawn attention to a number of the issues raised by the teachers' understandings, and noted their diversity, to conclude the study, I want to offer some thoughts on how education for citizenship might be developed in the future.

### 7.3) How Might Education for Citizenship be Developed in the Future?

In its analysis, this study asked whether, when educating for citizenship, it is acceptable for teachers to prepare their pupils to have different expectations as citizens, and act to fulfil different roles as citizens. It has raised a number of questions relating specifically to the understandings reported. Are the Heads of PSHE at Kessel and Egerton right to promote an expectation of welfare rights, even though these are in decline? Given falling voter turn out, and growing concerns about the future of democratic

government, are teachers at Starina High, Cornbrooke and Damask right to marginalise the citizen-state relationship?

In turn, issues relating to specific understandings reported in the study, suggest a set of rather more generic questions which, if education for citizenship is to move on, must be addressed. These include:

- How can teachers address the dilemmas which arise from trying to respond to their pupils' needs, while trying also to be realistic about the roles citizens may feasibly fulfil?
- How is it, that if teachers share a concern to involve their pupils, as citizens, in their communities, they may come to present contrasting ideals?
- Although pupils' local community circumstances differ, is it the case that educating pupils for different roles as citizens will, itself, create hierarchical divisions between citizens?

At the outset of the current drive to establish education for citizenship as a statutory subject, the Crick Report's authors suggested that the way forward must lie in promoting some sort of unifying definition of citizenship, which teachers could base their programmes of education for citizenship around. In 1998, the Crick Report stated:

[education for citizenship] can no longer sensibly be left as uncoordinated local initiatives which vary greatly in number, content and method. This is an inadequate basis for animating the idea of common citizenship with democratic values. (para 1.1)

And yet, concluding in 2003, and focused on only six schools in a single LEA, this study has revealed a wide range of understandings expressed in the context of education for citizenship.

In my opinion, the way forward for education for citizenship, has to be, as the Crick Report advocated, to develop some form of unifying definition which might inform the implementation of education for citizenship at various levels. This, I would suggest, must be based upon an understanding of citizenship which marries the two general

orientations found in this study, drawing together rights and duties, and community and state-based understandings of citizenship. Although the Heads of PSHE at Kessel and Egerton are set against the promotion of social capital within their programmes, I fear that by excluding this from their programmes, the Heads of PSHE are perhaps denying their pupils any capacity they may have to act independently of the state to improve their situation. Similarly, despite the rejection of entrepreneurial values presented by Cornbrooke's Head of PSHE, I still believe that her pupils might benefit, as citizens, from the understanding that consumer rights can serve as a basis for active citizenship as presented at Hitherwood School through the Council's module on "Enhancing Local Democracy".

I am also concerned by the effective exclusion of a state-based dimension from the understandings presented at Starina High and Cornbrooke, and to a certain extent, at Damask. Understandings focused on social capital tend to exclude the sense of citizenship as a struggle for rights, and as a means to protect citizens by giving them rights against the state. Those who focus on social capital, tend to overlook the potential for citizens to exert influence by acting through the state. For example, at Damask, the Head of PSRE suggests that citizens can even bring about changes at a global level by going 'over' the state, denying that, as Wringe (1999) and Heater (2002) argue, to act globally, citizens can act through the state on a national level. My question is whether a shift in thinking about citizenship which allows historical notions of the citizen-state relationship to be set aside, yet allows such activities as collecting litter to be endorsed as 'active citizenship', can really be condoned.

My feeling is, that in focusing on what they see as their pupils' needs, the teachers in this study have actually tended to narrow their understandings of citizenship when talking about education for citizenship. They have either minimised citizenship's state-based dimension, or done little to draw attention to ideas of philanthropy and voluntary service. All the teachers have, to some extent, followed Etzioni's suggestion that citizenship needs to be defined so as to 'correct' societal trends, "[responding] like a person riding a bicycle; it must continually correct tendencies to lean too far in one direction or the other, as it moves forward over changing terrain." (cited James 2001, p226). At Cornbrooke, Starina High and Damask, the teachers have sought to correct what they believe to be a rights-based leaning across society, while at Kessel, Egerton

and Hitherwood, the teachers have, effectively, reacted against current moves towards communitarian thinking, and have presented right-based understandings of citizenship. I contend that to move forward, education for citizenship must marry both approaches.

