

The Interaction Between Students And Teachers In Citizenship Education

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the interaction between students and teachers in the context of Citizenship Education within a secondary comprehensive school in northern England.

Citizenship Education was introduced as part of the statutory curriculum for English secondary schools in 2002. Among the subject's purposes is the 'increase [of] the knowledge, skills and values relevant to ... participative democracy' (QCA, 1998, p. 40).

For this, a shift in the school's ethos is advocated aiming to promote students' active participation and the development of a feeling of ownership towards their school.

The study analyses data collected during the second and third years of the implementation of Citizenship Education in order to examine the ways that interaction between students and teachers supports or obstructs this shift in the school's ethos.

The study is based on a methodological framework which draws on interactionist studies and symbolic interactionism. This framework allows the study to present teachers' and students' perspectives about their interaction and their views about their own roles within Citizenship classes and more generally in the school. The study suggests that students' and teachers' perspectives about the external expectations directed towards their roles, together with their own expectations and the overall institutional conditions lead them to interact with each other in a way that does not allow the establishment of the ethos that citizenship education advocates. Furthermore, it is noted that teachers and students feel personally detached from their roles, preventing their interaction from having the flexibility that could allow it to change. This detachment extends to the community of the school which appears divided and weak in active participation. The study suggests that the sense of *ownership* that Citizenship Education aims to develop is not only an important outcome but also a necessary condition for meaningful active participation.

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Abbreviations

AEC	Association for Education in Citizenship
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
KS	Key Stage
LA	Local Authority
NCC	National Curriculum Council
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
PE	Physical Education
PSE	Personal and Social Education
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
RE	Religious Education
Y	Year

Chapter 1

Introduction

This is a research project initiated by the introduction of Citizenship Education as a statutory subject of the English curriculum for secondary schools in 2002. Implementing a methodological framework which was developed on the basis of the theory of symbolic interactionism, the research set out to explore the interaction between students and teachers in the context of Citizenship Education.

The context of this study is a secondary comprehensive school in Northern England, which this study refers to by the pseudonym 'Hillcliff High'. The collection of data took place in two stages, the first of which commenced in April 2003 and the second in March 2004 and lasted for a total of about six months. This allowed the study to follow closely the development of the school community's plans, the difficulties which arose and the formulation of school members' perspectives in relation to the incorporation of the methodologies and the aims of the Citizenship Education curriculum into the school's practices.

The results of this study suggest that students and teachers reproduce through their interaction roles, practices and an ethos which they consider as being inconsistent with the aims and methods of Citizenship Education. In this sense, the study points out that the challenges for the successful implementation of the subject go beyond some objectively defined obstacles and can be also located in the perspectives, beliefs, conceptions and misconceptions of the members of the schools' communities.

Citizenship Education was introduced into the English secondary school curriculum in 2002 following the publication of the report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship

(Crick report) in 1998 (QCA, 1998). The aim of the group, as stated in the report, was to achieve:

'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 and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting; 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.'

(QCA, 1998, p. 7)

In order for this change in the political culture to be achieved, the report makes specific recommendations in relation to the teaching methodologies, the role of the school in the community and the role of the students in the school. More specifically, the report suggests teaching practices which promote 'active learning', whole school approaches which 'engage pupils in discussion and consultation about all aspects of school life', the implementation of a curriculum which is *relevant* to students' interests and experiences and the construction of a school ethos which is 'consistent with the aim and purpose of Citizenship Education and which affirms and extends the development of pupils into active citizens' (ibid, pp. 35-7). Bearing in mind the numerous descriptions of schools as authoritarian institutions (for example Alderson, 1999; Harber, 2004), we could claim that the Crick report has advocated a shift in the culture of the school as a vehicle for the change in the political culture of the country.

Perhaps it is due to this advocacy for a 'cultural' change that the publication of the Crick report was followed by both enthusiastic support and strong scepticism. Part of this scepticism had its roots in the specific conditions which describe or determine the modern school discourse and the roles of the members of its community. Davies (1999, p. 135), for example, notes that the new curriculum had to deal with the challenges of achieving this change 'without overburdening teachers' and developing a discourse of active engagement without justifying any concerns about being indoctrinating. At the same time Frazer described teachers in England as lacking 'ideas about the nature of

politics, the nature of governance and the institutions of democracy' (Frazer, 1999, p. 18). A year later, Derricot claimed: 'there is no doubt that the obligation to provide Citizenship Education will be seen as an unwelcome burden of an already stretched teaching force' (2000, p. 39). Besides, just two years before the publication of the Crick report, Carr and Harnett reminded us that: 'England has no tradition in asking the right questions about citizenship at the level of serious political discussion' and claimed that 'vacuous rhetoric continues to replace the hard task of re-examining educational provision in the light of the requirements of a fully democratic society' (1996, p. 78).

Bearing in mind the above claims and considering them in the light of the 'increasing recognition that the ethos, organisation, structures and daily practices of schools ... have a significant impact on the effectiveness of Citizenship Education' (QCA, 1998, p. 36), the question that arises is related to the capacity of English secondary schools to accommodate the ethos and promote the 'cultural change' advocated by the Crick report. This question frames the scope of this research project.

The study of the school ethos and of all closely related notions (climate, discourse, hidden curriculum) indicate that the human interaction taking place in schools has a central role in the construction of the 'informal' aspect of the curriculum. Drawing from the tradition established in England in 1970s and 1980s by authors such as Hargreaves (1972), Woods (1979) and Ball (1983), this study places the interaction between students and teachers at the centre of its focus and examines it in the context of Citizenship Education. This context is very broad. Citizenship Education in Hillcliff High, as in most schools, especially during the first years of the subject's implementation was taught as a cross-curricular subject. In Hillcliff High, Citizenship was taught primarily through History, Geography, Personal and Social Education (PSE), Art, Drama, English and Religious Education (RE). In parallel with the above subjects, Citizenship Education, according to the headteacher of the school and the subject's coordinator, was taught through the whole school ethos. This brought the

study not only into the classrooms where the above subjects were taught but also into the school corridors, the whole school assemblies, the play ground, the 'inclusion unit', and the school field trips.

The study shows that the model of the interaction between students and teachers is based on a performance by the interacting parties of roles which do not allow the flexibility for the changes that Citizenship Education introduces to be accommodated. This inflexibility is the result of a combination of interrelated factors, among which, according to the participants, are each other's expectations regarding their engagement in this interaction, the expectations of the students' parents and the directions and priorities set by the management team and by policy makers.

Following the psycho-sociological approach, which has informed many interactionist studies, the methodological framework in this study 'derives from symbolic interactionism. This concentrates on how the social world is constructed by people, how they are continually striving to make sense of the world, and assigning meanings and interpretations to events, and on the symbols used to represent them' (Woods, 1979, p. 2). Such an approach allows the methodology of the research to develop sensitivity and flexibility which enables it to detect the ways that the participants are actively engaged in the formation of the conditions that frame their actions and interactions. By examining not only what these participants cannot or do not do but also what they actually do, this research has been able to detect some of the participants' own involvement in the construction of the conditions which prevent them from performing in a way which is consistent with the aims and methods of Citizenship Education. The study identifies this in the participants' conceptualisation of 'effective teaching and learning' and their consideration of each other not as individuals but as members of the 'students' or the 'teachers' group. The study detects teachers' and students' tendency to avoid interacting with each other in contexts or for purposes that

do not fall under their institutional relationship – this is what this study describes as ‘interaction avoidance’. In addition, the study points out the direct or indirect support that teachers and students offer to the systems that organise school life (rules and rituals) and which reinforce the ‘inflexibility’ of their roles. According to this study, the above conditions lead to a division similar to the one that Woods has described (1979) which prevents students and teachers in Hillcliff High from constructing a cohesive school community. The lack of a feeling of belonging to a community leads to a further division by attributing to the interaction between students and teachers the characteristics of cooperation based on a contractual agreement.

The study argues that such conditions do not allow ‘active participation’ (as it is described and advocated in the Crick report) and the ethos of ‘involvement’ to be developed. Operating in two (or more) separate communities, and by considering that their role is determined by factors that are beyond their control, teachers and students lack a sense of *ownership* not only towards their school but even towards their own roles (of these two, the Crick report recommended developing a sense of belonging to the school, but did not identify the disassociation members felt towards their own roles (QCA, 1998, p. 36).). It could be argued that these conditions lead students and teachers towards the construction of a sense of citizenship which does not go beyond their *status* (of being a student or a teacher) and therefore it can be described as a passive and unengaged form of citizenship. Active participation is not considered as a ‘natural’ development arising from a feeling of commitment and a sense of responsibility. Instead, this is perceived as a requirement imposed by the teachers upon the students and by the policy makers upon teachers and schools.

The questions that this study aimed to respond to are:

Main research question:

‘What is the nature of the interaction between students and teachers, in the context of Citizenship Education?’

The two subsidiary questions that are derived from the main one:

1. How do the teachers and students define the situation of their interaction with each other in the context of Citizenship Education?
2. What roles are constructed by teachers and students when they interact with each other in the context of Citizenship Education?

The thesis is divided into twelve chapters. The second chapter examines historically the extent to which the English educational system has been able to accommodate forms of education with content, aims and methodologies similar to the ones proposed by Citizenship Education. This review of Citizenship Education will allow the development of a dual argument: it will be shown that English education has a poor tradition in implementing successfully such education and that in order for Citizenship Education to be successfully established and in order to achieve its aims it needs to be supported by an appropriate ethos. The construction of such an ethos, in turn, depends on the way that the aims and methods of the subject are perceived by the school community. The chapter will also examine the current programme of Citizenship Education and it will review its aims and methodologies, pointing out the central role of the school's ethos in the subject's successful implementation.

The second chapter will review the notion of ethos together with the notions of the 'hidden curriculum' and 'discourse'. The discussion will show that all three notions are effective in describing the 'informal' aspect of the curriculum which is recognised as significant in the successful implementation of Citizenship Education and that human interaction is at the core of this curriculum. The chapter will also raise the issue of the (in)compatibility of the ethos of Citizenship Education with the ethos that we should possibly expect to find in an English secondary school and it will review some current relevant debates.

The fourth chapter will examine the theory of symbolic interactionism and it will discuss the effectiveness of this sociological approach in the study of human interaction that takes place in the context of organisations and institutions. The chapter will provide a selective review of studies of the interaction between students and teachers and it will outline some key points that are integrated into the methodology of this research project.

The second part of the thesis refers to the methodology of the study and comprises chapters five to seven. Chapter five will describe the construction of the theoretical framework that guided the methodology of this research. Drawing from the interactionist suggestions and from the tradition created by studies which have focused on the interaction between students and teachers, this framework is constructed upon four pillars: *power* (as this is applied in the interaction between students and teachers), *expectations* (as held by the two interacting parties), *empathy* (as the ability of the interacting parties to consider their own role from the 'other's' perspective) and *external conditions* (as these affect the interaction between students and teachers).

Chapter six will provide a description of the ways that this framework was applied and guided the collection and analysis of data. It will also discuss the ways that other key methodological issues have been addressed.

Chapter seven contains a detailed description of the context of this study (Hillcliff High).

The third part of the thesis comprises chapters eight to eleven and present the results from the analysis of the evidence together with the discussion of the findings. This part begins with a description of the ways that students and teachers construct the

context of Citizenship Education (chapter eight). In the same chapter it will be argued that while teachers assume a central, 'egocentric' role, students construct for themselves an 'actively passive' one, supporting the roles of the teachers and indirectly all those conditions that prevent them from participating actively in the school. The chapter will also discuss the implications of the construction of such roles for the implementation of Citizenship Education.

Citizenship Education may be taught within a variety of school subjects. In chapter nine the variations in the models of the interaction between students and teachers will be discussed and it will be shown that the interaction and the level of students' participation depend on the subject that is taught and on students' age. The chapter will argue that *flexible performances*, which allow increased levels of participation, are associated with subjects that the school community considers as of lower importance or as operating somewhere outside their definition of schooling. It will also show that as students grow older they have increased opportunities for participation in 'flexible performances', but lower motivation to do so. The chapter will consider the argument that this drop in their motivation is related to their progress towards the higher levels of an informal hierarchy which operates in a way that reminds us of similar hierarchies applied within other institutions such as prisons or the army. It will be argued that this hierarchy and the hidden rules that regulate the way that the school community operates affect the implementation of Citizenship Education.

Chapter ten will turn to the role of agents who, although not directly involved in the interaction between teachers and students, have a significant role in the formation of the interaction model. They will be presented as the 'invisible audience' of the students' and teachers' 'performance'. The participants' perspectives towards the role of this invisible audience will be discussed together with the implications for Citizenship Education.

In chapter eleven the discussion will focus on the description of a 'role-trap' in which teachers and students seem to be caught. It will be argued that the participants' perspectives in combination with the institutional conditions have led these actors to perform through roles from which they remain personally dissociated. This dissociation extends and is projected in their interaction, their view of themselves in the school and their feeling of ownership towards the school. The chapter will consider these arguments in relation to the view of the school as *community* and all the above in relation to Citizenship Education.

Finally, chapter twelve will provide a review of the key points of the thesis and it will discuss the implications of the findings for policy makers, teacher-trainers, schools and researchers in education.

Part 2

Literature Review

Chapter 2

The Historical background: From docility to participation. The introduction of Citizenship Education

1. Introduction

This chapter contains a historical account of educational initiatives from the 20th century onwards which bear a strong relevance to citizenship education. The aim of the chapter is to place Citizenship Education in a historical context and provide the reader with a base from which to follow the discussion on the implementation of the citizenship education programme that will take place in chapter three. In addition, it aims to show:

- a. That education generally and citizenship education specifically, is not only subsequent to the social and political conditions and needs that have been identified by the government and various social groups involved in education, but is affected greatly by the conditions of the educational environment in which they are implemented.
- b. That the English educational system has been unable to accommodate forms of democratic Citizenship Education that are efficiently applied in schools.

The investigation of the historical context of Citizenship Education inevitably directs the study towards the examination of the different formulations of 'political education', as 'a form of intentional and unintentional teaching and learning in formal settings which deals with politics' (Davies, 1992, p. 17). This perspective suggests that the aim of the chapter seems highly ambitious since such a review should include all forms of political education together with a review of the function of the hidden curriculum, which

needs to be considered as one of these forms of teaching and learning. However, the content of the chapter, although informed by social conditions affecting the hidden messages that promoted the content of education, follows the tradition created by scholars such as Batho (1990), or Heater (2001) and focuses mainly on the 'political education programmes'. This term refers to specific structured programmes implemented by schools aiming explicitly at the promotion of political virtues and which are based on initiatives drawn up either by the government, LEAs or the schools themselves.

The view that guides this historical account is that an examination of the education programmes which have relevance to Citizenship Education, if enriched with the information available about individuals' relevant initiatives and viewed in relation to the political reality of the time the historic programmes came into effect, can contribute to the formulation of a more complete picture of the development of political education. This information would assist us not only to place Citizenship Education in the context of a historical continuation, but hopefully to share the idea that the content of political education programmes is dependent upon a number of factors which can be explicit (i.e. the priorities expressed in a relevant document) or implicit (the expectations suggested by the surrounding political climate, the social conditions etc. which influence the 'hidden curriculum' of education). In this sense, such an account is in agreement with Giroux, who argues that 'schools cannot be analysed as institutions removed from the socio-economic context in which they are situated' (Giroux, 1983, p. 46).

The chapter will conclude with an examination of the current model of Citizenship Education which was introduced in the English secondary schools curriculum in 2002.

(The term citizenship education in this chapter is used in lower case to distinguish the early forms of this education from the specific programme of Citizenship Education implemented in 2002).

2. From the 19th Century to the 1970s: From humility to the first voices for direct teaching of Citizenship Education.

Three developments mark the history of citizenship education in the 19th century. The first is the publication in 1765 of the 'Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life' by Joseph Priestley, school teacher and distinguished chemist. The essay was an expression of the negativism towards the involvement of the state in Citizenship Education and more generally in education, a negativism which according to Barker (1936, p. 9) was justified by 'the terror...that the State would grasp the child and indoctrinate the young mind'. However, we can detect in his work the early recognition of the need for a course on politics. Priestley imagined this course focusing on the promotion of the knowledge about the country's constitution and laws and based on individual teachers' and schools' initiatives, a parameter which explains, as Heater (2001, p.106) notes, the very limited response to his calling.

The second development is the introduction of State elementary education serving the ruling class' aims for conformity and control of the poor (Brennan, 1981 p. 32). Meanwhile, public (fee-paying) schools were educating the 'elite citizens' of English society, as they prepared their students 'for leadership, especially in the political life of this country and in the government of the empire' (Batho, 1990, p.91).

The third development is the introduction of the Forster Elementary Education Act in 1870. The Act has been viewed as a result of the politicians' worry about the citizens' 'fitness to vote' which followed the enfranchisement of the Reform Act of 1867 (Frazer, 2000). Sutherland and Heater do not reject the direct link between the Reform Act and the Education Act but they locate it in the common roots for the two.

Irrespective of the reasons that nurtured such political movement, the consequences of the Forster Act on political education were direct. Heater recognises that it was in the 1870s that civic education more widely began, based mainly on teachers' and school boards' initiatives. Frederick Wick's 'British Constitution and Government' and H. O. Arnold Foster's 'Citizen Reader' published in 1871 and 1885 respectively came to assist the provision of civic education (Heater, 2001).

The 19th century concluded with the publication of a series of articles by H. W. Hobart (1895), who was a member of the Social Democratic Federation, in which he demanded the formation of a new curriculum free from the virtues of subordination and control of the working class. Around the same time (1910) the Board of Education was issuing guidelines to teachers in elementary schools for a kind of civic education (Heater, 2001, p. 106). These guidelines, however, were still thriving on suggestions pointing towards the political direction that education had during almost the whole of the 19th century. Moreover, although they did not include any extended reference to political education, the Suggestions to Teachers were clear on the political attitudes that elementary schools were expected to promote. These were the 'loyalty to comrades, loyalty to institutions, unselfishness and an orderly and disciplined habit of mind' (quoted in Brennan, 1981, p.34). It is, however, in these Suggestions that we can find an early indication of the role of the hidden curriculum in students' citizenship education, with the stated expectation from students to acquire all these qualities mainly through the influence of 'the school life'. The fulfilment of these aims would also be promoted in a more direct way through History lessons with a scheme of work entitled 'Thirty-five lessons on citizenship, local and national; visits continued' (Brennan, 1981, p. 34).

In the years that followed, the First World War opened the way for the incorporation of some fresh ideas on the political direction of students' education, some of them drawn from J. Dewey's views, which were being disseminated at that time. In 1915, M. V. L. Hughes published 'Citizens to Be: A Social Study of Health, Wisdom and

Goodness with special reference to elementary schools,' in which he expresses the need to raise students' interest in community welfare through elementary education. In addition, the Great War created the conditions for the promotion of internationalism and 'education for world citizenship' became the main aim of the Education Committee of the League on Nations' Union (established in 1918). In 1920, in her 'History as a School of Citizenship' Helen Madeley, although recognising the usefulness of learning about 'heroic tales', pointed out the hidden risk of promoting a nationalism which, at the time of the war, seemed to be a cause of terror together with glory. Along the same lines, the Board of Education's pamphlet, 'The teaching of History' (1923), contains suggestions for a teaching method partially focused on the internationalist element, while it recognised the 'necessity' of students' 'training to political and social matters' (Quoted in Heater, 2001, p. 112). This increasing interest in international and civic education was also expressed in the two Hadow reports (1926 and 1931). It is in the second of these reports that we find a suggestion that would later become one of the basic ideas incorporated in the work of many modern advocates of political education: the teaching through experience and activity rather than through the acquisition of knowledge and storing of facts.

This was the situation at the beginning of the 30's, which led to the establishment of the Association for Education in Citizenship (AEC) in 1934, with the aim 'to promote on a national scale, an educational defence of democracy through direct education for citizenship' (Batho, 1990, p.134). The foundation of the organisation was based on the threat originating from the strengthening of fascist and communist ideologies in Europe but it was also, as Batho notes, a reaction of the intellectual liberals caused by their exclusion from the national political leadership. However, although the 'decay of democracy abroad' (AEC, 1935:v) was causing unrest to the officials, the attempts made by the AEC to promote the idea of the direct teaching of citizenship proved to be insufficient. Despite the fact that the 'omens were good' as Whitmarsh noted, the Association's ideas failed to have any significant impact on the Spens Report published

in 1938. The Association, seen by officials as a 'leftist pressure group' (Heater, 2001, p.107) and under the directorship of the former Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, who 'was much more worried by Bolshevism than by Nazism' (Whitmarsh, 1974, p.138), was steadily moving to its decay. A last attempt aimed towards the setting up of a committee of enquiry for the promotion of direct teaching of citizenship was abolished by the Board of Education on the grounds that the committee's conclusions would 'provoke opposition and import in the schools an atmosphere of political suspicion' (Whitmarsh, 1974, p.139).

Under these conditions, the Spens report (1938) recognised the need for a form of citizenship education, but the recommendations were for this to be provided through indirect teaching. This 'hidden' form of citizenship education can be considered as the second official reference to the role of the hidden curriculum. Despite the increased interest in citizenship education and the calls for direct teaching of the subject which followed the Spens report, the Norwood Report (1943) condemned such ideas and insisted on the indirect teaching of politics. We read: 'Teaching of the kind desired can best be given incidentally, by appropriate illustration and comment and digression, through the ordinary school subjects, particularly History, Geography, English and foreign languages and literature' and called for an education which would prepare 'boys and girls for their life as citizens' through the "general spirit of the school – what is sometimes called the 'tone' of the school" (Board of Education, 1943, p. 59). A year later, these ideas would be mirrored in the Butler Education Act, but they would be challenged in the report of the Council for Curriculum Reform ('The Content of Education') which was published in 1945 and signalled the beginning of the so called 'Social Studies Movement' (Brennan, 1981).

The ideas presented in the report of the Council for Curriculum reform echoed the ones that the AEC had advocated a decade earlier and were similar to those in the second Hadow report. The report called for political learning through practical experience. The idea was for this to take place in a purposefully designed module,

which would be taught in co-ordination with the rest of the curriculum modules. Specific lessons on History, Politics and Economics would be taught in the upper school classes. However, the content and objectives of the programme were very broad and caused teachers a degree of confusion and uneasiness, especially History and Geography teachers who felt that the programme was challenging their independence. Under these conditions, the movement followed more or less the same fate of the previous attempts, but this time for different reasons: 'because it was a 'low-status' activity [in the sense that Social Studies were reserved for non-examination students], it failed to establish itself in the minds of teachers, parents and pupils as a desirable part of the curriculum' (Brennan, 1981, p. 42-43).

This situation would not change and Social Studies would remain the course for the lower achievers throughout the 1950s and 1960s (Batho, 1990, p.96). Meanwhile, another separation was continuing on the basis of students' social class and a 'dual system' of indirect political education. Grammar and Public (fee-paying students) Boarding Schools were training the future leaders, while a separate curriculum, assessment methodology and pedagogy in the Elementary schools was preparing the working class for the role of the led (Lister, 1987, p. 4; Carr and Hartnett, 1996, p. 78). The first publication from the Ministry of Education specifically dealing with Citizenship education came out in 1949 ('Citizens Growing Up') and seemed to be addressed to the latter group. Apart from being an expression of official interest on the subject and recognition of the role of education to support young and developing citizens, the pamphlet gave no other reasons to justify any enthusiasm. The expressed interest was contemporary but the ideas on the subject, with suggestions about the promotion of 'humility, service, restraint and respect' seemed to come from the previous century.

Three years later (1951), C.F. Strong published his 'Teaching for International Understanding'. The pamphlet contained some very important ideas, which would be incorporated in the view of citizenship education expressed in the 1970s and 1980s.

Beyond the obvious focus on internationalism, recommendations were included for a political education, which would encourage active participation and community work.

The conditions in the political education field appeared to undergo a rapid and continuous development. The Crowther and Newsom reports (1959 and 1963 respectively) contained encouraging references on the matter and the view that the controversy of politics should not be considered as an obstacle to the implementation of some kind of citizenship education. However, there was no expressed intention to incorporate any citizenship education module in the curriculum and Newsom only advocated the widening of the range of subjects involved in political training (Lister 1987, p. 5).

Political education aimed towards the development of students' familiarity with political procedures was also advocated in the School Council Working Paper published in 1965. The Council also advocated the cultivation of 'respect for minority views, freedom of speech and action' (School Council, 1965, p.16), which, for the first time, seemed to appear so clearly as components of the context of political education.

Meanwhile, the argument surrounding a more specific political programme in schools was still alive. Published three years before the Council's Working Paper, the Handbook for History teachers included the chapter 'The teaching of Civics,' in which the subject was presented as dealing with 'that part of the individual's adult activities with which the more normal curriculum subjects are not directly linked' (Quoted in Batho, 1990, p. 96). It is perhaps surprising though, that the 1972 edition of the Handbook made no reference to Civics or Citizenship.

Concluding this early account of citizenship education we can make the following four observations which are particularly useful for this study. The first is that schooling in general and the early forms of citizenship education in particular had been associated with the fulfilment of social and political expectations which very often were related to the maintenance of the status quo and the reproduction of social divisions.

The second point is that the early history of citizenship education is also tied to expectations from political bodies for active participation as a path to transformation of the political and social status quo. The third observation is related to the early recognition of the role of the hidden curriculum in the implementation of forms of citizenship education. The final point is related to the experience that can be drawn from the implementation of a cross-curricular model of citizenship education in accordance with the suggestions contained in the Council for Curriculum Reform. The links that Brennan attempts between exams and the status of the subject as well as the attitudes of the teachers towards it indicate very clearly that there is a long distance from the introduction of an educational programme to its actual implementation. Whether this distance is possible to be covered or not, depends to a great extent on teachers' and students' attitudes towards the subject.

3. 1970s and 1980s: Political Literacy and 'Adjectival' education programmes

a) The 1970s

A year before the beginning of the decade (1969) a major event had taken place which would have a major effect on the developments in the area of citizenship education. This is the foundation of the Politics Association, a pressure group for the introduction of political education in school.

Analysing the political climate of that period, Lister (1978, p. 8) and Davies (1999, p. 127-128) have argued that it constituted a combination of conditions. These were the lowering of the age of majority, the recently published work showing the capability of young students to comprehend political concepts and deal with controversial political issues and also the growing number of indications regarding students' ignorance on political matters. Furthermore, the influence of the relevant suggestions stated or

implied in work which was looking into structural and personal relationships in education and, of course, the zeitgeist formed by recent social events in western countries had all contributed to the formation of positive attitudes being shown towards the voices arguing for a democratisation of education.

At that time, Professor Bernard Crick became the most influential figure leading the movement for the implementation of political education. From his position as President of the Politics Association, together with Derek Heater, its first Chairman, the Association achieved its aim to bring the demand for political education to the foreground of the educational developments and more importantly to supply interested teachers with practical support. Among the achievements of the politics association was the establishment of the 'Teaching Politics' Journal, various publications on political education, the support of relevant research and the introduction of 'political literacy' which offered a contextual framework incorporating a variety of existing and new elements of politics (Brennan, 1981, p. 45-47, Lister, 1978, p. 9-13). (Political Literacy is a basic component of the recently introduced Citizenship Education and will be analysed later in this chapter.)

The Association's work –running in parallel from a London base (Development Group– Hansard Society) and from York (Political Education Research Unit), was also supported by the Association for the Teaching of Social Science, founded in 1967 and from the School Council. The Working Party of the Council published its report in 1975. The report argued for political training leading to participation and the development of critical thinking, for the acquisition of general political knowledge and for cultivation of tolerance towards different views and opinions. In other words, the report was raising specific demands which were linking political education to the formation of an appropriate classroom climate and the implementation of participatory methodologies.

In the 1970s the Humanities Curriculum project was also introduced, under the direction of Lawrence Stenhouse, with the aim 'to develop an understanding of social situations, human acts, and the controversial value issues which they raise' (Pring,

1999, p. 82). The project was using the humanities (art, poetry, dance, history etc.) as the base for the examination through classroom discussions of issues 'of supreme personal, social and political importance: sexual relations, social justice, the use of violence, the respect (or disrespect) of authority, racism and so on' (Pring, 1999, p.83). As Stenhouse argued, it introduced to schools the task of 'bringing [through the teaching of humanities] the best traditional view of what constitutes a liberal education within the grasp of ordinary people' (Stenhouse, 1975, p. 90). Among the achievements of the project was to relate the teaching of politics with the examination of controversial issues and, through them, with the readjustment of the teacher's position and role in the classroom. In order for the issues that were in the focus of the Humanities to be investigated effectively, the teacher's authority had to lie 'not in knowing the *right* answer, but in knowing the intellectual and aesthetic resources upon which one might draw in reaching a *defensible* answer' (Pring, 1999, p.83; emphasis in original). Besides, the classroom discussion was adopted later as a methodology for the teaching of controversial issues by schools that were interested in introducing political studies without incurring the accusation of politically indoctrinating students (Stenhouse, 1982; Pring, 1999).

Meanwhile, the official policy on political education had started to change, but slowly. Shirley Williams, Education Minister in 1975, asked for and authorised the publication of a paper conducted by Slater (HMI inspector) and Hennessey which investigated the incorporation of political education into the curriculum. Nevertheless, there was still strong scepticism among politicians towards this possibility and the paper was published unofficially.

In 1978 though, the discussion on the issue was developed further and the optimism regarding the implementation of a programme for political education was strengthened by the publication of the report of the Hansard Society's programme for Political Education. Brennan's statement demonstrates why this was such an important development: 'For the first time, in this country, there was available to those interested

in this field of education a statement that went beyond mere platitudes and vague generalisations and presented a coherent model which was explicit about the political and pedagogical assumptions on which it was based and clear about the recommendations for practice' (Brennan, 1981, p.53).

This was the Political Literacy model, which demands further description.

Political Literacy

Knowledge, skills and attitudes were the recognised elements of Political Literacy. Crick and Porter (1978) argued specifically for an education that would look towards fostering "a person who has a fair knowledge of what are the issues of contemporary politics, is equipped to be of some influence, whether in school, factory, voluntary body or party and can understand and respect, while not sharing, the values of others".

Distinguishing between these three elements is undoubtedly not an easy task and the Working Party did not always manage to draw clear boundaries between the skills and the values comprising the context of political literacy. The following presentation does not attempt to address this issue or to correct any contextual overlaps. It should be considered only as a brief account of the elements of political literacy and a portrayal of their concept as close to the Working Party's description as possible:

1. Political knowledge

According to the Hansard Society Report (Crick and Porter, 1978 p.13) the political literate person should possess:

- a. 'The basic information about the issue; who holds the power; where the money comes from; how the institution in question works. (This may apply to Parliament, a committee of the County Council, a factory, a school, a trade union, a club or a family.
- b. How to be actively involved using the knowledge [described above] and understanding the nature of the issue.
- c. How to estimate the most effective way of resolving the issue.
- d. How to recognise how well policy objectives have been achieved when the issue is settled.

- e. How to comprehend the viewpoints of other people and their justifications for their actions, and always to expect and to offer justifications oneself.'

The nature of the political knowledge as described above and its components raise some important issues regarding the ways that it can be acquired. Obtaining relevant information is just a part of the relevant knowledge. The fact that it is related to active involvement and the reference by Crick to the ability of the individual to 'estimate,' to 'recognise,' or to 'comprehend' rather than understand or be aware of other peoples' viewpoints, suggests that the acquisition of this knowledge presupposes an active involvement of the individual in the learning process. This is because the individual is not expected to be able to reproduce this knowledge - in the way we can expect students to demonstrate their knowledge on a subject in an exam paper - but to actively use it and, as Patrick phrased it, to 'internalize' it (1972, p. 110). Lister (1987, p.15) states this very clearly, by noting that: "...students should not only understand political concepts and political language, but also they should be able to identify, and analyze political issues and act upon them".

Westbury (1978, p.297) claimed that the acquisition of this knowledge might require a readjustment of the individual's frame of reference in order to meet the challenges of the new stimuli. Young people's ignorance of politics and the demonstration of undemocratic political behaviour from adolescents - reasons that triggered the Political Education movement and justified the work of the Politics Association - suggest that this might very well be the case.

2. Political Skills

What has already been implied in the above description of the types of political knowledge that a political literate individual has to be able to demonstrate, is that this knowledge is of very little value if it does not lead to the acquisition and practice of certain political skills. However, it can not be assumed that the knowledge itself can

cultivate these abilities. In order for these abilities to be developed political education should allow students to gain relevant practical experience.

Participation seems to be considered as one of the most fundamental skills: “the ultimate test of political literacy lies in creating a proclivity to action” (Crick and Porter, 1978, p. 41). Crick had already explained the importance of the acquisition of this skill. He claimed (ibid, 1969 p.11) that a government is incapable of operating democratically: it is actually the citizens’ participation and use of democratic devices that restrain or strengthen the government’s work and achieves the realisation and application of democracy.

3. Political attitudes and procedural values.

Responsibility, respect, protection of the individual’s freedom, empathy, tolerance, trust, equality and participation are considered as major values that citizens participating in a democratic social setting should share. Freedom, tolerance, fairness, respect for truth and respect of reasoning are the ones that Crick chooses to form the list of the procedural values in political education, on the basis that “there cannot be any reasonable study or practice of politics ... which does not presuppose such values” (Crick and Porter, 1978, p. 68).

Crick noted that we can not expect that political literate persons simply accept one set of values as correct. Rather, they will need to see “that the very nature of politics lies in there being a plurality of values and interests, of which they must have at least some minimal understanding” (ibid, p. 64). Furthermore, he claimed that political education is not about dealing with values but with conflicts of values. This view offers a different perspective on Lewin’s (1948) observation that the participation of individuals in social groups results in them adopting the particular system of values and beliefs shared by these groups. In the case of the political literate persons, their effective participation is dependent upon the acceptance by them of the right of the other members to adopt different sets of values. Along these lines, Crick argued that

tolerance is probably the main attitude resulting from the adoption of these values (1978, p. 32).

Implementing Political Literacy

Regarding the implementation of political literacy in the curriculum, the Working Party supported the 'realistic' approach of the incorporation of politics into other subjects (i.e. History, Geography, Social Studies, English and Economics). It did note, though, that the findings from the observed teaching programmes indicated the superior effectiveness of courses with exclusive political literacy objectives (Crick and Porter, 1978, pp. 24-25, 27).

The report also included comments on issues related to the 'hidden curriculum' and their effect on the success of political education programmes. Based on the findings of the observations of political teaching programmes, the Working Party noted the positive influence a 'relaxed' and 'informal' set of relationships and a 'reasonably democratic' teaching style have for the success of a political education programme.

The Working Party's suggestions and the political literacy concept managed to gain official support and the DES publication of the 'Framework for the School Curriculum' seemed to welcome and incorporate most of the Working Party's remarks. However, as Davies noted, 'legitimation had been achieved without implementation' (1999, p. 128) and the 1980s drove political education onto quite different pathways.

b) The 1980s

From the coherence and focus of the political education argument in the seventies, Britain passed to a multi-dimensional approach, driving it in a variety of directions and expressions. It is hard to talk about one approach, as all the subject areas covered by

these 'Adjectival Educations' 'often competed between themselves for resources and curriculum space' (Davies, 1999, p.128-129).

The main issues approached by them and which defined their content include the protection of human rights, ethnic minorities' rights, peace and internationalism, and feminism. The development of each of these was linked with contemporary political issues or events such as the 1981 riots in Liverpool, Bristol and London and the publication of the Swann Report (1985), the feminist movement's demands for an expansion of the context of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act and the growing concern on issues of inequality between the 'First' and 'Third' World (sic).

The development of these movements enriched the content of political education in some ways (i.e. by expanding the world view, offering a more global perspective to the school curriculum (Lister, 1987, p. 16)) and strengthened the argument for a democratisation of teaching techniques. They also dealt with important issues, which by being specific seemed to be more easily handled by teachers and they had a common view of contributing to the creation of just, decent societies. On the negative side, they 'threatened the Political Education movement with fragmentation' and although they were 'goal-rich' and 'process-rich', they were also 'content-poor' (Lister, 1978, p.16). Indeed, the majority of the issues and the ideas forming their content were far from being coherent. Their specificity, from being an advantage proved to be their major weakness since the content of the issues raised was - and still is - under constant development and prone to subjectivity. It was this 'intellectual fragmentation' which, according to Davies, caused a fear of indoctrination, especially since some local education authorities implemented relevant programmes with what seemed to be party political aims (Davies, 1999, p. 129-130).

Not surprisingly, the 1986 Education Act prohibited political activities in schools while it demanded teachers to ensure a balanced presentation of different views in their classrooms.

Lister's description shows how the situation was at the end of 1980s: '.... Political Literacy Education in schools is still very hard to find. Thus, ten years after the launching of the national Programme for Political Education we still need to devise a viable way ahead for Political Education in the schools. The Political Education movement is now poised to make significant progress. It needs a plan of action to do this' (1987, p.19).

What becomes clear from the above is that 1970s and 1980s brought the discussion for political education to the foreground of debates in education. The suggestions made by the Politics Association indicate recognition of the need for a structured educational proposal. At the same time, this proposal seems to walk the first steps of the path which lead to the discussion of the methodology and of the context in which such a proposal is expected to be implemented. The suggestions about the construction of a 'relaxed atmosphere' and of an 'informal set of relationships', reflect relevant propositions made at that time by still flourishing research in the areas of democratic pedagogy. The suggestions clearly raised the issue of the models of interaction between students and teachers that are able to support a model of democratic citizenship education.

Before we proceed with the discussion about the recent developments which led to the introduction of the current model of Citizenship Education it is useful to outline the main points drawn from the above historical account. This historical account indicates that there has been an early recognition of the role of the school ethos and of the hidden curriculum for the implementation of political education programmes. Also clear is that the English educational reality, despite its ability to accommodate the debate on the need and the content of political, democratic and citizenship education has a very poor tradition of implementation of this education. This is not only to say that English schools have not yet been tested as sites of citizenship education learning but, as

some indications provided by this account suggest, the roles of the members of their communities may not actually support such initiatives (see for example the end of the NCC programme in the 1990s which is discussed in the next section or the failure of the educational programme based on the report of the Council for Curriculum Reform about 50 years earlier). The above suggest the need for the investigation of the classroom reality and the ethos of the school in order to develop an understanding about the current prospects and future of Citizenship Education.

4. Recent developments: The introduction of the programme for Citizenship Education. The Crick Report

The tradition created by the Political Association and the specific political, social and educational conditions at the beginning of the 1990s suggested that it was time for some 'serious political education' (Davies, 1999, p. 130).

In 1990, the National Curriculum Council (NCC) listed Citizenship in the group of the five cross-curricular subjects and in the same year the Commission of Citizenship published its report with a number of suggestions on the scope and implementation of citizenship education. It soon, however, became evident that the plan for the introduction of citizenship education as a cross-curricular subject was threatening its actual implementation. The programme remained largely ignored by teachers as schools focused on the delivery of subjects that were determining their position in the League tables (Whitty et al., 1994, Davies, 1999).

Meanwhile, the concern regarding young people's limited interest and involvement in politics was increasing - justifiably or not - and a 'moral panic' was being portrayed (mainly by the media) about "the health of our democracy, the public lack of confidence in political processes and the 'disrespect' of young people for parliament and other political institutions" (Osler, 2000, p. 26).

The response to the conditions mentioned above, together with the internationally growing interest in citizenship education (Osler and Starkey, 2006, pp. 433-4), led the 1997 White Paper, *Excellence in Schools*, to make specific references to the need 'for education for citizenship and teaching of democracy in schools' (QCA, 1998, p. 4). Following this, an Advisory Group was set up to provide guidelines and a framework for the introduction of the subject. Prof Crick returned to the foreground of the educational developments as he was appointed Chair of the Group. The Advisory Group for Citizenship (referred to as 'Advisory Group' in this thesis) published its report (commonly known as the 'Crick Report') in 1998 and the new subject was introduced as part of the statutory curriculum in English secondary schools in 2002.

The understanding of Citizenship Education that informs the framework for the investigation of the issues which concern this study is based on the Crick Report rather than on the specific curriculum programme designed by the DfES. The reasons for this are very similar to the ones that also directed Deakin Crick to a similar choice. She notes: 'This [the Crick Report's] framework was selected because it was itself the outcome of considerable expert research, development and consultation, drawing on a wide range of processes, which together were referred to at the time as forming "preparation for adult life" initiatives. It is also a framework that defines the scope of citizenship education in England and, although its terminology is contested, it is "maximal" in its scope and provided a broad pragmatic framework around which to focus the study' (Deakin Crick, 2005, p. 57). Similarly, McLaughlin points out that the Citizenship Order which outlines the curriculum guidelines of Citizenship Education 'is not self-explanatory with respect to its rationale and values' and he encourages teachers to pay attention to the rationale offered in the Crick Report (McLaughlin, 2000, p. 558).

The publication of the Crick Report has instigated an ongoing debate over the forms, methods and aims of Citizenship Education, over the specific justifications supplied by the Advisory Group regarding the need for this subject, the choices and priorities that have determined its content and desired outcomes etc. Without ignoring this multidimensional debate and its significance, the aims of this study suggest the focus should be placed on the report's specific aims, recommendations and suggested methodologies that are related to the implementation of the subject.

In the broad definition of the term which is provided in the Crick report, Citizenship for the Advisory Group incorporates the three elements of citizenship described by Marshall (Marshall, 1950): civil, political and social. Through these elements, citizenship education acquires three dimensions: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. The first dimension refers to students' moral development. Self-confidence and 'responsible behaviour' are elements of this dimension. The second dimension is related to the promotion of community involvement. Schools are seen as the sites in which community involvement is promoted and practised. The third dimension refers to the political knowledge, values and attitudes, a trio which echoes the suggestions of the Politics Association regarding the three qualities of the political literate person (Crick and Porter, 1978, p.7).

The purpose of Citizenship Education as this is exemplified in the report is:

'to make secure and to increase the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participatory democracy; also to enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibilities needed for the development of pupils into active citizens; and in so doing to establish the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community.'

(QCA, 1998, p. 40)

There is a number of issues raised by the above statement. A critical reading would suggest, for example, that the aims of citizenship are based on the distinction between

pupils and *active citizens* which indicate either that the report adopts a view of the students as lacking the status of citizenship or that it suggests that there is a universal and uncontested belief that the young members of the school community exercise by definition a *passive* form of citizenship. Both assumptions bear some significance for this study. Also significant is that according to the above statement, the introduction of Citizenship Education would assign schools with the responsibility to transform people who do not have a citizenship status or who demonstrate a passive stand towards this status into fully qualified and active citizens.

A second important point that needs to be raised in relation to the above stated aims of the subject relates to the value that the report places on community involvement. Indeed, community involvement is considered by the Advisory Group as an essential element of the new subject, which involves: 'learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community' (ibid, p. 40). It is not in this thesis' intentions to enter into the ongoing debate regarding the approach that the Crick Report adopts towards community involvement. What is, however, very relevant as well as surprising, is the fact that despite the importance that the Advisory Group places on the community and on the role of the school to promote a sense of commitment and active involvement in its affairs, the report contains no clear reference to the school itself as a community (Osler and Starkey, 2001, p. 297). The only relevant reference can be detected in the statement regarding the development of a sense of ownership by the students towards their school (QCA, 1998, p. 36), a sense which can be linked with the feeling of belonging which is considered as an essential element of citizenship (Osler and Starkey, 2005). Following the report's approach, the studies on the implementation of Citizenship Education for a very long time ignored this dimension of the school. Despite the discussion around the ethos and the classroom climate or the examination of the forms of students' involvement in the school, there has been very limited investigation of students' commitment to the school and of their feeling of

belonging to its community. The third annual report of the eight-year Citizenship Education Longitudinal study (Cleaver et al, 2005) provides some indications regarding the ethos of the school and its relevance to Citizenship Education, but the form of the evidence and the limited period given to data collection allow more a snapshot view of this situation rather than an insight.

In the Crick report's statement regarding the development among students of the feeling that the school 'is our school' there is a clear link between this belief and students' active participation. In that respect, the report seems to suggest the development of a model of citizenship which goes beyond status and extends to the feeling and practice of the notion of citizenship as suggested by Osler and Starkey (2005), or to the formation of a maximal form of citizenship as suggested by McLaughlin (2000, pp. 549-550). Indeed, the report clearly states that 'active citizenship is our aim throughout' (QCA, 1998, p. 25). The report makes multiple clear references to the manifestations of this active citizenship in the school: it promotes active learning (ibid, p. 37); it advocates students' engagement 'in discussion and consultation about all aspects of school life on which [they] might reasonably be expected to have a view' and even in the running of the school (ibid, p. 36); it suggests that the content of the subject should be informed by topics and issues that bear relevance to students' life (ibid, p. 36); the implementation of open discussions between students and teachers and discussions on controversial issues in 'a classroom climate in which all pupils are free from any fear of expressing reasonable points of view which contradict those held either by their class teachers or by their peers' (ibid, p. 58); the organisation of students' councils (ibid, p. 74), etc. What implicitly (but clearly) the Advisory Group recommends, is the establishment of the ethos of cooperation and of commitment of the students to their schools, expressed and constructed through their active involvement and facilitated by the teachers who are invited to operate in line with these recommendations.

What the above discussion suggests is that the successful implementation of Citizenship Education depends to a great extent upon the ethos of the school and the personal commitment of the members of the school community to the aims of the subject. If we take into account the lessons learnt from the historical account of Citizenship Education it is easy to understand that the future of this subject is greatly dependent upon the extent to which the ethos of the school can accommodate such methodologies. Without a good knowledge of this ethos we run the danger of creating a future for the subject similar to the one experienced by the Social Studies movement (Brennan, 1981), especially if we bear in mind the provision of the option for schools to implement the subject as a cross curricular one – an option which most schools followed in the first years of its implementation.

In order to develop an understanding of the role of the school's ethos in the implementation of Citizenship Education it is necessary to have a closer look at what we already know about the role that ethos plays in education. Besides, as McLaughlin claims, 'any proper understanding of the processes of educative influence aimed at by teachers and schools is incomplete in the absence of attention to ethos' (McLaughlin, 2005, p. 307).

Chapter 3

Ethos, Discourse and Hidden Curriculum

1. Introduction

The discussion and exploration of the ethos of the school suggests that there is no universal agreement on its meaning. Different authors choose to describe ethos in different ways and various terms are used to describe very similar concepts which can fall under the concept of ethos. Glover (Glover et al, 2005) links school ethos with the classroom climate, Solvason (2005) with the culture of the school, Dancy (1979) with values, aims and attitudes promoted in education, Allder (1993) with the social interactions, Donnely (2002) with the aims and goals set out by the school authorities. Without claiming that it suggests a different perspective, this thesis will examine the meaning of ethos in parallel to two other very similar and to some extent complimentary concepts which bear high significance to education and are highly relevant to the aims of this study. These are the notions of institutional discourse, as it is negotiated by Foucault and the notion of hidden curriculum. At the end of this chapter the relevance of the points raised by the analysis of these concepts to Citizenship Education will be discussed.

2. Ethos

The first common point among most of the studies that focus on the meaning and the function of the ethos is the difficulty that they recognise in the definition of the term. As McLaughlin notes: 'the notion of ethos is notoriously difficult to bring into clear focus in the context of teaching and schooling, as elsewhere' (McLaughlin, 2005). The second point which all these scholars agree on, is the significance of the ethos in the educative

process. The discussion of the Citizenship Education programme in the previous chapter indicates that this recognition is not shared only among scholars but it is acknowledged by official guidelines and educational policies (for a detailed account of documents showing this see McLaughlin, 2005, pp. 306-308). As Reynolds and Reid have argued *'the formal organisational structure of the school appears to be less important in determining effectiveness than the informal, unstructured world of "ethos" that the school possesses'* (Reynolds and Reid, 1985, p. 191; quoted in Alder, 1993, p. 59).

The above quote from Reynolds and Reid indicate not only the importance of the ethos in the school processes but also the context in which the pursuit of its meaning should focus on: this is the *informal, unstructured world*, in other words the world which acquires its meaning and can be effectively described only (if it can be described effectively at all) by the humans that inhabit it. As Alder observes, 'ethos is always located somewhere in the social system of an organisation' (Alder, 1993, p. 68). Similarly to Alder, Glover argues that 'when talking of ethos, it seems that the emphasis is on the way in which people work together' (Glover et al, 2005, p. 257).

Turning to the roots of the word ethos, it would be possible to offer further support to Alder's suggestion. The term originates from the Greek word "ἦθος" which for Aristotle is one of the three rhetoric qualities. In ethos, 'the appeal is made to the audience from the character of the speaker revealed in certain specific qualities of the character, such as good sense, good moral character and good will' (McLaughlin, 2005, p. 312). For Aristotle (Aristotle, Rhetoric, 1336b) the source of the ethos is the social morality, a term which in Greek originates from the same root as the ethos: this is the term "ἔθος" which refers to formulated habits, to "the custodial set of actions of a social group originated by these actions' functionality in the context of this group's activities" (Stamatakos Dictionary of Ancient Greek Language, 1972; my translation).

The origin of the term indicates that even if we consider ethos as a quality of the character of the individual, the source of this quality is fundamentally social and is determined by the community within which the character is formulated and evaluated.

This impact of the social activity in the construction of the ethos which, in turn, determines the development of the character of the individual is recognised by Dancy (1979) and it suggests that within a community we can expect the manifestation of several forms of ethos since the members of the community form several sub-groups according to the impact that the social environment has in the formulation of their character. McLaughlin recognises that within the school environment 'there may be several *ethoses* competing for attention ... either at the level of the whole school or of sub-units within it, which are not all necessarily harmonious with each other' (op. cit., pp. 313-314; emphasis in the original). This leads us to the recognition that within communities we should be able to recognise 'sub-ethoses' and also possible conflicts between these 'ethoses'.

If we turn our attention back to the variety of approaches that have been adopted in the attempt to develop an understanding of the meaning and function of the ethos, we can recognise that beyond the differences in the recognition of the constituents of the school ethos, there is an agreement that the sum of these constituents affects its formulation and its impact in the educative process that is accommodated in the school. The Scottish Office Education Department (1992) recognises twelve such factors that are either incorporated in the definitions of ethos or have been recognised as factors which influence its construction and suggests that these can be used as 'ethos indicators'. These are: pupil morale; teacher morale; teachers' job satisfaction; the physical environment; the learning context; teacher-pupil relationships; equality and justice; extra-curricular activities; school leadership; discipline (op. cit, Appendix 1). What we can recognise in all these indicators is that the construction of the ethos and of the sub-ethoses is a process in which the individuals are involved as much as the

school as an institution with its rules, regulations, methods of applying power etc.. Also involved in the construction of the ethos are agents external to the social system of the school but with an influence in its operation. All these agents are expected to bring in the school their own expectations, aims, aspirations, their own agendas. The conflict that arises between the sub-ethoses which are created from the operation of these agents formulate the ethos of the school. Through this conflict:

'the ethos is constructed and reconstructed (even in radical ways). However, reconstructive efforts, if they are not to aim at the construction of a radically new replacement ethos, must be conducted in a way which is sensitive to the imperatives of givenness'

(McLaughlin, 2005, p. 314)

It is obvious that the point raised by the discussion above and supported by McLaughlin is very important for Citizenship Education since the new subject has arrived with a clear aim to promote a distinctive school ethos. As McLaughlin notes, this is rarely sufficient to change the ethos; an understanding and *sensitiveness* to the already established ethos is required in order for such initiatives to have results. A number of studies have actually made clear how important this is. Solvason links the ethos with the culture and points out that 'cultures are deep-rooted, and plans to change a culture could be at best tricky and at worst detrimental to the fabric of the school' (Solvason, 2005, p. 91) and claims that 'it takes far more than a new policy to transform the underlying beliefs of the school' (ibid, p. 92). More than thirty years before Solvason, Sarason had already shown that

'Good ideas and missionary zeal are sometimes enough to change the thinking and actions of individuals; they are rarely, if ever, effective in changing complicated organisations (like the school) with traditions, dynamics, and goals of their own'

Sarason, 1971, p. 213; quoted in Solvason, 2005, p. 92).

Official reports following the introduction of Citizenship Education conducted by NFER and OFSTED indicate that the construction of the ethos or climate that the Crick report advocated has been a difficult task. Apart from verifying Sarason's and

Solvason's claims, these reports indicate also the need for an in-depth understanding of the established ethos of the school in order for the appropriate support to be made available for the schools. Therefore, the question that we should ask at this stage is the one which McLaughlin suggests:

'What kind of 'intended' ethos do we want to have in our classrooms and schools, what is the nature of our existing 'experienced' ethos and in what respects does it match up to, or fail to match up to, our intentions?

(op. cit., p. 315)

Despite the rich literature (especially during the last decade) on the meaning and importance of the school ethos, there is little that we know about the extent to which the current school ethos matches up, or is compatible to, the aims and methods of Citizenship Education. A route that could provide us with more information could be to examine the hidden curriculum, a notion which is closely related to the school ethos. This will be discussed in the next part.

3. The Hidden (or unwritten) Curriculum

It was Jackson (1968) who first suggested the importance of examining the hidden aspect of the educational provision when education is approached as a socialisation process. Jackson suggests the use of the term 'hidden curriculum' to describe these processes. Hidden curriculum 'refers to those non-academic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education' (Vallance, 1983, p. 11). The above definition allows us to see the relevance between the concepts of *ethos* and *hidden curriculum*. An even clearer link between the terms can be drawn from Blumberg and Blumberg's work (1994):

'Although the unwritten curriculum is not taught in any accepted sense of the word, it is nonetheless learned. Its operation is almost a pure example of experiential learning. the setting and the interactions that evolve from the relationships that adults and youngsters have with each other provide the circumstances and experience from which students, young and old, learn' .

(ibid, pp. ix-x)

Evidently the hidden curriculum, similarly to the ethos, is contextualised within the school as a social environment and is related very closely to the social interaction that is accommodated in this environment.

Similarly also to the observations made in the previous part regarding the conflicts between different *ethoses*, the understanding of the function of the hidden curriculum is closely tied with the acknowledgement that there is a significant difference between the content of the official curriculum and what is actually taught in the classrooms. As Schwartz observes:

'Curriculum writers cannot expect to relate to the teacher's classroom experience or the 'inward journey' that students experience as a result of their exposure to the ideas and activities of any curriculum. What happens in the learning experience is an outcome of the original, creative, thinking-on-your-feet efforts of the teacher – which often lead the class in directions far, far away from the anticipated goals of the curriculum writers.'

(Schwartz, 2006, p. 250)

Similarly to the diversity in the approaches of the 'ethos', scholars attribute a variety of aspects of the school life in the meaning of the hidden curriculum. Jackson (1968) allocates to this term the rules, routines and regulations that must be learnt by pupils in order to adjust themselves to the life of the school. He also notices that through these routines and regulations, students experience *delays, denials* and *interruptions*: they need to wait for their turn to speak, to be served in the canteen, to speak to a teacher; they are denied the choice of the time or the kind of activities they want to be involved in, they are forbidden to talk among themselves or even to make their own sitting arrangements in the classrooms; they are interrupted when the bell rings or when a teacher allocates them with a responsibility while they are engaged in an activity. In order to cope with these interruptions, denials and delays students develop some

strategies. In some cases they pretend that they are involved in activities that they know that teachers consider as important ('masquerade') while some students use their 'patience' waiting to live their real lives outside the school environment. Some students finally give in to the pressure of this set of rules, routines and regulations and adopt the view that school makes sense, without though being necessarily able to see this sense.

Holt in his attempt to examine 'How Children Fail' (Holt, 1969) allocated the hidden messages that school life passes to students in the selection of the content of the subjects that students are taught and the assessment of their performance. The first, as Holt claims, causes boredom and disengagement from the classroom tasks and from what he calls 'real learning' (see Holt, 1969, p.81-130). The second results in an emphasis on students' failure and it causes fear. Holt notices that in order to cope with these feelings students use techniques that help them to identify the 'right answers' and gain teachers' approval.

Vallance, (1983, p. 10) demonstrates that there are three dimensions in the hidden curriculum. Initially the hidden curriculum can be seen as any schooling context such as an organisation, classroom environment, student-teacher contact and generally 'the whole organisational pattern of the educational establishment as a microcosm of the social value system' (ibid, p. 10). Secondly, the hidden curriculum can endorse several procedures that operate in and through the schools such as: 'values acquisition, socialisation, maintenance of class structure' (ibid, p. 10). Thirdly, 'the hidden curriculum can embrace differing degrees of intentionality and depth of hiddenness as perceived by the investigator, ranging from incidental and quite unintended by-products of curriculum arrangements to outcomes more deeply embedded in the historical function of education (ibid, p. 10).

Peter McLaren (1986) links hidden curriculum with the schools' regulations and rituals and suggests a view of schooling as a 'Ritual Performance'. Rituals in his work are viewed 'in the context of symbolic action' and are perceived as 'carriers of cultural

codes (cognitive and gestural information) that shape students' perceptions and ways of understanding; they inscribe both the 'surface structure' and 'deep grammar' of school culture' (McLaren, 1986, p. 3). He sees the members of the school community as social 'actors' and their behaviours are interpreted on a 'semiotic, dramaturgical and phenomenological' base (ibid, p. 3).

McLaren shares with Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Bourdieu (1977) the views on the role of the school as an agent of 'social and cultural reproduction' and with Willis (1977), and Apple (1979) the notion of the school's 'relative autonomy'. He attributes to the 'rituals' the concepts of power and domination and he suggests this to be considered as political events 'and parts of the objectified distributions of the school dominant culture' (ibid, p. 4). In that sense, the 'actors' are participating in a 'performance' that is taking place in a 'discontinuous, murky, and provocative of competition and conflict' cultural setting (ibid, p. 6). However, he claims that his interpretation of the school rituals is not binding. Adopting Grimes' view (Grimes, 1982) he notices that 'there is no ritual studies viewpoint, but rather a field upon which are focused multiple viewpoints' (McLaren, 1986, p. 31).

Through the presentation of the school life as a ritual performance, McLaren does not provide us with an extensive list of the constituents of the hidden curriculum but with a methodological approach which potentially can 'free classroom research from the tyranny of the literal, the obvious and the self-evident (McLaren, 1986, p. 11). This methodological suggestion is of high value for this study, as it will be shown in the Methodology and Discussion parts of this thesis.

In a more recent study, Sutoris (2000) examined school life under a perspective which is based on the open systems theory (Miller and Rice, 1967) and the psychoanalytic tradition of object relations theory (Bion, 1961). According to this approach an open system is 'one that depends for its survival and growth upon the exchange of energy, materials, people or information with its environment' (Sutoris,

2000, p. 52). In that sense, the members of the school community and the school itself consist open systems since 'both have an internal ...and an external world with a boundary between the two, across which exchanges with the environment are regulated or managed, and internal processes which transform inputs into outputs' (Sutoris, 2000, p.53). By becoming members of this environment, students take up roles and learn to interact with a larger and more diverse system than the one of their families. In this way they get prepared to deal with the complexities of the adult life and the multiple roles that they have to adapt in order to deal with them (parents, professionals, citizens and so on). Sutoris claims that in order for the school to be effective in assisting students in this process it should aim to facilitate: the acquisition of knowledge and skills, the acquisition of values, beliefs and attitudes and the students' physical, psychological and emotional growth. Sutoris argues that schools fail to do so and their curriculum 'emphasises subject achievements at the expense of personal and social accomplishments' (Sutoris, op. cit., p.57). Furthermore, schools fail to treat students as individuals and differentiate the educational methodologies according to their personality. In that way, students have unclear ideas about their roles in the school and they develop an even more unclear vision about their roles as adults. As a result, they are not equipped with the ability to plan and live their lives according in a way that matches to their personalities neither to achieve 'self actualisation'.

Other perspectives on the function of the hidden curriculum: A review of the literature

The views outlined above and especially Sutoris' observations lead us to a brief review of the arguments in relation to the function of the hidden curriculum. This is important because it allows a deeper insight into the role of the hidden curriculum and the ways it affects students' education. It can allow us to finally make useful observations of the

way that the hidden curriculum can potentially affect the messages and the aims of Citizenship Education.

'The hidden curriculum is what is taught by school, not by any one teacher. However enlightened the staff, however progressive the curriculum, however community-oriented the school, something comes across to the pupils which need never be spoken about in the English lesson or prayed about in assembly. Students are picking up an approach to living, and an attitude to learning. The Canadian connoisseur of communication techniques, Marshall McLuhan, says, "I told you, the medium is the message". The medium is the atmosphere of the school, the furnishing, the routing, the relationships, the priorities; and the message?'

(Head, 1974; quoted in Meighan, 1981).

There is more than one answer to Head's question and more than one interpretation regarding the message of the hidden curriculum.

Similarly to Lynch, (1989) and Kirby (Kirby et al, 1997) the relevant views will be presented here as constituting two major approaches: The Functionalist and the Neo-Marxist.

Functionalist views

The term 'hidden curriculum' is used for the first time by Jackson (1968) to draw attention to the idea that schools do more than simply aid the transmission of knowledge between one generation and the next. In this aspect, Jackson approach to the hidden curriculum is a functionalist one.

Functionalists see the transmission of society's core values as one of the main functions of the education system and they suggest a view of education as a socialisation process. As such, this process includes the transmission of norms and values as well as the socially approved set of knowledge. This transmission is not affected only by the social construction of knowledge and the selection process which defines what should be taught, but also by the way that the teaching and learning processes are constructed. All these factors constitute the hidden curriculum. Parsons (1961) has given an example of the function of the hidden curriculum by noticing that through the competitive character of the education system, society promotes

individualistic values. Dreeben, focusing on the whole school processes, shares the same views and notices 'that the social experiences available to pupils in schools, by virtue of the nature and sequence of their structural arrangements, provide opportunities for children to learn norms characteristic of several facets of adult public life' (Dreeben, 1968, p.65; quoted in Lynch, 1989, p.2).

Integrated in the functionalist view, as this is expressed in the work of Parsons (1961) or Davis and Moore (1967), is the claim that the function of the hidden curriculum and generally of education is to serve the need for the allocation of students to occupations and social roles that are the most appropriate according to their talents, interests and amount of effort they are prepared to make.

Neo – Marxist views

Marxists' view of education suggests that the role of the schools, specifically of their hidden curriculum, is the *social reproduction*. Bowles and Gintis work 'Schooling in Capitalist America' (1976), argued that there is a 'correspondence' between the social relations of school life and the ones of production. Under this perspective, schools' main role was not the promotion of any sort of meritocracy as the functionalists suggest, but the reproduction of the inequalities of the society in which these schools operate. In relation to Parsons' view on the promotion of the individualistic values in schools, Bowles and Gintis suggest that 'The predatory, competitive and personally destructive way in which intellectual achievement is rewarded [in US schools and colleges] is a monument not to creative rationality, but to the need of a privileged class to justify an irrational, exploitative and undemocratic system (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p. 107).

With their views, Bowles and Gintis take the spotlight away from the classroom processes and the school and they 'locate the debate on the nature of the hidden curriculum in the context of the larger social system' (Lynch, 1989, p. 4). Besides, they highlight the role of the experiences that students have acquired outside the school

environment (what can be described as 'primary discourse') in the determination of the kind of social experiences that they will have in it (Lynch, 1989, p.4).

In relation to these experiences, Willis' suggestion (Willis, 1977) provides a different view of the function of the hidden curriculum. His claim is that it is not the school's curriculum that reproduces inequalities, but the displacement of students' resistance to social classification, implied in the relationships that are developed between themselves and the teachers. By attempting to resist the inferiority of their position within this relationship, they develop a sense of superiority towards other social groups (i.e. girls, minorities) and they reproduce in this way, the norms of their class. However, the value of Willis' work does not lie only on the alternative way of viewing the function of the hidden curriculum. 'His work heralded both a shift from quantitative towards qualitative ethnographic research methods within the sociology of education as a whole, and a shift, within the Marxist perspective, from a highly deterministic account of social reproduction towards an appreciation of the role of the culture processes' (Lynch, 1989, p. 18).

The examination of the hidden curriculum in relation to students' culture acquired in the family has been the focus of another Marxist theorist, Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1977) claims that the culture of students who come from families that belong to the dominant class, is the same as the one of their teachers or contains elements (codes of behaviour, use of language) that teachers have learned through their training to consider as 'acceptable'. Their language ('linguistic capital') is the one that is closest to the language of the school and in this way, they find it easy to comprehend the rules of the institution and adjust themselves in the school life. Since these rules, incorporated in the concept of 'habitus', are also the rules that lead to the success in the broad social game, students' familiarity with them becomes the way that the dominant class achieves the social reproduction. In that sense, 'the main function of the education system is not to transmit knowledge but to select, to differentiate, to categorise' (Kirby

et al, 1997, p.285). The value of Bourdieu's suggestion, as Lynch notices, lies in the fact that he presents a mode for analysis of the hidden curriculum which 'is neither solely on structures or on individual practice but rather on the interrelationship between the two at different points along the communicative relations ladder' (Lynch, 1989, p.22).

Similarly to Bourdieu, Apple's earlier work (1979) was also concerned with the cultural reproduction. 'It saw schools, and especially the hidden curriculum, as successfully corresponding to the ideological needs of capital' (Lynch, 1989, p.7). However, in his later work (1982, 1986), Apple claims that schools enjoy a 'relative autonomy' which allows them not only to reproduce, but also to create culture. Apple also adopts Willis' view regarding students' resistance to the school culture and the ways that this resistance lead them to the reproduction of existing class relations (Apple, 1982).

The view regarding the 'relative autonomy' of schools has been adopted by Giroux, who also adopts the notion of resistance. His work is less focused in the analysis of the hidden curriculum than in the promotion of the role of education as a 'transformative' agent. Giroux has seen the role of the hidden curriculum under the perspective offered by the 'radical pedagogy'. Radical pedagogy 'means developing in students the ability to act and think critically so that the true nature of class society is uncovered and possibly transformed' (Kirby et al, 1997, p.287). In accordance with this view, and by using the 'relative autonomy' of their environment, Giroux calls 'teachers and other educators to reject educational theories that reduce schooling either to the domain of learning theory or to forms of technocratic rationality that ignore the concerns of social change, power relations, and conflicts both within and outside the schools' (Giroux, 1983, p.62). In relation to the hidden curriculum, he notices that its concept is important

'because it rejects the notion of immediacy that runs through both the discourse of traditional learning theory and the logic of technocratic rationality' (ibid, p.62).

Giroux's ideas have received strong criticism, both positive and negative. The 'transformative' role of education prescribes teachers with an important and 'empowered' role which can be highly valued at times that teachers function as 'product promoters' as Pring (1999) has argued. On the other hand, his views can be seen, as Lynch notices, as 'being presented at the level of the ideal' and 'as exercises in Hegelian idealism' (Lynch, 1989, p.16). However, regarding his view on the hidden curriculum, it is possible to consider his recommendations as being of high value, especially when he maintains that 'What is needed ...is a view of the hidden curriculum that encompasses all the ideological instances of the schooling process that "silently" structure and reproduce hegemonic assumptions and practices' (Giroux, 1983, p.71).

Beyond the different interpretations of the function of the hidden curriculum, what becomes obvious is that closely linked with its study is the development of an understanding that the school often serves socio-political purposes which are not easily available to external observation. Irrespective of the view that we follow in analysing these purposes we cannot fail to see that the relevant argumentation suggests that what is hidden in the hidden curriculum is an agenda significantly different (if not opposing) to the aims of Citizenship Education.

The final part will focus explicitly in the notion of the institutional discourse as this is studied by Foucault. The aim of this examination is to show that the notion of discourse can be used as complimentary to the terms ethos and hidden curriculum illuminating the social and interactive process of the construction of all that is hidden within an institution and affect its operation.

4. The notion of 'Discourse' in the work of Foucault

The notion of 'discourse' refers to 'ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them' (Weedon, 1987, p. 108). This definition justifies a reference to the 'school discourse' in this section which can include all aspects of the school life that transfer explicit or implicit messages to the members of the school community regarding their position in the community, their role in it or the outcomes from their engagement in the school life. In that aspect, the term as it is used in this thesis covers the meaning of both curricula, overt and hidden. This is not to say that discourse covers sufficiently the concept of the hidden curriculum but it can be claimed that the adoption of the term 'hidden curriculum' can be seen as an attempt to accurately describe aspects of the educational institutions that Foucault brought into light and described as 'discourses'.

The choice of Foucault's views over other thinkers who examine the notion of discourse in their work is based on Foucault's systematic analysis of the function of discourse within the institutional life which makes his work particularly appropriate for the purposes of this study.

Examining the role of power and the ways it is applied in the society, Foucault does not locate his examination in the state, but considers social power as being a part of all social relationships (Foucault, 1974, 1977, Rabinow, 1991). His key concern was not to ask who exercises power or why, but how. This led him to explore what he called 'techniques of power' (Foucault, 1981). One of these techniques is the claim to truth. In 'The Order of Things' (Foucault, 1974) he argues that the systematic treatment which has been embodied in the social sciences and the pursuit of the 'truth' was actually functioning as a form of domination. In the 'Discipline and Punish' (Foucault, 1977) he

shows how this form of power has been applied in institutions to control the lives of individuals.

More precisely, an institution in the work of Foucault is 'a relatively enduring and stable set of relationships between different people, and between people and objects. For instance, the field of education is made up of a variety of institutions: schools, universities, kindergartens, and bureaucracies. These institutions invariably have a physical presence – for example, a classroom – but, importantly, they should also be understood as being constituted by relationships: between school principals and teachers, teachers and students, parents and school boards, and so on' (Danaher et al, 2002, p.36).

Institutions can be found either in the private (family or groups of friends) or in the public sphere (schools, mental institutes, prisons etc.). The latter are usually more structured and regulated (institutionalised) and the communication practices are usually rigidly defined by rules and specific procedures. Foucault claims that this structure and practice of public institutions relates to the notions of truth and these are related again with the notion of power. 'Public institutes draw their authority from their capacity to speak the truth about some situation. Legal institutions deliver the truth in their deliberations on criminal cases; scientific institutions pronounce the truth about breakthrough in knowledge' (Danaher et al, 2002, p.37).

Foucault relates the delivery and acquisition of knowledge with discipline. In the 'Discipline and Punish' (1977) he links the two uses of the term 'discipline' (as a noun and as a verb) and he claims that by entering into the various educational or academic institutions, individuals become the subjects of the knowledge they acquire and also of the way this knowledge was approached by these institutions (Foucault, 1977, p.170 – 194). In that sense, when individuals define themselves as members of these institutions, they refer not only to the knowledge they have acquired, but also to the whole of their experiences in the institutions in which this knowledge was delivered to

them; exams, relationships with teachers, teaching practices are all aspects of this whole, which Foucault describes as the institution's 'discourse'.

More accurately, the institution's discourse, according to Foucault, is the meaning of the language which is used by its members and which defines the relationships within the institution and between the institution and the rest of the world. Foucault (and the post-structuralist sociological theory which adopts his approach) claims that there is not a definite meaning for words, but that the examination of their meaning can take us only as far as to allow us to form a view of the various interpretations of this meaning, the various 'discourses'. Under this perspective social power 'is a dynamic of control and lack of control between discourses and the subjects, constituted by discourses, who are their agents. Power is exercised within discourses in the ways in which they constitute and govern individual subjects (Weedon, 1987, p.113). An accurate reflection of the broad social struggle for power is taking place within the institutes, and in the case of education, within the schools' environments.

It is evident that Foucault approaches institutions as systems which accommodate and are influenced by the greater social struggle for power and which acquire their characteristics from the relationships and the interaction between the humans who inhabit them. The members of the communities of these institutions bear their own interpretations about the situation which accommodates them and they are involved in a constant attempt to impose their own definitions upon this community. The discourse is what they carry, promote and protect in this struggle and it is also the institutional discourse which is the outcome of this struggle.

Viewing school communities as discourse communities suggests that the introduction of a new subject in its curriculum instigates a new struggle for the members of this community. Students and teachers cannot be expected to implement or be educated by the new subject but also to reject, adopt and in any case interpret

the content, aims and methodologies of this subject. They should also be expected to incorporate their interpretations in the already established (but dynamic) discourse of their interaction and in their ongoing negotiation of the meanings and definitions of the roles they assume and of the situation within which they interact.

5. Summary

So far, the chapter has negotiated three closely related terms: ethos, hidden curriculum and discourse. What becomes evident from this discussion is that all these terms provide different but complimentary approaches to the phenomenon of the function of the school as a social environment accommodating the human interaction. This is not to suggest that these notions have been extensively analysed or that the above discussion could not have integrated further similar concepts (as for example a more extensive discussion on Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus') or other approaches to 'discourse' (as for example the very relevant suggestions of its function made by Habermas). The aim, however, of this thesis is not to provide a complete overview of such notions but to outline the basic conceptual suggestions which are considered as important in the context of the implementation of Citizenship Education. In this respect, the above three concepts have offered the opportunity for the examination of those processes in education that although hidden, are able to support or to prevent the successful implementation of the subject. It is useful at this stage to summarise the main points of this examination.

The importance of the educative role of ethos has been clearly acknowledged by the Crick report and most of the proponents of Citizenship Education. The suggestions regarding the importance of the construction of an inclusive ethos, of an open classroom climate which allows students to express their views, to participate in the school and to develop a sense of belonging to its community have been effectively

advocated. What is however largely unexplored is the current school ethos and the way that it functions as a supporter or as an obstacle to this educational initiative. The discussion about the hidden curriculum indicates that schools do not operate in a political vacuum but that their operation is largely affected by hidden and overt political agendas which may or may not be compatible to specific curriculum initiatives. Finally, Foucault's view of the institutional discourse suggests that the curricula, similarly to any other initiative introduced in an institutional environment, are not implemented but they are negotiated and interpreted. The outcomes from this interpretation will suggest a different form of curriculum and they are dependent upon the interactive processes which are accommodated in the institution.

Finally, a common point raised by the brief analysis of the three concepts is related to the importance of the social environment and of the human interaction that takes place within them and therefore the need to study and comprehend this interaction in order to offer the best possible support to this community in order to accommodate efficiently the aims and methods of Citizenship Education.

The last part of this chapter will draw from the discussion above to examine three issues which have been raised in the debate that followed the introduction of Citizenship Education.

6. Citizenship Education: A discussion about discourses

In this part of the chapter the discussion will focus on the examination of three themes drawn from the debate instigated by the introduction of Citizenship Education. Their examination follows the argument which was constructed in the previous parts of the chapter regarding the need for the development of an understanding of the nature of the current educational discourse, the ethos or the hidden curricula in order for the

appropriate support to be made available to schools as they implement the suggestions and follow the methodologies exemplified in the Crick report. The discussion of these three themes does not aim to provide a complete response to McLaughlin's question (see p. 48) but should be considered as a brief review of current debates in relation to this call and it serves no more than an instigator for the extensive discussion over the findings of this study.

a) The individualistic discourse of education

Lankshear has argued that 'Education, socialisation, training, apprenticeship and enculturation are among the terms we use to refer to processes by which individuals are initiated into the discourses of their identity formations' (Lankshear, 1997, p.17). Schools provide the environment in which discourses are formed and promoted while individuals' interactions within this environment bring together and redefine their primary discourses, which have been shaped prior to individuals' engagement in schooling. As Arthur and Davison claimed, 'schools are discourse communities. The language, values, ways of being and membership of various facets of the school, whether by staff or pupils, define and are defined by individuals' engagement with discourses' (2000, p.18). This view is in line with Foucault's views and suggests that the redefinition of discourses is not strictly related to specific aims that schools set regarding the promotion of certain values, attitudes, beliefs or ways of thinking but with processes that 'are rarely, if ever, made explicit' (Arthur and Davison, 2000, p.18). However, even if it is not always possible to reveal the processes that determine their formation, we can shape an idea about the function of these discourses by studying the life in the institutions in which these are underpinned. Furthermore, it is possible to examine these discourses in relation to the values or attitudes that we want to enhance for individuals through their engagement in the school life and possibly examine

readjustments that may be needed in order for these institutions to serve the desired purpose.

'The school is fundamentally an agency of socialization which exerts pressures on those involved to accept its social values as their own. Engagement with learning will result ...from an induction into "educated discourse", success in which will determine future acquisition of social "goods": for example, particular employment paths, higher education, power, status, wealth and so on' (Arthur and Davison, 2000, p. 19). This view which can strongly remind one of a 'bargain culture' (Lawson, 2001) is, according to the writers, promoting a culture of individualism. This view is in agreement with Hargreaves' claim regarding the promotion of this culture at the expense of the development of 'team spirit', 'esprit de corps' and 'loyalty to the school'. Without rejecting this culture, Hargreaves notices that 'an excessive and exclusive attention to individual needs jeopardizes those of the society' (Hargreaves, 1982, p. 34-35).

The statement sounds like a warning to persons engaged with the implementation of Citizenship Education. With aims such as the development of a sense of a responsibility towards the community and of active citizenship, the programme brings values which may be impossible for schools to incorporate into their practice and indeed in their curriculum. It introduces, in other words, a meta-level discourse, which is possibly incompatible to the schools' secondary discourse. Active citizenship particularly, is a product of 'critical awareness of alternative discourses' which allows the possibility of choice among them, or, as Arthur and Davison argue, 'to be enabled to critically choose among discourses rather than simply to acquire or to reject discourses without such learning and understanding is to be empowered – and it is the essence of powerful social literacy. It is also the essence of the education of free citizens' (op. cit., p.19).

b) The 'business – like' school

Pring puts the discussion about choice, individualism and educational discourse on a different basis. In the article 'Political Education: relevance of the humanities' (1999), he presents the view of education as a 'quality circle' which offers a 'product' ready for consumption. He claims that the pressure to 'raise standards' places schools in a production line in which the government is the one that defines the product, inspects and assesses its quality, informs and empowers the 'customers' i.e. parents. He argues that in this idea of 'quality circle,' 'there is a coherent set of ideas which are of a political nature and which transform not simply how education should be organised but also what we understand by education'. Secondly, he argues that 'such a changed understanding will affect the purpose and understanding of specific programmes, in particular those of political education' (Pring, 1999, p. 73).

Pring recognises a shift in the educational discourse which potentially redefines all aspects of schooling, especially the relationships of the individuals engaged in it. The new language with terms such as 'cost effectiveness' and 'value for money' which are used by OFSTED and other official bodies are indicative of this new discourse. 'The shift in the language of education ...brings with it a shift in how we see the relationships between teacher and learner, and between teachers and those who organise the education system – indeed, how we perceive the political framework within which teachers are asked to relate to their pupils and to what are now referred to as stakeholders' (Pring, 1999, p.74-75).

Pring's claim raises a number of issues requiring further investigation. One of these relates to the changes that the shift in the educational discourse causes to the teachers' roles. According to Pring, when placed in this 'quality circle,' teachers appear to have to promote a product – or at least effectively deliver it, since the product has already been decided by the government' (ibid, p.74). Resulting from this, there is the separation between ends of education to the means reaching those ends. As Pring

mentions, this has certain implications for the educational discourse: ‘...it has removed from educational discourse, and thus from those thinking professionally about educational matters, what has traditionally been at the very heart of education, namely, deliberation over the values worth pursuing, the sort of society we should be endeavouring to create, the personal qualities and understandings which should be developed’ (ibid, p.74). This has further implications for the way teachers understand and act in their role, for the way authority is applied in schools and of course for the relationship between teachers and students.

Regarding the implementation of citizenship education, this new educational discourse seems, according to Pring, to create a rather problematic environment. Political education in democracy he notices, has the role to ‘nurture in young people not only the instrumental knowledge and skills by which they might achieve certain political ends, but also the understandings and capacities for deliberating about those ends themselves’ (ibid, p.84). In other words, in order to have a political education ‘in democracy’ as Lister solicited (Lister, 1981), its aims need to be part of the discussion, of the political debate that we expect students to be engaged in. Setting out ‘tightly defined outcomes’ implies the implementation of a form of political education which has been formed ‘in business terms’. However, this form of political education, as Morrell has argued, ‘can all too easily become an agent of the worst sort of conservatism’ and it is incompatible with the ‘active citizenship’ that is claimed to be pursued by it (Morrell, 1964; Quoted in Pring, 1999, p.85). In that sense, we should note that although the meta-level discourse of citizenship education seems to be compatible with schools’ discourse, they are both, according to Pring, incompatible with the nature and aims of the truly democratic political education.

A final issue which will be discussed is the adoption of a business-like educational discourse which relates to students’ participation. The predefinition of the outcomes and the control over the content and aims of an education programme, especially when both are not taking place within the educational environment but are ‘imposed’ by the

government, can result in participation losing its actual meaning and purpose. In particular, they may risk students' 'willingness and ability to participate in decision-making, to value freedom, to choose between alternatives and to value fairness as a basis for making and judging decisions' (QCA, 1998, p.57). Furthermore, they can be responsible for inducting students into a 'bargain culture' as described by Lawson, in which active participation refers to the means for the acquisition of specific 'goods' (i.e. high grades). Pring is doubtful whether Citizenship Education can promote participation under these conditions: 'it is difficult to see how political education, even under the guise of 'citizenship', might prepare young people to participate in a democratic form of life where the prevailing and controlling management model of education militates against that form of life' (1999, p.79).

c) Citizenship education in the school programme

A number of other issues are raised when we examine the way that citizenship education is expected to be incorporated in the school programme. These, although they are linked and affect the content and discourse of citizenship education, will be examined separately as they consist of the more 'practical' aspect of the programme.

The first of these issues is related to teachers' views of the programme and the support that are prepared to give to its implementation. Evidence drawn from studies such as the one undertaken by Holden (Holden, 1998) or from the first Cross-Sectional Survey of the NFER Longitudinal Study (Kerr et al, 2003) although limited, efficiently justified a concern regarding teachers' enthusiasm about taking on the new challenges of Citizenship Education (Menter and Walker 2000, p.107). Menter and Walker's interpretation of this evidence is based on the 'diminished autonomy' and the government's 'increasing incursion into [teachers'] areas of professional decision-making' (Menter and Walker, 2000, p.106). This view validates Pring's scepticism

regarding the success of the programme, when reducing teachers' role to 'product promoters'. Davies' relevant pessimism on the other hand, is based on the priorities that schools are expected to make under the pressure of an educational policy which is concentrated on raising standards in Numeracy and Literacy (Davies, 1999, p.130). The report of the Advisory Group is clear on the issue: 'Whilst issues of the broader curriculum lie outside the remit of the group, we would want to stress that our recommendations should not be at the expense of other subjects nor lead to any narrowing of the curriculum' (QCA, 1998, p. 24). Furthermore, there is no doubt that the overload of responsibilities that teachers have undertaken, an issue that is addressed in a plethora of documents that have been produced by teachers' professional bodies (i.e. NUT and NASUWT), could also have a negative effect on their attitudes towards governments' initiatives –including the introduction of Citizenship Education. The experience from previous attempts (NCC, 1990) suggests that all these could have more apparent effects in schools which choose to implement citizenship education as a cross-curricular subject.