I would suggest that programmes need to present community participation in relation to citizens' participation in government and the democratic ideals embodied in this. A programme of education for citizenship which treats these aspects of citizenship in isolation, having, as at Damask, a range of community service activities and a discrete civics-based component, would not, in my view, be sufficient to take education for citizenship forwards. While it might foster "a civic identity that includes commitment to a larger sense of social purpose and a positive sense of affiliation with society" (Torney-Purta 2000, p2), it seems unlikely that a programme which presents discrete state and community focused elements could promote an "awareness that decisions made in the public political process directly and indirectly affect their private lives and futures" (Torney-Purta 2002, p2). And yet, to my mind, this is an equally important concern.

Using a 'blended' understanding, which marries community and state-based notions of citizenship, as the foundation for programmes of education for citizenship, also has the potential to help teachers address a number of the dilemmas faced in relation to education for citizenship. Were teachers to present pupils with an 'holistic', as opposed to 'corrective' understanding of citizenship, they could draw attention to the range of ways through which citizens can act to pursue a certain outcome - whether independently, or through the state. As such, a blended understanding could be applied to any context in which citizenship was being discussed - from acting in defence of human rights, to looking at ways to develop local amenities, to keeping the local environment free of litter. Thus, different concerns could be pursued by programmes of education for citizenship, but they would still be united through a common understanding of the resources available to citizens, and the range of ways in which citizens can act.

However, I would also suggest that perhaps the biggest barrier to gaining support for this blended understanding of citizenship as a basis for education for citizenship, may come from teachers themselves. While, as this study has highlighted, there are many

instances in which the teachers have blended a range of different ideals, there have also been times when the teachers in my sample have talked about rights, or community service activities, in ways highly reminiscent of stark characterisations in the literature. The Head of PSHE at Cornbrooke, for example, has presented an understanding of rights-based citizenship which echoes Mouffe's (1992) stark characterisation of liberal thinking in which ideas of public mindedness and civic activity are alien. (p227)

In such instances, where the teachers have presented themselves as clearly on one or other side of Heater's 'fault-line', the teachers have argued *against* bridging this divide between rights and duties, state and community, believing that to compromise their understandings would act against their pupils' interests. Even just within my sample, the teachers have, at times, displayed a distrust of each others' approaches to education for citizenship. For example, the Head of PSRE at Damask has chosen not to incorporate Lavant Council's module into his programme of education for citizenship, because he objected to its rights-based orientation. And yet, as we have seen, the Democratic Services Manager at Lavant Council believes his module promotes a strong sense of duty towards others.

With this in mind, I suggest that fostering a common understanding which may unite programmes of education for citizenship, is reliant upon finding ways to alter the stark perceptions of rights-based citizenship held by some teachers - or indeed of duties-based ideals. One way forward might be for policy makers to act upon Halpern's (2002) proposal that guideline documents should respond to the variety of understandings currently being presented by teachers in the context of education for citizenship. Halpern et al have argued that:

citizenship education needs to overcome the potential contradiction between centralisation and decentralisation by ensuring that central direction and guidance is complemented by ideas and innovations from schools, local areas and citizens of all ages. (2002, p218)

If policy makers were to respond to the variety of understandings presented in this study alone, they would do well to promote a model which explicitly combines philanthropically oriented activities with contemporary moves towards community-state partnerships. If top-down policies presented these approaches as complementary, this



might help teachers to see what their understandings have in common, and how they might draw on each others' practice to develop their own programmes of education for citizenship.

However, the most powerful way to develop education for citizenship, may, perhaps ironically, rely on the development of social capital between teachers themselves. More might be achieved by creating opportunities for teachers to get together and share their understandings and practice, than through top-down directives. Perhaps by getting together and 'unpacking' their beliefs, teachers currently pursuing different understandings of citizenship, might come to see what they have in common, and how they might draw on each other's practice to develop their own programmes of education for citizenship. Through this, teachers may, working from the bottom-up, be able to develop holistic, empowering and robust understandings of citizenship, to guide their programmes in future.

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