Closely related to the above issue is the concern regarding the way that schools handle the recommendation for a balance between the informative aspect of Citizenship and the cultivation of students' relevant skills and attitudes. Arthur and Davison validate this concern noting that the National Curriculum 'remains dominated by cognate subject areas without any real attempt to articulate the values and beliefs which they help form in young people' (Arthur and Davison, 2000, p.21). Arthur and Davison's claim can be particularly important for schools in which Citizenship is taught as a cross-curricular subject since it suggests that in these schools there may exist far less chances for the use of participatory, active approaches since 'the traditional subjects ... focus almost entirely on cognate aspects of teaching and learning..' (ibid, p.20). The findings from the 2003 NFER Cross-Sectional survey support these concerns: 'Teacher and college tutors reported that the most common teacher and

learning approaches for students were listening whilst the teacher/tutor talks, taking notes and working from textbooks and worksheets' (op. cit., p.42). The survey also addressed the issue of students' assessment which under these conditions can be easily overlooked. The relevant findings were rather impressive: 83 per cent of teachers in the survey said they did not assess students in Citizenship Education (ibid, p.102), while in the few schools that had developed assessment policies, written tasks and essays were among the most common strategies (ibid, p.54). Schools' preference for traditional methods of assessment is not necessarily an issue of concern by itself, but it could possibly indicate an emphasis on the knowledge in expense of the other aspects and outcomes that citizenship education pursues.

Another area that needs to be investigated further is related to the methodologies that teachers implement in Citizenship Education classrooms and to the classroom climate. Harwood, investigating the implementation of the 'World Studies' project, noticed that "Clearly, 'active learning' classroom methods can be difficult to manage and the role and behaviour of the teacher seems to be a critical variable" (Harwood, 1997, p. 67-68). The same issue is addressed by the OFSTED in its 2005 report for Citizenship in which it notices that in 'weaker citizenship lessons' pupils were 'off task and even disruptive'. The report includes also descriptions of lessons in which teachers 'were over-directive, for example with pupils copying from the board' (OFSTED, 2005). Harwood has claimed that participation, disruption and teachers' control are all interrelated since the difficulty of the management of the class in which discussions are taking place often leads teachers to the adoption of over-directive methodologies: 'when faced with the challenge of having to control discussion in large groups, teachers resort to more traditional question – answer or recitation strategies' (op. cit, p.87-88). Reid and Whittingham have related the difficulty of the management of a class in which students are engaged with the debate regarding students' conception of teachers' role: 'Pupils are socialised during their years of schooling into accepting that a "proper"

classroom and teacher bears the stamp of a particular order and particular style of verbal authority - and any deviation from this might be seen as a sign of weakness' (Reid and Whittingham, 1984, p.9). Under this perspective, the recommendations for the creation of a climate in the Citizenship Education classroom 'in which all pupils are free from any fear of expressing reasonable points of view' (QCA, 1998, p.58) should be examined in relation to the conceptions that students and teachers have of their role in the school community.

A final issue that will be addressed here is drawn from the implementation of whole-school approaches which, according to the Advisory Group, constitutes an essential part of Citizenship Education's learning process. 'Through such climate and practices', the Group notices, 'schools provide implicit and explicit messages which can have a considerable influence, both positive and negative, on pupils' learning and development' (QCA, 1998, p.36). Education research has provided more than a few descriptions of English schools which can justify concerns regarding the quality of the messages that are provided to students through the ethos of their educational environment. Indicative of the climate are the findings from Holden's study which indicate that 'the dominant approach [is] to maintain the status quo within the schools with a focus on caring and supporting others, rather than encouraging children to question, challenge and to raise concerns of their own' (Holden, 1999, p.82). Alderson, on the other hand, describes a situation which does not justify much optimism: 'In [English] schools pupils are regimented and involuntarily subjected to mass routines to a greater degree than they will be at any other time of life, unless they are in prison' (Alderson, 1999, p.138). In contradiction to the above description, nearly all schools' leaders and the vast majority of the staff in the 2003 NFER survey 'indicated, perhaps unsurprisingly, that the ethos and values of their school were generally positive', that there were good relationships between the staff and the students and that the students had a positive attitude towards the school (op. cit., p.37). More than half of the students

though 'agreed that students have little say in how their schools are organised and run, and just over a quarter agreed that students are often consulted about the development of school policies' (ibid, p.97). Bearing in mind that the whole-school approaches are expected 'to create a feeling [to students] that it is "our school"' (QCA, 1998, p.36) the indications from the above studies require further examination.

7. Conclusions

The discussion above has raised a number of issues which could be claimed to be interrelated. The questions that follow are the result of the attempt to summarise these issues and to form an overview of this discussion. These questions, - which it should be noticed at this point are not the research questions that this research is based upon - concern the content that Citizenship Education acquires and the outcomes of the implementation of the relevant programme.

1. What is the position of Citizenship Education in the educational discourse, which has been described by many as individualistic? How does it affect this discourse and to which extent is it affected by it? Does this discourse remain unquestionable by the individuals participating in the programme and if so, what meaning does the idea of 'active participation in schools' acquire? Is Citizenship Education a part of the 'production' of a 'business-like' school in which individuals are taking the roles of the 'promoters' and the 'consumers' or is it a carrier of an educational concept which allows individuals to engage in meaningful discussions and develop a critical view of their environment?
2. Does Citizenship Education allow individuals to bring their aspirations, social concepts and questions drawn from their life outside the school environment into

the school or is it considered as a closed and inflexible system of ideas, inspired by certain social and cultural groups with specific ideas and interests in the creation of maintenance of a social order?

3. What are the teachers' attitudes towards Citizenship Education? Do they consider it as an addition to their work and to the school programmes' overload and as an indication of their 'diminished autonomy' or as a task rooted in the nature of their profession? If so, which aspect of their professional identity is it related to? Is it viewed as a subject from which only relevant knowledge has to be drawn and 'delivered' to the students or as an area available for active exploration which will reveal values and inspire behaviours?
4. How are the 'inconveniences of participation' (Crick and Porter, 1978) handled by the teachers and the schools? What is the actual meaning that the school community attributes to students' active participation? How is the expectation for students' active participation viewed by teachers and students?

There are two common themes repeated in these questions. The first is related to the way that Citizenship Education is implemented and the second to the actual content of the programme. In line with the discussion about the meaning of discourse and as Reid and Whittingham have argued (1984), for any subject that aims to formulate behaviours and promote values, 'the lesson is the lesson': implementation and content are actually mutually dependent.

Another set of common themes between these questions is the active participation and individuals' attitudes towards the programme. Even regarding the first questions in which the focus is on the contextual coherence of the programme, the experience drawn from the past shows that it is finally the attitudes of the ones engaged in it that will determine its actual content.

What these questions and the discussion that took place in this chapter suggest, is that the incorporation of Citizenship Education programme in the National Curriculum may reveal, and be affected by, possible discrepancies. These discrepancies could possibly exist:

1. Between the values that the programme aims to promote and the ways these values are approached and presented in it (i.e. the promotion of the open discussion and participation and the deterministic incorporation of community involvement in the outcomes of the programme).
2. Between the school's discourse and the programme's discourse.

Both kinds of discrepancies reinforce the argument contained in the discussion over ethos, hidden curriculum and discourse about the need to understand the ways that Citizenship Education is accommodated in the school through the examination of the school as a community which not only implements curricula but also interprets and reconstructs them through its ethos.

Chapter 4

The Interaction between students and teachers

1. Introduction

This chapter's role is to provide an overview of the research and theory in the area of human interaction in school and specifically of the interaction between students and teachers.

In the second part of the chapter the discussion will review the theoretical background of the study of human interaction and it will focus more specifically on the theory of symbolic interactionism. Reference to this specific theory is made because of the potential of symbolic interactionism to allow multiple factors affecting the interaction in question to be incorporated into the study. In this respect, symbolic interactionism responds effectively to the multidimensional nature not only of the interaction itself but also to the *ethos* which is constructed by and affects this interaction (see previous chapter). This is one of the reasons that have made the theory of symbolic interactionism particularly useful for the study of human interaction in institutional settings and particularly popular among the researchers studying interaction that takes place at school. A closer examination of the theoretical as well as the methodological principles of symbolic interactionism is justified, since a consideration of these principles is a discussion about the framework followed (to a varied extent) by a large number of studies that focus on human interaction. This is not to say that other theories do not offer effective alternative approaches to the phenomenon under study. Indeed, the analysis of the language used in this interaction and the implementation of discourse and conversation analysis, theories which are largely based on the work of Foucault, have produced some influential writings on the study of human interaction in institutional settings which cannot be ignored (see for example the influential

publications of Cazden, 1988 and Van Dijk, 1997). The focus on symbolic interactionism and the implementation of the principles suggested by this theory is not to be considered as an implying claim about the limited effectiveness of other methods, but as a choice of what was appropriate for this study. Other possible options have inevitably, however, affected - in less explicit ways - the methodological and theoretical framework of this research.

The third part of the chapter will provide a selective review of the development of research in the area of interaction between students and teachers.

2. Symbolic Interactionism

a) The psychosocial theory

Symbolic interactionism is a perspective in social psychology which has been associated mostly with the work of G. Mead and the 'Chicago School' (the name was given as most of its advocates were associates of the University of Chicago and they also conducted their research in the city). Mead, in his book 'Mind, Self and Society' (1934), attacked the behaviourist models that had been used for the analysis of human behaviour. Mead argued that humans operate in a more complex way, which the 'stimulus-response' model of behaviourism was unable to describe. He suggested that the response is neither automatic nor established simply on the notion of the behaviourist explanation of reward and punishment, but, instead is subject to a cognitive process through which humans construct meanings. These meanings are constructed through the interaction of humans in the social environment.

Mead distinguishes the real inner self ('I') and the public image that humans present ('me'). The latter reflects the fact that human behaviour is affected, to a great extent, by one's concerns regarding other peoples' reaction to one's behaviour. In this

sense, individuals construct a general idea about the 'others' which determines the construction of 'me'. 'We are not therefore the pure selfish 'I' celebrated in free market theories but we are self-regulating on the basis of our internal calculation of the likely consequences of given responses' (Kirby et al, 1997). Thus, the cognitive process that is mediated between stimulus and response is constructed upon social elements that arise through interaction with others. These are presented in symbolic form, mainly through the use of language.

Symbols, as Charon notes, 'are one class of social objects' (Charon, 1995, p.40). For humans, objects in nature do not have a fixed meaning but are open to a variety of interpretations which are dependent on the human interaction in the context of which these objects are used. 'Their nature', as Blumer notes, 'is dependent on the orientation and action of people toward them' (Blumer, 1969, p.68). An object is defined 'by a line of action one is about to take toward it' and a social object is 'any object in a situation that an actor uses in that situation. That use has arisen socially' (Charon, 1995, p.39).

Symbols then are social, and they are also meaningful and significant. They are meaningful because in an interaction setting their user has an understanding of them, which is more than a simple response to their presence (Charon, 1995, p.41). They are significant because they are used intentionally to represent something meaningful to the user (Mead, 1934, p.134); and since their meaning 'is not intrinsic to the object' (Blumer, 1969, p.68), the association between them and their meaning is not fixed. Therefore 'what is or is not a symbol becomes more complicated when we look at it from the standpoint of the observer of the situation' (Charon, 1995, p.44). In that perspective, language becomes a 'symbolic system defined in interaction and used to describe to others and to ourselves what we observe, think and imagine. Language describes all other social objects that people point out to one another in interaction. Language is used to *refer to* or *represent* a part of reality' (Charon, 1995, p. 46; emphasis in original).

Human interaction is viewed as a dynamic process, which is based on sets of symbols (perspectives) which are not static, but under constant reformation and redefinition. The participants of the interaction have to build up 'their perspective lines of conduct by constant interpretation of each other's ongoing lines of action. As participants take account of each other's ongoing acts, they have to arrest, reorganise, or adjust their own intentions, wishes, feelings, and attitudes; similarly, they have to judge the fitness of the norms, values, and group prescriptions for the situation being formed by the acts of the others' (Blumer, 1969, p.66).

However, it is not only the perspectives that are reorganised through interaction, but also the 'self', through the redefinition of 'me'. Symbolic interactionism sees the self as another social object since it is perceived as such by others in the context of the interaction. 'Self' actually arises from this interaction (Mead, 1934, p.138-140). The emergence of self happens at the time when children acquire language. Until then, the interaction with their environment is based on imitation and lacks symbolic meaning. Language provides children with the ability to name objects and enables them to share meaning with others, to interact meaningfully. The imitation at this stage is directed by this shared meaning and this enables children to identify themselves as objects in other people's perspectives. Children at this stage adopt these perspectives and especially the perspectives of the people that have a significant role in their lives ('significant others'). In this way, children learn to perceive themselves through these people's perspectives. Mead calls the stage in which these experiences take place the 'Play stage'. The Play stage, 'is a time when the child takes the roles of significant others - father, Superman, mother, teacher - and acts in the world as if he or she were these individuals. In taking the roles of these others the child acts toward objects in the world as they act, and that includes acting toward self as they do. This stage is the real beginning of the self as a 'social object' (Charon, 1995, p.71).

At the next stage, which is known as the Game stage, the 'adult self' emerges and the significant others' roles merge to the 'generalised other's role'. The self obtains

some continuity and does not dramatically change according to the 'other' with whom the individual interacts. At this point, the individual is able to interact with broad society and complete the socialisation process: he or she adopts society's rules and perspectives and its definition of self. Following the Game stage, individuals become involved in a variety of social settings (social or professional groups etc.) with which they share a particular perspective of self. However, if for a period of time they become more involved with one of these social settings, then it is likely for this group to become their 'reference group' and to influence to a greater extent than any other social group the definition that they construct about their 'self' (Hyman, 1942).

For symbolic interactionists then, the emergence of the social self is dependent on a process in which individuals adopt, define and create roles for themselves. The child achieves socialisation through the adoption of others' roles and through their interaction with those role-holders, while social interaction involves, according to Mead, a constant role-taking. This view underlines the importance of the interaction and is a significant point when interaction is under examination. It also shows that role-taking is a process that humans become familiar with during and through their development.

Individuals act through their roles. These actions are 'parts of an ongoing stream of action. Each act has a goal or goals as well as social objects, and each involves decisions by the actor' (Charon, 1995, p.125). Mead (1934) presents this decision-making process as involving four stages. The first is the Impulse stage. In this stage, individuals are in a state of 'discomfort leading to behaviour'. In order to act, they need to define the situation they are in (Perception stage). They need to analyse and understand their position in the situation, 'finding out just what it is that ought to be attacked, what has to be avoided' (Mead, 1936; quoted in Charon, 1995, p.127). The time for action defines the third stage in which individuals manipulate their environment (Manipulation). At the final stage (Consummation) the actors enjoy their regained comfort.

Under this perspective, the role-taking process in symbolic interactionism is not a deterministic process which eliminates individuals' freedom, but a creative one which allows them to choose their course of action and act upon their environment. In that sense, individuals interact with their social environment by *constructing* rather than just performing a role (Hargreaves, 1972).

As the review of existing work in classroom and school interaction will show, individuals construct a variety of roles. The performance of these roles creates conflicts not only with other 'actors' but also with other roles that the same individual assumes. The discomfort caused by conflicts lead actors to negotiate and to reconstruct these roles. The roles, therefore, are dynamic and are the outcomes of negotiations leading to the establishment of a balance in the social context in which the roles are performed (Consummation). The introduction of a new variable into the social environment, by causing a reaction from the actors, leads to the need for reestablishment of this balance – therefore causing the need for the reconstruction of roles.

The relevance of the process described above to the introduction of Citizenship Education in the English curriculum is evident. We could, for example, claim that Citizenship Education introduces a set of new variables into the social reality which is created by the interaction of students and teachers. The introduction of notions and methodologies such as active learning, active participation, open classroom climate etc, may act as potential threats to the acquired 'balance' between the roles constructed and performed by these individuals and require a (possibly dramatic) renegotiation of these roles. This does not mean, of course, that this is a negative attempt. The need for negotiation and reconstruction, the process from *impulse* to *consummation* is the path for any social change. This process, however, leads not only to the reconstruction of the established form of the roles that individuals perform but also of the roles and methods that are suggested through these variables. In this sense, the outcome of the negotiation may not match up to what the Crick Report

advocates. A study of this negotiation process, a study, therefore, of the interaction between the actors performing these roles is necessary to establish an understanding about the possibilities and future of Citizenship Education.

Before this discussion proceeds to the examination of other researchers who study the above mentioned negotiation process and particularly of the interaction between students and teachers, it is useful to develop a view of the implications that the theory of symbolic interactionism had in the methodological frameworks implemented in these studies (without this implying, of course, that all researchers who have worked in the area of human interaction have followed the suggestions of the theory of symbolic interactionism to the same extent).

b) Symbolic Interactionism as a methodological approach

'Symbolic interactionism is a 'down to earth approach to the scientific study of human group life and social conduct. Its empirical world is the natural world of such group and conduct. It lodges its problems in this natural world, conducts its studies in it, and derives its interpretations from such naturalistic studies. ... Its methodological stance, accordingly, is that of direct examination of the empirical social world'.

(Blumer, 1969, p.47)

Symbolic interactionism suggests that the study of the empirical world presupposes the direct involvement of the researcher with his or her object of study. The aim of the researcher should be to share the meaning of the situation with the ones participating in it. In that sense, one cannot have a pre-defined model of analysis or interpretation of the situation that he or she studies because the only valid interpretation can be the one that the subjects of this situation give. This inevitably raises issues regarding the ways that validity can be tested. According to Blumer, this is something that the researcher has to do by going back to the setting of the research and juxtaposing his or her

assumptions against the meanings that are given by the subjects of the study (Blumer, 1969, p.49-50).

Blumer (1969) also provides an extensive account of the implications of the application of symbolic interactionism methodology. The first implication is related to 'the ability of the scholar ... to see [people's] object as they see them' (ibid, p.51). The aim is not for the researcher to be objective, but to 'get inside peoples' world of meanings' (ibid, p.51). Secondly, interaction needs to be seen as 'a formative process in its own right', not as a medium through which determining factors produce behaviour. 'It is necessary', as Blumer claims, 'to view the given sphere of life under study as a moving process in which the participants are defining and interpreting each other's acts'. This process is where behaviour is formulated. Since roles and situations are constructed as well as defined, the study of the interaction is also the study of the *construction* of a situation rather than of a completed and unchangeable situation. In this case, the role of the observer is to 'see the situation as it is seen by the actor, observing what the actor takes into account, observing how he interprets what is taken into account, noting the alternative kinds of acts ...and seeking to follow the interpretation that led to the selection and execution of one of these ...' (Blumer, 1969, p.56).

The final implication in Blumer's account is related to the study of social organisations and institutes. The point of view taken by symbolic interactionism is that these organisations have 'to be seen, studied, and explained in terms of the process of interpretation engaged in by the acting participants as they handle the situations at their respective positions in the organisation' (ibid, p.58). This means that the principles of the organisation are not to be considered as the cause of the action but as factors affecting the formulation of the context in which this action takes place. In that sense, what is imposed on this social system, as a code of practice, a set of rules etc., is no more than 'somebody's definition of how this organisation should be' and what form of events should take place in it. This definition does affect it, but it does not determine

the final form of this organisation or of its operation. Furthermore, the norms of this organisation and the rules which are applied in it are defined through the interaction of its members and cannot be seen outside the context of these members' interaction in which these norms obtain their meaning.

The above discussion on the basic principles of symbolic interactionism shows that as a theory, symbolic interactionism provides a thorough description of the process of human interaction and a sound justification of its value. As a methodology, it offers suggestions which are theoretically grounded and sensitive to the conditions and to the participants in the context in which it is to be studied. In addition, among the strengths of symbolic interactionism are not only the acknowledgment of the role of the external conditions in the formulation of human interaction but also the suggested view of the social roles as dynamic constructions in the formation of which humans actively participate. In this sense the value of the theory seems to acquire an additional dimension for studies which focus on the areas of human active participation, active learning, application of participatory methods etc., since it allows the development of a research approach which is sensitive to these notions. Also, bearing in mind the interactionist approach to social reality as the outcome of active interpretations and constructions, we can recognise that for symbolic interactionism, this social reality is more than the result of the equation of its observable constituent. In this respect, the theory is particularly useful for the study of interaction in institutional settings and particularly in schools where, as the discussion in the previous chapter showed, the focus on the explicit processes may hide the function of *hidden* ones such as the ethos, the hidden curriculum and/or the school's discourse. Taking the above observations into account, it may not be surprising that most of the studies in the area of human interaction, institutional ethos as well as most ethnographic studies adopt, intentionally or not, a large degree of the methodological suggestions and principles of symbolic interactionism.

3. Selective review of studies into the interaction between students and teachers

The tradition of studies into classroom interaction began in the United States of America in the mid sixties, with Ned Flanders being the best known exponent (Delamont, 1983, p.17). Flanders suggested a model for the categorisation of classroom talk, the Flanders Interaction Analysis Categories (FIAC) and is considered to be the founder of the methodological approach which is known as *interaction analysis*. The model can be seen as a part of a wider methodological approach, which suggests the coding of classroom events in pre-specified categories and which can be found in the work of Dunkin and Biddle (1974), Gage (1978) and McIntyre (1980) (Delamont, 1983, p.17).

The analysis of the coding system was based on the notions of freedom and control. Drawing from the tradition established by studies such as the one conducted by Lewin, Lippitt and White (Lewin et al, 1939), Flanders evaluated teachers' effectiveness on the basis of the freedom of speech they allowed students, on a scale varying from 'direct' to 'indirect' influence (Flanders, 1970).

Interaction analysis has been broadly used due to 'its claims to scientific standards of rigour and reliability' (Delamont, 1983, p. 20). In Britain the model was stripped of its political 'sub-tradition,' which is rather explicit in Flanders' interpretation of teachers' effectiveness, and had an appeal to psychologists and method specialists who were seeking observation techniques that could be statistically reliable and valid (ibid, p. 20-21).

Generally, in England, human interaction was still, in the late 1960s, a largely neglected research area. "The metaphysical basis of research in education in Britain', which 'focuses upon economic and social structures' might have played a part in this since it led 'researchers away from the school into the home and ultimately the class

structure' (Delamont, 1983, p.22, quoting Walker, 1972). During the 1970s and for most of the 1980s, however, interest in the study of classroom interaction grew bigger with the publication of works by Chanan and Delamont (1975), Stubbs and Delamont (1976), McAleese and Hamilton (1978), Bennett and McNamara (1979), Hargreaves (1972 and 1980), Ball (1981), and Malamah-Thomas (1987) among others. These studies were based on systematic or participant observations and the researchers came from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds. However, the sociological neglect of the classroom interaction remained an issue until at least the early 1970s.

Using elements drawn from the symbolic interactionism, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) conducted their controversial study 'Pygmalion in the Classroom', investigating the effect of 'labelling' on students' attitudes. The methodology followed in the study, however, was not based on interactionist approaches but on the provision and analysis of pre- and post-tests (IQ scores). Rist's ethnographic study (Rist, 1977) examined the same issue and followed students through first and second grades, showing how teachers' subjective evaluations based on students' economic background determined the roles that these students took in the school community and the effects this had on their self-concept. Ball (1981), implementing a combination of interactionist and structuralist perspectives, 'explored and analysed first the definition and social construction of pupils' identities and their school careers, and second the social process of educational innovation' (Ball, 1981, p. xv). The integration of the symbolic interactionist approaches is very clear. As Ball states, 'The study seeks in part to describe and understand the social system of the school in terms of the actors' interpretations of the situation' (Ball, 1981, p. xvii). However, for the data collection, Ball implemented a methodology drawn from Flanders and the tradition of interaction analysis.

Gillborn's study (Gillborn, 1990) examined the ways in which ethnic differences influence teachers' perceptions of their students. Gillborn demonstrated how teachers differentiate their perceptions of students' intentions according to factors that are related to students' cultural background. Avoiding the critique which has been made towards some symbolic interactionists' assumption that students will automatically act according to their teachers' perception, he claims that this process is complicated and is dependent upon a constant reinforcement of these perceptions through multiple subsequent interactions.

Drawn from the tradition of symbolic interactionism, Hargreaves focused explicitly on classroom interaction to note that contrary to the assumption implied in symbolic interactionism regarding participants' choice to engage themselves in the interactive process, students' participation in interaction with teachers is a forced one: 'Perhaps the most striking feature of the world of the classroom is that the pupils are compelled by law to be present in school. ... Pupils at school ... are required to enter into interaction with the teacher' (Hargreaves, 1972, p.113-114). Their position in the interaction is not equal with the teachers'; 'The second distinctive feature ... is the enormous power differential between the two participants ... The outcome of these two distinctive characteristics ... is the great inequality of the two participants in the process of defining the situation' (ibid, p.114-115). Delamont makes the same observation and states that 'many symbolic interactionists' studies lose sight of this reality, but it makes nonsense of many social situations if the power element gets lost' (Delamont, 1976, p.27).

Indeed, in the early writings on the symbolic interactionist approach, the element of power had been overlooked (Kirby et al, 1997, p. 41). Due to this, the work of Strauss (Strauss et al, 1964), and the assimilation of the notion of 'negotiation' was very significant. Ignoring the application of power in the classroom makes the understanding

of the classroom interaction impossible, since we cannot otherwise explain significant aspects or events related to this interaction, such as the maintenance of discipline.

Taking the issue of power into account, Hargreaves describes two kinds of interaction: the '*reciprocally contingent*' and the '*asymmetrically contingent*'. In the reciprocally contingent interaction, the interaction is a process of mutual and equal dependence. In the asymmetrically contingent interaction, 'the behaviour of one participant is highly contingent on the other, but the behaviour of the second participant is only partially contingent on the other' (Hargreaves, 1972, p.70-71). Hargreaves, taking the interaction of students and teachers in the classroom into account, claims that this is an asymmetrical contingent interaction (ibid, p.115) and suggests that although teachers' behaviour is to some extent dependent on students' characteristics, it is usually the teacher's definition of the situation that students adapt to.

It is to be expected, then, for teachers' roles to be formed, to a large extent, on the basis of their own conceptions regarding the aims of the interaction and of their own expectations in relation to the outcomes of it. Hargreaves admits that teachers' 'performance' is dependent on individual differences but he suggests that generally it is possible to notice that their role is usually comprised of two sub-roles: the role of *instructor* and the role of *disciplinarian* (Hargreaves, 1972, p.117).

The first sub-role suggests that the interaction in classrooms is highly task-related. Hargreaves notes that it is usually the teachers' responsibility to define when the interaction can come out of its task-context; otherwise to do so can be seen as a threat to the learning process (ibid, p.119). For the second sub-role, Hargreaves uses the term 'discipline' away from its 'value-laden' concept and does not imply that the adoption of that role dictates the way individual teachers will perform it. In any case, their interaction with the students will be influenced by the creation of a certain *formality* in the classroom and the fact that teachers can use *punishments*. Both of these characteristics of interaction are, according to Hargreaves, related to teachers' disciplinarian role (ibid, p.118). Teachers' disciplinarian role has very significant effects

on classroom interaction. It is because of the concern of classroom discipline, as Hammersley notes, that 'teacher tries to reduce classroom interaction to a two-party format, with himself as one speaker and one or another pupil acting as the other. Furthermore, he reserves for himself the right to talk to the whole class and to produce extended utterances, often ruling pupil initiatives out of order. He is therefore faced with the problem of making pupils behave as one, subordinate, participant' (Hammersley, 1990, p. 16).

Teachers' roles are also influenced by the expectations, views and attitudes of the other members of school staff who are at a higher or in an equal position to the teachers in the hierarchy of the school community. As Waller states, 'the significant people for a school teacher are other teachers, and by comparison with good standing in that fraternity the good opinion of students is a small thing and of little price. A landmark in one's assimilation to the profession is that moment when he decides that only teachers are important' (Waller, 1932; quoted in Hargreaves, 1972, p.120). This claim, although describing a situation that should not be accepted uncritically, indicates that a study of the teachers' role should take into account the behaviour and expectations of the teachers' 'significant others'.

The description of the classroom interaction as 'asymmetrical contingent' and Hargreaves' claim that teachers' definition of the situation has a greater impact on the interaction than the students' definition seems to be inconsistent with the post-structuralist description of the classroom as a place in which the struggle for social power takes place and in which the rules of the interaction are under constant negotiation.

However, by analysing the students' role and their ways to define the situation in which the interaction takes place, it appears that this negotiation does take place. As Waller points out, 'even where the most authoritarian teacher has sought to impose a definition involving teacher domination of a rigid social order with 'little opportunity for student definitions to arise ... such definitions did arise, for human life can never be

forced to conform altogether to the demands of a rigid social order' (Waller, 1932; quoted in Webb, 1979, p.224). Hargreaves claims that children, when entering the school, are dependent on teachers' expectations in order for them to form a view of their own role. However, the definition that will finally be adopted is based on their experiences from their interaction with different teachers who have their own teaching style and on the fact that they tend to accept, as research had shown (e.g. Bush, 1942, Allen, 1961, Taylor, 1962), that learning is the primary task of their life in the classroom (Hargreaves, 1972, p.132). Seeking a consensus for the definition of the situation, the teacher will realise that 'students do have some power, so when the teacher tries to replace negotiation with imposition he finds that he activates resistance, subversion and interpersonal antagonism that effectively promote discord. ... So in practice the teacher does not always enforce his definition ... where he has the power to do so and where it seems to be demanded by his role partners. He aims instead at a negotiated settlement whereby teacher and pupils each go half way with respect to some demands and whereby in other areas the teacher withdraws or moderates his demands on the pupils in return for conformity to other teacher demands' (Hargreaves, 1972, p.133).

Focusing on the role of the teachers and implementing the observation suggested by the interactionist approaches about the conflicts between different roles that individuals perform (role conflict or role strain), Hargreaves suggests that in the context of a social interaction, the 'actor' can experience a variety of such conflicts. The first arises when an actor simultaneously occupies two positions whose roles are incompatible, such as the teacher whose son or daughter is in his or her class. The second type is related to a discrepancy among the expectations that make up a role, as in the case of a teacher whose 'significant others' (i.e. his or her colleagues) have conflicted ideas about the kind of relationship that should be developed between themselves and the students. The teacher experiences a different kind of role strain when there is a lack of consensus between him or herself and his or her role partners.

A characteristic example is the case of conflict between the teacher's and parents' expectations regarding the child's behaviour. Role strain may also arise when the expectations of different role partners conflict with one another. Hargreaves uses as an example of this kind of role strain existing for members of the management team of a school as it comprises members who spend all their time on management issues (e.g. headteacher) and others who teach. Similar to this is the role strain that teachers experience because of the incompatible expectations held by a single role partner (e.g. students' expectation that they will be aided by the teacher in their preparation for the exams while they also expect that they will have minimal amounts of homework). A different kind of role strain is also caused in any case where expectations are unclear and the teachers have no clear instructions for what the outcome of the educational situation they are involved in should be. The final kind of role strain arises when the personal qualities of the actor conflict with the expectations of his or her role. Many teachers that teach a subject that they have not chosen are likely to experience this kind of role strain (Hargreaves, 1972, p.49-54).

Following Hargreaves' description of the construction of role strain we could claim that the notion of role strain does not occur only in teachers' but also in students' performance. Students who achieve high academic performances are likely to put themselves in a position between teachers and their peers with each party having different expectations about them. In addition, as with the teachers, it is likely that students will experience some situations in which expectations about them are not clear or for which their own qualities are inconsistent with the tasks they undertake and so on. Role strain appears to be a very common occurrence in social interaction and the way the relevant conflict is resolved depends on individual differences and on each actor's assessment of the situation. In any case, the power that the role partners hold seems to be an important determinant in the choice that the actor will make to resolve this conflict (Webb, 1979, p.228).

Power and the difference in expectations related to the roles seem to also affect another aspect of teachers-students interaction. This is the ability of the participants to exchange roles and see the classroom events from different perspectives. 'Taking the role of the other is an important mind activity. We imagine the other's perspective; we communicate that perspective to self on the basis of what we see and hear the other do' (Charon, 1995, p.105-106). The process and ability of exchanging roles or adopting different perspectives are very closely related to the notion of empathy. Empathy 'is the power of mentally identifying oneself with (and so fully comprehending) a person or object of contemplation' (New Oxford Shorter English Dictionary, 1993, p.808; quoted in Cooper, 2002, p.27). For interactionists, empathy seems to have the meaning of '*facilitatory role taking*' rather than being a mental identification. (Mental identification leads to what Hargreaves names as '*identificatory role-taking*' (Hargreaves, 1972, p.12)). The meaning of mental identification does not coincide with the meaning of empathy since this model of role-taking is related mainly with the first stages of children's development of socialisation in which they identify with their 'significant others' in order to build a concept of their 'self' (Hargreaves, 1972, p. 12; Charon, 1995, p. 69-71). Hargreaves uses the concept of empathy in relation to the *facilitatory role taking* in which 'the person does not identify with the other at all. ... He retains a sharp distinction or separation between the attitudes of the other and his own identity' (op. cit., p.12). In that sense, empathy is approached with a meaning closer to what Nussbaum (1996) describes as 'narrative imagination', something which suggests that we should retain the concept of 'understanding' for the definition of empathy rather than 'identification'.

At the end of the 1970s (1979) Peter Woods publishes an ethnographic study of a secondary school which, although not considered as a strictly interactionist study, adopts most of the principles of interactionism. Woods examines the school as a community of individuals representing a variety of expectations, perspectives and

definitions of the situation which frames their life and affects their interaction, leading to construction and performance of roles which fail to operate as parts of a whole. Woods suggests that this situation leads to the formation of a divided community, of a *divided school*. Woods draws his evidence from students, teachers and parents, but he does not limit his investigation to their perspectives. Considering the roles of individuals as formulations that take place within a wider context, he claims that:

'divisions are promoted by factors external to the school, such as social class, and the technological nature of society; others by institutional elements. Teacher, pupil, and parents' perspectives both reflect and promote those divisions, while teacher and pupil strategies and adaptations are the expression of them, consolidating and promoting in turn.'

(Woods, 1979, p. 237)

Woods examines the relationship that it is developed between the members of this community and their roles and suggests that the social aspect of school life needs to take into account the conflict 'between the mass approach of the teacher and the individuality of the pupil' (ibid, p. 247).

He notes:

'Pupils are engaged in a continual battle for who they are and who they are to become, while the forces of institutionalisation work to deprive them of their individuality and into a mould that accords with teachers' ideal models. ... Teachers, too, bound by commitment, oppressed by growing demands and dwindling resources, guided now by professionalism, now by humanitarian interest in their charges, and subject to the same bureaucratic forces ... are engaged primarily in promoting and protecting their self-images, the sorts of persons *they are*.'

(ibid, pp. 247-8; emphasis in the original)

Woods' work is very valuable because it points to the external forces and the institutional conditions which affect the roles of the individuals within the school community and the interaction among them. His approach, however, does not demonstrate a consistent recognition of these members as individuals who do not only experience the violence of those external forces but also interpret them and construct the roles which lead them to operate in the way that Woods observes. (For a more

extensive evaluation of Woods' study based on the interactionist model, see Pollard, 1982.)

The study of interaction between students and teachers has gained renewed attention in recent years. Some of the issues raised in the 1970s and 1980s are repeated in the study of the modern school while some new aspects of the school's reality are also being brought to attention.

In 1997, Mary Manke publishes the results of her research on the interaction between students and teachers which had a special focus on the role of power in this interaction. Manke does not claim that she follows an interactionist approach (her work could possibly be more effectively described as a discourse analysis study) but her methods and theoretical stand bring to the reader's mind all the principles outlined by the theorists of symbolic interactionism. Using classroom observations and interviews, Manke does not only focus on the interaction itself but also on a wide range of processes and situations that frame this interaction. Specifically, she observes how the classroom's physical environment is used by teachers to support them in the application of power and control and to limit students' action. By analysing the way teachers talk to the students she discusses the use of politeness and the indirect ways that are implemented by teachers to maintain a position of authority. Manke also turns to the role of the school's regulations and of the parents and claims that they both provide significant support to teachers to maintain a type of role that allows them to control students' actions. Her research points out that in this process of applying authority teachers are not only supported by the institutional conditions and parents, but also by the students themselves. Expressing a view which echoes the interactionist suggestions and those of Webb (1979), she notes that 'teachers never are totally in control of what happens in their classrooms. Students have agendas they are enacting just as teacher has hers' (Manke, 1997, p. 133). By pursuing, however, these agendas

students do not strip teacher's role from its association of control, but direct this role to new adaptations in order for the control to be maintained. Moreover, the construction of these adaptations is not the sole responsibility of the teacher. When the agenda carried by each individual is brought into the classroom environment, it meets the constraints and alterations imposed by the agendas of others; this dynamic condition of silent or overt negotiation affects the situation in which these agendas arise and the roles that students and teachers perform. In that respect, 'every action by a member in the classroom is a construction of power relations' (ibid, p. 135) and these power relations are in a state of constant construction (ibid, p. 131).

Manke's work is addressed especially to teachers whose role, as Manke claims, will be mostly facilitated if they approach their authority and its application as an interactive process (ibid, pp. 131, 134-5). Her research has, however, very significant implications for researchers who have the opportunity to find in her work an indication of the importance of the physical environment in the construction of classroom interaction and of the interaction itself in the construction of roles performed within educational environments.

In 1999, Galton (Galton et al, 1999) published the results of research on the interaction between students and teachers in primary schools. Their work, based on classroom observations, shows that this interaction 'is very much of teachers talking and students listening' (Galton et al, 1999, p. 33). In the classrooms observed, students' participation is not encouraged, despite official policies and teachers' intentions. The workload and pressure of time has been recognised by teachers as important obstacles but Galton notices that there is also a shift in the professional ethos of the teacher which may have an effect on this. Galton points out that there is a shifting perspective from teaching as 'a way of life' to a professional activity not necessarily linked with teachers' personal lives or the way that they define their own identity. This disengagement from their professional role leads them to the pursuit of

the most efficient (in terms of time and effort) ways of achieving the (academic) results that the school prioritises.

Pomeroy's influential study (Pomeroy, 1999) investigates excluded students' perceptions of their relationship with their teachers. Students argue for a *caring* but not *parental* form of relationship and an interaction which is based on dialogue. The ability of the teacher to *listen* and *explain* are presented by the students as highly important, indicating, as Pomeroy observes, that students imply that they want teachers 'to have the ability to assume the students' perspectives' (ibid, p. 477). Pomeroy claims that 'mutual perspective-recognition [between students and teachers] forms the foundation of the ideal teacher-pupil relationship' (ibid, p. 477). In relation to the way that the application of power affects their relationship, the research shows that the teachers' role is perceived by the students as being the one holding most of the power in the school. Students do recognise the responsibilities attached to the role of the teacher and how these justify the teachers' authority. They point out, however, that a collaborative model of application of this power should be available and that they consistently develop better relationships with teachers who follow this model.

The study which closes this selective review of research into the interaction between students and teachers is not an empirical investigation of this interaction but it draws heavily on such studies. This is Vanderstraeten's publication on 'the school class as an interaction order' (2001). In his work Vanderstraeten draws on the work of interactionists and especially of Ervin Goffman and Niklas Luhman to study interaction in modern classroom settings. Vanderstraeten observes that in organisational settings usually individuals portray a degree of commitment to the organisation either because this organisation incorporates their contribution (through the work that they undertake within it) or, in the case of its clients, because of the investment (usually financial) that they have made to receive the services provided by the organisation. Vanderstraeten,

similarly to Hargreaves, points out that in that respect, classrooms (and we could add some other institutions) are very peculiar interactional settings: 'because children have to go to school (at least at the primary and secondary level), this source of voluntary enthusiasm or commitment mostly fails'. The result of this enforced participation in the interaction with teachers is the development by the students of techniques that allow them to avoid this engagement, the construction, as Vanderstraeten puts it, of 'numerous and very inventive "opting-out" strategies' (Vanderstraeten, 2001, p. 273). Vanderstraeten points out that the need for the development of these strategies is suggested by the individualistic discourse of modern society which does not match with the institution's organisational efforts to 'normalise' behaviour and interactions.

Vanderstraeten also turns to the examination of the construction of the notion of power within institutions and he notices that the study of this has to take into account that:

'the "groundwork" for classroom interaction is laid outside the classroom, and outside the school. A large number of structural arrangements are beyond its control, such as the asymmetrical structure of the classroom (one teacher, a number of students of about the same age), the hierarchical relationship between teacher and pupils, the timetable, the subject matter that should be taught c.q. learned. The customary spatial and architectural arrangements – rectangular rooms, aligned benches, pupils who face the teacher but not one another, etc. - complement this structural groundwork.'

(ibid, pp. 271-2)

Vanderstraeten notes that the enforcement of students' participation in an interactive process with the teachers and the out-of-school structural arrangements are two aspects of the power relationships which are negotiated in the school. He also insists that despite these aspects being universal in the sense that they concern relevant arrangements in almost all educational institutions, there is a diversity of modes of interaction in which these aspects are negotiated and of outcomes from such negotiations. 'The interaction order of the classroom', he claims, 'is constructed within the interaction itself' (ibid, p. 272). Turning to the theoretical framework which directs him in this work, Vanderstraeten notices that the study of classroom interaction is a unique challenge and that 'contemporary sociological theories are not sufficiently

abstract to allow the kind of complex research design that educational research demands' (ibid, p. 275) and calls for this research to turn to the work of the interactionists, arguing that the 'school class needs to be understood as an interaction order' (ibid, p. 275).

4. Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter a selective review of the theoretical and empirical work on interaction took place. On the theoretical side, the content of the chapter focused more specifically on symbolic interactionism, a theory of social psychology which has guided a large number of empirical studies of the interaction between students and teachers. The theory suggests that social reality is constructed through the individuals' engagement in interaction with each other. Through this process individuals also construct their own social roles and formulate their personality. As was argued earlier in this chapter, this approach to social reality indicates that symbolic interactionism is a theory which considers individuals as active participants in the formation of the context in which they place themselves. From this perspective, symbolic interactionism is an empowering psychological theory, therefore, particularly appropriate for the study of situations which are supposed to cultivate and promote this empowerment, such as the situations we should expect to experience in Citizenship Education classrooms.

The review of the research into interaction between students and teachers raised a number of issues that are particularly relevant to the study presented in this thesis. These issues are summarised here:

1. Despite the power difference between students and teachers the roles that individuals assume in school are negotiated between the two parties and are mutually constructed.

2. Different and conflicting expectations from the roles that individuals construct lead to a variety of models of role conflict experienced by both teachers and students. The techniques for resolving these conflicts differ between individuals and between students and teachers (for example students may 'opt out' while teachers may shift to a different group with which to associate their role).
3. Facilitation of the performance of the roles that are constructed within the classroom interaction requires the ability to see each other's role from the other's perspective, an ability which has been associated with empathy.
4. Factors that are external to the interaction (physical environment, structural arrangements, rules and regulations) have a significant effect in the interaction between students and teachers, the construction of their roles and of the social reality that frames their life in school.
5. Every attempt to change the conditions of the interaction between students and teachers, their roles, or, more generally, the school as a social environment, even if apparently imposed, in practice is negotiated. As soon as this change has been introduced the participants in the interaction (students and teachers) enter into a process of reconstruction of the balance which has been temporarily challenged. The outcome of this process is the construction of different roles but also the reformation of the conditions which have caused this imbalance; this process leads to the differentiation of these conditions from the form that they had when they were initially introduced.

These points are particularly useful for this study. On the one hand they reinforce the view that was initially suggested in the previous chapter about the key role of the study of human interaction in the understanding of the function of the school as a social environment; on the other hand, they point out the importance of such research in the context of the introduction of Citizenship Education which, through its recommendations and suggested methodologies alters the terms of the interaction.

Finally, these key points summarised above, effectively directed the construction of a methodological framework which to guide this research. The presentation of this framework and other issues related to the methodology implemented in this study will be presented in the following chapter.

Part 3:

Methodology

Introduction

This research project is a case study of a secondary comprehensive school in Northern England which introduced the subject in 2002 as part of its statutory curriculum. The study focuses on the interaction between students and teachers in the context of Citizenship Education.

The main research question that guided the design of the methodology, the collection and analysis of data is:

'What is the nature of the interaction between students and teachers, in the context of Citizenship Education?'

This part of the thesis will describe the school context and outline the methodological framework which was implemented and guided the collection and analysis of data.

The first chapter in Part three (chapter five) will give a description of the overall methodological framework as this was developed on the basis of the principles of interactionism and within the research tradition constructed by such studies that were outlined in Part two. In the first chapter of Part three the secondary research questions which guided the Doctoral research will also be presented.

Chapter six will provide a detailed description of the methods employed for the collection and analysis of data and will also discuss the way that other key methodological issues were addressed in this study.

The final chapter of this part of the thesis (chapter seven) describes the context of the school that was studied.

Chapter 5

The framework of the research

The discussion that took place in the last chapter of the previous part of the thesis (chapter four) allowed the identification of five key issues in relation to the study of human interaction. These are:

1. In the context of human interaction, power is not only *applied* but it is also *negotiated*. In the context of an organisation or an institution we should expect to recognise asymmetrical power relations. Particularly in schools we can recognise that the interaction between students and teachers is a characteristic example of interaction based on such asymmetrical power relationship. This, however, does not justify the study of this interaction on the basis of the assumption that students are powerless. Negotiation does take place even within the most authoritarian settings.
2. When individuals are involved in interaction with each other they project in this process their expectations from their engagement in this interaction. These expectations refer not only to the desired outcomes from this interaction, but also to the desired behaviour from each other (i.e. the behaviour which they consider as facilitating the attainment of their own desired outcomes).
3. The interaction between individuals is one of constant role-taking and role exchanging. The interactive process is facilitated or obstructed, depending on the extent to which individuals are able to view these roles and the situation that they are engaged in from the other party's perspective.
4. Human interaction does not remain unaffected by external conditions. In the case of an organisation or an institution these conditions can refer to the rules and regulations that frame and control the behaviour of the participants, the

expectations from agents that are indirectly or directly involved in this organisation, the physical arrangements etc..

5. Social reality, the interaction itself, the roles of the participants, the power applied, expectations and physical arrangements do not hold an absolute significance but they acquire their significance through the perspectives of the individuals. These perspectives are constantly constructed and reconstructed through the interaction of the participants with each other. Therefore, the outcome of any attempt to change the above conditions will not coincide necessarily with the initially desired one because this intervention is perceived, negotiated and reformulated through the interaction of the participants in the situation which is to be changed.

1. General principles

The discussion in this section of the chapter will focus on the last point of the list provided above but it will also take into account the other key points in order to present the process of the ground rules and principles that guided this research.

The last point in the previous list describes one of the principles of the study of human interaction and has clear implications for the methodology applied in these studies: the object of these studies is not the 'objective' representation of the social reality but, instead, it is primarily the representation of the perspectives of the participants about this reality:

'...what is proposed here is [...] a social science that is, first and foremost, concerned with developing an understanding of the ways in which human group life is accomplished from the viewpoint of those engaged in its production'.

(Prus, 1996, p. xviii)

This is not a claim about the non-existence of an 'objective' reality. It is, rather, an observation based on the dynamic nature of social reality: social reality is in a process of constant change and reformulation through human interaction and the researcher is

only able to interpret a snapshot of this process. Most importantly, when human interaction becomes the object of the study, such description is of little value: the study of the social interaction aims to inform participants about the effects of their action on the role, the action and the perspectives of the other and to inform both about the process that they are involved in and about the outcomes of this process. In that way, it could be claimed that interactionism does not enter into the debate between positivist and post-modern approaches. As Prus notes:

'It may be tempting, and even appropriate in certain respects, to locate the intersubjective or interactionist approach as a midpoint of sorts on a continuum between positivism and postmodernism'.

(Prus, 1996, p. 26)

The adoption of the view suggesting that the scope of the study of interaction coincides with the representation of the participants' perspective suggests an empowered role for the participants in the study: these participants are not just the subjects of the researcher's investigation but are also the ones that are provided with a voice through the researcher's work. This is particularly important when the object of the study is related to the opportunities provided to the participants in a given situation to alter the conditions of their interaction in order for some or all of them to participate more actively in the application of power in this situation. This indicates that the interactionist approach is particularly appropriate for the study of human interaction in Citizenship Education, which aims to empower the role of the students. This strength becomes more apparent if we consider the growing demand from social researchers to allow the voice of children – or students, in the case of educational research – to be heard (see Wood, 2003; Thomson and Gunter, 2006). This, however, is not only related to a social demand; students' active participation in the study and the presentation of their perspectives is a fundamental methodological requirement when issues of their concern are studied. As Lloyd-Smith argues:

'From a sociological viewpoint, the principal justification for giving children a voice in educational policy making, in monitoring and quality assurance as well as in research is epistemological. The reality experienced by children

and young people in educational settings cannot be fully comprehended by inference and assumption. [...] the subcultures that children inhabit in classrooms and schools are not always visible or accessible to adults.'

(Lloyd-Smith and Tarr, 2000)

Another methodological implication arising from the view that research on human interaction aims to understand the viewpoint of the participants is that the researcher needs to develop 'a methodology that both respects the intersubjective nature of human group life and maintains a coherence with [his/her] hermeneutic viewpoint'. Therefore the researcher 'would have to employ some variant of an ethnographic approach: an approach that opens the researcher to the life-world of the other through interpersonal exchange' (Prus, 1996, p. 21). The appropriateness of ethnographic methods in the study of participants' perspective of their interaction is also supported by Cohen who notes that ethnography 'is concerned with how people make sense of their everyday world' (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 24). This is not to say that the study of the interaction is tightly related to the implementation of strictly ethnographic methodologies. Besides, Prus recognises in his suggestion that the researcher needs to apply a *variant* of ethnographic research. The principle behind the construction of the appropriate methodology is for it to 'respect the intersubjective nature of human group life' while not jeopardising the coherence of the researcher's hermeneutic viewpoint (Prus, 1996, p. 21). We could claim that a strictly ethnographic approach to research has the potential to jeopardise this coherence in a number of ways. As Cohen notes, the depth of the researcher's involvement in the specific context that he/she studies may prevent him/her from recognising the broad similarities that exist between this and other relevant situations or from taking into account the wider social context and constraints in which his/her object of study is situated (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 157). In relation to the latter, one could claim that this is not a concern applicable to the study of interaction since this wider context is less important than the participants' perspectives about this context. This, however, cannot be considered as a valid claim. The value of the study of the interaction lies indeed, as was shown above, more on the discussion of

the perspectives than on a representation of an objective reality. In order, however, to understand the participants' perspectives about these external conditions the researcher needs to form his/her own view, to become familiar with these conditions and to take these conditions into account in his / her analysis of the data. Besides, the study of interaction, as was mentioned earlier in this chapter, does not coincide with the rejection of the 'objective' reality –neither therefore with its neglect. In this sense, the study of the social situation and of the human interaction in particular should not prevent the researcher from studying the wider context and the ways that this intends to affect the interaction. In the case of the study of the interaction between students and teachers in Citizenship Education, for example, this could lead the researcher to neglect the content of policy documents (i.e. the Crick Report) and to focus solely on teachers' and students' interpretations of these policies. As Cohen notes, 'the participants are being asked about the situation, yet they have no monopoly on wisdom. They may be 'falsely conscious' (unaware of the 'real' situation), deliberately distorting or falsifying information, or highly selective' (Cohen et al, p. 156). The above suggests the implementation of a method that allows the researcher to develop an insight into the situation under study, to develop an understanding of the participants' perspectives, but not to reduce his/her role to that of the mouthpiece of the participants, not to lose sight of his/her responsibility to analyse and interpret the perspectives that he/she studies. This points towards the implementation of a case study, a method which allows the researcher to 'recognise the complexity and "embeddedness" of social truths' while safeguards his/her ability to be actively involved in the analysis of this complexity as this is manifested through the different perspectives which construct it and 'to represent something of the discrepancies or conflicts between the viewpoints held by participants' (Bassegy, 1999, p.23). Cohen illuminates the relevant strengths of the case study in relation to the observations made above:

'Case studies strive to portray "what it is like" to be in a particular situation, to catch the close up reality and "thick description" of participants' lived experiences of, thoughts about and feelings for, a situation. [...] This is not to say that case studies are unsystematic or merely illustrative.'

(Cohen et al, 2000, p. 182)

The suitability of a case study for the investigation of human interaction does not suggest, of course, an uncritical adoption of the method. Indeed, a number of weaknesses have been identified; the extent to which we are able to generalise from the results of a case study is one of the most commonly identifiable ones, but the case study has also been associated with problems of bias, selectiveness in collection and subjectivity in the interpretation of data, and limited opportunity for cross-checking (Ball, 1983; Robson, 1993; Cohen et al, 2000). These identified weaknesses need to be taken into account and addressed when a case study is designed and implemented. Specifically these observations suggest a careful and systematic collection of data, the triangulation of data with the use of multiple methods of data collection, careful selection of the case under study, systematic methods of analysis (Cohen et al, 2000, pp. 185-190). Furthermore, we can add that the generalisation of the results can be tested through their dissemination among groups who participate in similar situations and contexts as those under study.

The discussion so far was initiated by one of the key issues that was raised by the analysis contained in the previous chapter and listed in the previous section of this chapter (point 5, p. 102). A final note that has to be made in relation to this discussion regards the relationship of the researcher with the participants:

'We enter our research participants' worlds to understand their thoughts, feelings and actions. But we do so as genuine participants ourselves, not as distanced, unbiased observers who dispassionately record the doings of others, like scientists attending to specimens in a laboratory.'

(Charmaz, 1996, p. xii)

Charmaz's point, together with the observations made earlier in relation to the risk of the researcher's subjectivity in the collection and especially in the interpretation of

data, suggest that it is particularly useful for the reader to formulate a view of the researcher's background and standpoint in relation to the object of his/her study.

The above discussion suggests that a number of principles had to be taken into account during the construction of the framework of this particular study.

These principles are:

1. A case study was the appropriate methodological approach for the study of the interaction between students and teachers in Citizenship Education. This had to be a case study of a secondary school since Citizenship Education is only part of the statutory curriculum for secondary education. For the selection of this school the issues of generalisation and subjectivity in the selection of data had to be taken into account. This meant that before the selection of the school, an initial visit should examine the general conditions that frame the interaction; these conditions (and the interaction) should not be considered as highly exceptional in relation to other secondary schools.
2. A systematic method of collection and analysis of evidence had to be developed which had to include multiple techniques.
3. In terms of research participants, it was considered important to include individuals who have the opportunity to observe the interaction between students and teachers and for their interpretation on the nature of this interaction to be sought.
4. The researcher had to communicate his interpretations to the participants and to request them to express their views in relation to his interpretations (Blumer, 1969; Bassegy, 1999, p.76). The researcher had also to take into account Glaser's claim (Glaser, 2002) that the communication of a researcher's interpretations to the participants could prevent the theory from emerging. Therefore, participants' feedback was carefully handled and the researcher was prepared to critically discuss possible disagreements between his interpretations and the participants' views. The researcher had also to protect his study from becoming a descriptive

account of participants' views and perspectives. Such prospect was considered as being incompatible with the purpose of the study. Specifically, it was considered that the description of the perspectives was not the end of the analysis, but the basis for patterns in the interaction to be uncovered, patterns that the participants might not be aware of (Glaser, 2002, p.5).

5. The researcher sought to investigate the participants' perspectives but he had also to engage with the formation of a personal view regarding the 'external conditions' which affect the interaction between students and teachers (i.e. study of the school documentation in relation to rules and regulations; collect data regarding the priorities of the school as these are outlined on the school's web site or in other documents; familiarise himself with the curriculum of Citizenship Education etc.).
6. In relation to the external conditions, the researcher had to take into account the pre-existing social structures which affect the actions, roles and the definitions of situations for the members of the school community, without, however, rejecting the ethnomethodological claim regarding the subjectivity of the interpretation of these structures by the individuals and without considering these structures, sets of rules etc., as absolute determinants of human actions.
7. The implementation of qualitative methodologies for the data collection was considered as the most appropriate for this study, in agreement with Prus' recommendations (Prus, 1996, p. xiv). The complexity of the examination of human interaction necessitated the researcher developing an insight that only qualitative methods allow (Huberman and Miles, 1994). However, the researcher had also to take into account the risk of imposing meaning on the situations that were to be studied (Pawson, 1989, p.161). The use of multiple methods for data collection was considered a measure to reduce this possibility (Robson, 1993, p.383) (see point 2 in this account).
8. This study was placed in the context of a phenomenological approach. As Blumer suggests, 'The empirical world must forever be the central point of concern. It is the

point of departure and the point of return in the case of empirical science. It is the testing ground for any assertions made about the empirical world. "Reality" for empirical science exists only in the empirical world, can be sought only there and can be verified only there' (Blumer, 1969, p.21-22).

9. The study was based on grounded theory methodology. It adopted as its aim the development of a theory from the collected evidence and this theory had to be built in a process which involved a constant revisiting of the analysis during the data collection. The study aims to contribute to our understanding of a situation which takes place in the real world which, as a focus, is important for policy makers in the education field.

The specific ways that all these points influenced the design of data collection and analysis is contained in the following chapter. The discussion that follows here focuses of the first four key points that were outlined in the beginning of this chapter (pp 101-2). These points are related to the power applied in the interaction between students and teachers, the expectations of the interacting parties, their ability to empathise and the influence of external conditions (structural arrangements, physical environment etc..) on this interaction. These four notions are integrated and guide the formation of the framework of this study.

2. The framework

The framework that these questions suggest for the examination of the interaction in citizenship education classrooms had to be based on four elements: the examination of the role of empathy in this interaction, the examination of the application of power, the expectations that the parties hold about this interaction and the impact of the external conditions on their interaction. According to symbolic interactionism, which suggests

that the definition of the situation is dependent upon participants' perspective of each other's role, these issues had to be examined from the perspective of both students and teachers. The diagram presented on Appendix 1 integrates all these elements and is an illustration of the complexity of human interaction.

Taking into account all the elements of the analysis of the interaction between students and teachers, it is possible to analyse the main research question and to construct the subsidiary ones (Andrews, 2003, pp. 23-26):

The main research question is:

'What is the nature of the interaction between students and teachers, in the context of Citizenship Education?'

The two subsidiary questions that are derived from the main one:

1. How do the teachers and students define the situation of their interaction with each other in the context of Citizenship Education?
2. What roles are constructed by teachers and students when they interact with each other in the context of Citizenship Education?

A further analysis of the above questions indicated the need for the following issues to be investigated:

1. How do students and teachers describe the model of power applied in the interaction with each other in the context of Citizenship Education?
2. How do students and teachers describe each other's perspectives regarding the model of power applied in the interaction with each other in the context of Citizenship Education?
3. What are the expectations of teachers and students from their interaction with each other in the context of Citizenship Education?

4. What are the teachers' and students' perceptions regarding each other's expectations about their interaction in the context of Citizenship Education?
5. What is the effect of the external factors on the interaction between students and teachers in the context of Citizenship Education?
6. What are the teachers' and students' perceptions about the effect of the external factors on their interaction in the context of Citizenship Education?
7. What models of empathy do teachers and students demonstrate in the context of Citizenship Education?
8. What models of empathy do teachers and students describe as being portrayed in their interaction in the context of Citizenship Education?

The discussion that follows shows how these questions have been integrated into the research project and how they have been methodologically addressed.

a) Power

The examination of the way power is applied in the classroom setting has been described in classic studies by Anderson and Brewer (1945) and Lewin, Lippitt and White (1939). These studies, as Hargreaves notes (1972, p.115), are important for the symbolic interactionist perspective, since they describe teachers' ways of performing their roles in relation to the use of authority. There are two distinctive roles that are identified in both studies. Anderson and Brewer named them *dominative* and *integrative* while Lippitt distinguished them in *autarchic* and *democratic*. The characteristics that are attributed to each role (dominative or autarchic and integrative or democratic) are very similar for both studies. The detailed description in Lippitt's study is included in the following table:

AUTHORITARIAN	DEMOCRATIC
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All determination of policy by the leader. 2. Techniques and activity steps dictated by the authority, one at a time, so that future steps are always uncertain to a large degree. 3. The leader dictates the particular work task and work companions of each member. 4. The domination is "personal" in his/her praise and criticism of the work of each member, but remains aloof from active group participation except when demonstrating. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All policies a matter of group discussion and decision encouraged and assisted by the leader. 2. Activity perspective is gained during first discussion period. General steps to group goal are sketched, and where technical advice is needed the leader suggests two or three alternative procedures from which choice can be made. 3. The members are free to work with whoever they chose and the division of tasks is left up to the group. 4. The leader is "objective" or "fact-minded" in his praise and criticism, and tries to be a regular group member in spirit without doing too much of the work.

It is important to note that the study of the issue of power cannot be exhausted by the description of the role as this is perceived by the observer. The above account is important as indicative of the teacher's perception regarding his or her and the students' role, but is equally important for the researcher to identify the students' perceptions and reactions to the way authority is applied by the teacher.

The communicative way in which the conditions for the interaction are formed and Strauss' notion of negotiation (Strauss, 1964) seem to be in agreement with French's and Raven's suggestions (1956, 1959). French and Raven argued that the character of the authority is dependent upon the way the subjects of this authority perceive it. The democratic leader, in this sense, is the one whose subjects are fully aware of and agree with the way this authority is applied. In this case, the leader is accountable to

them and the power remains indirectly in their hands (the “Legislative power” model). In their work, French and Raven also identified the “Expert” power, a reference to the cases in which authority is delegated to a member of a group or community on the basis of his or her distinctive knowledge or skills for a task that the group has to complete.

b) Empathy

The examination of empathy, as Cooper (2002, p.28) states, can be a rather controversial issue. The definition that describes empathy as *understanding others* ‘immediately begs the question how one would know everything about a separate human being’ (ibid, p.27) and how this understanding can be accurately represented in a study. A valuable way forward for the investigation of this notion can be drawn from her work.

Cooper recognises that empathy is of great importance and contributes to the formation of better relationships between students and teachers, facilitates teaching and learning and contributes to the creation of a positive climate in the classroom.

Cooper claims that the development of empathetic relations is initiated by factors that she recognises as characteristics of the fundamental model of empathy. These are: Accepting/Openness, Attention-giving, Listening, Being interested, Positive and Affirmative approach, Enthusiasm. Acceptance involves suspending judgement and criticism in order to understand the other’s motivations. Being interested means being interested in the other ‘as a person’ and, together with listening, leads to the formation of a positive approach. This is also expressed in ‘announcing and multiplying affirmation, personal validation through understanding of personal problems and helping to find solutions, building a secure environment for the other’ (ibid, p. 112-115). Enthusiasm finally can be directed towards the academic task in which teachers and

students are engaged and towards the interaction itself. The ways that empathy is communicated are described by Cooper as being: Facial expressions, which includes eye contact, smiling and other facial expressions; Gestures, body language and movement as natural compliments to facial expressions; the height and distance that participants keep while interacting; the use of language that does not mystify and confuse and the tone of voice to express feelings and reflect the emotional state of the speaker (Cooper, 2002, p. 116-120).

The recognition of the characteristics of fundamental empathy in the context of human interaction can potentially lead the participants to develop a model of empathy which is of a higher order. This is what is described in Cooper's work as *profound empathy*. The notion of profound empathy includes developing positive emotions and interactions through the use of humour, giving time, positive physical contact, and contributing to the formation of a comfortable and informal climate. It is important also for the participants to explain the reasons behind the actions that affect the interaction and to appreciate all relationships with which the other is involved (Staff relationships, peer relationships, the relationships between parents and teachers etc.).

Cooper observes that teachers' interaction with their students seems to often demonstrate the development of a third model of empathy. This model, which Cooper terms 'functional empathy', is described as being one that enables teachers to empathise with the class as a group rather than with individual students. In her words, functional empathy 'appears as a phenomenon when teachers aspire to understanding the mindsets of groups of pupils rather than individuals' (ibid, p. 157). This description links Cooper's suggestion with Hammersley's observation about teachers' approach and effort to make 'pupils behave as one, subordinate, participant' (Hammersley, 1990, p.16; see p. 87 in this thesis). We could note, however, that this form of empathy could also characterise students' attitudes since they often perceive teachers' role in the context of the school staff group.

It is important to include at this point Cooper's advice that the classification she provides should not be considered as exclusive and explicit and that these characteristics 'Are all inter-linked and relational...not sequential but are iterative, interactive and compounding depending on the participants, the climate and the context' (Cooper, 2002, p. 109).

c) Expectations

There is extensive literature which deals, directly or not, with students' and teachers' expectations from their interaction. We could recognise from this literature that expectations related to students' academic results seem to have a significant impact. For the purposes of this study, however, it was considered as inappropriate to construct a specific model of categorisation of evidence related to these expectations. The reason for this is that expectations refer to the set of personal motivations which lead the participants in their engagement in interaction with each other and the study should remain open to receive evidence that may not fall into any predetermined category.

d) External conditions

Using for guidance the literature that was examined in chapter 4 and especially the studies on school ethos, hidden curriculum and discourse, the examination of the external conditions focused on the following issues:

1. Rules and Rituals that organise life in the school. (This led to the study of school documents related to behaviour management and the observation of daily activities and structure.)
2. School's priorities. (This includes the collection of relevant information from the school's web site and prospectuses, from the management team, other members of staff and the students.)
3. Policy documents in relation to Citizenship Education. (Crick report, Citizenship Order).
4. Physical environment. (Arrangement of the classroom, layout of the school, areas that students and teachers use etc.).
5. External agents' expectations. It is of course almost impossible to collect evidence from all those involved in the organisation of the school through a study of this scale; however, official documents related to the school (i.e. Ofsted reports) were studied. The collection and analysis of this evidence facilitated focusing on the teachers' and students' perspectives about some of these agents (i.e. parents and the government) but it was not possible to collect evidence directly from all of them.

3. The relationship of this model to the study of Citizenship Education

The elements of this framework seem to relate closely to the context and aim of Citizenship Education and to examine issues of importance for this subject.

Linking the notion of power to the methods and content of Citizenship Education is, of course, obvious. The recommendations for students' active involvement in the organisation of the school, for example, suggest a renegotiation of the power relations. In order to examine the process of this negotiation we should examine the form of

power that is applied currently in schools. Besides, the notion of negotiation is itself a political notion (Webb, 1979) and relates to the form of action that takes place in the classroom.

The notion of empathy is related to tolerance and understanding of difference. 'Empathy dissolves 'alienation' and 'values the other person and their world, accepts the person as he is' (Rogers, 1975; quoted in Cooper, 2002, p.304). Empathy creates empathy and 'empathic teachers, modelling both sensitivity to other's feelings and moral responsibility-taking ... promote these in their students' (Cooper, 2002, p.305). As Nussbaum states, one of the capacities of the 'cultivated world citizen' who respects the humanity of his or her fellow citizens is 'the ability to put oneself in another person's shoes and to understand their emotions and desires' (Nussbaum, 1998).

Students' and teachers' expectations have been formed not only in the context of their life in the school, which faces the need to integrate the processes and aims of Citizenship Education, but also from their engagement with a community, the political culture of which the subject aims to challenge (see Crick report: QCA, 1998, p. 8).

Since the external conditions are linked, as Manke has shown (Manke, 1997) to the application of power and the formulation of teachers' and students' roles, they could also affect and be affected by the formation of the new conditions and roles introduced by Citizenship Education.

All the above do not only affect the interaction between students and teachers but are also affected (in more or less direct ways) by it, since this interaction 'involves an ongoing process, political in nature, of seeking to influence definitions through negotiation and renegotiation' (Webb, 1979, p.224). In this sense, Webb's view is now as contemporary as ever: 'Since classrooms are a central element in all educational institutions and politics is central to the interaction within them, the past neglect of this area is something of a paradox' (ibid, p. 221).

The following two chapters of this part of the thesis respond to the principles and research questions presented in this part. Chapter 6 will present the ways that data were collected and key methodological issues were addressed. Chapter 7 will give a description of the context of the study.

Chapter 6

Data Collection and Key Issues

This chapter will present the methods that have been implemented for the data collection and the way that some key methodological issues have been addressed in this study.

1. The researcher

As was mentioned in the previous chapter it is important for a study which investigates human perspectives to allow the reader to formulate a view of the researchers' background and motivation to engage with the topic of the research. This is the aim of this part of the chapter.

As a student, the researcher's experiences from school were drawn from a social context significantly different from that of modern England. The relatively intense political interest of students and teachers in Greece during the period of his schooling brought him close to the work of educational thinkers such as Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire and he is still sympathetic towards their views. As a teacher he has a long professional experience in a variety of educational and cultural settings of both primary and secondary education. His constant aim as a teacher and his constant claim as a student has been the formation of a school environment which is based on the dialogue between students and teachers and on students' active participation in the organisation of the school.

The researcher read the Crick report for the first time in 1999 as he was conducting his Master's research project which examined the political socialisation of students

from ethnic minorities in England. He read with great enthusiasm about the aims and methodologies suggested in the report and he was very interested to examine the ways that English secondary schools would respond to these recommendations. After living and working abroad for one year (USA) he returned to the UK to undertake this research project.

Although we need to accept that subjectivity is to some extent unavoidable and 'what we call information always involves an act of human judgement' (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994, p.145), it is justifiable to claim the awareness of pre-conceptions, motives and established views and an ongoing conscious effort to avoid any biased evaluation allows - as in this case - the political and educational experiences to turn to a strength which has supported the researcher in his long engagement into the study of issues related to Citizenship Education. The specific ways that the validity of the interpretation of the evidence has been safeguarded in this study will be presented in the relevant section of this chapter.

2. The pilot study

The construction and evaluation of the broad methodological framework applied in this study and of the specific methods for the collection of evidence took place during the pilot stage. Evidence was drawn from eight different schools which were visited at different stages of this study (See Appendix 2).

The access to multiple schools which was provided through the researcher's post as a substitute teacher during the first year of his study was extremely useful at that stage since it provided the opportunity for the trial of different methods, different interview plans and the development of the observation schedules. More specifically during the pilot study evidence was collected:

1. From students' written responses in open ended questions which were related to the area of this study.
2. Through group and individual interviews with students.
3. From observation of a variety of subjects.
4. From school documents (prospectuses, schemes of work of Citizenship Education etc.).
5. From interviews with teachers.
6. From field diary and notes.

There are a number of ways that the pilot study assisted the construction of the research plan for the main part of the research.

1. It was clear that group interviews was not an appropriate method for data collection in this case. Handling the discussion during group interviews was extremely difficult and there were many students that did not have the chance to participate, usually due to the enthusiasm of some of their peers for the issues being discussed. Peer influence was also an issue which had to be addressed. The interviews with individual students provided clear and valuable evidence.
2. It became evident that there were large differences between schools in the implementation of Citizenship Education. During the pilot study it became clear that a large proportion of schools did not have the time to adjust their curriculum to the new subject. In some cases not all teachers were aware of the introduction of Citizenship Education in their school, despite teaching subjects which, according to the management of the school, were among the core ones in the implementation of Citizenship Education. The above indicated the need for a careful selection of the context for the case study.

3. In one of the schools visited students' behaviour was very challenging and the interaction between students and teachers was considered as exceptional. This reinforced the need for careful selection of the context of the study.
4. It became clear that interviews should take place in rooms where interviewees' privacy was protected. The discussion of the issues that concern this study led many participants to the expression of views that could be considered as controversial in the school context.
5. A variety of questions were tried allowing the development of the interview schedules implemented in the main study. Some questions were rephrased and two questions posed to students during the pilot study were omitted from the schedule used in the main part of the research since they were considered (on the basis of the confusion that they caused to some students) as 'awkward questions' (Ebbutt, 1987, p. 135).
6. The methodological principles outlined in the previous chapter were tested. Most importantly the pilot stage showed very clearly the appropriateness of a case study for the investigation of the issues concerned. The short time of the researcher's engagement with school life in most of the schools that accommodated the pilot study proved insufficient for the formulation of a view of the ethos of the school.
7. It was decided that the main part of the study should take place in a school in which the researcher had not previously worked as a substitute teacher so that his relationships with the school community would be based only on his role as researcher. Such a decision was based mainly on ethical grounds but also to avoid bias in the collection and interpretation of data.

3. Main Study

The main part of the data collection started in April, 2003. Due to the researcher's involvement in a road accident the study had to be interrupted in May 2003 and to be resumed in March 2004. This led to the formation of two stages in the collection of data (1st stage from April until May 2003 and 2nd from March until June 2004). Considering the risk of losing the established familiarity or jeopardizing his access to the school, the researcher kept formal contact with the deputy head and he made two visits in the period between the two stages. A detailed plan of the work that took place in each stage of this study is outlined in the table of Appendix 3.

There is a need to recognise that a continuous involvement in the school community is essential for the maintenance of trust and familiarity. However, there are cases when a long engagement has the opposite effect. The staff team can be hospitable and open, as in the case of the school in this study, but hospitality cannot always be extended for long. The presence of an outsider in the school can cause a degree of stress, especially when it is a lasting presence, while there is always the risk for the researcher of becoming over-familiar with the members of the community or being assimilated into their group. For this reason the interruption in the data collection can be considered as having at least one positive effect. The time gap between the first and the second part of the study also gave the opportunity for reflection on the data. Most importantly, however, the time that passed gave the opportunity to the school community to become more familiar with Citizenship Education. Issues that had been raised in the first year of its implementation could be related to the lack of familiarity with the new subject. For that reason, informal discussions with teachers who had been interviewed during the first stage of the research took place in the second at which the researcher's interpretation was discussed. In no case, however, did this informal discussion reveal any significant shift of attitudes. Therefore, and for reasons of coherence of the analysis, the discussion of the evidence which will take place in

chapters 8, 9 and 10 of this thesis will not make reference to which stage the evidence was drawn from.

4. Data Collection

The study uses whole school, classroom and role-play observations, interviews with students and teachers and field notes as sources of data. Data were drawn from teachers, students and from two learning assistants who had the opportunity to observe the interaction between students and teachers. The two learning assistants together with the researcher are considered in this thesis as the 'observers' of the interaction.

a) Interviews

Interviews were considered as an essential part of the data collection for this study. As Prus claims, 'by inquiring extensively into the experiences of others, interviewers may learn a great deal about the life-worlds of the other' (Prus, 1996, p. 20). It is obvious that this claim acquires a very important dimension in the context of a study dealing with people's experiences and with their perspectives about their interaction with each other or about the ethos of the context in which they interact.

Interviews were implemented with both students and teachers and with the two learning assistants. Although the interviews with both were related to the same issues (Power, expectations, empathy and external conditions), the formulation of questions with a concern for matching the background, interests and language of the responder (Cohen, 2000, p. 274) led to the construction of two different interview schedules (see Appendices 4 and 5). The interviews with learning assistants were based on the teachers' interview schedule.

The nature of the research topic of the study suggested the implementation of semi-structured interviews 'as these enable respondents to project their own ways of defining the world' (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 146).

As was mentioned above, the questions included in the interview schedules were developed on the basis of the four notions that have been identified by the literature as key issues for human interaction in institutions and organisations. One common question for both schedules aims to investigate participants' perspective on the model of interaction applied in their classrooms. In that question (question 4 in the students' and question 11 in the teachers' interview schedule) two plans representing group interactions were presented to participants. These plans have been adapted from the sociometric test presented by Jennings (Jennings, 1959). The plans prompted the interviewees to give descriptions of their perspectives on all four key issues (power, empathy, expectations, and external conditions).

The interviews gave the opportunity for participants to discuss issues of significance to them, as many of them commented on. It was also noticed that by discussing the issues raised in these interviews, many participants had the opportunity to reflect on their practice. In one case, a teacher who had been interviewed and a number of her lessons observed during the first stage of the data collection, noted that it had been a very long time since she had the opportunity to reflect on her relationship with the students in such a systematic way. During the second part of the study this teacher asked for one of her lessons to be included in the observations and for the researcher to give her his feedback on her teaching methods. Although this observation never took place since it was considered as conflicting with the relationship that the researcher wanted to maintain with the school community, it shows that the benefits from these interviews go well beyond the collection of data for this research. Similarly, it was noticed that some students' attitudes towards the value of their active participation in the school community were altered during the process of the interview.

It was felt that by understanding that their voice is of value for the researcher, they felt empowered and that this feeling was reflected in the way that they saw their position in the school.

b) Observations

Whole school and classroom non-participant observations were implemented in this study. The focus of the observations was determined by the four key issues identified in the discussion of the methodological framework of this study and aimed to provide additional information about teachers' and students' perspectives on these issues. At the same time, however, observations allowed the researcher to formulate a direct view of the participants' interactions and of the situation in which these interactions were constructed. In this respect, the observations allowed the researcher to construct a view about the kind of power applied, about the model of empathy that encompasses this interaction, the expectations that the participants' behaviour seems to support or portrays, and the physical arrangements that affect the participants' interaction. Following Prus' claim that 'observation encompasses not only those things that one witnesses through one's visual and audio senses, but also includes any documents, diaries, records, frequency counts, maps, and the like that one may be able to obtain in particular settings' (Prus, 1996, p. 19), the study of the documents referring to the organisation of the school (behavioural policy document, prospectus etc..) are also considered as parts of the observations that took place in Hillcliff High.

The classroom observations were guided by the use of an observation schedule (see Appendix 6). This schedule is divided into four parts. The first part was devoted to a description of the physical arrangements accommodating the interaction which was observed (sitting arrangements, displays etc. – see Manke, 1997). The second part was available for a description of the processes observed and of particular

events/incidents related to the interaction between students and teachers. Boxes on the side of this part allowed the researcher to keep notes of the time frame and these processes. One box at the beginning of this second part allowed the researcher to make a note on whether the teacher introduced the researcher to the class. This was based on an observation made during the pilot study which indicated that teachers who seemed to have developed positive relationships with the students tended also to introduce the researcher to the students and to give an explanation for the reason of his presence in the classroom.

The third part of the schedule allowed the collection of data in relation to the model of empathy applied in the classroom and the type of authority. More particularly, the information noted on that part related to the extent to which teachers acknowledged in the interaction with the students the name of the students, their background or other aspects of their personal life, the extent to which the application of rules enters into their interaction, the way and frequency that the interaction is initiated by the teacher's intention to instruct etc.. In all these cases the frequency was monitored by ticking the 'tally' box. The use of this information followed Prus' observation:

'Although frequency counts are usually so highly abstracted that much of their contextual value is lost, they may be useful in providing researchers with a certain kind of information about the situation at hand.'

(Prus, 1996, p. 31)

This section of the schedule allowed also the recording of the frequency of implementation of open and closed questions. This was a response to the association that seems to exist between the use of open questions and the construction of empathetic interactions between teachers and students (Cooper, 2002; Smith et al, 2006).

The fourth part of the observation schedule aimed to gather data on students' behaviour during the interaction. Notes were kept in relation to the way that they were

addressing the teacher; the way that they were presenting themselves (what expectations their behaviour demonstrated, whether they were disclosing information about their life out of school etc.); indications on whether their behaviour is spontaneous or suppressed by the interaction with the teacher; indications of the level of their involvement in the lesson. The final part of the schedule allowed notes to be kept on information that could not fall under any other category but was considered as important and relevant during the observation. In the same part, questions that arose from the observations were noted to enable them to be addressed in the interviews with teachers and students.

Data from the whole school observations were kept as audio files in a voice recorder which was used as field diary (see section (d) in this chapter). These observations took place in the corridors of the school during breaks, in the dining hall during the lunch time, in the library, in the staff room and in the hall during times that whole school activities were taking place (i.e. assemblies). The aim of these observations was the description of the out-of-classroom interaction between students and teachers and the possible variations in the way that power, empathy, expectations and external conditions were addressed when the two parties interact outside the classroom walls.

c) Role-Plays

The investigation of the perspectives that participants hold about the 'other' in the context of social interaction is a rather challenging task, especially when these participants are young people and when limited time for individual interviews is available (see Cooper, 2002). Also difficult is the examination of perceptions of the participants regarding the 'other's' expectations and definitions of the situation of the interaction. This difficulty became obvious during the pilot study, when students' views

on teachers' perspectives about their interaction was attempted to be investigated through the interviews. Many students gave partially irrelevant answers to these questions, something that apart from practical issues related to the collection of data, raised also some ethical concerns, since it was felt that it caused a level of stress among the students. This affected also the length of the interviews which in turns affected students' concentration and motivation to participate. In such cases it has been argued that the interviewee's responses can be facilitated with the provision of specific events or a set of events on which he or she is asked to comment (Ericsson and Simon, 1980).

In this study this suggestion was addressed with the engagement of the students in role-plays, an idea that was shaped during the observation of drama lessons. The sections that follow present the theoretical background of this method in relation to this study and its actual implementation.

(1) Investigating Perspectives: Goffman and Dramaturgy

According to the definition provided by Cohen, role-playing is the 'participation in simulated social situations that are intended to throw light upon the role/rule contexts governing "real" life social episodes' (Cohen et al, 2000, p.370). In order for the investigation of issues that are related to humans' interaction to be facilitated, the selection of the 'life episodes' represented in the role-plays that took place in this study contain the notion of the 'role reversal'. 'Role reversal' as a technique for the revelation of the actor's interpretation of the other's perspectives has been used for years in psychodrama and sociodrama. This part of the thesis will argue that the engagement of the participants in role-playing which involves role reversal can be also used for research purposes when the interaction is the focus of the study. This idea is consistent with the symbolic interactionist view of human interaction as performance,

with Goffman's view of interaction as dramaturgy (1971, 1983, and 1991) and with McLaren's ritualistic view of the hidden curriculum (McLaren, 1986).

The symbolic interactionist view of social interaction as 'performance' is based on Mead's views and was developed by Goffman in his 'dramaturgical' approach. Goffman suggested that social life could be seen as drama during which humans play different roles and strive to manage their performance. He argued, in a way similar to post-structuralists, that it is doubtful whether a 'real self' (what Mead referred to as 'I') is ever present in human interaction as humans create a different role in every situation. Under this perspective and in view of the symbolic interactionist claim that actors involved in an interaction use to interpret the acts of each other, and to consider the other's expectations, directions and perspectives (Blumer, 1969; Charon, 1995), it could be possible for the engagement of the actor in a role-play which involves 'role reversal' to reveal his or her perspectives about the role of the other.

Role reversal is related to *identification*, a notion used in both psychology and drama. Cixous (1975) states that an actor 'never reads except by identification. But what kind? When I say identification, I do not say loss of self. I become, I inhabit. I enter. Inhabiting someone at that moment I can feel myself traversed by that person's initiatives and actions' (Quoted in Diamond, 1992, p. 390). The actors in psychodrama identify themselves with roles that they have created in the past in order to re-create the past image 'so it can be reviewed, recognised and integrated, allowing a more functional identity to emerge' (Landy, 1986, p. 48). They can reverse roles and identify themselves with the 'other' with whom they were interacting and in that way they become the observers of their own behaviour. At the same time however, they describe the behaviour or roles that they wish this 'other' to perform (or to have performed in the past) in the context of the interaction with each other. In this way, the actors are able to describe their perspectives regarding the motives or perceptions of the other which

they believe that prevent (or have prevented) them from constructing the role that they want (Landy, 1986, p. 142).

Role reversal, however, as a technique for the observation of actors' interpretations of the 'other's' perspectives is closer to the use of techniques in sociodrama when the role-play refers to interactions that take place in an institution. 'Sociodrama concerns the projection of an individual upon a social, collective role' (Landy, 1986, p.173). Actors in sociodrama adopt social roles of other actors with which they interact. However, they do not identify themselves with specific individuals that play these roles in real-life settings but with a broad conception of this role as it is performed by all the actors that share this role. This makes sociodrama particularly useful for the examination of interactions that take place in institutional settings, in which specific routines can create a more or less homogenised behaviour among members of the institution that have similar responsibilities. As Goffman argued, in the case of institutional settings (Goffman, 1991), actors often not only construct but, to some extent, they seem to adopt roles by putting themselves in routines which manipulate and control their behaviour. Their expectations and self-perceptions are formed on the basis of an internalised negotiation between the roles that they perform out of this institution and the demands of the institution to conform to the rules and rituals that regulate the behaviour of its members. This suggests that these routines, by controlling - partially at least - actors' freedom to construct their roles, to some extent pre-define the definitions that actors give to the situation and control their social actions, creating a more conformist way of performance. In many cases, this pre-defined form of behaviour formulates collective images about the expected 'performance' anticipated by specific institutional roles. A characteristic example of this collectivist perceptions of institutional roles is provided in Zimbardo's classic experiment (Zimbardo et al, 1973, Zimbardo, 1974) in which a simulated prison became the setting for the participants to perform the roles of 'guards' and 'prisoners'. The 'guards' of the experiment, re-creating the image they had about the role of a prison's guard, conformed to these perceived

roles with such zeal that the study had to be discontinued after six days. At the long debriefing stage they had to come to terms with the fact that the behaviour they demonstrated during the experiment differed from their usual social behaviour and was in disagreement with their values. This indicates that in a role-play actors possibly describe a collective perception of the roles of their characters and what we observe is the extent to which the actor in this role-play adopts or rejects this perception. This, of course, raises issues regarding the validity of the role-play as a source of data. Issues regarding the validity are also raised in relation to the observers' interpretations of the observed actions. Both issues suggest that observers need to discuss their interpretations of the actors' performance with the actors themselves, in a way similar to sociodrama. In this study, these discussions proved more important than the role-plays themselves, indicating that the role-plays' value lie in their role as stimulators for discussion and group interviews, providing material for participants to comment upon (Cohen et al, 2000). In the case of the role-plays implemented in this study, this proved to be an essential part of the collection of evidence regarding students' perspectives.

(2) The design, the performance and the observations of the role-plays

On the basis of the categorisation provided by Hamilton (1976), we can identify two kinds of role-plays: the *passive*, in which the participant is required to watch or read and/or comment on a representation of a social situation and the *active* ones in which the participants improvise a character and perform it. During the pilot study, forms of both types of role-play were tested. In the main study, active role-plays were used and this choice was made on the basis of students' interest and motivation to participate and due to the fact that active role-plays could be conveniently integrated into drama lessons.

The set of role-plays that was finally implemented in the main study was designed with the use of recommendations contained in the relevant bibliography (van Ments, 1983; Neelands and Goode, 2000) and with the valuable assistance of one of the drama teachers of the school. This set of role-plays included the representation of four different situations: an interview for the appointment of a new teacher; a teachers' council meeting in which a student's issue was discussed; another council meeting on teachers' potential participation in a strike; and finally a random encounter of a teacher and a student in a school corridor. These were presented to students as general themes and time was given to them to design the content of the activities ('improvised' activities; Hamilton, 1976).

The aim of the first activity was to provide a context in which students could express their perspectives on the criteria that are used by the management of the school for the selection of a new teacher and the priorities that the school gives regarding teachers' role in the school. In that sense, this role-play gave students the chance to comment on the institutional expectations that affect teachers' roles. In one case, however (in the role-play performed by 6th form students), the discussion at the end of the session revealed that a small number of students used this activity to express their own ideas on what these criteria should be. The second activity aimed to allow students to express their views on the priorities that teachers have and their expectations from their professional role. This role-play also gave them the opportunity to present their thoughts in relation to the possibilities that teachers have to resist the conditions that seek to fulfil these expectations and to comment on teachers' political behaviour in school related issues. For this reason, no justification for the strike was given to students and the students were asked to come up with their own ideas. Their views on the reasons for a student's case to be discussed in a teachers' meeting was the focus of the third activity and disclosed information related to students' perceptions of teachers' perspectives in relation to students' role in the school. In some classes students were asked to represent such a meeting with the participation of

representatives of the students' council (role-play with 'involving' content; Hamilton, 1976). In these cases notes were made in relation to students' perception of the possibilities they have to influence the decision-making process in their school and their perceptions of the extent that teachers are prepared to accept such contributions. The final role-play provided students with a 'blank canvas' for the expression of their views on teachers' perspectives in the context of their interaction with the students.

The themes of all the activities have explicit and implicit links with the aims and content of Citizenship Education. Issues such as students' participation, the function of the school rules, the use of authority and the negotiation models applied in the interaction of the members of the school community were always present in students' performances.

The sessions took place in the drama studio during drama lessons and the teacher, who remained in the class during these periods, presented the activity as a part of an experimental exercise that students were not obliged to participate in (alternative activities were available). The classes were divided into groups of three or four students (larger for the second and third activity). For the observation, the "spot lighting" technique was used: after taking some time to prepare their work, the actors had to stay silent and still. The observer began walking around the classroom and was focusing his attention on one of the groups - demonstrated by his proximity to the group and the direction he was looking at -. His attention was giving 'life' to the group, which then started performing. As soon as the observer was moving away, students had to stay still again, waiting until the observer's life-giving attention allowed them to perform the rest of the work they prepared. Apart from facilitating the observation of the activities, the implementation of this technique gave the chance to students to become the observers of their peers' performance and comment on it at the end of the sessions. In that sense, students became the participants of a 'passive' form of role-plays (Hamilton, 1976) in which the social episodes were the role-plays themselves.

During students' performance, the teacher had a general view of the task and kept notes on students' performance, acting as a second observer.

Students were asked to feel free to express their views openly but without violating the rules of the drama lessons and those which related to safety matters. In order to support them in this aspect, the sessions took place in the drama studio, a place in which they seem to feel very comfortable and where privacy was guaranteed.

For ethical reasons, students were asked to avoid representing the behaviour of a specific teacher and in no case should the students take on the mannerisms of specific teachers. It was agreed, however, for the Drama teacher to inform her colleagues about the activity in general terms and no objection was raised by any students or, indeed, fellow teachers.

The discussions at the end of the activities contained clarifications from the students on issues that were raised during their performance and a description of their interpretations of their and their peers' role-plays. The third part of the discussion focused on the observer's interpretations of the role-plays upon which students were requested to comment. Before the end of the discussion further explanations were given to students regarding the interest of the observer and this served also as a form of debriefing (van Ments, 1983). Students offered a remarkable level of collaboration throughout the course of these sessions.

As previously mentioned, the sessions were designed in collaboration with the drama teacher and many hours were spent in order to form the appropriate activities in relation to the interests of this study. Discussions with her after the sessions have proved to be valuable for the exchange of ideas and information and for the improvement of future data collection.

(3) Conclusions: the strengths and the limitations of the method

The complicated nature of the investigation of human interaction and of perceptions that participants hold regarding the 'other's' views can become an obstacle for the use of traditional methods of data collection. In these cases the implementation of role-plays can provide valuable assistance. In the case of this study, the participation of students in role-play sessions provided them with the opportunity to construct situations that allowed them to project their views on the issue under investigation. These situations functioned also as a point of reference for the students and enabled them to express their perceptions more clearly facilitating the implementation of the research. Furthermore, the discussions that followed these activities indicated that the students' engagement in the role-plays contributed to the formation of a climate that allowed the discussions to flow more freely. Students seemed to take control of the situation during these discussions in the same way that the actors have a control over their audience during and soon after their performance. In that sense, students seemed to be empowered by their role in these situations and their answers seemed to be less vulnerable to the power difference between themselves and the person that was posing the questions to them (see Cohen and Manion, 2000; Eder and Fingerson, 2002).

The use of role-plays in this study justifies the implementation of this method only to the extent that it can provide additional evidence on the issues that are investigated. The validity of the interpretations that the observer of these activities makes needed to be validated with the participation of the actors and via the use of other methods. Finally it is also necessary to note that it is a time-consuming method of data collection and the time pressure under which many schools operate can restrict its appropriateness. However, considering the enthusiasm that it raises and which is experienced by both, the participants and the researcher, the time that its implementation requires appears to have been time well spent.

d) Field notes

Field notes is a method for collection of evidence largely associated with ethnography and case studies (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 190). In this study the field notes were recorded on a suitable voice recorder. These notes were descriptions of rituals that students and teachers were following and descriptions of the interaction between students and teachers outside the school classroom. Every recording started with a description of the context which was observed while the date and the time of the recording were noted automatically by the device. Field notes were made also immediately after the interviews with teachers and students or at the end of each day with reflections, thoughts and observations on the data that had been collected.

5. Data Analysis

The analysis of the data has been the most challenging part of the study due to their quantity and due to the diversity of methods implemented. The challenge can also be attributed to the nature of the issues examined (participants' perspectives) which have been complicated to codify. The analysis started simultaneously with the collection of data. Reflections and possible interpretations were recorded and noted as these were compared with concepts suggested by the literature in accordance to Strauss and Corbin's suggestion (1998). All recordings were transcribed and special care was given for the interview transcripts to represent the hesitations, surprise, confidence and other complimentary evidence which are lost when we translate 'from one set of rule systems (oral and interpersonal) to another very remote rule system (written language)' (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 281). For this reason a set of codes was developed to represent emotions, affirmations, external interruptions etc. (see 'Key to notation on interview transcripts', Appendix 7). The notes kept from informal interviews, whole school

observations and from the researcher's reflections on the data were also transferred in electronic form (Word documents). Line numbers on the side of all these documents and transcripts facilitated the analysis.

The planning of the analysis was based on a diagram which was developed as the amount of gathered data increased (see Appendix 8). The diagram suggests the initial categorisation of the data according to the four key notions that guided the construction of the methodological framework (power, empathy, expectations, and external conditions). At the second stage the categorisation takes into account the role of the individuals that provided these data (teachers, students, 'observers' and the researcher). In the third stage the data were categorised according to the point of their reference (i.e. whether these are teachers' perspectives about their own roles, students' perspectives about their teachers' roles, perspectives of 'the observers' regarding students' or teachers' roles and their interaction etc.). The data were also categorised according to their source (observations, interviews, role-plays etc.). This allowed the horizontal analysis of the data which facilitated the methodological triangulation (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 113).

As the analysis of the data started, notes were kept on the side of the transcriptions and of photocopies of the observation schedules. These notes formed the basis for the first stage of the analysis in which multiple themes were identified (see in the diagram the nine columns of themes). These themes allowed the initial categorisation of the data. The observation schedules and the transcripts were coded and a logbook was kept with multiple categories representing each identified theme. Under each category the codes of the relevant documents were noted with specific information on the exact part of the document in which these themes appear (line number for transcripts and page numbers / sections for the observation schedules). In that way documents could appear in multiple categories depending on the themes that were identified in it.

As the analysis progressed, patterns started to emerge allowing the development of 'a few general constructs to subsume a mountain of particulars' (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 18). After the identification of the first categories, a 'scanning process moving backwards and forwards between the raw evidence and the developing analysis' was employed (Ebbut, 1987, p. 105). At that stage the potential of these themes to allow the development of responses to the research questions as well as other relevant questions drawn from the literature was examined.

6. Validity

As it has already been mentioned in another part of this thesis (Chapter 4, pp. 80-81), the adoption of an interactionist methodological approach suggests the expectation from the researcher to employ particular methods in order to ensure the validity of his or her interpretations of the evidence. As Blumer has argued, it is essential from an interactionist perspective for the researcher's interpretations to be juxtaposed to the meaning that the subjects of the study attribute to their actions and to their collective lives. Therefore, the method of member checking (Cohen et al, 2000) holds a pivotal role for the validation of the theories emerging from interactionist studies. This study has taken the above interactionist principle into account and has created a number of opportunities for the researcher to discuss the outcomes of the analysis with the staff and the students of the school in which the study took place. Those discussions overwhelmingly supported the researcher's understanding of the data and in most cases the participants commented on the effectiveness of these interpretations to describe and theorise their own understanding of the interaction between students and teachers and the role of Citizenship Education in this process. It is interesting to note that in those discussions, certain issues and claims made by the researcher seemed to attract particular attention from the participants. Such issues include the role of the

classrooms' layout, the rules and rituals of the school and the role of students' age in the interaction between students and teachers. Discussing the above issues, one teacher commented that the researcher's interpretation did not only seem to be in agreement with her understanding of the processes of formation of the institutional roles in schools but that it offers an insight into aspects of these processes which remain largely unquestionable by the individuals performing those roles. Picking up from this, another teacher pointed out that such claims support his view of the school as a repetitive and self-reinforcing cycle of actions which prevent significant changes in the way that this life is organised. Other teachers agreed with this. Although this study cannot go as far as to support such claim, it is thought that this view of the school life is in agreement with the theories which emerge from the study. (See the issue of resistance, discussed in various chapters in the fourth part of the thesis.)

Some disagreements with the researcher's view of the school life were expressed by some of the younger students who participated in this study (Y8 students). However, in all of those cases the discussion revealed a lack of awareness or understanding of aspects of teachers' role from these students. Overall, those views suggest a tendency among younger students to attribute more power to their teachers than the teachers attribute to themselves and also an inclination among students to view (and explain) their own performances as responses to teachers' actions. This is in agreement with the view of the classroom processes as the teachers' 'egocentric' performance (see chapter 8) and the shifting position of the students as they progress in the school's informal hierarchy which is discussed in chapter 9.

Member checking was not the only method employed for the validation of the claims that are made in this study. Another important method is the triangulation of the claims, a method which was also supported by the implementation of the analysis plan described above (section 5 of this chapter) which facilitated their cross-checking.

The researcher paid special consideration to the method of peer debriefing (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Raw data and their interpretation (themes identified and the

emerging theory) were exposed to the researcher's colleagues. Such opportunities were provided through seminars at different stages of the study which took place in three Universities (University of Leeds, University of York (UK), University of Peloponnese (Greece)). The researcher also presented a paper with an interim report on the analysis of the data in an International conference (2004 Annual Conference on Educational Research, European Education Research Association (EERA)). In all the above cases, basic information about the study and a selection of evidences were presented to the audience with the use of Power Point software. In the EERA conference the researcher used one projector to present slides with evidence from the study in Power Point format while an overhead projector was showing slides with the interpretations and claims made on the basis of this evidence. Such systematic presentation of the analysis allowed the engagement of the audience with the researcher in a discussion which had a significant impact on the directions followed in the analysis. More specifically, the discussion revealed the limitations of the description of the interaction between students and teachers as a distinction between two possible forms (flexible and inflexible). The questions addressed by the audience helped the researcher to realise that such description could only be justified on the basis of an (unsupported by the evidence of the study) assumption that the model of the interaction between students and teachers is a result of the style adopted by the teachers and of the teaching methods applied by them. It is interesting to note that this realisation was not based on any direct comment made by the audience but it was the result of the researcher's retrospective reflections of the discussion. During that process the researcher focused particularly on a couple of questions addressed by the audience which concerned the role of the students. The researcher realised that a difficulty that he had in responding to those questions was caused by an inconsistency between the view of the student as it emerged from the descriptions contained in the interim report and specific extracts from students' interviews presented to the audience before the discussion. As a result of this realisation, the researcher re-examined the evidence and

focused on the identification of other data which could reveal the same inconsistency. This process resulted in a mental redrawing of the students' role which was used as the basis for the re-evaluation of the evidence supporting the claims of the interim report. At the next stage of this process the researcher reformed his claims which gave a new significance to the identification of the two forms of interaction and allowed the advancement of the analysis.

It was not only the data and analysis that were exposed to the researcher's colleagues. One paper (presented in the 2004 annual conference of the British Education Research Association (BERA)) was on the design and implementation of the framework of the study while the use of role-play and the analysis of data obtained through this method was analysed in a paper presented in the 2005 annual conference of BERA.

Within the process of validation of the analysis of the evidence, the researcher had also systematically tried to provide alternative interpretations (negative case analysis) to the same raw data. This process was integrated in all stages of the analysis. A characteristic example of the use of the method is the description of the type of empathy developed by teachers. All evidence supporting the description of this thesis (see chapter 11) have been juxtaposed to the descriptions of types of empathy provided by Cooper (2002) and systematic attempts have been made for all types of empathy to be used in order to describe this evidence. This was a process of validation of the suitable description of empathy experienced by teachers through the rejection of the unsuitable ones. As it is mentioned above, this process of alternative interpretation of evidence was built in all stages of the analysis and similar processes were followed as the researchers worked through the analysis model described in section 5 of this chapter.

7. Sampling

The focus of the study (the interaction between students and teachers in Citizenship Education) determined the way that the teachers who were interviewed were selected and the selection of the classes that were observed.

Soon after access to the school was granted (see following section), the researcher contacted all teachers who, according to the headteacher and the Citizenship coordinator, were involved in the implementation of Citizenship Education (English, Art, Drama, Religious Education (RE), Geography, History and Personal and Social Education (PSE)). All these teachers were invited to participate in the study as interviewees. In total twelve teachers agreed to be interviewed. Interviews were also conducted with two Learning Assistants who support two KS3 students in their lessons. The reason for requesting their participation was because by following these students in different lessons, they have established a long experience as observers of the interaction between students and teachers.

The classroom observations and the interviews with students would not have been possible to have organised in as effective a way without the support of the secretary of the school. In a meeting with her, the researcher explained the principles that had to be followed in the selection of the lessons and the students: the lessons should be on Citizenship Education and should include lessons taught by various teachers and with classes of a variety of year groups; the interviews should be with students from all year groups with the aim of ten students from each year group being interviewed. Ideally there should be equal representation of male and female students and the sample should include students from the three 'academic groups' into which the school's student population is divided.

The secretary of the school made the contacts with teachers and students in the afternoon of each day and the data collection plan for the day was ready the following

morning (see Appendix 9). In order for the researcher to monitor the progress of the study and to direct the secretary of the school, a plan was kept which could easily illustrate the progress of the research (see Appendix 3).

The balance between male and female students was achieved but information about the academic group of each student was only scarcely available.

8. Selection of the school and access

The school was selected in a way similar to Stake's description (Stake, 1994, p.236). The initial description of the school was provided by the educational psychologist who was professionally attached to the school. After an initial meeting with the deputy head of the school a letter was sent to the head teacher with an overview of the issues that were the focus of the study and the ways that ethical issues would be addressed. In a meeting with the headteacher which followed this letter these issues were further discussed and a more detailed description of the form of the school's involvement was provided for her (Cohen et al, 2000, p. 55). Shortly after that time, the management team granted the researcher access to the school.

After being granted access a series of visits (three in total) were made which gave the opportunity to establish an initial view of the ethos of the school. During these visits, an overview of the study was discussed with some members of staff and with students who were members of the students' council. This was in order for the researcher to prepare the school community and to establish support for this study's investigation. At the same time a letter was sent to the parents of all students in the school informing them about the school's involvement in the study, giving them an overview of the project and explaining to them that the students' involvement would be voluntary. The letter also made clear that parents could request for their children not to be involved in the study by contacting the school through letter, email or phone.

During these initial visits a field diary was kept. Evidence drawn about the school from the school's and Ofsted web site (Office for Standards in Education: www.ofsted.gov.uk), together with reflections on the general feeling acquired from this brief involvement with the school community and with the analysis of field notes indicated that the relationships between students and teachers were largely positive and that the ethos of the school could not be considered to be exceptional.

9. Ethical issues

The ethical issues related to this study were addressed in a number of ways. Information about the content of the research was provided to all involved. Letters to students' parents were posted before the collection of data commenced and the head teacher had informed the school staff about the study before access was granted. On the day that the study commenced, during and after the staff meeting, the researcher stayed in the staff room in order to provide teachers with the opportunity to pose questions.

All teachers that are involved in the Citizenship Education programme offered their cooperation. The PSE teacher explained that observations should take place after a careful selection of the student groups and only when the issues that were to be discussed in the class were not considered as too sensitive for an observer to be present.

A priority is given for the participants to be put in control of the research (Altrichter et al, 1993, p.78). Therefore clear and accurate information about the study was provided to all participants (Smith, 2007). One issue of concern was related to the recording of the interviews. The interviewees were asked for their consent before and after the interview. The purpose for this was related to the experience acquired from the pilot study which showed that that the semi-structured form of the interview

schedule triggered discussions in which some teachers expressed views which might not have been expected to be discussed in the context of this study (i.e. views about the role of the management of the school, the role of the government etc..). For the same reason, each interview was recorded on separate tapes and the participants were informed that they could keep or destroy it at the end or during the interview. Only one teacher asked for the interview not to be recorded and in that case her consent was sought for notes to be kept.

All interviews with students were held in the office of the Citizenship coordinator. Four interviews with teachers took place in classrooms that were not in use and the rest in the offices of the teachers.

Confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed (Cohen et al, 2000, pp. 61-2). The real names of the participants have been changed in this thesis and on all documents containing data (transcripts and observation schedules). The name of the school has been changed in the thesis and some distinctive data of the school have been slightly altered or provided in an approximate form to better conceal the actual identity, while enabling context specific evidence to be discussed.

The dissemination of the results of this study to the school community, apart from a methodological necessity, was considered also as an ethical obligation of the researcher. In two visits to the school these results were disseminated to the management team and the members of the students' council.

Chapter 7

Hillcliff High

The research is a case study of an 11-18 mixed comprehensive school situated in a sub-urban area of a city in Northern England. The study is focused on the KS3 and KS4 classes in which Citizenship Education is a statutory subject.

1. Students' Population

There are currently approximately 1100 students on roll from which 110 are sixth form students. A variety of ethnic backgrounds are represented in this population and about thirty per cent of the KS3 and KS4 students (292 students) are from ethnic minorities: about eight per cent of these students are Afro-Caribbean, twelve per cent Jewish, nine per cent Asian (mainly Indian) and one per cent from a mixed ethnic background. There are 146 students entitled to free school meals and 133 students on the Special Needs register. Both figures represent a percentage which is in line with national averages.

Students are from a variety of social backgrounds. As the Citizenship coordinator of the school noted in her interview:

*Ms Riggs: the school is right bang in the middle of two, I think, very different housing areas. You've got in one side mainly businessmen and professionals and then ... just along this road you've got ... sort of, you know, hard working, **In work**, luckily, youngish families [...] and then you've got two **massive estates** here where there is a lot of deprivation.*

(Interview with Ms Riggs (Citizenship Coordinator) and Ms Wales (Head of PSE))

2. Teaching Staff

The teaching staff consists of sixty-nine teachers employed by the school on a full-time basis and four teachers with part-time contracts teaching mainly subjects that are of

particular interest to the students from ethnic minorities (Languages). Of the members of the teaching team, four (full-time) are from ethnic minority cultural backgrounds. Three of the full-time teachers have recently obtained the Advanced Skills status. Among them is the recently appointed Citizenship Co-ordinator.

Most of the teachers have been employed at the school for a long time according to the Deputy Head of the school. This is represented by an average of twelve years of continuous employment for the full-time teaching staff. In addition, the school employs twenty-eight educational support staff.

3. The School's reputation in the local community

As initial discussions with students, a number of parents living in the area and school staff showed, the school seems to have a good reputation among the local population and it competes successfully with the other two local schools seeking to be chosen by parents within the catchment area. This seems to be based mainly on two reasons. The first is the results that its students achieve in their SATs and GCSE exams which are above the national averages (see table in the Appendix 10). The second is related to the ethos of the school and particularly to its positive multicultural environment, something that was considered to be one of the main strengths of the school during the last Ofsted inspection, which took place in the year 2000.

4. Students' views of the school

Students seem by and large to be content with the life and teaching standards of the school. This is more apparent for the students in KS4 (Years 10 and 11), being expressed in informal discussions as well as during the interviews for this study.

Indicative of this level of contentment is the fact that most of the students that are planning to take A' level courses choose to study in the school's Sixth Form College.

5. Policies and Peer Counsellors Group

The school has in place an Equal Opportunity, a Child Protection and an Anti-Bullying policy. The Equal Opportunity policy was drawn up in 1994 as a result of governors and interested staff holding a series of meetings. It states that the school is opposed to any act of racism, prejudice and discrimination of all kinds and that the policy is applied equally to all members of the school community, including staff, governors, students and parents. Among the aims of this policy is the promotion of justice, fair treatment and equality of opportunity for all and the provision of a sense of citizenship in students.

The documents about the Child Protection and Anti-Bullying policies include instructions to staff and parents about how to detect relevant cases from the behaviour of their children and about the procedures that should follow if intervention is needed. The application of these policies is among the concerns of a peer counsellors group consisted of Years 10 and 11 students who also provide moral support and counselling to any of their peers who seek it. This group was formed during the academic year 2000-2001 under the co-ordination of the Head of the PSE department, but for the last two years not many students have expressed interest in participating in it and very few of the students I asked knew about the operation of the group.

6. The Behavioural Policy

During the academic year 2000 - 2001 a new behavioural policy was introduced in the school which is based on the Positive Behaviour Programme. This programme has

actually been adopted by many schools in the same Local Authority and many schools that were visited during the pilot stage have the same policy in place. Due to the importance that is given to the behavioural policy by the staff and the students of the school, its recognised relevance to the school ethos (see discussion in Chapter 3) and also because it seems that the application of the policy is an issue that causes some tension between students and teaching staff, it is useful for its aims and methodology to be presented in more details.

According to the document in which the behavioural policy of the school is outlined, the programme's aims are: the development of a sense of self discipline and an acceptance of responsibility in students; the creation of conditions for an orderly community in which effective learning can take place; the development of mutual respect for all members of the school community; the development of a concern towards the environment; the provision of a relaxed and welcoming atmosphere; to encourage positive attitudes to learning; and to provide good models for younger students.

In the section about the general principles of the policy, the importance of the attitudes of the staff towards their students is emphasised. (This is, according to the document, among the most influential factors that determine the development of good relationships between staff and students.) The policy states that 'lack of motivation is a major cause of disruption', as are an inappropriate or inaccessible curriculum. In the same document it is argued that the learning process is a mutual responsibility between students and staff. The provision of opportunities for the students to be involved in the community is also recommended as well as students' active involvement in the life of the school. Among the other recommendations is the use of praise while punishment is presented as a method with only short-term effectiveness. Besides, it is emphasised that in cases where punishment is considered necessary, the reasons for behaviour being unacceptable should be explored, their causes identified and these should be communicated to the student.

The methodology of the programme includes the implementation of a token-economy system for rewarding positive behaviour and a procedure which teachers should follow in order to discourage or punish negative behaviours. The rewards that the school uses include stickers in students' school diaries, postcards to parents/carers and certificates that are given usually by the form tutor after the morning register. The system for the application of punishments includes on-site detentions at the end of the school day, referral to the 'inclusion unit' and off-site inclusion in local Referral Centres. Detention, according to the document, is a consequence when students fail to bring their homework in on time while both types of *inclusions*, which are referred usually by students and staff as *exclusions*, are the consequences of students' extremely unacceptable behaviour or repeated failure to attend a detention. In a case where unacceptable behaviour is identified by a teacher, a note in the student's diary or a letter sent home is used to inform parents/carers about the incident. According to the policy document, referral to the inclusion unit is considered as an extreme measure and as an attempt to keep students on the school premises rather than sending them off the site. It is also considered that it offers an opportunity for the students to cool off and moderate their behaviour before reintegration into lessons.

The school does not keep data for the number of students who are referred to the inclusion unit each academic year. The number of the permanent exclusions seems to be well below the National averages. However, it is unclear at this stage how accurate these figures are (see Vulliamy and Webb, 2001).

7. The Ofsted Report

The school was inspected by Ofsted two years before this study commenced and a year before the introduction of the above described behavioural policy. Strong and effective leadership, students' positive behaviour, and good teaching are referred to as

being the strengths of the school. Among the strengths identified in the report are also the excellent standards of personal and social education teaching, the good relationships between members of the school community and the high standards of pastoral support provided to students. A small-scale survey was also conducted by Ofsted, based on the provision of questionnaires to students' parents and investigating parents' views of the school. The results indicate a positive attitude towards the school and an overall positive view on most aspects of its educational provision.

8. Citizenship

Citizenship was introduced in the school in 2002 as a cross-curricular subject. There seems to be a disagreement between the management team and the teaching staff on the specific subjects that should be involved in the implementation of the programme. The management insists that all subjects should incorporate dimensions and have explicit references to Citizenship Education, a suggestion that has brought some tension between the management team (the headteacher and the citizenship coordinator in particular) and teachers of Science, Maths and Business Studies. Currently, the implementation of the subject involve the following subjects: PSE, History, Geography, Religious Education (RE), English, Business Studies (despite the Head of Department's hesitation) Drama and Art. Strong links are considered to exist particularly between PSE and Citizenship and the Head of PSE works very closely with the Citizenship coordinator.

The Citizenship coordinator also holds the position of Assistant Head of the school and the responsibility for the coordination of the students' council, a scheme, however, which, according to the evidence of this study, does not appear to gain students' interest.

In a brief and informal discussion with the headteacher, she noticed that the management team and most of the school staff are very positive towards the content and the methodologies of Citizenship Education. She also insisted that it has been very easy for the community of Hillcliff High to apply these methodologies and she referred to the behavioural policy and the recognition by Ofsted of the positive ethos of the school as indications of this. Regarding the content of the subject, the Head pointed out that for most teachers the incorporation of elements relevant to Citizenship Education was very easy because these elements were already essential parts of their teaching (with the exception of Maths and Science).

Both the headteacher and the Citizenship coordinator made special reference to the school's multicultural students' population. They both expressed the view that the cultural diversity of the school is one of its major strengths and they noted that the school addresses effectively the cultural interests of these groups through the RE curriculum and by organising many extra-curricular events on culture and religion. They also suggested that the positive and effective way that cultural diversity is addressed in Hillcliff High should be an indicator that Citizenship Education provision has been of high standards and that it has started well before this became a statutory subject in the English curriculum.

None of the students interviewed or with whom the introduction of Citizenship Education was discussed knew about the implementation of the subject (interviews 2003 and 2004).

PART 4

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The discussion pertaining to the analysis of the evidence collected in this project will be divided into four chapters (chapters eight, nine, ten and eleven). Chapter eight will examine the role of the teachers and students as these are formulated in the context of their interaction. In chapter nine the discussion will focus on variations in the models of interaction between students and teachers. Chapter ten is devoted to the analysis of the ways that the interaction between students and teachers is affected by the expectations and the power of agents who are external to this interaction. The last chapter of this part of the thesis (chapter eleven) discusses the emerging picture from the evidence, considering the interaction between students and teachers as a 'role' (as opposed to personal) interaction. This last part also discusses in detail the implications that such a model of interaction has for the implementation of Citizenship Education. It is not, however, only the last chapter of this part of the thesis that will link the issue of the interaction between students and teachers with the implementation of the subject. The discussion is an overarching theme of the whole thesis and is included throughout, but is considered with a progressively shifting focus.

The terms which are used in this analysis and which give the titles to these chapters indicate a view adopted in this study that approaches the process of teaching (and being taught) as one resembling a theatrical act. This is to signify the importance of the view expressed implicitly and explicitly by both teachers and students that their interaction is determined by the roles they undertake in the institutional environment of the school.

Chapter 8

Describing teachers' and students' roles in Citizenship Education – An egocentric performance

In this chapter an attempt will be made to describe the roles that teachers and students assume in their interaction with each other in Citizenship Education classes. These refer to some general observations in relation to factors which contribute to the formulation of the conditions and of the general context within which students and teachers interact. At the end of the chapter it will be claimed that these conditions support a specific model of interaction between teachers and students and they effectively operate as general rules that direct and determine this interaction. Furthermore, it will be claimed that by determining the context of the interaction, these conditions have a direct effect on the implementation of Citizenship Education. The description of these conditions will be channelled through the discussion of a number of themes which were developed through the analysis of the evidence of this study.

A large part of the literature has been devoted to the analysis of the role of the teachers and of the power difference between teachers and students. A large proportion of the handbooks available for teachers to support them in their role outline methods for the most effective use of this power to direct and support students' learning. Even in cases where authors suggest more student-centred teaching practices, often what remains unquestioned and largely unchallenged is the centrality of the teachers' role in the formation of the conditions that frame students' learning processes. Characteristic of this is the work of Harwood (1989, 1997, 2001) whose suggestions on the forms of teachers' roles is reflected in the Report of the Advisory Group of Citizenship (QCA, 1998; p. 59). Harwood, who goes as far as to examine the effect of the teacher's absence in the discussion of controversial issues (Harwood, 1995), by addressing this to teachers rather than to the school community and by

omitting to discuss the organisational and societal conditions that are responsible for the construction of this type of role, seem to effectively re-establish the expectation that the teacher should occupy a central role in the classroom processes. This part of the study describes the classroom activities and processes followed by teachers as they are trying to assume such role. The aim of this discussion is to examine the parameters of the construction of teachers' and students' roles and the function of the negotiation between the two parties which has been described by Waller as a 'battle' (Waller, 1965, pp. 196).

The argument focuses on three issues: the first is the level of control that is assumed for teachers through their interaction with the students, the way that this control is constructed and challenged and the extent to which students and teachers share this expectation regarding the teachers' role. The second is the form of the students' role as this is formulated through the 'battle' for control and the model of their participation. It will be argued that in the context of this 'battle' the role of the students seems to be a kind of 'secondary' or 'supporting' one, leaving the teacher in the foreground of the classroom's physical environment and activities, exposed in the eyes of an (mostly invisible) 'audience' to perform an 'egocentric' act.

The discussion in this chapter considers the issue of the centrality of teachers' role approaching the interaction between students and teachers as more or less an exclusive phenomenon, detached from the conditions that possibly determine and justify the construction of the roles within it. In that sense the analysis in this chapter will exclude - to some extent - the examination of the structural conditions that support the centrality of the teachers' role. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that references to these conditions will be made and this chapter will acknowledge the effect of these conditions, but a more analytical investigation into their role will be made at the end of chapter ten where the role of the 'invisible audience' will be discussed. The exclusion of

these conditions from the current stage of the discussion will allow the reader to focus on the process of the classroom battle –a process which Webb describes as ‘seeking to influence definitions through negotiation and renegotiation’ (Webb, 1979, p. 224). Finally, this discussion will allow the development of the argument that it is actually this negotiation in which teachers and students implicitly or explicitly expose their expectations about each other that effectively constructs the role of both. In this sense, the discussion endorses the view expressed by Manke that ‘Power is a structure of relationships – a structure in which teachers and students can build or participate’ (Manke, 1997, p.1).

The structure of the chapter will be based on the examination of the impact of the teachers’ position to define three significant aspects of the context in which their interaction with the students takes place: the setting; the content and outcomes; and the processes.

1. Teachers’ role

a) Control of space – Classroom’s ownership

The daily routine of the students in an English secondary school involves a constant change of classroom environments. Every room in all school settings visited during this study is represented by a code (usually consisted by a letter and a number) which is used by the school administration when directing a visitor within the school premises. After the first visits to the schools, however, it became evident that the use of this code, which is often clearly stated on the door of the room, is usually considered as indicative of unfamiliarity of the user with the school setting. More than once during the visits to the schools it proved a rather ineffective method of acquiring directions –especially from students. Invariably classrooms are defined by the school communities either by

the subject that is usually taught within them or – equally often and possibly even more effectively – by the name of the teacher who is using the room. The difference between the ‘official’ definition of these spaces and the definitions used by the people interacting within them should be expected. For the actual ‘users’, these rooms are more than parts of a school plan: they are the spaces for their interaction and therefore parts of the symbols framing and used in this interaction and therefore are named as such. Moreover, and exactly for this very reason, the patterns employed by the users for the naming of these spaces could be indicative of their views regarding the process of the interaction taking place within the rooms. In this sense, the ‘teacher’s classroom’ perhaps needs to be seen as indicative of the level of control that the teachers have over all arrangements related to this space. The evidence shows that such a view is not unjustifiable. Teachers seem to have a possessive relationship with the classroom, a relationship which is clearly expressed by them when they refer to the room as ‘*my classroom*’:

...and so therefore I would like students –I am not saying to like me, but to at least feel comfortable in my classroom.

(Ms Hill, Geography teacher)

I want my classroom to be a place where they want to learn and they can feel that they are able to learn.

(Ms Jones, Head of English)

This ‘possessive’ relationship is, of course, justifiable since teachers spend most of their time in a specific classroom with the students ‘visiting’ it. Nevertheless, it is not the reasons that are about to be discussed here but the effect of this reality when the classroom is examined as the setting for the interaction between teachers and students, including when the particular relationship of the teacher with the room is developed through and is used during this interaction. It is considered important for this discussion to be structured around the examination of teachers’ control and of the relevant negotiation over the physical environment of the classroom. The study of the physical arrangements has been considered as highly important in order to

comprehend the roles and human interaction within the school environment. At the same time they are often overlooked:

'... the importance of these aspects of the teachers' organisation of classrooms [and we could add: of their relationship with them] is often overlooked by more discourse-oriented analysts For them, classroom structures and power relationships are created in the interactions of classroom talk; teachers' actions away from the students [we should add: and with indirect only relationship to the interaction with them] are not studied.'

(Manke, 1994, p. 8)

The evidence of this study led to the identification and categorisation of such arrangements into three groups: a) Use of classrooms and safety; b) decoration and displays of academic value; c) classroom layout.

(1) Use of Classrooms: Safety, Ownership and Interaction Avoidance

The use of the classrooms' keys is possibly the one aspect of teachers' level of control with the most powerful symbolic impact on the formation of teachers' possessive relationships with the classrooms. When walking down a school's corridor as a first-time visitor to the setting, the use of classrooms' keys is possibly the third – after the age and the school uniform - effective indicator of a teacher among a group of students. In all schools visited, the rooms are locked during breaks or while there is no teaching taking place, during which it is only the teachers or someone appointed by them who can use the classroom. It is common practice for teachers to be in the classroom before the students' arrival and only on very rare occasions students are allowed to enter the classroom before their teacher. The symbolic power of the use of keys was most apparent in one of the schools visited during the pilot stage of this study in which 6th formers were allowed to use specific classrooms to work on their coursework. In one of the group interviews with Y8 students in that school, the students referred to this 'privilege' as indicative of the power difference between 6th formers and

the lower school students (For a detailed examination of this kind of power difference see p. 220-226 in this thesis) .

Students - especially of lower classes - seem to attempt to challenge the rule that restricts their access to classrooms during break-times, but this does not seem to happen explicitly with direct requests to teachers. Students seem to prefer to extend their stay after their lesson hoping that their presence will remain unnoticed. There has been a number of relevant notes made in the field diary about students' presence in classrooms. In a couple of cases they were asked by the researcher about the reason for their extended stay:

- (4 students in Mr Web's classroom)*
- *Hi, is Mr Web here?*
 - *No*
 - *Hmm, how come you are in the room then?*
 - *(Laughs)*
 - *I shouldn't ask anything more should I?*
 - *No ☺*

(Field Diary, DW_2079)

- (5 students in Mr Stride's classroom)*
- *Hi, is Mr Stride here?*
 - *No, he is in the staff room*
 - *So how are you in the classroom? Usually this is locked during breaks, isn't it?*
 - *Yes, but Sean has broken his leg and is allowed to stay in.*
 - *And what are you doing then?*
 - *Just to keep him company ☺*
 - *Is more fun staying in you mean?*
 - *We are Sean's friends*
 - *Are you ☺?*
 - *Yes we are ☺. It's cold outside ☺*
(It is a fine day)

(Field Diary, DW_2081)

The justification that the school community seems to adopt over the restrictions in the use of the classroom by the students seems to be related to the protection of students' safety and of the teaching resources. For all the schools visited during this research project, these restrictions are based on relevant policies which seem to be founded on the same justification. Exceptions in the implementation of these policies

are very rare and are conditioned on the level of teachers' trust of their students: Ms Clyde, the Art teacher of Hillcliff High refers to this as indicative of her trusting relationships with the previous year's Y11 students which allowed her to '*go as far as trusting*' them '*to stay in the room unsupervised during break-time*'.

Impressively, students seem to adopt the issue of safety as a valid justification for the relevant policies. They do not seem prepared, however, to identify themselves with the people who could potentially cause damage or put any other students in danger, challenging the application of the rule to themselves:

- *You mentioned before that 6th formers are using the classrooms for their coursework. Why can't you use the rooms as they do?*
- *(☺) because the classroom would be a mess.*
- *Do you mean that you would make a mess?*
- *Not me/*
- *Not us, but (name of student) [w/w? 224]☺*
- *So it's just because of him that you are not allowed in the classrooms?*
- *No, it's just /*
- *Teachers think that we could destroy the room /*
- *In the labs you cannot get in, [name of student] would start a fire ☺.*

(Group interview with Y8 students, Pilot study)

It is not the intention of this study to doubt the validity of the policies' justification, but rather to identify the way that these policies affect the interaction between teachers and students. It needs, though, to be mentioned that during the observation of school life and especially during the observation of students' activities and interaction with teachers during break-times, it was noticed that many of them use other spaces within the school that remain unsupervised by teachers (a part of the garden in which access is not easy, part of the parking space which is not visible from the school building, the toilets etc..) to construct effectively their own 'space'. It was noticed also that students' activities in these spaces could not be considered always to be 'safe'. Most importantly though, it was noticed that despite the fact that in most cases teachers were aware of students' use of these spaces, very rarely - if ever - did they visit or inspect them. Unfortunately, this issue was only noticed during the later stages of the data analysis, when the data collection stage had already been completed. It is not possible for this

study to provide the reader with a confirmed explanation of teachers' avoidance of inspecting or visiting these spaces. Nevertheless, the examination of this issue in the light of other data of this study seems to allow the construction of two other assumptions. The first is based on the frequency that teachers refer to the relevant policies to justify the use of the classrooms: in that sense it could be assumed that - for some cases at least - this avoidance of 'students' private spaces' could be explained by the lack of relevant policies. For the second assumption, it is necessary to consider the picture of the school during break-times. The description that follows refers mainly to Hillcliff High, but the picture is very similar to all schools visited in the Pilot stage of this study (with the exception of the special school).

As has already been mentioned, students in Hillcliff High are required to leave the classrooms during break-times when it is not raining, in addition to which they are required to go out of the school building (unless they have a special reason to stay; the cafeteria is also excluded from this rule). Teachers, in contrast, form four groups during these periods. The first group includes the teachers who choose to stay in their rooms or in their offices to work. Students are not allowed to enter these rooms unless the teacher has asked to meet them. The second group consists of the teachers who choose to spend this time in the two common rooms (the 'Staff room' and the 'Teachers' Library'). Again, students are not allowed to enter these rooms and this is clearly stated on the rooms' doors. On the rare occasions that students have to speak to a member of staff who is in the common room, they have to knock on the door, wait for a member of staff to open it and wait outside for the teacher to come to see them. In the corridor outside the common rooms there are three desks that are available for students who are in 'break-time detention' to sit and work. These students are required to work in silence and it is usually only the teacher who has decided their punishment who interacts with them in order to give them instructions or assess their work. The third group is formed by the teachers who are 'on duty' 'guarding' the school building and keeping students out of it. The fourth group of teachers are also 'on duty', but their

task is to supervise (selectively to some extent as was discussed above) the spaces that students use for their break-time activities. By monitoring the interaction between students and teachers and examining the possibilities for such interaction to take place during these periods, it was understood that the first three groups' actions and activities formulate the conditions for minimising the opportunities for such interactions to occur and effectively create spaces for teachers that are exclusive of students' presence. This was considered as one aspect of a phenomenon which is described in this study by the term 'interaction avoidance'. (Other aspects will be discussed in the following chapters.) If viewed from this angle, teachers' reluctance to visit 'students' private spaces' may be one more example of this phenomenon. From this point of view, the lack of relevant policies may need to be considered as a facilitator for this phenomenon to manifest itself.

From the discussion above, it appears that students do accept teachers' 'ownership' of the classroom and the restriction in the use of the room by students either implicitly (by the naming of the classroom) or explicitly (by acknowledging the purpose of the restriction in the use of the room). At the same time they seem to seek their own 'spaces' either by staying in the room unsupervised (an act which effectively challenges the same rule that they seem to accept) or by constructing their own 'refuge' spaces in areas where they know that they are staying away from teachers' supervision. At the same time, teachers seem to restrict their own presence in the school premises either to places that are shared with other adults or in their classrooms and offices. In that way, the description of the school environment emerges as a space with allocated 'private' areas, separate for students and teachers. This picture points out that there is an implicit 'battle' over the school space in which teachers' ownership is supported by relevant rules (constructed on the basis of the protection of students' safety). These conditions are challenged by students' implicit attempts, which, when unsuccessful, may lead to the construction of other spaces of which the students can

feel in control. These conditions seem to have a double effect: on the one hand they reinforce the possessive relationship of the teachers with the classrooms or – as was shown above - with some of the main areas of the school; on the other hand they create a form of 'internal' exclusion of the members of the school community that minimise the opportunities for out-of-classroom communication.

The next part of this chapter will focus on the ways that the teachers' control over the decoration of the room reinforces this view of the centrality of teachers' role and may create another kind of 'exclusion'.

(2) Classroom walls: Decoration and Displays of Academic Value

Teachers' attempts to control the classroom space are extended further than the symbolic use of the room's keys and their unrestricted access. The decoration of the room is also subject to their control. The arrangement of the displays, their kind, themes and the frequency that these change are all controlled by the teachers. There are, of course, plenty of classrooms in which these displays are made by the students, but it is always the teacher who determines the standards that these displays have to meet and it is most frequently the teacher who is responsible for the arrangement of these displays on the classroom's walls.

The discussion with teachers about the criteria they use to choose the students' work that will be displayed brought up two issues: the first is that with the exception of the Art classroom, teachers invariably do not seem to take into account students' preferences. The second issue is that the main criterion that they use seems to be the displays' academic value and this is judged by the displays' relevance to the content of the lesson. It appears actually that this last criterion coincides effectively with the degree to which the construction of these displays has followed teachers' instructions:

- *Are these two displays made by the same student?*

- *Yes, they are impressive, aren't they? It is actually from the Geography book but (name of student) made a very good [piece of] work out of it.*
(Notes from informal discussion with Mr Tess, Head of History)

If the display's value is related so closely to students' learning then we should expect this to have been picked up and recognised by the students. Importantly though, informal discussions at the end of the lesson (or occasionally during the lesson) revealed that actually students are very rarely aware of the kind and content of the displays in their classroom, unless these are used regularly (in which case they are part of the teaching resources rather than students' work), apart, of course, from the work that they themselves have done and is displayed. It is characteristic also that in many cases students' answers pointed out that the relevance of these displays was recognised only by a specific year group, namely the group that had made them. Students seem to be largely unable to recollect any of the displays in a classroom, even if the teacher had just referred to these in the lesson that they just attended. Students, however, are usually able to describe other details in the room, most particularly the ones that refer to the area around their desks. (Again, these points are not applicable for the Drama and Art Studios, neither for the PSE classrooms). Most importantly, students seem to be unprepared to challenge the teacher's control over the choice and construction of displays. More accurately, it seems that they do not consider this control as inconsistent to the general function of the classroom and in a way their lack of interest to question this form of the teacher's authority indicates an indifference rather than a thoughtful acceptance of this condition.

Students do, however, attempt to contribute to the classroom decoration and to display their work, but always in temporary ways. For example, consider the attraction that the whiteboard holds for them. On the rare occasions that students are left unsupervised in the classroom during break-time, they seem to spend a considerable amount of time drawing and writing in the board, while there are always volunteers available to stand up and write on the board when a group activity requires someone to

do so. As previously stated, these are only temporary contributions and in any case the use of the whiteboard can have many other meanings which may be related to students' motivation to use them. (In this we could possibly include the immediate placement of the person in the centre of the class' attention).

Bearing these observations in mind and in conjunction with the general behaviour of the students whilst in the classroom, it could be claimed that the picture of the students in a classroom resembles more closely one of 'visitors' rather of organic users of the room. Indeed, teachers' level of control over the rooms' decoration reinforces their possessive relationship with the classrooms. Effectively, the above situations could create the conditions for another form of exclusion, one that creates barriers between students and the spaces in which they interact with their teachers.

(3) Layout and Interaction Control

The arrangement that is also subject to teachers' control, and which seems to be of particular significance for the students, is the one which refers to the classroom plan and the sitting arrangements. The general classroom plan refers to the overall layout of the class (the way that seats have been laid out, the space available for the teacher, the use or the absence of tables etc.). The sitting arrangement refers to the exact place where students sit in the classroom (at the back or in the front of the room, alone or with a friend or one of their peers). The importance of the general classroom plan for the classroom management and the interaction between students and teachers was revealed from the analysis of the evidence produced from the pilot study. As has been already mentioned in Chapter 6, the observations during that stage indicated the existence of two kinds of classroom layouts in the schools visited for this study. These two layouts were represented in the two plans given to students and teachers to

comment on in order to initiate discussions on the modes of interaction that they prefer or that they intend to have (see interview schedule, Appendices 4 and 5). At that stage, these plans were considered as unrelated to the sitting arrangements and it was assumed that these two aspects of the classroom space refer to two different factors with separate effects on the interaction between students and teachers. It soon became obvious, however, that there is a strong correlation between these two aspects of the classroom management. This correlation lies in the coincidence of intentions between teachers' choices and students' attempts to challenge the choices over both the classroom plans and sitting arrangements. The discussion below will show that these intentions are related to the kind of interaction they prefer and they pursue within the classroom. There is a consistency in teachers' choices over the layout of the classroom and the level of control they apply over the sitting arrangements and a correlation between these choices. Plan A (see question 11, Appendix 5, p. 316) seems to be the consistent choice of the PSE, Drama and Art teachers and it is occasionally applied in English classrooms and (even less frequently) in Religious Education by the Head of the subjects. In all settings that Plan A is applied there is also flexibility over the sitting arrangements. Plan B is the consistent choice of the teachers of all other subjects and the sitting arrangements in their classrooms are fixed, outlined usually on a printed 'classroom plan'.

The argument regarding the classroom arrangement is two-fold. The first part of the argument will focus on the teachers' control over the choice of classroom plans and of students' sitting arrangements and on the limitations of students' impact in altering these arrangements. This will support the claim that the level of control reinforces the possessive relationship of the teachers with their classrooms and supports their attempts to construct an egocentric model for their performance. It will also discuss the issue of the fixed relationship between curriculum subjects and classroom layouts. The second part will use evidence from the interviews and the observations to show that despite the significant differences in the opportunities that are provided for students'

participation in the two plans, the centrality of the teacher's role remains largely unchallenged. This second part of the argument will be more fully developed in one of the following parts of this chapter in which teachers' control over the classroom processes will be discussed.

The discussions and interviews with teachers have shown that they consider the decision over the classroom plans – and consequently of the space used by the teacher to operate and of the kind of interaction that is taking place within the classroom – as depended entirely on their judgment. This judgement appears to be linked to teachers' perspective on the content and the aims of the lessons they teach:

(I show her the plan of the class interaction) I would like to show you this and ask you if you could tell me which one represents best your class.

It mainly depends, I think on the lesson; there are times, and there a lot of times, and I think particularly now ... my way of approach [w? 217] is this one (points to Plan B) you know [w? 218] the teaching role in such [w/w? 219] sort of ... filtering out [w? 219/20] but in discussion lessons, where I am expecting students to work in groups, this (points to A) very much represents ... how I work in [w? 222] particularly GCSE classes, where I will ... set a task for students and then I am moving around the classroom and ... hmmm ... try to interact with different groups of students.

(Interview with Ms Jones, Head of English).

The excerpt from Ms Jones' interview is a rare example of implementation of two different styles of classroom plan by the same teacher. The observations showed that actually more often teachers choose one plan and stick with it. Their choices are again determined by their concepts regarding the 'efficiency' of learning in relation to the content of their subject:

'Business day' event for Y9 students. Students are working in groups sitting around the round tables which are spread in the Hall.

Discussion with Mr Dyce, Geography teacher:

-I show him the 2 class plans and ask him to point to the one better representing his class.

-I'd say Class B. This is the plan you will find in academic lessons, whereas the Class A is more in ... like PSE for example. But in most subjects they are like Plan B.

-Which model you think the pupils enjoy?

-I would think the Plan A, but you see is like here (pointing out to the students working in the Hall); they can participate and talk and things are

less formal, but when you need to deliver, you need to follow the Plan B, to instruct.

-... ... In the classroom you would struggle to keep the discipline with this lot (referring to students working in the Hall) [w/w? 453] impossible to keep them focused [w? 453/4] working like that.

(Informal discussion with Mr Dyce, Geography teacher)

Mr Dyce's comments seem to point out that apart from the level of teachers' control over the layout of the classroom, another significant (and related) issue is the adaptation of a perspective which suggests a fixed and inflexible relation between the subject and the layout of the classroom. An indicative example of both is found within the following incident:

History class, covered (unexpectedly) by a substitute (supply) teacher. The regular teacher (Mr Stride) enters the classroom a few minutes after the students; he introduces the teacher to the class and he explains that the unexpected availability of the substitute teacher to cover his lesson means that he has the opportunity to work on marking students' coursework. Very strict tone of voice (addressed to students sitting on the left row): 'Some of you seem to believe that since there is another teacher here you can sit as you like. It is the same classroom Andrew. You are expected to sit according to the plan.' (Still gazing at the students in the left row) he advises (loudly so that students can hear) the teacher not to allow them to change places and to call him if there is any disturbance.

(History, observation schedule OH7, Y9 class)

Unlike the control that teachers have over the decoration and the use of the classroom, the layout and the sitting arrangements are points which students seem to be more prepared to challenge. Andrew's attempt in the incident described above is indicative of this and is a frequently occurring behaviour as many substitute teachers would be prepared to verify. Despite students' preference for more flexible and interactive classroom plans, they seem at the same time to largely accept this fixed relationship between subjects and classrooms layouts:

- Which plan do you prefer?
- *This one (points out to Plan A). It's more interesting and ... we can discuss more.*
- Which lessons are like this?
- *PSE. PSE is like that. ... And in Art, [it] is a bit like that.*
- You mentioned before that you would like to have more lessons like PSE. Do you mean that you would like other lessons to be taught like this?

- *No, I meant (that I would like) to have more PSE lessons, not the other lessons to become like PSE ... It / you cannot have like ... History like that. You don't learn the same things.*

(Interview with Lillah, Y10 student)

There are clear limits on the potential to influence teachers' choices over these plans and the sitting arrangements. This allows teachers to use this as a kind of token negotiation, which they apply in classes with which they have developed a closer relationship (usually Y10 or Y11 classes):

'Y10s are given the chance once or twice a year to change the sitting arrangements and sit with their friends. We keep this arrangement for a whole lesson to see if it works. If it does, if they can concentrate in their lesson and work okay then I allow them to keep this arrangement. Otherwise, we return to the old one.'

(Notes from informal discussion with Ms Joan, RE teacher)

Teachers seem to uphold the importance of the sitting arrangement on the basis of the distraction that can be caused by the interaction of specific students during the lesson. Nevertheless, this point does not seem to be able to reduce the significance of the symbolic power that is related to this policy.

Teachers' choice of classroom plans have been considered by Manke (1994, p. 3) as a significant part of the 'invisible' arrangements of teachers' attempts to control students' behaviour. It can be claimed actually that their role may be more complicated and significant than this: they are parts of the symbols which are in the teachers' disposal (and available for students to challenge) and which have significant connotation to issues of authority and facilitate the teacher's (physical and symbolic) placement in the centre of the classroom processes. Ms Jones' comment over her choice of the classroom layout is indicative of this:

- *What are the factors for you to decide in which way you will ask them to work?*
- *I think I'd probably make a choice about things, particularly with the difficult group, I'd feel more secure with the ... B Plan. I think sometimes, especially when you've got large classes, and they are not terribly focused, is ... it's ... you've got more ... hmmm ... control, if you like, and ... you make sure that*

they are on task but ... I 'd like to be able to work like that (points to Plan A).

- *You referred to control. Do you feel that you have to give away some of your authority to work like in A Plan?*
- *I don't think that is so much about power, it's to do with the focus of ... of the students; I think if you are there then they are focusing on you.*

(Interview with Ms Jones, Head of English)

It is important to notice Ms Jones' reference to 'security' provided by Plan B and consequently by her placement in the centre of the classroom's interactions. Viewing the classroom as a negotiation field ('battle' field), and taking into account a comment coming from Mr Dyce, Geography teacher in Hillcliff High, we may be allowed to draw links between this 'security' and a condition which brings to mind Foucault's description of 'panopticism' (Foucault, 1977):

- *Is it a conscious decision of yours to have an interaction as in the Plan B?*
- *From experience I know it works better.*
- *Is it more effective?*
- *Yes, I think so. You see in this one (Plan A) you end up going around the class having kids on your back all the time, whereas here you can see what the pupils are doing. And you can still walk around and monitor what they are doing.*

(Interview with Mr Dyce, Geography teacher)

(4) Conclusions

Manke has pointed out that the classroom layout can have a determining effect on the classroom environment since it affects most directly the interaction that takes place within it, both the one among students as well as the interaction between students and teachers. If we evaluate the relevant evidence of this study in the light of this point it becomes clear that teachers' possessive relationship with their classroom and the level of their control has an extremely significant impact on the creation of opportunities for this interaction to be reformulated. Most importantly, students' overall acceptance of the limited space for negotiation shows that actually this inflexibility and resistance to

any change is reinforced equally by both parties interacting within the classroom and the school environment.

In addition to the above, we need to consider that the context of the data collection for this study is situated within Citizenship Education classes. As is pointed out by the relevant literature, there are calls to raise the level of students' participation through the implementation of more student-centred teaching methods, for the promotion of students' group work and for 'open discussions' in the classroom (Deakin Crick et al, 2005; Torney-Purta, 2001; QCA, 1998;). In this sense, the fixed relationship between subjects and layouts - and consequently of teaching methods - point out that there may be a significant obstacle for the effective implementation of Citizenship Education as a cross-curricular subject. Additionally, the calls for the creation of conditions which promote 'active learning', which is also part of the official view of an effective Citizenship Education, essentially suggest the need for a reformulation of the interaction between students and teachers. This study, however, points out that the contextual and structural conditions of the interaction as they manifest themselves through the possessive relationship of the teachers with the classroom environments and the level of their control over them, form the conditions for this interaction to operate by itself in a form that favours conservatism, maintaining the traditional function of the school's classrooms. Moreover, it seems that the challenge of this possessive relationship will not provide sufficient possibilities for a reformation of these conditions: it is also necessary for the challenge to go beyond that by questioning the school community's perspectives on the justification of the relevant policies and their perceptions of the three stranded argument of safety – discipline – efficiency.

b) Control of Content (and of the learning outcomes)

The second part of this chapter will focus on another aspect of the argument regarding teachers' 'egocentric performances': drawing from the evidence of this study a claim will be made about the extent to which the content of teachers' interaction with the students is subject to the teachers' exclusive control. The discussion that follows will show how in the majority of the cases in which teachers and students interact the initiative, the topic of the verbal interaction and the outcomes of the interaction are all defined (and the outcomes are also evaluated) mainly by the teachers. This kind of control manifests itself principally through the control that teachers seem to have over the content of the topics that are negotiated in the classroom but is often also extended to other contexts in which teachers and students interact. It needs to be noted, however, that teachers do not have absolute control of this content. The discussion that follows will acknowledge the impact of important aspects of the function of the school such as the operation of the National Curriculum or the evaluation of students' academic competence through national exams, and it will indicate that the role of the teachers may not bear as much control over the content as the observations of the classroom practice may indicate. Nevertheless, an attempt to draw a picture of the context of the interaction between students and teachers as it is viewed when the focus is exclusively upon the roles of the interacting parties, shows that the impact of the structural conditions or of the implementation of the National Curriculum is not always overt and the centrality of the teachers' role remains unchallenged by such factors. This is in agreement with claims which question the prescriptive function of the National Curriculum and suggest that in school classrooms the National Curriculum is 'recreated' rather than 'implemented' (Ball and Bowe, 1992, p. 114; see also Vulliamy et al, 1997). In addition, it should not be assumed that the teachers' 'content control' remains unchallenged by the students. It will be argued, though, that even in the cases of subjects in which the National Curriculum guidelines are admittedly less prescriptive,

teachers still seem to leave little room for negotiation with students over the content of the lessons. Again, it needs to be repeated that this is not to imply that such negotiation is not taking place. Indeed, the evidence of the study shows that students do challenge teachers' 'control of content' as much as they challenge their definition and evaluation of the outcomes. Nevertheless, it is also clear that both the content and the outcomes, as the final products of this negotiation, reflect far more effectively the teachers' perspectives and plans than the students' views and intentions. This can be partially attributed to the somewhat limited extent to which students are prepared to challenge the form of this control. It will be claimed that this form of teachers' control may have significant consequences on the implementation of Citizenship Education.

Studying the lesson observation schedules from Hillcliff High and the schools visited during the Pilot stage of this study it is easy to spot some significant similarities which effectively form some patterns that seem to be followed when a lesson starts. Most of them will be discussed in the next part of the chapter which will focus on teachers' control over the classroom processes but a number of these refer more specifically to the control over the content of the lessons and to an extent to the content of the interaction that is established between the teachers and the students. One such common practice among many teachers, which is indicative of teachers' 'content control', is the association of the beginning of a lesson with a clear statement by the teacher relating to the focus points and the aims of the session which is about to start:

They finish with the register and T explains that the lesson is the first of two on the Magna Carta – he reminds them that they have already referred to it but in these lessons they will learn more about it.

(History, observation schedule OH1- Y7 class)

T: The lesson today is on the League of Nations. We will see why the League failed in the 1930s. What I want you to do is ...

(History, observation schedule OH2 – Y10 class)

On the board the topic of the lesson: CHRISTIANITY. On the interactive board the picture of a church.

(RE, observation schedule ORE4, Y10)

Lesson starts. T announces the topic while he writes it on the board: Trade and development. He then explains that they will learn about the way that trade is responsible for the maintenance of the division between rich northern and poor southern countries.

(Geography, Observation schedule OG5, Y9)

Although the literature on teaching methodologies accommodates positions which challenge the purposefulness of advance clarification and statement by the teacher of the lesson's topic, the evidence shows that for the schools included in this study the application of this practice seems to be considered as a rather uncontested issue. The relevant notes made in informal discussions with teachers after their lessons indicate actually that they consider this as an essential element of 'good teaching practice':

I pointed out that she started by writing the topic on the board. She noted that she considers this as extremely important - argued that students need to know what they are going to learn about and have it in mind throughout the lesson. Said that in previous school she had two boards and was using one of them to write the topic and use the other one for the lesson.

(Notes from discussion with Ms Hill after observation OG4)

All the above references are drawn from subjects that the community of the school seems to recognise as 'academic' and the content of which is directly affected by the choices and directions orchestrated through the National Curriculum and enforced through a number of ways, including of course the national exams. In this sense, the above examples could be considered as indicative of a content control that is not imposed directly by teachers but one to which teachers' roles are rather subjects. In that case, and in relation to Citizenship Education, these examples may point towards a specific problematic area, one of the appropriateness of the 'academic' subjects to accommodate the requirements of active participation in the definition of the content of Citizenship Education, an issue that will be discussed in the following chapter. Even if we take into account the significance of the impact of the National Curriculum on the definition of the subjects' content, there is still a vast difference between students and teachers in the possibilities that they have to influence and negotiate this process. In that sense, even if we adopt a view of the teachers' role as one resembling an agent

who is appointed to implement plans decided by the central government, we need to acknowledge that there is still a higher degree of control associated with that role compared to the students' role, even though they constitute the final recipients of the educational product (see Ingersoll, 1994, pp. 152 and 159; Rudduck, 2000 p. 76; Brain et al, 2006, p. 412). A second point that needs to be made is that even in the cases of subjects for which teachers report that they have a higher level of autonomy in defining the content of the lessons (in this study such claims were expressed by teachers of Drama, PSE and Art), teachers do not seem to avoid these common practices and they tend to apply similar forms of control. A characteristic example comes from the PSE classes of Riverbanks Grammar School. The content of a plan of ten Citizenship lessons, which was linked to a number of observations of Y7 PSE classes in that school was indicative of how teachers seem to assume that even in a period of ten consecutive sessions they should be in a position to maintain the focus of the students in a more or less confined topic, irrespective probably of the variety of interests that the examination of this may provoke and of the different directions in which these interests may lead. In one case, recorded in Hillcliff High, this practice, which leaves little room for students' impact on the definition of the content and the direction of the lesson, seems to restrict even the teacher's original intention to organise a lesson with rather open outcomes. The validity of this picture is verified also from the examination of the classroom processes in subjects with a similar level of freedom from the prescriptive function of the National Curriculum. The following examples are drawn from the observation of two Drama lessons that the teacher had insisted to be included in the observation plan due to *'their relevance to Citizenship Education'* (her words):

2nd lesson on Anne Frank's diary. Starts with teacher's reference to the section they read in previous lesson. On the board: 'I can live free hiding in the attic'. They read the part about Pete's birthday.... T is giving instructions about the role-plays. 'I want you to feel that Anne was living as a prisoner but her diary was taking her out of there, out of the place and out of time. I want to see this in your acting.'

(Drama, observation schedule OD2, Y8 class)

Lesson on Anne Frank's diary. On the board: 'We are first humans and then Jews, Christians, Muslims etc..' They read the section in which burglars break into the building. ... They discuss the part of the diary where Anne says that after the war she wants to live as a Dutch person, not a Jew. She is asking them to use the fear from the burglary to show Anne's fear of the persecution of the Jews.

(Drama, observation schedule OD5, Y8 class)

'I asked how she chooses the topics of each session (Anna Frank). She says that it is a combination of how interesting and how appropriate the part is for performance by students. She wanted to give them the chance to learn about Anne Frank – it is important for their understanding of violence, fear, persecution. She chooses the parts that can be easily represented and that are appropriate: this means to be appropriate for teaching of drama techniques, interesting and which allow students to empathise with the characters.... I said that they [students] seemed to enjoy this. I asked whether this is what usually happens –them liking what she chooses? – Yes but she said that you need experience to guess what they would like and still there is the odd case... you can see those who do not engage with the play.... There are also some topics/plays that she thinks are important and drama students should know about – especially in her 6th form teaching. They may be less interested in those but she explains to them why they are important.'

(Notes from informal discussion with Ms Koun, Drama teacher)

The process of selection and definition of the topics for teaching as is described by Ms Koun and witnessed in the Drama lessons seems not to be exclusive of the students' impact, but rather it is the product of negotiation with the students. What is also evident, though, is that a large part of this negotiation process remains rather implicit in the sense that the teacher seems to internalise it and integrates it in the criteria which inform his or her choices. These choices, once they are made by the teacher, seem to become parts of a framework that is characterised by a rather limited flexibility: students are required to accept these choices, operate efficiently within them and any explicitly or implicitly expressed criticism should not be expected to have a direct effect on the activities they are engaged in but it will inform future choices, the formulation of which will follow again the same procedure. Of course, this form of negotiation does not seem to be able to challenge the view of the teachers' role as a central one in their interaction with the students and reinforces their authority to define contents and outcomes; in that sense, the choices over the content remain largely 'teachers' choices'.

Despite the numerous references to teachers' power and to the limitations of a didactic and highly structure teaching methodology to create a positive classroom climate found within students' interviews , there is a lack of any reference to teachers' authority to make choices over the content of the lessons. On the contrary, students seem to expect teachers to have mastered the information of 'their' lesson and to be able to 'deliver' it to them:

[Good teachers are the] ... 'teachers that know their stuff, they have to know what they are talking about... and teach it well'.

(Interview with Janet, Y11 student)

Interestingly, the notes from the sessions observed provide a number of examples that could be interpreted as attempts by the students to negotiate and challenge teachers' choices over 'their stuff'. Teachers' responses in most of these exchanges indicate the importance that they give to the maintenance of this control and show examples of the techniques that are used to achieve this:

[The lesson is about the Aswan Dam]. One student seems excited, he is raising his hand but he doesn't gain her attention. In the end he speaks anyway: - 'I have been in Egypt!' T: - 'I could see your hand Jonathan, and I knew that you would say something irrelevant. S: - I haven't been to the Aswan. T: - Okay, can I get on with my lesson now?'

(Geography, observation schedule OG2, Y7 class)

'T interrupted the dictation; - 'Steve, aren't these in your interest?' No answer from the S. - 'Well? Is it not? I can see that you aren't making notes, you know.' - 'It's boring!' (Students laugh) - T, {irnc: 'Oh, would you like us to change the topic}? What would you like us to discuss? Maybe you would like me to make a note in your planner for being rude?'

(History, observation schedule OH3, Y9 class)

In some cases, teachers seem to defend their authority to define the content and the outcomes of the lesson, even if this may be in conflict with their intention to create a space for dialogue and to allow the issues to be discussed from different perspectives. The example below is from a PSE session:

Displays: On the board: 'Choose life!' ... The lesson is the 2nd of 3 on drug abuse. They will watch a video in which a drug addict describes her life. T refers to the film 'Trainspotting' which starts with references about 'choices'. Says she will show them the other side of these choices. ...T

pauses the video at different points and makes comments or points out details of the narration, making references to the self-destructing image that the narrator seems to draw... .. There is a student's comment about someone he knows who has taken drugs for years and lives a normal life. Another picks up on that. T interrupts the conversation - she finds this unlikely and that the purpose of the lesson is to comment on the video, so they should watch the rest of it....

(PSE, observation schedule OP2, Y9 class)

She points out that this 2nd lesson is about Values which inform decisions and choices. She points out that she does not want to tell them: 'Do not take drugs!' - she understands that there are different views on this and thinks that they should be free to make their own choices; she wanted to help them make an informed choice.

(Notes from informal discussion with Ms Riff after observation OP2)

A number of points that have been made during the lesson observations seem to be linked directly to the teachers' attempt to defend their authority to define the content and learning outcomes. In the examples that have been outlined so far, at least two are recognisable: the extracts from the observations of the PSE and Geography lessons are examples of teachers' choice to disregard or dismiss students' questions or interventions which seem to be either irrelevant or not advancing the lesson; however, the observation of the History lesson show how such interventions can be considered - arguably so - as forms of misbehaviour or disrespect which could lead to students' punishment. It is, however, worth noticing that among the number of students' interventions aiming to change the content of the lessons, which have been recorded during the course of this study, none of them is made in the form of a direct, formal request. Students seem to choose either implicit ways to challenge teachers' choices of content or to abstain from the lesson processes when this content (or the way that it is delivered) fails to raise their interest. The incident in the History class is indicative of this: the student abstains until his attitude is challenged by the teacher. His response and teacher's reaction to this indicate the lack of formal ways which could allow - and manage - such negotiations. Moreover, the overall limited examples of such forms of challenge from students may also indicate students' tendency to accept teachers' authority to define this content. Both interpretations seem to hold truth. Nowhere in the school policies (outlined in documents or described by the management team of the

school) has any reference to such formal procedures been identified and nowhere in the evidence of this study have students expressed any form of questioning of this form of teachers' authority – despite the fact that in the students' interviews a large number of other aspects of teachers' authority are actually challenged and questioned. More often than challenging these choices, students seem to choose to withdraw and, in Ms Koun's (Drama teacher) words from the extract quoted earlier in this chapter, to disengage themselves from the lesson. Examples of students' disengagement have been evidenced numerous times during the lessons observed in this study. However, as is shown in the example below, it is possible that there are even more cases that were not recorded since in many cases students can mask this behaviour:

'T has encouraged me to walk around the classroom and chat with the students while they are working... There is not much noise - they seem focused (apart from 2 at desks on the left row)..... There are 26 students in the classroom, I spoke to 14 of them; 3 know exactly what they are required to do and are aware of the topic of the lesson. 2 know more or less. 9 know more or less what they are asked to do but they have misunderstood the topic in various ways (one of them thinks that the topic is about the difference in wealth between Southern and Northern Britain) [the lesson was on the role of Trade in the maintenance of differences in wealth between areas in the North and South]. Impressive how they all look like they are working – many of them copy out the answer.'

(Geography, observation schedule OG5, Y9 class)

In the cases where the disengagement is less hidden, teachers seem to react, to demand students' attention and engagement. It seems that the ways most often used to achieve this are the threat of disciplinary measures (indicating that disengagement is a form of misbehaviour) and the reference to the examination of students' knowledge on the topic in following lessons or, more often, in subject exams.

Other techniques used by teachers to keep content control seem to have a rather preventative function. These aim to minimise the opportunities for students' attempts to challenge and redirect the content of the lesson.

Two such techniques seem to be identifiable in the evidence of this study: students 'full-time occupation' and the implementation of closed questions.

The first technique refers to the organisation of lessons in a way that does not leave periods of time in which students seem unoccupied. The lessons that have been observed indicate that during a lesson students are engaged in a sequence of tasks which leaves very little time for off-task activities. This is, of course, justifiable on the basis of the classroom reality and the possible loss of students' concentration and focus during their lesson. Nevertheless, it does effectively reinforce the validity of the view expressed here about the lack of students' experience of periods in which they can decide - through their input - about a (temporary or more permanent) shift in the lesson's content. Of course, exercising control over the content and outcomes would take away time from other aspects of the lesson and, therefore, might justify the claim that such ownership would limit students' opportunities to critically examine and reflect on the content of the lesson. Indicative of this is an analysis that the format of the observation schedule allowed. As was mentioned in the third part of the thesis (Methodology, chapter 6), the observation schedule allowed an analysis to be made on the basis of the frequency that the classroom processes and tasks changed and the length of time during which they lasted. This analysis revealed two groups of lessons according to the amount of tasks that were contained within the lesson as a whole and the amount of lesson time these tasks took (Loose and Full lessons). An examination of the interaction between students and teachers through the descriptions contained in the schedules has showed that in the Full lessons there are far fewer references to students' attempts to challenge the content of the lessons. At the same time, there are more references to students' disengagement in these lessons while the description of the teachers' role seems to be related to the one assuming a higher level of control.

As has already been stated (p. 127), the questions that teachers were posing during the lessons were systematically monitored in the observation schedules. A simple statistical analysis of the results acquired from the observation of 35 lessons, shows that for every open question that teachers pose, students have to respond to 14.69 closed ones. The figures differ depending on the subject. PSE and Art sessions

seem to give the most opportunities for open questions (one out of 5.75 questions was an open one). It is important, however, to notice that these figures should be considered only as indicative of the relevant classroom processes and not as accurate representations of the frequency that teachers actually use open or closed questions. Nevertheless, these frequencies do seem to be in agreement with the general picture formed during the lessons' observations, according to which the overwhelming majority of the questions posed by teachers during the lesson are 'closed' ones. The maintenance of the control of work that is taking place in the classroom and of the interaction within it seems to be closely related to the use of closed questions.

From the above discussion, the following picture seems to emerge:

Teachers' action	Teachers' preventative measures	Students' reaction/action	Teachers' reaction
Choice of topic + teaching	Closed questions	Engagement/hidden disengagement	(this is what T expect from S)
		Overt disengagement	Use of exams as threat
	Students' full-time occupation		
		Redirection	Disregard
			Dismiss
	Attack	Threat of disciplinary measures	

If we study the actions and reactions contained in the table and described in this chapter, it becomes evident that the control over the content, and the negotiation process which is related to it, involves processes and techniques that direct, control and effectively limit the variety in the type of interaction between students and teachers. The use of closed questions, students' constant engagement with planned activities, the dismissal of their attempts to redirect the discussion of a lesson into different areas, their overt or hidden disengagement, all describe effectively another form of 'interaction avoidance', which refers to the avoidance of an interaction that is

not planned and does not focus on a specifically defined topic. This claim will be elaborated in chapter 9 through the discussion about students' and teachers' willingness to establish interaction in an out-of-school-context.

Irrespective of whether it is justifiable to claim that such interaction avoidance does describe an aspect of the relationship between students and teachers, or not, teachers' control of the content of the Citizenship lessons and the exclusion of students from this process holds significant consequences for the implementation of the subject. It is possible to identify at least three. First, is the issue of students' engagement: the Citizenship curriculum which aims to implement an 'active learning' educational methodology is faced with the challenge of allowing these 'active learners' to participate actively in the definition of the content of their learning – to move from the 'consultative' to a 'democratic' or, at least, as Rudduck requests (Rudduck et al, 2000), to a 'negotiated' curriculum (see Meighan, 1988). Secondly, the effects that this control may have for the development of a sense of community among students and of a sense of 'belonging' in the school community should be examined: the control of the content of the lessons by the teachers reinforces the view of the teachers' role as occupying a central space in their interaction with the students. It describes also another form of possessiveness: the one that refers to the relationship of the teachers with the subjects and the lessons; with 'their' subjects and 'their' lessons. This possessiveness and control may prevent critical and in-depth examination of the issues that may be raised during a Citizenship lesson. This last concern leads finally to the examination of a third issue: the extent to which possibilities are created for the effective implementation of 'open discussions' in the classroom concerning controversial issues, a methodology which has been regarded as a key area in relation to Citizenship Education (see Deakin Crick et al, 2005).

In this section, the argument relating to teachers' egocentric performance continued with the examination of the issue of teachers' control over the content and outcomes of Citizenship Education lessons. It has been shown that teachers do - to a large extent - assume that form of control and that in parallel this condition supports, and is supported by, a form of exclusion of students: exclusion from the decision making and self-exclusion through students' disengagement from the learning process in topics that do not interest them.

In the next and final part of the description of teachers' egocentric performance, the focus will be on teachers' control of the classroom and school processes, the effects of this form of control on their interaction with students and its consequences for the implementation of Citizenship Education.

c) Control of Processes

In this last section of the first chapter of the discussion, the analysis will move to the discussion of the evidence which indicates a third element of teachers' egocentric performance, namely their control of various processes that regulate the context in which students and teachers interact. Of course the discussion so far has not been exclusive of references to 'processes'; for example, the way that a lesson usually starts and the way that this is linked to the limited opportunities for students to negotiate the content of the lesson has already been raised. This section will focus explicitly on a number of similar processes and it will discuss the ways that these are managed by the teachers. This discussion will follow the description of two forms of teaching practice which seem to emerge from the evidence of this study. The distinction between the two forms is based on the seeming differences in the level of control that teachers apply over the classroom processes and the resulting differences in their interaction with the students. According to this distinction, one of the two models seems to be associated

with a lower level of control over various classroom processes and a higher level of participation from students. This allows some significant observations to be made regarding the conditions that promote students' participation. Nevertheless, a deeper analysis of the teaching models and the classroom interaction will support the argument that even in the teaching practices that teachers and students consider as being more open to students' participation, the centrality of teachers' role remains unchallenged and students' participation may be substantially less than initially appears. As the analysis that follows will show, both forms of the observed teaching practice attribute to teachers a form of control over the classroom processes which effectively supports and promotes their 'egocentric performance'.

An initial reference about the detection of two forms of teaching methodologies applied in the classrooms visited in this study has already been made in an earlier part of this chapter and was linked with the identification of two different classroom layouts. The argument was partially based on the consistency that was identified in the preferences of teachers of specific subjects regarding the classroom layouts. Specifically, it was noticed that the PSE, Art and Drama teachers tend to choose to organise their classrooms according to Plan A (see question 11, Teachers' Interview Schedule, Appendix 5, p. 316), while the less flexible structure of Plan B seems to describe more effectively the choices of teachers of 'academic' subjects (see p. 168). A similar point has been made in relation to the use of closed and open questions, noting that the PSE and Art sessions are the ones where open questions are used more often. This difference in the methodologies applied in different subjects continues and becomes even more apparent when we turn our attention to the way that various classroom processes are managed and implemented, such as the kind of activities that students are engaged in, the time that is provided for the delivery of new information by the teacher, the application of rules and the classroom rituals. All these seem to suggest that teachers in the classrooms observed tend to choose between two broad

models of teaching, which have a distinctively different effect on the kind of interaction between the students and themselves. Indicative of this effect are the very significant similarities in the way that teachers and students interact among classrooms of teachers with a similar kind of teaching style. In line with the statement made in the beginning of this chapter regarding the significance that both teachers and students attribute to their roles as determinants of the model of their interaction, the description of these two teaching styles will employ terms with direct references to drama. For the case of the PSE, Drama and Art classes the relevant role adopted by teachers will be described as the 'director's role' while the teaching style most associated with the 'academic' subjects will be referred as the 'protagonist's' teaching role. (Of course this association of teaching models to specific subjects is not absolute; for example the Head of RE and the Head of English occasionally implement the 'director's' methodologies).

A part of the picture of a school day, namely the processes associated with the beginning of the lesson, has already been drawn earlier in this chapter (p. 175). This next sequence of pictures situates students in the corridor waiting for the teacher to allow them to enter the classroom:

3rd period, lines with students waiting outside almost all classroom doors in the corridor. Some groups are noisy, teachers walking to their classrooms are telling these students off.

(Field Diary, DW_2078)

Beginning of 1st afternoon lesson, Y8 Geography class. Waiting with the students outside the classroom for the teacher to arrive. Students are queuing; some of them are not very good at staying in line. Ms Hill arrives, opens the door and blocks the entrance looking out at the students. –'I am waiting for some of you to get in the line, this is not how you are supposed to enter this room.'

(Geography, observation schedule OG6)

The process of entering the classroom seems to be significant for this analysis for a number of reasons. One of these reasons is related to its symbolic association, as noted in a point made earlier, namely the possessive relationship of the teacher with

the classroom. By blocking the entrance, the teacher demonstrates a kind of control which in social life is usually indicative of the relationship that individuals have with spaces that they own. It is important also because by being the first instance in which the teacher and the students interact for that lesson it effectively gives the tone for the kind of interaction that will follow inside the classroom. As Ms Hill's words indicate, it can serve as an opportunity for the teacher to give a sample of his or her expectations about the students and an indication of the significance of these expectations. In the example outlined above, this significance is exemplified by the entrance ritual becoming a condition in which students' right to enter the room is dependent upon their good behaviour. Finally, it is important also because it demonstrates how students' behaviour can be monitored and be subjected to evaluation by any teacher who may happen to observe it.

The picture described above with the students waiting outside the classroom is more or less a consistent one in the schools visited. There are, of course, some exceptions and usually these are related to the age of the students (the older students are less likely to wait in a queue outside the classroom) and the individual teacher (some teachers spend their breaks in their classrooms and their door is open before the end of the break). Similar variations have been observed in the ways that teachers greet the entering students. Most commonly, however, teachers and students in the classrooms observed tend to avoid greeting each other as they enter the classroom. Instead, usually a form of greeting is given by the teachers just before they start teaching and is addressed to the whole class. In a number of cases, the greeting (the tone, the lack of or the delay in its delivery) was actually used by the teachers as indicators of the kind of behaviour that they expect during the lesson:

Mr Tess is standing in front of the classroom, arms folded. There is still some noise from the four boys sitting on the back row next to me. He stares at them; he has not said a word yet. As one of them sees him, the student stops

*and the others do the same. Mr Tess turns his eyes to the rest of the class:
'Hello people!'*

(History, Observation Schedule OH2, Y10 class)

A completely different interaction is established between the teachers and the researcher. A number of issues which could be considered as important in this research are related to teachers' attitude towards the entrance and the presence of the researcher in the classroom. The first is the introduction of the researcher to the students and the justification provided by the teacher about his presence in the classroom. A simple statistical analysis of the relevant information recorded in the observation schedule indicates that for the first part of the data collection stage, in about half (48%) of the first-time visits to a class there was no introduction by the teacher. This does not mean, of course, that teachers did not acknowledge the researcher's presence. In most cases teachers talked briefly with him before the beginning of the lesson and in most cases they used this discussion to give a brief description of the group of students. In some cases this description contained some 'warnings' and an account of undesirable behaviour which, according to the teachers, the students were able to demonstrate:

Mr Dyce warned me that it is a difficult class and that there is a number of students who are 'frequent visitors to the inclusion unit'.

(Geography, observation schedule OG5, Y9 class)

A number of teachers who did introduce the researcher to the class had used this introduction as a form of pressure on the students to control their behaviour:

After introducing me he said that due to my presence they should demonstrate their best behaviour.

(History, observation schedule OH8, Y9 students)

In general, teachers who did introduce the researcher to the class seemed to imply that there was a sort of alliance between themselves and the researcher. The establishment of this alliance could be interpreted as an attempt by the teacher to integrate the researcher into the class and thereby minimise the level of disturbance that his presence might cause, yet, it is at the same time significant that this attempt

seems to place students on the opposing side of this alliance. In a way this could be interpreted as a form of division of the class population into adults and students, a possibility which may bear significance in relation to the interaction between students and teachers. In the current section, teachers' willingness or unwillingness to introduce the researcher and their implicit claims regarding their 'alliance' with him is considered as indicative of the position which students hold in the classroom. A new presence in the classroom is an irregular factor which may or may not be of relevance to students' interests and may or may not affect the processes that will be followed; however, the decision regarding all of these possibilities belongs legitimately to teachers.

The picture so far about the classroom processes in the beginning of a lesson contains little interaction initiated by the students and a number of actions which signify teachers' power. This is a picture which can be observed in almost every kind of lesson with small variations depending on students' age and on individual teachers' choices. These variations, however, are not consistent and the students' age seems to be the only factor that forms an observable pattern of behaviour in relation to these processes (the issue of age will be discussed more analytically in the following chapter). Nevertheless, when we enter the classroom, the variations in the ways that teachers control the classroom processes do form patterns which are effectively represented in the description of two broad models of teaching.

In the first stages of data analysis, which coincided with the first data collection stage, it was noted that a finding which seemed to emerge from this study had to do with the two forms of teaching. It seemed appropriate at that stage to claim that the PSE, Drama and Art teachers interact with their students in a completely different manner than do the rest of the teachers of the school and that by allowing a higher level of students' participation, their approach seemed to be more appropriate for the teaching of Citizenship. In contrast, the teachers of the 'academic' subjects, by

consistently choosing Plan B as representative of the classroom layout they prefer, by asking far more closed questions than open ones and by monopolising the classroom talk they seemed to create rather inhospitable conditions for the implementation of Citizenship Education (see Crick report, pp.56-58). There is still no doubt that significant differences between the two groups of teachers do exist. Nevertheless, further analysis of the evidence showed that the similarities between these two models of teaching are far greater than it initially appeared and that the existing differences could be effectively described through a distinction between the teacher-directors' and the teacher-protagonists' teaching methodologies.

In a teacher-protagonist classroom the teaching hour is one in which the teacher is not just the centre of attention but also the main performer of all the main tasks. Students are engaged in activities that could be seen as secondary to or supporting of the main one. Such activities include copying notes from the board, writing texts that the teacher dictates, working individually on exercises from their textbook etc.. The justification of their characterisation as 'secondary' lies in the fact that the progress of the lesson does not depend on these activities; the teaching process will continue following the teachers' plan, irrespective of whether one or more students fail to complete these tasks. In many cases students seem to pick up on this and possibly this is one of the reasons that they often disengage themselves from the lesson. Their participation is led and controlled by the teacher and, as we have already seen in the previous section, the teachers tend to dismiss or even punish interventions by the students when these do not match with their teaching plans. The limited participation and the disengagement are demonstrated in the result of a simple statistical analysis of the content of the (very limited number of) questions put by students in protagonist teachers' classes. Students' queries were related more often to 'lesson planning' issues (processes) rather than to the content of the lesson. This can be illustrated, for example by notes made on the observation schedule:

...it's the third time that someone asks whether they should copy out what Mr Stride is writing on the board.

(History, observation schedule OH3, Y9 class)

In quantitative terms, about 79% of students' recorded questions in the protagonists' classrooms are related to issues similar to the above, whereas 17% are questions on the content of the lesson. This observation could be linked to observations made outside the classroom, where it was noticed that teachers that usually assume the 'director's' role are more likely to engage in student-initiated interaction. In that sense, it seems that the level of 'interaction avoidance' is lower among 'teachers-directors' and their students.

Focusing in the classroom processes it can be claimed that the type and level of students' participation is a major difference between the classroom of a protagonist and the one of a teacher – director. In the directors' classrooms, students are provided with some freedom and choices and their engagement in the classroom activities is often essential for the progress of the lesson. The most characteristic example of the directors' teaching style is demonstrated in the Drama studios. The drama sessions start with the teacher giving the students the topic of the lesson, a description of the task that she wants students to engage in and general guidelines on the performance that they will need to construct. Students then form groups and they work for about 15-20 minutes preparing their performances. During this time the teacher is walking around the studio instructing and answering students' questions. At the end of the preparation period groups take turns presenting their work to the teacher and to their peers. The teacher (and sometimes the students) comments on the performance and make further suggestions until the end of the period. A similar structure is followed in PSE classes while in Art classes the structure has some similarity but students work individually.

There are easily observable differences between two classrooms in which the model of teaching differs. In the classrooms of the teachers-directors there is more student-initiated interaction, while students seem to be more engaged in the sessions' activities. An observer of the class may need to move around the director's classroom since there are often different things happening simultaneously. On the other hand, the classroom of a protagonist teacher is more static and the immediately observable performance is the one of the teacher. The protagonists place themselves in the centre of the classroom processes and activities, they monopolise the classroom talk and the students usually work individually. These characteristics make the centrality of teachers' role easily detectable:

A student is raising his hand: 'Sir can we ...!' – 'Don't interrupt. I am speaking!' Another student: 'Yes, Shut up John!' Teacher: - 'Hey, that's my line!'

(History, Observation schedule OH5, Y7 class, Teacher's emphasis)

A student on the table next to me is explaining to the girl next to her what she needs to do. Ms Hill: -'Laura, I am speaking –you are not!'

(Geography, Observation schedule OG4, Y 9 class)

Compared to the above picture, the directors' classrooms may give the impression that the teacher is there as a facilitator and that the control of the processes is shared between teachers and students. Of course this is partially true: by being engaged in classroom activities, the implementation and completion of which are important for the progress of the lesson, students do hold a level of control that is higher than the level of their peers in the protagonists' classes. Nevertheless, a closer look into the way that the classroom and the processes are organised and run shows that even in the case of the 'directors' classrooms the definer of the processes and the bearer of the responsibility for their implementation is always the teacher. The words of one History NQT teacher, who was attempting during the whole teaching hour to apply the director's model of teaching, illustrate this very effectively:

*Teacher: What is the most important thing when we you do group work?
Student: Cooperate?*

Teacher: That's right! And which is the most important person when you do group work?

Student: Me?

Student: Me?

Teacher: It's me! It's the teacher that you need to listen to, his instructions because otherwise it will be all a disaster. Be quiet and listen because today you will do group work. Then something like(T): 'I don't want to sit on my desk and do the lesson like that. I want you to find out all the information; I don't want you to copy out from the board' (he repeats 'listen!' once about every 30 sec). 'I want you now to get in groups of 4. Quietly!'

(History, Observation schedule OH7, Y7 class)

Undoubtedly, the lack of experience of an NQT teacher is expected to have a significant effect on the ways and on the effectiveness of the methods applied; however, the above example describes a concept about 'active learning' and students' participation which, although more implicit, is apparent in the way that methodologies are applied by the teachers-directors.

In a sense both models seem to retain teachers as the main definers of the processes. Irrespective of the model, teachers seem to be in position to define the policies, the techniques, the time that is allocated in all activities and their sequence. Irrespective of the model followed, teachers base their lesson on a more or less strict plan that leaves very little space for negotiation and this negotiation, apart from being limited, is also usually implicit:

'You've got another five minutes to discuss it and then I want all of you to start [your performance].' This causes some stress in the group of students that until then seemed not to be able to agree on the way in which they should perform and the allocation of roles. The teacher approaches them and (about 2 minutes before the 5 min deadline) two of them ask loudly for some more time. Ms Koun: 'you have 1 more minute!' One of the students insists and seems to be explaining to her the reason while the rest of the group are rushing to negotiate the roles. The discussion [between the teacher and the student] continues for another 2-3 minutes until another student from the group shouts: 'Ready!' The discussion ends and while they are preparing to watch the performance of the first group, the students explain to the 'negotiator' the agreed distribution of roles.

(Drama, Observation schedule OD4, Y9 class)

The space for negotiation is even more limited when it comes to issues related to school policies and especially to those on behaviour management and discipline. A

number of incidents in which students tried to negotiate the punishment that was decided by the teacher have been observed and they have taken place in classrooms of both directors and protagonists; the only cases where the negotiation was effective was in the cases in which the punishment did not seem to be finalised but was announced by the teacher as a form of indirect warning:

[After an incident in which a student 'answered back' to Mr Tess, the teacher approached the student's planner [a homework diary which also enables written communication between the school and the student's home]]:

- *Yes, but I don't think that your father will agree with you if I write what happened in your planner. And we would be even then, wouldn't we?*
- *I don't think so sir.*
- *Well, I do.*

(At the end of the lesson he gave back the planner to the student with a warning that next time he will not hesitate to make a note.

(History, Observation schedule OH8, Y9 class)

In almost all cases that a decision about the punishment was made, students attempted to point out the unfairness of teachers' decisions. Almost all cases met with teachers' dismissal of students' claims, dismissals which were justified by the teachers on the grounds of their authority in deciding about the punishments and on the effect that negotiation with the students would have on the remaining teaching time. The following incident is from a Y10 History class. Similar incidents have been observed in a number of other classes and although behaviour that requires disciplinary measures are less likely to occur in the classrooms of teachers-directors, their responses to students' negotiation attempts are almost identical:

'You had your warning, now it's detention.' The student is trying to argue that it was not him who made the noise and that it's always him who is accused. Mr Smith is repeating 'you had your warning Tim!' And 'you are wasting more of my class' time.'

(History class, Observation schedule OH4, Y10 class)

The Head of RE, a teacher who occasionally implements the 'director's' methodologies, points out in her interview the importance of discipline and the link to the control she applies in her classes:

Discipline is an important issue for her. The word 'control' was mentioned a lot of times as the aim and the result of students' discipline and she claimed that 'keeping control' of the classroom while allowing interaction between students and teachers was the distinctive quality of a good teacher. She claimed that this is exactly what she tries to do and what she has achieved. 'I will say when the battle starts and there is no battle if I am not there'.

(Notes from the interview with Ms Joan, Head of RE)

It is, indeed, a particular kind of 'battle' to which Ms Joan refers. If this 'battle' is the negotiation between students and teachers then the unquestionable centrality of the teachers' role suggests a battle with a more or less pre-defined outcome. If, alternatively, this battle refers more generally to the classroom processes and students' learning, it is still a very effective way to describe graphically the centrality of teachers' role in these processes.

In relation to the application of rules and regulations, the evidence of this study indicates the limited extent to which teachers are prepared to explain their decisions to students in a way that goes beyond the need to apply the rules and refers to the justification of these rules. The lack of justification of any decisions taken by teachers is also observable in the way that teachers present the activities to the students and the way they structure the classroom time. As the evidence of this study shows, relevant instructions to students are provided in the form of orders. The simple statistical analysis of the relevant data (see p. 4 of Observation Schedule in Appendix 6, p. 320), showed that an average of 4.2 out of 5 instructions are orders and only 0.8 out of 5 are 'invitations' (orders are 84% of the total instructions; the percentage is 80% for the 'directors' and 88% for the 'protagonists' teachers).

In this sense, it is not the centrality of the teachers' role that is challenged by the application of different models of teaching, as much as it is the students' one: in the case of the protagonist, students hold a role which resembles, for an observer of the classroom performance, the role of supporting actors. By increasing students' participation, the directors do not seem to abolish any part of their authority or reduce

the centrality of their role; they seem actually more like professional directors who are instructing a group of amateur actors; the success of the actors' performance could be, to a large extent, an illustration of the directors' skills.

Students' lack of awareness of the reasoning that supports teachers' decisions, teachers' unpreparedness to 'spell out' the sources of their authority, the 'ordering' of students to follow a lesson structure and to engage in activities, the lack of negotiation over the way that rules are applied, the ways that teachers monitor the application of rituals, teachers' attempts to define all aspects of classroom life (including the presence of the researcher) all suggest that a particular kind of social power is applied in Citizenship Education classroom settings. This, according to the discussion of the theoretical models of social power that took place in chapter 5, could indicate an authoritarian form of power, raising inevitably a discussion about the appropriateness of 'undemocratic' methodologies for the teaching of democracy. Such a claim could not be made, however, without examining the views of the group over which this power is applied. In this sense, the consideration of students' views is essential in order to investigate whether their expectations of their teachers are such that could support a claim about teachers' power being closer to what French (1956) and French and Raven (1959) have identified as 'expert' power.

2. Students' supporting roles

An important point that needs to be made regarding the above discussion about teachers' level of control is that the claims made so far should not imply any dismissal of the centrality of teachers' role as unjustifiable or inappropriate when we take into account the structural and social conditions which affect the function and the role of the school. Moreover, they do not imply a claim that the construction of these roles is a process which is exclusive of students' impact. On the contrary, the construction of the

roles of both teachers and students is considered as the result of an ongoing negotiation in which both parties contribute with their approaches, definitions and expectations. In this sense the discussion has been based on the examination of the issue of teachers' control and power as the result of this negotiation, following Robins' point about teachers' control being the result of the 'struggle for control between teachers and pupils in which classroom order is negotiated' (Robins, 1982, p.228).

As the discussion has shown, teachers seem to be engaged in a constant 'battle' to establish a role for themselves from which they will be in position to control important aspects of the context which frames their interaction with the students. In this process, students seem to challenge teachers' attempts in ways that tend to be implicit and overall are limited (with the exception of teachers' decisions about punishments, decisions which have a direct effect on individual students). This limitation in the effectiveness of students' negotiation attempts seems to have two justifications: on the one hand, the rules that organise school life are such that they support teachers in their 'battle' (as will be discussed in the last part of this chapter, they may actually actively promote this role and reflect a broad social expectation for teachers to assume such a role). On the other hand, and according to the evidence of this study, students seem not to be prepared to challenge the sources of teachers' power and control but only its occasional manifestations; the reason for this seems to lie in their own expectations from their teachers and their own definition of the roles that they, themselves, hold within the school. (In this sense, we could assume that actually students - indirectly at least - also support the rules of the school which appoint teachers with this level of control).

There are many references made in the discussion so far which indicate that students effectively (even if indirectly) support teachers' control. The avoidance of interaction with them, even in the case where it is considered as a 'conflict' or 'battle' avoidance, effectively reduces the possibilities for the students to challenge teachers'

control in a direct and open way. Their expectation to 'be taught' has the same effect, as does their choice to disengage themselves from the lessons that do not provoke their interest and their silent or overt consent of the classrooms' ownership by the teachers. Of course, these are only indications which may or may not reflect the students' expectations from the teachers and from their interaction with them and may be the results of a silent acceptance of the conditions within their engagement with schooling. There are, indeed, indications among the range of evidence for this study that could partially support this view, particularly that from the students of the special school visited during the Pilot stage. The limited nature of this evidence, however and the lack of validation from the evidence drawn from the main study does not allow the further development of a reliable argument. Nevertheless, the argument that the evidence does seem to be in position to justify is that the limitations in students' attempts to challenge the centrality of the teachers' role are the result of the shared view among the student group that effective schooling is closely related both to teachers' ability to 'control their class' and to assume a central position in the classroom interaction.

The main source of information which allows the construction of a picture regarding students' expectations of their teachers and themselves are the students' interviews. In these, students gave descriptions of the 'ideal' teacher, the 'ideal' student and of the ideal relationship between the two.

The extract below is from the interview with Damien, a Y11 student at Hillcliff High:

- The picture of your role in the classroom as I get it from the things you say is one of a person who what he is doing is dependent upon the instructions of the teacher. Is that right? –Sorry, I mean, am I right?
- ... I think so.
- Now, look: for me this can indicate something negative. I mean that in my mind, the fact that there is only little –if there is any- room for students to do things differently, to make their own decisions or to share the responsibility and the decision making in the classroom, is quite / I am not sure that I like it, I am not sure it is right. I want to know what you think about how effective a lesson is in which the teacher is the only one taking decisions. So please, tell me what you think ☺.
- Think it's effective. ☺+.

- ☺+. Ok... Could you now tell me what your advice would be to a newly qualified Geography teacher?
- One of the main things would be: 'Get the class under control ... because if you [are ? 240/1] not get the class under control soon they ... more ... ^ bad ^ students they'll be distracting all the ... like the rest of the class ... nor will be able to work, so ... you will need to get like ... the bad students come to [w? 249] first and then ... just ... all comes together.
- <*> What do you mean by 'good' and 'bad' student?
- A good student would be ... like ... basically one [w? 255] get on with the work whereas a bad student would be there just to ... distract ... everyone else ... not really want to get on with the work ... just ... it's like ... hmm ... a class clown, if you know what I mean <*> yea, that 'd be a bad student.

(Interview with Damien, Y11 student)

Damien seems to adopt a view about teachers' control that is reflected also in many interviews with teachers and which relates the control of the class to a specific capability, attributed to 'good teachers'. In this way he presents this control as being the result of a 'battle' with disruptive students and which a capable teacher is expected to win. By expressing this view, Damien points out that for him, the 'battle' that the teacher directs is aimed also at preventing the development of another tension, the one between the 'good' and the 'bad' students who will be battling over the teacher's time. The centrality of the teacher's role, in this sense, is rather unquestionable while the 'battle' that he or she is expected to undertake and win is the condition in order for his or her role to be performed in the best interests of the 'good' students'. Other students do not appear as absolute in their views about teachers' ability to control. The vast majority of students interviewed point out that the most important quality of good teachers relates to their ability to keep this control without creating open and overt 'battles' but, instead, being able to prevent them. Even in these cases, the centrality of the teachers' role remains unquestionable and the qualities of the teachers are very similar to the ones that are necessary in the case of strong negotiation:

- Can I ask you to tell me what advice would you give to a NQT who wants to build good relationships with the students?
- I 'd tell them not ... hmm ... wishing / not expecting the class to take a warming to them straight away; and I think that [...] ... you can't / show them that there are certain boundaries and rules but you've got to ... make them understand that ... if they do [go?349] by your rules they would be rewarded through ... learning or whatever means because I think / I can

think of the [w/w? 353] the student teachers in a / especially last year we had a lot of student teachers coming in for a couple of months and some of them were ... / you could ... / they didn't display confidence, you could see they were nervous which made the class pick them out and think 'oh, we can take this teacher for a ride' or something. And then when they ... ask you to do something, because this class doesn't have respect they are not gonna do it, so I think ... it takes time to get people's respect really. It needs patience and ... you need confidence that ... what you say is worth ... learning, really.

(Interview with Rehana, Y11 student)

Rehana's recollection of her experience of being taught by student-teachers in which the trainee-teachers' lack of confidence is presented not just as deficiency in a useful quality but as a indication of vulnerability, indicates that for Rehana, teachers should not only be prepared to enter into 'battle' against the students, but that in addition to the teachers' own expectation that they will win this battle, they should be able to demonstrate sufficient confidence that would prevent students (not only 'bad' students as Damien claimed) challenging and initiating this battle. In addition, Rehana makes a link between this ability and the respect that teachers gain from students, indicating that the respect is not just linked to control but is the result of it. Finally, it seems that she expects her teachers to use their confidence in order to inspire and motivate the students, encouraging them to engage with the learning process. The link between teachers' control and students' learning is reflected in the views that many students have expressed. Speaking about the efficiency of the new behaviour policy that was introduced in the school, Alex and Sean make this link very explicitly:

- *this policy has helped students who **do** want to learn, learn, because teachers won't take anything by any abuse or ... hmm ... disturbance, and they send the student out, so if anyone is misbehaving, they have no chance to disturb the ^ lesson ^, which is good really, because we are not getting any information we need for our GCSEs and the people who don't care, they [w? 305] opportunity [w/w? 305].*

(Interview with Sean, Y11 student)

- *It seems that this system helps parents and teachers to have better control.....*
- *Yes.*
- *Is this a good thing?*
- *I think so, yes.*
- *Why?*

- *Because, hmm... students **can't** do what they want, and **If they do what they want, they don't learn**, [previously he had described how the policy makes it easy for teachers to send students to the 'inclusion unit'] so... . *I want a good job, where I can get money, and, so... I have to learn.**

(Interview with Alex, Y8 student)

It should be noted that Sean's and Alex's views regarding the behavioural policy are not shared among all students. Actually most students (even Sean and Alex in other parts of their interviews) do challenge the implementation of this new policy and they claim that it is more strict than necessary. Nevertheless, the examination of this policy from the viewpoint of its relation to teachers' responsibilities and students' expectations from their teachers reduces the impact of students' scepticism or criticism towards it. In one of the discussions that followed one of the role-play activities, students were very critical towards the behavioural policy, indicating that its application would enable students to be punished for many reasons, even for minor issues:

- *But there must be a reason that this policy was introduced.*
- *They pointed out that in some classes students were very 'disrespectful' and were causing 'all sorts of problems' and that they were not 'allowing other students to concentrate and learn'.*

(Notes from group discussion after Drama exercise 4, Y8 students)

It could be claimed that through the description of the behavioural policy, of the role of the teacher and the expectations about them to control the behaviour of 'the class', students seem to express views which, while they seem to challenge these conditions, they indicate at the same time an endorsement of the justification of their existence. These conflicted aspects of the picture might suggest the epigrammatic description of these conditions as 'unpleasant but functional'. Importantly, these conditions, which effectively determine teachers' role, since they are created through the interaction between students and teachers, they inevitably affect also the development of students' role.

The description of this role emerges directly and indirectly from the evidence outlined above, through the students' description of the 'good' and 'bad' student, through their expectation to 'be taught', through their preparedness to challenge and

'disrespect' any teacher without the confidence to assume a central role and the control of the classroom. Taking into account these views and projecting them into the classroom reality as this emerges through the observation schedules and the descriptions made in the first three parts of this chapter, which discusses teachers' egocentric performance, it seems to be possible to validate a previous claim regarding students' role as that resembling a 'secondary' or 'supporting' one. This, of course, does not imply a total lack of no active participation in the construction of this role; on the contrary, from the above discussion it should be clear that students are active participants in the construction of the roles and that these roles (both the teachers' and the students' ones) are the result of the active (but not always overt) participation of both parties in an ongoing negotiation. The outcome of this negotiation is the construction of two 'personas', one of which assumes the leading role, while the other is engaged in activities that seem to support and enhance the leading role's performance.

Bearing in mind that the observations of this study took place in Citizenship Education classrooms and also considering the claims regarding the relevance of the whole school ethos to the implementation of the subject, it could be claimed that students' participation in Citizenship Education, especially when this subject is implemented as a cross-curricular one, emerges as an 'actively passive' one. In the same way, the issue of power, which was referred to at the end of the chapter dealing with teachers' 'egocentric performance', may seem by this view to resemble what French and Raven have identified as an 'expert' model of social power, a point that may challenge - to some extent at least - claims that have been made about 'undemocratic forms' of teaching in English schools (see Alderson, 1999). In this sense, we may run the danger of misplacing the challenge for Citizenship Education if we attempt to locate in the models of teaching and if these teaching models are

examined in isolation away from the views of the school community about the roles of the teachers and students.

3. Conclusions

The discussion so far described the interaction between students and teachers in Citizenship Education classrooms as a process aiming towards predefined outcomes largely determined by teachers' choice. The teacher holds the leading role in this process, and holds the authority to lead it towards the attainment of these aims. This is not a novel observation: is supported by numerous similar claims which have been made in relation to the role of the teacher in classrooms all over the world and in many different periods in the history of schooling (among many others: Bjerstedt, 1969; Sutcliffe and Whitfield, 1976; Fuller and Snyder, 1991; Cunningham, 2000). Such claims, however, indicate that when we approach and observe the role of the students in the school community we often tend to assume that students are subjected to the coercive power of teachers or schooling. The discussion in this study suggests that this seems to describe only one part of the picture: what may seem as coercive, it can be the outcome of a choice and the recognition by the students that teachers hold the expertise that can lead them safely to the attainment of their (academic) goals. In that way, teachers have the role of the leader-coordinator, and the social power describing their interaction with the students seems to be more effectively described as 'expert' power. This notice shifts the discussion to the appropriateness of the expert power in Citizenship Education classrooms. More specifically, it brings forward a different suggestion regarding students' participation and poses the question of the appropriateness of the 'actively passive' form of participation for the education of democratic citizens. We can indeed draw numerous indications from the literature that it is appropriate for Citizenship Education to challenge this and to promote interactions

where students are encouraged to put forward their views, where knowledge is questioned and discussed:

'Democracy is best learned in a democratic setting where participation is encouraged, where views can be expressed openly and discussed, where there is freedom of expression for pupils and teachers ...'

Council of Europe, 1985

It is generally expected that it is through 'experiencing citizenship' and practicing in 'the everyday environment of the school - its structures and relationships - that students begin to learn what is to be a citizen' (Huddleston & Kerr, 2006, pp. 82) and this expectation is reflected effectively in the suggestions contained in the Crick report (QCA, 1998, §3). The view, however, about students' role being the product of an 'actively passive' participation suggests that a resistance to any attempts for the establishment of conditions that encourage a more overt and continuous participation from the students may be exercised by the students themselves who may not see their role in the school in the same way. This view also attributes - to some extent of course - a missionary dimension to these calls for encouragement of students' participation, a dimension which can be well tuned to the - unjustifiable as it has been claimed (Roker, Player and Coleman, 1999) - 'moral panic' which provided the moral justification for the implementation of Citizenship Education in the first place.

Chapter 9

Flexibility and inflexibility: variations in interaction.

What has been suggested so far is that the attainment of the aims which guide classroom interaction and the centrality of the teachers' role are not exactly imposed onto the students, but they are constructed through a process in which students participate by assuming an 'actively passive role'. Of course this claim does not go so far as to suggest that the classroom interaction in Citizenship Education is one that promotes active participation; it suggests, however, that the leading role of the teacher and the secondary role of the students and the seemingly undemocratic practices are not the outcomes of a given situation into which students enter but they are, at least to some extent, the products of the model of participation that students exercise. It is suggested that within the limitations of their forced participation in the educational system, students may exercise a choice. In case we wish to intervene and break the interactive cycle in which teaching and learning reproduces an apparently unsuitable context for democratic education, it is important to take into account the particular kind of students' active participation in the construction of this context.

It needs, however, to be noted that the roles which are constructed within this context are performed by individuals who differ from each other and operate in a variety of settings within the school environment. Therefore, despite any conformity which may be implied by the overall argument regarding students' actively passive participation, we need to recognise that variations do exist and different models of interaction between students and teachers are observed. In that sense, we should not discuss *the* interaction but we should attempt to examine the different forms of interaction, as we follow and observe different students and teachers interacting within different classrooms, through different activities, for different outcomes. The study of

these variations is significant because these are linked to the formation of variations in the roles of the interacting parties which, irrespective of whether they are performed in the foreground or the background of the 'scene', irrespective of whether they are leading or supporting roles, they effectively construct a different kind of performance. By investigating the patterns of these variations and by examining the roots and the processes that justify this differentiation we can develop a better understanding regarding the conditions in which students perform their 'actively passive' roles and the possibilities for the school to challenge both these roles and the apparently undemocratic conditions which are constructed. At the same time, by examining teachers' and students' perspectives regarding these variations, together with their views regarding the 'ideal' form of performance, it is possible to examine the extent of their contribution to the construction of the conditions that are responsible for the development of different forms of interaction and to validate previous claims regarding the possible resistance from the school community for the transformation of the school into a democratic educational setting. Finally, because of the difference in roles that are assumed within these conditions, Citizenship Education becomes a subject of these variations. The study of these conditions and of these roles will suggest a different insight into the possibilities and challenges of the subject, particularly those related to its implementation as a cross-curricular subject.

In light of the above, this chapter will suggest a differentiation of the performances on the basis of their *flexibility*, a term which echoes relevant observations regarding rigidity and flexibility of the student-teacher interaction (see for example Carter, 2000; Holden, 2000). A not-in-absolute terms definition, would identify as *inflexible* those performances which are constructed by rather limited and close-ended negotiations. In *flexible* performances in contrast, these negotiations seem to be more open-ended and the process of interaction seems to allow more space for the interacting parties to express their own preferences and to affect the processes of the

constructed performances. (To some extent, flexible performances can be identified with what Kerr has recognised as the 'positive classroom climate' (Kerr, 2005). This identification, however, does not imply any endorsement of Kerr's controversial requirement for students to 'receive unbiased information from teachers' (ibid, p. 83)). Therefore, the two forms of performance allow different levels of students' active participation. In this context, the reference to students' participation does not coincide with the one described so far as 'actively passive'. The construction of a secondary role is a claim that remains unchallenged in this chapter. It is suggested, however, that within the flexibility and the inflexibility of the performances, teachers' leading and students' supporting roles create different possibilities for the manifestation of observable models of active participation, such as the ones that seem to be desired by the proponents of democratic Citizenship Education. This study will refer to these models of participation as 'active negotiations'. The term indicates that the way that students perform their secondary role is developed through different forms of negotiation: in some cases (flexible performances) students seem to be more actively engaged in this negotiation, while in inflexible performances their part in the negotiation process is less overt or more passive. As the discussion in this chapter will show, the variations in the model of negotiation, the variations in the interaction between students and teachers and the construction of flexible or inflexible performances are the products of the particular expectations which the interacting parties bring to their interaction.

A description of the two models of interaction between students and teachers has already been made in previous chapter, based mainly on the two roles that teachers assume in Hillcliff High (the director's and the protagonist's role – pp. 191-208). It was shown that teachers' performance of different roles coincides with variations in students' roles and with variations in the opportunities that students have to affect the classroom processes. The observation schedules indicate that these variations

coincide with their level of engagement with the content of the lesson, the expression of personal opinions, the extent to which they contribute to classroom discussions (and the opportunities for such discussions to take place). It can be safely claimed that all these conditions coincide to a great extent with the ones that have been recognised as elements of a democratic pedagogy (Torney-Purta et al, 2001; Deakin Crick et al, 2005, Kerr et al, 2007). Overall, it was noticed that flexible performances are consistently constructed in director's classrooms where the teacher's performance leaves more space for students' action, as in the similar interactions in Russell's study (Russell, 2002). In Hillcliff High, these classrooms seem to have some common characteristics. It is important to note that these characteristics do not define the flexible performances, but that they can guide the observer to the identification of such performances. These are:

- o Group work (Section C, observation schedule)
- o More frequent student-initiated contact with the teacher (Section D, observation schedule)
- o Humour (initiated and appreciated by teachers and students) (Section B, observation schedule)
- o More off-task time (Section B, observation schedule)

It has not always been easy to identify the classroom time that was spent 'off task'. Despite the detailed account of the lessons that the observation schedules have allowed, the recording of such information was not part of the initial plan and its importance was revealed only at the analysis stage, through the careful examination of relevant parts of the observation schedules. At that stage, however, it was difficult to recognise with certainty the extent to which specific events or discussions within the classroom were related to the learning outcomes or to teachers' intentions. The inclusion of the humour in this part of the analysis (which also raised some difficulties related to lack of systematic recording) is justified on the basis of an observation that

has been made and noted in four schedules and was partially verified by the reflection of the observer on his overall impressions drawn from his observations: in lessons that could be described as supporting more open-ended negotiations there are increased opportunities for teachers and students to make humorous comments and for these to be appreciated by both interacting parties. When initiated by the teacher, these usually gave the opportunity for some off-task discussions, during which the participation by students increased. This observation was verified by both students and teachers in their descriptions of the form of interaction that they prefer: both teachers and students seem to recognise humour as one basic characteristic of a flexible interaction –even if they do not use, of course, this term to describe it:

... the [Geography] teacher is very open often like ... there is ... a lot of humour in the classroom 'cause there is quite a lot of different ... kind of ... personalities, and we also learn through that as well because ... the teacher is like ... quite close to a lot of students in the class so, no, it's not like ... like ... about ... learning the history, is about ... learning other things / we learn a lot of interesting things – that may not be in the Geography syllabus...

(Interview with Rehana, Y11 student)

The opportunity of the interacting parties to express their personalities and the opportunities for the classroom process to accommodate learning that is not recognised as part of the subject's syllabus are two characteristics of flexible performances: they indicate that the negotiation leaves enough space for personal opinions to be expressed and enough flexibility in the process to move in directions that are not entirely determined by prescribed curricula (Deakin Crick, 2002). At the same time this space motivates students and teachers to interact and the level of 'interaction avoidance' (the avoidance of personal or of undefined purpose interaction) in the interaction between students and teachers who participate in such performances drops: (The issue of personal communication will be further explored in Chapter 11.)

- You said before about the teacher being close to the students, yes?
- Yes.
- Can you tell me a bit more about that?

- *It's like ... I don't know ... like ... if I wanted to go to advice ... to a teacher about something, I probably would go to my Geography teacher, because ... I don't know he just ... / he is / he [finds? 208] a lot of things that we go through / we just / through discussion and things like in the class we just get to know him..*

(Interview with Rehana, Y11 student)

This kind of personal communication and open ended negotiation seems to be often performed in PSE classrooms or in the Drama studios. There are also some lessons led by the RE teacher, the Head of English and the Head of Geography which bear significant similarities with the PSE and Drama lessons in terms of the model of interaction which they accommodate. Similar '*semi-structured*' - in the words of a History teacher - performances can also be observed in some Y11 classes (irrespective of the subject) and in the classes of the 6th form.

Overall, the analysis of the data suggests that there are three factors which determine the model of the interaction between students and teachers and the construction of flexible or inflexible performances; these are:

- the curriculum subject which provides the opportunity for the interaction between students and teachers;
- teachers' professional attitudes; and
- the age of the students.

(1) Flexibility, inflexibility, the subject and teachers' attitudes

The interviews with teachers and students show that they both prefer to operate within flexible performances. For the students, this preference seems to result from specific priorities and expectations that they have from their engagement in different lessons: (The following extract from Lilah's interview has been quoted before, pp. 170-71.)

- [These lessons are] ... *more interesting and ... we can discuss more.*
- Which lessons are like this?

- *PSE. PSE is like that. ... And in Art, is a bit like that.*
- *You mentioned before that you would like to have more lessons like PSE. Do you mean that you would like other lessons to be taught like this?*
- *No, I meant (that I would like) to have more PSE lessons, not the other lessons to become like PSE ... It / you cannot have like ... History like that. You don't learn the same things*

(Interview with Lilah, Y10 student)

Despite her preference for flexible performances and lessons that allow whole class discussions, Lilah points out that there is a rather inflexible relationship between the model of performance and academic subject. This is consistent with the observations in the previous chapter which linked the performance of the director's role to teachers of non-academic subjects and is verified also by Ms Koun, who used to be an English teacher:

- *I think I do have a slightly different approach ... I think ... I ... stick to the school's discipline policy ... and ... but I try to ... a more ... less heavy-handed approach, I am not a shouty teacher; I surprise myself when I raise my voice and I go more for the 'you've disappointed me' kind of thing, or 'you are letting yourself down' but this is the environment, that's the environment of Drama and I know that when I am in the classroom for doing a cover lesson or if I was teaching English –which I am not doing in this school, before I was teaching English- I would be different.*
- *Why?*
- *It's the formality and the informality of the setting.*

(Interview with Ms Koun, Drama teacher)

Ms Koun seems to describe the relationship between the subject and the classroom climate as a fixed one and seems to suggest that the subject imposes a specific type of classroom climate which she recognises as formal or informal. Strikingly, this relationship is so strong that it seems to apply a coercive power over the teachers and act as a rule to which teachers and students need to comply.

This view, however, seems to be challenged by some other aspects of Hillcliff High. Some teachers seem to manage to break free from this close relationship of the subject with the roles assumed:

I think that much of the work that is done in certain subjects, is book-led, so that the pupils ... are taught from the front, told which page to work from in a

book, and ... very much left to get on at their own pace; but in other classes, like PSE and in like in ... like in Mr Web's class, is different, you know ... the teacher actively moves around the classroom ... you often hear them discussing other things with pupils, not necessarily ... like what they watched on TV, but there are wider issues than just the work subjects being discussed; and I think in a way that's [w? 486] that the pupils feel that they can ... talk about other things, while at the same time are... doing their work.

(Interview with Jill, Learning Assistant)

The suggestion is that Mr Web is able to construct flexible performances despite, rather than because of, the school subjects. The observation schedules showed that Ms Joan, Head of RE and Ms Jones, Head of English share the same ability with him. All three often assume the role of the director and perform their roles in classrooms where the level of students' participation is occasionally similar to the level observed in PSE and Drama classrooms. An explanation for this is suggested by something else that these teachers share: a common professional background. All three have started their teaching careers teaching non-academic subjects: Mr Web used to teach in a school for students with behavioural difficulties, Ms Jones used to be a member of the teaching team for a vocational educational programme, while Ms Joan worked for many years as a PE teacher. All three of them recognise that their background has played a very important role in them now making conscious efforts to construct the opportunities for open-ended negotiations and for a climate that supports students' participation. Ms Jones' response to the question regarding her interaction with students at the beginning of her career illustrates this very effectively:

- *You still have the responsibility but ... there's more opportunity to take an interest in what they are doing as individuals and getting to know them as individuals. But I hope, you know I do take that into the classroom and ... hmmm ... I mean you've probably noticed that as well as actually doing the teaching from the front, as I am going around and they are doing group work I am talking to them about their individual concerns and ... you know, I like to think that ... I think of them as individuals, rather than ... you know, just a ... whole group.*

(Interview with Ms Jones, Head of English)

Ms Joan describes the effect of the shift in her career very graphically:

Asked her about this change, how it feels to be an RE teacher; said that it is like 'having grown two heads' and that PE is more 'sound' as a subject and

it gave her more chances to meet and co-operate in planning the lessons. However, her attitude towards learning in general has not changed.

Notes from the interview with Ms Joan, Head of RE

We could claim that the 'two heads' Ms Joan refers to, are actually two different roles which bear different (and to some extent contradicting) expectations, methodologies and interactions. The change of roles, however beneficial it may seem, also raises some important challenges and it often arrives with the realisation that the maintenance of an open and informal teaching style is not always easy:

- *Probably ... I'm still ... in that field (Plan B);[...]; and I often find it that you know, I give them group activities to do sometimes, but I often find that they are often not as productive as ... when I'm controlling it and being there (point out the teacher in diagram B); [...]. [...] I often find that group work ... is less productive;*

(Interview with Mr Web, Head of Geography)

- *[.....] I think they need to learn that ... and hmmm of course there are always times when you ... you actually do want to do some teaching from the front, for example the poetry that we do, hmmm, at GCSE, ideally you give them a task to do and let them explore things themselves, but some students will miss out and not get the right points and you need, you need to be at the front, I think, you know, giving them the sort of things they need to look out for, then hopefully later when they do some ... revision, then they can get into the small groups and work [w/w?276]. [.....]*

- *So, could I say that plan A represents a kind of target for you?*
- *Yes, yes, yes.*

(Interview with Ms Jones, Head of English)

- *Do you consider the creation of this space as being an advantage of PE teaching over other subjects? – Definitely, it is important for all subjects. 'It is important to listen to what they (students) have to say' but she also mentioned discipline issues as being an obstacle to the application of teaching methods that would allow this.*

(Notes from the interview with Ms Joan, Head of RE)

In an extract from her interview quoted in the previous chapter, Ms Jones relates teaching 'from the front' with a sense of security which we can assume is related to the maintenance of control and the attainment of the lesson's targets. What the three teachers demonstrate is that despite their preference for a particular kind of interaction, despite their conscious effort to construct flexible performances and despite their ability to do so, there are specific conditions related to students' performance, attainment of

targets and behavioural issues that prevents them from doing so. In this, they echo Lilah's conclusion that *'not all subjects are like PSE'*.

The extent to which students are involved in the construction of the conditions that prevent such flexibility is illustrated by the following extract from the notes from Ms Joan's interview:

- *Used to be a PE teacher for 16 years, 7 years ago she started teaching RE. Children's attitude did not change significantly. She was still a PE teacher for them and that 'gave her an advantage over the other teachers of academic subjects'.*
- *[...] However, her attitude towards learning in general has not changed. 'After all, RE is not that different.'*
- *I asked her to explain this to me and to identify the reasons. She said that students develop a better relationship with PE teachers because:*
 - *they are more easy-going;*
 - *they ask them to do things that they enjoy doing; and*
 - *PE teachers are more similar to them – in the way they are dressed, the way they speak, and their general behaviour in the school.*
- *When I asked what all these mean in relation to how students see her – since she had claimed before that there is an 'advantage' for her being seen by students as a PE teacher - she claimed that being considered a PE teacher was an issue of 'credibility'.*

(Notes from the interview with Ms Joan, Head of RE)

With substantial teaching experience in PE and a relatively short period as a RE teacher, it may not be so surprising that Ms Joan's maintains, to a large extent, the methods and approaches of a PE teacher. It may not be so surprising either that she sees significant similarities between the two roles. There is a very significant claim hidden in her observation about the credibility that she enjoys which gives her an advantage over the other teachers: it is the same claim that is implied in the observation about students seeing her still as a PE teacher. By having 'two heads' and by considering this as an advantage we can justifiably assume that Ms Joan is not trying to hide this past from her students; and even if she were to do so, Ms Joan would still benefit from students' 'oral tradition' whereby teachers' idiosyncrasies are kept alive and passed on from older to younger generations of students, bridging the time from when she taught PE (Vanderstraeten, 2007). In a way, Ms Joan attributes the

flexibility in her role to the view that her students have about her, confirming students' involvement in the construction of their teachers' roles. In that sense, these three teachers show that an understanding of the ways that flexible or inflexible performances are constructed needs to take into account students' views and expectations.

Students' expectations are revealed through their interviews. These show that the young members of the school community do value and clearly prefer a classroom ethos and a model of interaction similar to the one observed in flexible performances. However, their views do not seem to go so far as to support a claim that students are advocating a model of interaction that allows greater participation. Instead, what they say they appreciate is a positive and pleasant climate:

- *Which means? What do you mean that he –or she?- is a good teacher?*
- *'Cause is like ... he is not too strict and ... he makes lessons fun.*
- *How can a teacher make his lesson fun?*
- *By being like, you know, interacting with the kids a lot more not just like standing at the front and just giving orders, like ... giving fun activities to do more rather than just copying things from the book and stuff like that.*
- *[.....], and it's better, because you learn more, 'cause you tend to take the information on board a bit more. Yes.*

(Interview with Alistair, Y8 student)

- *What do you mean they are good?*
- *[...] They - we can still have a laugh with some of them.*
- *Is this what makes a good teacher then?*
- *Yeah, yeah, because [...] – if you can have a laugh with them then ... in fact I think it's easier to learn as well; because when you are enjoying yourself as well as learning ... then you have more of / some lessons like / I say ... 'oh, I can't bother going to' because ... maybe I don't like the teacher and the way she teaches ... but some ... like ... I like going and then I am still learning while I am having fun.*

(Interview with Ulrich, Y10 student)

What Ulrich and Alistair suggest in the quotes above is that they value the relaxed and fun model of interaction because of the way that it compliments their learning. Humour is not considered to be an off-task activity or an opportunity for students to have an impact on the classroom process: it is teacher-led and it is presented as an

organic element of the good lesson. Neither in the above descriptions, nor in the description made by Jill are there any indications that students appreciate or advocate a higher level of participation or that this participation reaches a point at which it can redirect the aims or content of the lesson. As Ulrich maintains, the fun atmosphere is a motivation for students to engage in the interaction and to take part in the lesson but this lesson, as Alistair's description shows, is not expected to allow any disturbance to the power relations between the participants. In the context in which they expect to learn, students seem to expect to be taught in a way that leaves the responsibility of defining the activities and the processes to the teacher. In that respect, students do not seem to advocate the establishment of interactions with open negotiations and therefore they do not seem to support the construction of flexible performances –at least, not in all lessons. What they seem to argue for is friendly and calm relationships which contribute to more pleasant interactions with the teachers and less stressful conditions for learning. Similar views have been expressed in other studies. Cothran (Cothran et al, 2003) showed that according to students, effective classroom management is characterised by care, fun, respect and consistency in the application of rules; the responsibility of classroom management, however, is not something that the teacher is expected to share with the students. LaToya, one of the students in that study, described the classroom management style of Ms Schneider, the teacher who was nominated by the students as 'most effective':

'We don't misbehave in her class because she is really, really, really strict. But she's fun at parties, but you know there's a time for you to play and a time for you to learn. She gonna take you out of the class if you don't. We can say funny things and she laughs at us but when we pass the limit she will say so. In a way it's nice. You could learn.'

(Cothran et al, 2003, pp.143)

Similar to the description of the good teachers in this study, LaToya attributes to the effective teacher the ability to be strict and fun at the same time. Nowhere is the teacher's authority to define the 'time for play' and the 'time to learn' challenged;

nowhere is her practice to exclude anyone who disagrees with her definition questioned.

These claims accord with what has been observed in the classrooms of Hillcliff High where 'academic' subjects are taught. It does not, however, coincide with what seems to be happening in Art, Drama and especially PSE classes. The explanation, in terms of the expectations attached to these lessons, is provided by Ms Joan, the Head of RE, Alex, a Y8 student and Ms Riff, a PSE teacher:

- *I asked why there is this difference in attitude towards school rules between PE and other teachers. She said that it is possibly because they seem to be in their own 'world' –the PE department- and they seem to operate on the borders of school life...*

(Notes from the interview with Ms Joan, Head of RE)

- *Yes, - we **have** football courts, it's just that we need a bit more, so every class can play.*
- *Have you done anything about it – have you thought of asking the teachers or the management team of the school to do something about it?*
- *No, it's not important, is not ... that serious I think.*
- *What would an important issue be like? What?*
- *If it is like ... if it has to do with how you learn... If for example you have a problem with a teacher and he ... if you don't learn the way he is teaching, then...*
- *This is important.*
- *Yes, I think so.*
- *...But the football courts are not related to your learning? I mean if you don't have enough football courts you may not have enough chances to learn football, which is a topic of PE.... No?*
- *Yes, but is not like... is not so important.*
- *PE you mean? Is it PE that is not important or specifically football?*
- *Both. **It's not like**, it's not like Maths or Science that you really need to learn about all that... .*
- *Are there other lessons like PE that are not that important?*
- *Art.*
- *<*> Anything else?*
- *And PSE.*
- *RE?*
- *No, RE is important, I think.*
- *What makes then a subject to be important?*
- *I don't know. I think it's what you need to know so you can*
- *Find a good job as you told me before?*
- *Yes, and to go to the university and then find a good job.*

(Interview with Alex, Y8 student)

... partly it's because they like the less formal atmosphere of the PSE lesson, they like sitting in a circle, they quite like listening to each other talking about things ... and they appreciate not doing all the writing down; but when they come to learning a subject, they tend to see it more as just learning information to revise [w? 411] up for an exam, and forget about the skills of listening to each other and helping each other...

(Interview with Ms Riff, PSE teacher)

The quotations above indicate that students' expectations, models of performance and participation are all closely linked in a way which suggests that flexible performances (and students' participation) are appropriate and are promoted only in subjects which operate '*at the borders of ..*' the expectations attached to '*school life*'. Flexible performances are not considered the norm, neither are they supported by the school community in classrooms in which '*important*' subjects are taught.

The above suggestion can have two important implications for Citizenship Education. The first is obviously the one related to the implementation of the subject as a cross curricular one: the above observations show that there may be 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' subjects for Citizenship Education and especially for its implementation in a context (ethos) of active students' participation. Kennedy's call for a model of teaching in Citizenship Education which allows students to engage 'with activities that will give them experience with the "practice of democracy" both in their classrooms and outside their classrooms' shows that the implementation of the subject in 'academic' lessons may lead to the implementation of an inefficient model of Citizenship Education (Kennedy, 2003, p.65).

More importantly, however, the above observations indicate that subjects which can accommodate and support active participation are the ones that are considered by students as 'less important' or, as the Alex suggests, the ones that are more loosely related (if related at all) with the criteria that determine the importance of a subject, i.e. its contribution to paving the way that leads students to university and employment. In

that case, there seem to be two routes available for Citizenship Education, leading to two different dead ends: one leaves the subject operating at 'the borders of school life' with obvious implications for its credibility, and the other one is the route that leads to Citizenship Education in GSCE and A' level classes. In the second case, a number of significant considerations have to be made. The most significant relates to the lack of the element that Kennedy recognises as essential; it poses the question of the extent to which an 'academic' model of Citizenship Education can achieve the shift in the political culture of Britain to which Prof. Crick (QCA, 1998, p.7) aspired, especially since its status may not be so very different to the one currently enjoyed by 6th form General Studies.

Mr Tess' thoughts illustrate very graphically is the narrowness of the channel that Citizenship Education has to move through:

- *I think that this is why I am personally concerned about political literacy at lower levels in the school: how exactly do we deliver it, in a meaningful fashion, in a way that ... simply doesn't become boring and fact – [w? 195/6] learning, without a meaning [w? 196.] How you can move to a becoming a more co-operative PSE- [centred? 198] thing? Without that then becoming hmm losing its rigour.*

(Interview with Mr Tess, Head of History)

(2) Flexibility, inflexibility and the 'old timers'

What has not been discussed so far is the contribution of the students' age in the construction of particular kinds of performances. The issue of age has been identified and discussed to some extent by Kerr (Kerr, 2005). Analysing his findings, Kerr recognises a number of patterns related to the level of students' participation according to their age. Three factors that Kerr suggests and utilises in his analysis seem to be particularly relevant here. These are: a) the students' participation in the classroom, b) the students' efficacy (whether students thought that they have a saying in the running of their school and how they work in their classes (ibid, p. 81)) and c) their personal efficacy (whether students have 'the confidence that they have a voice that is heard

across the different spheres of their lives' (ibid, p. 83)). Kerr observed that students' participation and personal efficacy seem to increase with age, to dip in Y10 and to continue ascending in Y11 and 12. Students' efficacy, in contrast, follows a descending course until Y10 and increases from then onwards. One noteworthy observation that Kerr makes is that especially in relation to students' participation in the classroom, 'older students reported greater exposure to traditional teaching and learning methods. Students' views on classroom climate, however, became more and more positive as they progressed through their education' (ibid, p. 83).

Discussing these findings, Kerr points out that 'students' development of citizenship dimensions is neither even nor consistent'. Indeed, the findings suggest that there may be a considerable 'dip' in development around Year 10, when students are age 14 to 15. He suggests the need for further research which will 'give more consideration to the impact of year on year effects on students' development of citizenship dimensions across a number of age ranges and educational stages' (Kerr, 2005 pp. 60).

To some extent, Kerr's observations are complimentary to the evidence that has been produced by this study, which, itself, seems to offer a different view than that of the above remarks. As has already been mentioned, the observations have shown that there are significantly more flexible performances observed in the Y10 and Y11 classes than in Y7-9. This finding is supported by both teachers and students who report that the interaction between them is changing as students move up the school from year to year.

- Was your relationship with the teachers always that good or it has changed through the years – since Y7?
- *It has changed, yes.*
- Things were different when you were in Y7?
- *Yes, it's not as close with the teachers as / you ... build up during each year.*
- So as you progress through the years your relationship with the teachers is getting better.
- *Yes.*
- Can you describe a bit the changes, the differences in the relationship with the teachers between Y7 and Y11?

- *In Y7 I was like ... [edgy? 110] I didn't talk as much. I used to keep things inside myself. I [w? 113] talk to friends, now I am more open and I express my views and opinions, teachers listen and give their thoughts on it..... And it's just great, yes.*
- *So it's both the teachers and you that have changed attitude towards each other or is it just you? I mean you said that the teachers listen more than they used to in previous years and I*
- *No / yes, they have changed, but I was not telling them my thoughts in Y7, I was not so open.*
- *Yes I see, but will I be right if I get the impression that the improvement in your relationship with them was entirely your responsibility or it was also a response to a change in their attitude towards you?*
- *I think it is both, but... but it's because in Y7 you are not .../you can not relate with the teachers as we do now. And they used to be more strict because you don't really know what they expect from you.*

(Interview with Sean, Y11 student)

Sean describes the development of a more personal relationship with the teachers as he moved from Y7 to Y11. He attributes this to growing understanding on both sides regarding each other's expectations and by that he does not mean only the ones related to the outcomes of their interaction but also the expectations regarding each other's behaviour, which allow their cooperation leading to this outcome. Other students suggest that there is a significant change in teachers' behaviour as the students got older:

- *Relationships, yeah, probably got smoother as you get older, because they give you more respect as you get older, and you get to know them better and things like that.*

(Interview with Jamal, Y10 student)

Teachers' interviews verify this change in attitudes and behaviour:

- *I think there's trust and I think there's distance; I think they should feel comfortable to speak to you and get criticism and praise. I think you need to be able to laugh when things go wrong – I think that's really, really important and I do; and they love that when you laugh at their work or they laugh at something – not in a negative way, but you are laughing with them, they really like that if you can make a joke and ... they've got to know where the line is and you've got to know where the line is and there's ... you can be friendly and light and everything but there's **got** to be that barrier and they've got to know where that barrier is and that **Is** the ideal. The gap gets close when you get older students, you can lighten up because you don't necessarily need the discipline with the 6th form group; I've got Y10 that don't need any discipline; they know each other and work happily together –but you don't often get a group like that.*

(Interview with Ms Koun, Drama teacher)

What all the above quotes suggest is that with increasing student age, interactions become smoother. In conjunction with the classroom observations which suggest the establishment of flexible performances in the older students' classes, the above points made by Ms Koun and the two students suggest that students enjoy more 'privileges' of open-ended negotiations as they get older. This is exactly what Ms Joan described in an informal discussion during data collection for this study (the extract has been quoted already in p. 171):

Y10s are given the chance once or twice a year to change the sitting arrangements and sit with their friends. We keep this arrangement for a whole lesson to see if it works. If it does, if they can concentrate in their lesson and work okay then I allow them to keep this arrangement. Otherwise, we return to the old one.

(Notes from informal discussion with Ms Joan, Head of RE)

The extracts quoted above indicate that the reason for this increased level of participation is located in two factors: the familiarity that is developed between students and teachers through the years and the ability that students develop as they grow older to walk the thin line between '*trust and distance*'. This is what many teachers seem to recognise as a sign of maturity. This link between age, maturity, balance and participation is graphically illustrated in Mr Tess' interview:

- *[good interaction exists where] there is mutual respect that ... you know ... that they are willing to listen to you when it's appropriate and follow instructions when it's appropriate and such that you can spend more time listening to them engaging in what is called 'off-task' conversation, in other words, not just instructions, 'Do this', 'Don't do that', but you can have conversations about ... all sorts of ideas and I think in Politics it's very important – and you can do that in a relaxed way, knowing that they are going to co-operate, fully and they are going to ... take part, they may be light-hearted, they may be amused, but you can always get back to the focus point quickly. (☺) hmm! That's the ideal. [.....]. I think that's the ideal. It **does** exist with / I [w/w/w? 087/8] it tends to exist better with older students anyway, because ... you know ... Y7 are hard to do.*
- *Why is that?*
- *I think they are not mature enough. I think they are not mature enough, most of the time, to stop – they can't read [091/2] the teacher –perhaps it might be a failing that you have, but I think young ones often find it much harder to **read** the point at which ... you've moved away from being ... relaxed and friendly to become more formal; and I think young students often misread signs; and if you move from formality to relaxed and then*

you'll find them unwilling to go back again, [whether I am willing to? 096]. Whereas older students realise – they can see perhaps your body language (...) or perhaps are just more mature to understand where you want to go, and they can do this.

(Interview with Mr Tess, Head of History)

Mr Tess describes a particular kind of participation that students demonstrate as they grow older: this is participation in teacher-defined processes, within teacher-defined time, for teacher-defined outcomes accompanied by students' ability to 'read the signs' that the teacher sends to them. With this in mind, the descriptions made in the extracts quoted above look a bit different: this is a particular kind of participation, one that could possibly be described as being the result of a rather behaviourist association. Adding to these observations, Raya makes some very interesting points:

- What do you mean 'superior'?
- *Higher up in the school.*
- There is an hierarchy in the school.
- *Yes, and ... the head teacher - deputy – teachers – 6th formers – pupils; it's like that; but like ... the older you are, in the year, so probably like ... Y10 [class? 299] they are higher up than Y7; if we are talking about it like that.*
- ...
- ...
- *When you come on from primary school you feel like –'cause you've been on the top of the school- you feel like ... you are the top but then when you are going to high school you are on the bottom again and start all over again.*
- And how does this work? I mean I have never seen any rule written anywhere saying that the older students are higher in the hierarchy of .i.
- *No, it's like ... when ... it's like ... they have been here longer and they ... I don't know ... they know how the school ... the rules and stuff, they know ... I don't know really ☺*
- Okay, I understand ... I think. Do you, personally, feel that you are higher than the Y7s?
- *No, not me personally but ... it's like ... that ... / you see that you are not as when you were in Y7, ... you change.*
- In which way?
- *You become more mature. ... yes.*
- How can you see that? Can you give me an example?
- *... I don't know ... you don't / you are not like / you know how to behave, you are not ... yes, you know how to be ... in the school ... [...] When you come in Y7 you build your way up and you learn more ... and ... you experience things and ... learn [w/w? 337] and stuff like that and then ... that's part of getting older and ... being different from when you were in Y7.*

(Interview with Raya, Y9 student)

Raya places the issue of maturity into a different perspective. Her view links maturity with familiarity of the way that school operates and presents all these as constituents of an informal (but effective) hierarchy which bears obvious similarities with institutional hierarchies that one can come across in distinctively different contexts, such as the army or prisons. If we dare to repeat such an analogy, as Foucault has done in the past (Foucault, 1977), then we could offer Raya an alternative explanation for the construction of the hierarchy that she describes. This explanation will not link maturity with power but with the process of *subjectivation*, of the internalisation of the principles and values which justify the subject's position and direct it in demonstrating behaviour that maintain its status and support the current dominant scheme (Foucault, 1992). (As Foucault points out, 'there are two meanings of the word 'subject': subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates or makes subject to' (Foucault, 1986, p. 420; quoted in Grant, 1997).) Considering this view, the passing reference that Kerr makes to the observation that 'older students reported greater exposure to traditional teaching and learning methods [but their] views on classroom climate, [...], became more and more positive as they progressed through their education' could potentially make sense: students are becoming more able to recognise the traditional methods as they grow older because they acquire experience from different teaching methodologies and classroom interactions (like in PSE); at the same time, however, they are more prepared to accept the 'appropriateness' of these methodologies, place themselves more comfortably within them and enjoy occasional rewards for the adjustment of their behaviour to the norms that support such methodologies. This subjectivation can lead subjects even to argue for the maintenance of the conditions that support such schemes because they are parts of the system in which the subjects have become accustomed to operate and which supports their position at the top of the organisation's hierarchy:

- *I think I know ... hmm like at the moment, sometimes teachers can ...interact with students, as not ... not like they've got more power as in like ... they are more or less on the same level, if you know what I mean, but ... when you are younger, say like Y7, you can realise they do show that they've got more power than the student ... it's like probably to get them ...like ... under control, show them who's the boss, you know ☺, like ... just when they are first getting used to the school; but once you've been around the teachers for quite a while, you get to know them a bit and they can be ... like ... more ... friendly towards you.*

(Interview with Damien, Y11 student)

Kerr actually makes a reference which could lead us to this explanation but fails to recognise the importance of his observation: 'It is noticeable in the survey that students' sense of belonging to the school community increases with age in comparison with their attachment to other communities. They are much more attached to the school community in the later years of their schooling than to other communities. This may be the result of their increased seniority and status in the school community and the associated privileges and responsibilities that go with such seniority, or may conversely reflect their increasing detachment from their families and local communities as they reach adulthood' (Kerr, 1985, p.87).

Kerr's observation that remains unexplained is students' 'dip' in participation and personal efficacy in Y10. Janet, a Y11 student, may have an explanation for this. When it was mentioned to her that many students do not know that there is a students' council, she points out that:

- *No, if they were Y7s they would know more about it, you forget about it by the time you get to Y10 and 11 ☺+ ..., that you are [more] bothered about GCSE than you are about the school council ... 'cause most people are leaving, so ...*

Interview with Janet, Y11 student

If we revisit the points made in the first part of this chapter in which the flexible performances were examined in conjunction with the students' expectations, then it may not look so surprising that in Y10, the time that students work towards their GCSE exams, participation in the school is not among their priorities.

Conclusions

In the previous chapter it was shown that the construction of the classroom climate and the conditions in which Citizenship Education is implemented is a result of a process in which both students and teachers participate. It was shown that in this process students exercise an 'actively passive' form of participation which support teachers' central and largely egocentric role. In this last chapter, the analysis was extended to examine the variations in the classroom climate and in the interaction between students and teachers. This analysis showed that students and teachers selectively alter their roles and occasionally construct different forms of performances which seem to fall in two different categories described as 'flexible' and 'inflexible' ones. Flexible performances are the ones that are characterised by open negotiations and they refer to the classroom climate which the Advisory Group for Citizenship as well as many scholars seem to recognise as more appropriate to accommodate the teaching of Citizenship Education. The data drawn from this study indicate that the kind of performance that is constructed each time is dependent on two very important factors: the curriculum subject and students' age. Teachers and students seem to agree that the construction of flexible performances is incompatible - or inappropriate - for the successful implementation of academic subjects which are largely considered by the students as carrying the major weight of their expectations from the school. On the other hand, the school discourse seems to operate in such a way that it allows flexible performances to be constructed at the time when students seem most unwilling to take advantage of the opportunity to lead the open-ended negotiations to less predictable outcomes. As the analysis above suggested, the exposure of the students to the school discourse leads to the internalisation of those values and principles which support a model of institutional role which is incompatible to the form of participation that the founders of Citizenship Education called for (see QCA, 1998 p. 25 paragraph 5.3.1).

The conditions described above indicate that the 'resistance' which has been mentioned in previous chapter towards the accommodation of 'democratic' or more 'participatory' practices by the schools may be closely related to the organisation and operation and most importantly to the role that the schools seem to be expected to serve by the members of their own communities. Before expanding this argument any further, the focus of the analysis will now turn to another important factor which seems to determine the operation and adds to this above-mentioned resistance. This is the role of a group of 'stakeholders' whose expectations and power affect directly and indirectly the interactions between teachers and students and which consist, according to the analysis that follows, the 'invisible audience' of teachers' and students' interactive performance.

Chapter 10

The invisible audience

1. Introduction

The analysis so far has drawn a picture of the classroom's social reality as a performance that is carried out by teachers and students. By showing that students perform an 'actively passive' role, this study suggests a view of the classroom interaction that is somewhat different to the description supplied by Jeffrey and Woods (1998, p. 131) in which the teacher appears to work 'at' the children rather than 'with' the children. (This difference, however, does not go as far as to challenge the validity of Jeffrey and Woods' finding. On the contrary, it points out that although students actively place themselves in this subordinated role, their action is not necessarily perceptible by the teachers who can still *feel* - as the teacher in Jeffrey and Woods' study - that their work is based on the imposition of their will onto the students rather in collaboration with them). This description however, of the classroom interaction and the classroom processes as a collaborative performance has not yet defined an essential element of its dramaturgical nature: the audience.

In this chapter, the analysis will turn to the discussion of the evidence supplied by teachers and students regarding the role of the observers of their performances, of those who, hidden in the darkness of their distant stalls, view and review these performances. It will be shown that this audience consists of members of three groups: the school's management team, the Government (and its inspection teams) and the students' parents. It will be claimed that the significance of these groups' expectations is similar to the audience's for a theatrical performance and it places them in the position of the actors' 'significant others' which direct (through the power to evaluate

and review their acting) their performances. The chapter will also claim that the means that are at these groups' disposal to carry out observation of classroom performances allows this audience to be largely invisible and to operate in a way which –to use Foucault's analogy (Foucault, 1977) - can effectively be described as similar to the function of Bentham's *panopticon* (Bentham, 1787). The analysis will lead to the development of a three-fold argument: first it will be claimed that the demand for active participation in Citizenship Education is relevant not only to the role of the students but also to the teachers' role, which is also (if not more) deprived from active participation; secondly, this chapter will advance the claim made in the previous chapter regarding the distinction between 'important' and 'less important' school targets and the relevance of this distinction to Citizenship Education; thirdly, it will be pointed out that the *resistance* to the formation of conditions that promote students' active participation, which has been mentioned in the previous chapter, is not applied only by the members of the school community but, instead, the search for its sources should extend to the broader community in which the school operates.

2. The invisible management

One of the observations made during the role-plays that students were engaged in as part of this study was that the headteacher's character, as represented in the school's staff meeting, was consistently demonstrating a rather authoritative stance. Students represented the leading member of the school staff as the one who has the sole responsibility for deciding about the school. Characteristically, in two cases students represented the headteacher's disagreement with other members of the staff as leading to confrontation with them and to the exclusion of these members from the meeting and in one case to the dismissal from his/her job. The discussions that followed between the researcher and the students revealed that this form of

representation was not based so much on the actual behaviour demonstrated by the headteacher of Hillcliff High, but it was more an indication of students' concepts regarding the expected or 'appropriate' attitude of the leader of the school to her staff (in that respect, students did not describe the role of the headteacher in Hillcliff High but of a headteacher in general). In one of these role-plays, the Y9 student who was performing the headteacher's role was recorded saying to her staff:

- *You do what I say. This is my school!*

(Role-play 3, Drama exercise 1, Y9 class)

During the discussion that followed, students pointed out that the headteacher's role carries a heavier load of responsibilities than the teachers' one, and, by comparison, she has more extensive ownership rights than the rest of the staff. At the same time though, students indicated that this is not a complete 'ownership' but that the headteacher is, herself, accountable to other members of the public who have the authority to review and evaluate her 'performance'. In her interview, Janet, a Y11 student, recognised the governors of the school as holding such authority:

- ☺ *You can say things to them [teachers] but it doesn't mean they do anything about it.[...]*

- *They don't do because they can't or because they don't want to?*

- *... ^ both ^. Both really.*

- *Why can't they?*

- *Because... they don't decide for themselves... there are the ... there is the headteacher, there are the governors, they decide to do something for some reason and they cannot just take it back... or they don't want to☺.*

(Interview with Janet, Y11 student)

The governors' involvement in the running of the school seems to be recognised by the students as a direct one; indicative of this is the fact that representatives of the governors' group were present in most of the role-plays in which students reconstructed the interview of a new member of staff. The distance, however, of the governors' role to the everyday life of the school community has led to the representation of their role through silent and uninvolved characters which, through

their antithesis to the vocal and autarchic role of the headteacher, underlined the significance of the impact of the latter in school life.

This impression about the significance of the headteacher's role coincides with the relevant views expressed by the teachers' in their interviews. Teachers, however, do not hesitate to attribute an autarchic character to the role of the headteacher of Hillcliff High rather than to the role of the headteacher in general:

- *I think the management is more ... hmmm ... I am trying to find a nice way of putting it ... but, it's not ... it's not as ^ democratic ^ ... ; we find things are imposing upon us more ... we find that ... / I think they are more concerned about results, ... than the / as they are on paper / than they actually are in producing ^ students ^.*
[...]
- *Do these choices that the management team has made / have these choices –do you feel that they have affected your relationship with the students in any way?*
- *Hmm, well it can do, when / during sort of ... exam periods, and when we are doing coursework, especially with the GCSE, you know we get really good results but it's hard work; you know [...], and it's –you are nagging and ... you know, I mean I try to get on with the kids but sometimes ... you know, you put too much pressure on them and then ... they react negatively sometimes, you know.*

(Interview with Mr Web, Head of Geography)

The difference between students' and Mr Web's view on the extent to which the headteacher of the Hillcliff High acts in an 'undemocratic' way is not surprising. (The reference to the 'management' in Mr Web's quote can safely be considered as an indirect way to refer to the headteacher – see the extract from Ms Riggs' and Ms Wales' interview below; besides, Mr Web, as head of Geography, is also a member of the management team.) Teachers interact directly and more frequently with the headteacher and, as Mr Web's quote above shows, the autarchic character becomes apparent to the teaching staff as this is demonstrated in the ways in which the priorities and goals of the school are set. Students only rarely interact directly with the headteacher since in the hierarchy of the school (drawn by Raya and quoted in the previous chapter (p. 224)), other members of the management team, teachers, and 6th formers stand between themselves and the leader of the school. (As one student noted

in a group interview during the Pilot stage of this study: 'The role of the headteacher is to rule from his desk' (Group interview with Y11, Riverbanks Grammar.) What Mr Web's statement shows, is that in this hierarchy, teachers' authority is not accompanied by any degree of autonomy but, instead, they rather operate as executors of the management's decisions. This position limits their ability to maintain (or achieve) their preferred kind of interaction with their students and places students in the position of the 'products' of the school rather than as equal members of the school community.

This lack of respect of the personality and individuality of the students in the way that the school is managed by the headteacher was very graphically described by Helen, an English teacher in Riverbanks Grammar:

- *The management team has no concept whatsoever about what is going on in the school. School does not encourage individuality because individuals raise questions. And this is an idea management team fosters because it keeps things under control and allows the school to run smoothly.*

(Interview with Helen, English teacher, Riverbanks Grammar)

Helen's and Mr Web's quotes indicate that teachers often perceive the role of the management team as deeply undemocratic and as rooted in priorities and expectations that are often in direct conflict with the aims and methodologies of Citizenship Education. This is evident also in the views which Ms Riggs and Ms Wales expressed in their joint interview:

- *How does that management team of the school feel about this evolution which leads you to put forward these suggestions?*

- *Ms Wales:: {dtmn: The management? We are management!}*

-

-

-

-

- ☺+

- *Ms Riggs: ☺ yes, yes! And I think |*

- *Ms Wales: can I just say ... can I go back on that, yes, in theory, in practice probably we are not, because the Head is an individual decision maker. We don't want the care to be [w/w? 543/4].*

- *Ms Riggs: {hstt: Trying to convince ... the ... the Head, that - } and I said this on Tuesday [...] I just say it is not just ticking boxes, they have to be / change about the way in which we think; Citizenship isn't just Mr Ofsted can come in and say {srcs "oh, yes, they are doing it"} because sometimes I get*

the impression that that's what's driving this from the Head's point of view. But that's not what drives us and that's the only reason I took up Citizenship, because, that's not what drives it for me..

(Interview with Ms Riggs (Citizenship Education coordinator) and Ms Wales (Head of PSE))

There are at least two directions in which the points made in the above quote steer this discussion. First, Ms Riggs recognised and described explicitly a conflict between the management team's priorities and the ones that are set by Citizenship Education. Contrary to the claims made by the headteacher herself in a brief discussion on the aims of this project, Citizenship Education for Ms Riggs is not something that the school '*has been always doing*' (see chapter 7, Hillcliff High) but something that requires a shift in the priorities and the way that the school operates, starting with the priorities (and the methods) which the decision-making in schools is based upon. The need for this shift and the difficulties in achieving this does not characterise only the management of Hillcliff High. The same conflict and the same inflexibility have been made very explicit in the incident which took place in Riverbanks Grammar during the pilot stage of the study and noted in the field diary:

Some of the 6th form students said yesterday that they would participate in the protest in B. city centre. Many students of the lower school are absent – Helen said that they are at the protest.

(Notes from field diary, 19th March 2003)

Morning staff meeting: the topic of the Headteacher's talk: students' absence yesterday. He says that finally it was decided that no student will be expelled for participating in the protest – especially after the publicity that such a decision could cause [...]. A letter has been drafted and it will be sent to the parents and a warning will be issued to the students.

(Notes from field diary, 20th March 2003)

Ms Stanford's short interview a few days after the above staff meeting shows graphically that the way the headteacher dealt with the issue was not considered being in line with her understanding of the role of Citizenship in students' Education:

- *To me that's not promoting the view of allowing students the freedom to express their political view and I think that would be a more efficient way of dealing with this. Because to me they didn't ...they didn't actually acknowledge the fact that the students were expressing an opinion that many people felt at the time and expressing a view that was completely*

reasonable and that it was their right in order to express; because we have freedom of speech in this country and the students have the freedom of speech as well.

(Interview with Ms Stanford, Head of Citizenship, Riverbanks Grammar)

Possibly more important than Ms Stanford's personal views on this incident are her thoughts about the possibility of discussing her views with the school management and the way that she dealt with this issue in her classroom:

- *She said that she did not raise the issue to management, 'it was a decision that was already taken'*
 - *The issue was not raised by the students and she didn't want to discuss this with them ('I am a member of the staff of the school ☺!')*
- (Notes from interview with Ms Stanford, Head of Citizenship, Riverbanks Grammar)

The above incident verifies in a very graphic way not only Ms Riggs' point regarding the priorities that often drive management's decisions and ways that these decisions are taken, but also the ways that these decisions affect the interaction between students and teachers. In addition, it shows how a sufficient understanding of this interaction cannot be achieved, unless we take into account that teachers perform their role not only as individuals but as parts of a wider team directed by the school's leadership. In that context, the defence of the cohesiveness and their team seems to be of higher importance than the protection of their individuality. It seems that teachers largely support this cohesiveness and nowhere in their interviews do they express an intention to break it in front of the students in order to support their personal views. To some extent, this seems to be part of their professional code of practice as the following extract from Mr Web's interview shows. (The question to which he responds follows his expression of disagreement with the priorities and methodology suggested by the new behavioural policy applied by the school.)

- *Would you support the students if they bring up a demand about changing the behavioural policy? Would you say clearly what you think about the policy to them?*
- *No, I wouldn't do that*
- *No.*
- *I think you would be most unprofessional really...*

(Interview with Mr Web, Head of Geography)

By being part of teachers' professional behaviour, the protection of cohesiveness among the staff and the avoidance of expression of any disagreement in front of the students allows the management team (or just the headteacher as in Hillcliff High's case) to direct the interaction between the students and the staff despite the headteacher not being present when this interaction takes place. By integrating the principle of the protection of cohesiveness into their performance, teachers give up - to some extent at least - their individuality in the way that this is presented to their students. Under the above conditions, open dialogue and active participation become the subjects of a process of self-censorship or, at least, of the external censorship and control which is internalised by teachers and integrated into their performance as part of their professional role. In that sense, the differences between the priorities set by the management team and the aims and methods of Citizenship Education which Ms Riggs and Ms Stanford have referred to is not the only source of resistance to any attempt for a shift in a school's ethos: this resistance seems to be internalised through the principle of cohesiveness and to be demonstrated in the lack of space for active and meaningful participation not just by the students, but also by the school's staff.

We need at this stage to go back to Ms Riggs' and Ms Wales' interview to discuss a second issue that is raised by Ms Riggs' claims: namely the role of the Government and the way that it affects teachers' and students' performance and interaction.

3. The invisible Government

In her reference to the priorities that the headteacher of Hillcliff High sets, Ms Riggs implies that even the headteacher does not operate as autonomously as Ms Wales claims. At the same time she reveals a very significant group which, although only occasionally present, observes the performance of teachers and students in

Citizenship Education classrooms and school life in general. This is the Ofsted inspection teams, often considered as effectively representing the Government.

One striking difference between students' and teachers' references to the invisible audience of their performances is the relatively frequent reference from the teachers regarding the Government (and the Ofsted inspection teams) compared to a total absence of such references from the students. Even in the role-plays where students represented a teachers' meeting to discuss a possible strike, teachers' demands regarding issues of payment or working conditions were negotiated with the headteacher and no references to the Government's role were documented. It is not clear if this is an indication that students do not have a clear understanding of the role of the Government in the way that the school is run or of the impact of the Government's decisions in their life in school. A number of other assumptions could effectively explain this, but it is not in the intentions of this study to explore them. It is, however, clear that students tend to oversee the role of those groups of the invisible audience which hold a rather distant relation to the school life and whose impact is less visible (as in the case of the governors). For the teachers, however, the role of the Government seems to be more clear and the impact in their professional role more direct.

The main theme that seems to be repeated in teachers' interviews regarding the role of the Government is the impact of the priorities set by it and adopted by (or enforced at) the school.

- *You said about being effective and getting students through their exams. How important do you think that this is for the school to accomplish its role?*
- *Personally, I think it's not; it isn't important I mean; but it seems to be the priority that the establishment did place on us now, these days; I mean they talk about ... ^ citizenship ^ and there are issues .../ but the citizenship comes as a response to other changes in society; [...] and they are expecting us to do more and more, but at the same time they are expecting us to get the results; I am not saying there's a contradiction; but it seems to me that ... where do we get the balance between producing well adapted students who can contribute ... socially ... and sort of ... conform ... and actually getting the kids with the result that the Government want to have.*

(Interview with Mr Web, Head of Geography)

Mr Web makes a clear reference to a detachment of the policymakers from the teachers, to a clear distinction between 'their' and 'our' role, which are related to 'their' expectations' for 'us' to achieve specific results. Partially due to this detachment, partially because of the way that the Government chooses to apply its policies, the role of the teacher in Mr Web's description becomes similar to an agent's operating on behalf of a Government which '*places priorities on*' teachers, or, as Brain notices, 'prescribes ... goals (policy) and means (practice)' (Brain et al, 2006). Overall, the above quote describes an invisible audience which does not only hold the power to review teachers' performances but to actively steer it in directions in which the actors may not be prepared (or confident) to follow. It shows also that students do not stay out of the influence of this audience: in Mr Web's description students become the 'products' of the processes which teachers are expected to accomplish or, as Perryman maintains 'pupils become objects and targets' (Perryman, 2006, p. 149).

One other point that Mr Web raises is related directly to Citizenship Education. Mr Web describes a lack of clear guidance from the Government on the ways that it expects teachers to balance different priorities. The 'balance' that he refers to challenges to some extent his own claim about a lack of contradiction between the sets of priorities. In that respect, his claim reinforces Ms Riggs' notice regarding the inconsistency between the aims and methods of Citizenship Education and the priorities set by the headteacher. All the above seem to have a direct impact on the interaction between students and teachers in Citizenship Education classrooms. One aspect of this impact is described by Mr Tess:

- *What would your advice be to new teachers who are concerned about the establishment of good relationships with students?*
- *Try to set your standards, where you want to be and insist on that. And ... you need to have an objective in mind –you see the curriculum, you set an objective and if you achieve that objective, it's fine. ... I think that the danger comes, is where ... you, you watch lessons which teachers would say after "I really enjoyed this group ... activity and students participated and there are lots of interesting ideas" and you think: "hmmm, yes, but was any learning done?" and you check the objective and you realise that you missed the*

point; and I think that's important; "what do I want them to learn?" and then you will find different ways to teach it.

(Interview with Mr Tess, Head of History)

In the above quote, Mr Tess does not only express an indirect scepticism about the effectiveness of teaching methodologies that allow students' active participation and open discussions; he also describes the attainment of a positive relationship between teachers and students as the result of the performance by the teacher of a role which effectively is based on three actions: study of the (prescribed) curriculum – setting of objective – implementation. Placed within this process both teachers' and students' roles appear to be impoverished of the major principles that seem to be accommodated in the aims and methods of Citizenship Education.

Taking into account the above points, it may not be surprising that even the introduction of Citizenship Education is by itself an act that is in disagreement with the content of the subject. Speaking about the introduction of Citizenship Education, Mr Web notes that:

- *they are expecting us to teach it in a relaxed way, but they are also, to a certain extent, channelling the ... curriculum to us; and it's not a lot of individualism allowed for, to be honest.*

(Interview with Mr Web, Head of Geography)

Lack of individualism, teachers' role as the Government's agents, the imposition of priorities, conflict between different priorities promoted by the Government and impact of the above in the interaction between teachers and students are all contained in the above quote. Most importantly, it appears that within the reality of the school, the introduction of Citizenship Education does not meet a discourse which resists the change which the subject promotes, but it may effectively strengthen its resistance by validating the principles that underline the construction of that discourse.

4. Parents' involvement

The final group, of which, according to the evidence supplied by this study, the invisible audience is comprised, is the students' parents. Their presence, although not visible in the students' role-plays or indeed in school life, is nevertheless apparent through the frequency of the reference to them by both teachers and students in different cases and for different reasons. As enacted by students in the 'student's exclusion' role-play for example, both parties (school staff and the student) were often seeking the student's parents support for resolving the situation. It is characteristic that the potential of the parents' involvement was used in all cases as a form of threat for the other party. This is also observed in a number of cases within the classroom but in those cases parents' involvement is usually a threat used by teachers rather than by students (see incident in Y9 History class described in OH8, p. 195). In the discussion which followed the role-plays performed by the 6th formers, the students pointed out that in 'extreme' situations parents might take students' side (*'if a teacher is really, really unfair...'*), but they pointed out that usually parents' involvement means that the student will be in trouble with their parents as well as with school staff.

A different image regarding (invisible but effective) parents' involvement, however, is drawn from the interviews with teachers. In these interviews, teachers make references specifically to the role of the parents in the implementation of Citizenship Education and they express their worries regarding a degree of discrepancy that they have identified between the parents' expectations and the aims and methods of Citizenship Education:

- *How do parents come into the equation – talking about the implementation of citizenship in the school?*
- *Ms Riggs: That's something... / we've not actually, as far as I am aware, ever told the parents how we intend to deliver citizenship; and what it is. And it is something that needs to be done.*
- *Ms Wales: We [w? 585] prospectus what we do with careers and sex education but in the end they are not that interested.*

- *Ms Riggs: They are interested in the results that you will get for their young people.*

(Interview with Ms Riggs (Citizenship Education coordinator) and Ms Wales (Head of PSE))

- *I know a lot of parents who would [w/w? 295] the politics class for Y7. It won't take long for some parents to say: "What are you teaching them? Are you teaching them values, political ideas? Wooh! Wait a minute☺!", you know..., 'because you are teaching them your values, your political ideas' and so on. And there are many teachers that want to [shy? 298] away from these issues. I think that political literacy is ... is the ... 'nasty bit'. ...*

(Interview with Mr Tess, Head of History)

Such perspectives regarding parents' views place parents in a rather antagonistic role to the one of the Citizenship Education teachers. Mr Tess, in particular, expresses a concern which has been documented also by Holden (Holden, 2004), who points out that many teachers in her study were concerned 'that teaching about political or controversial issues might bring them into conflict with the home' (ibid, p. 248). The fear of indoctrination, which is possibly rooted in the relevant concerns expressed in the 1986 Education Act (Davies, 1999), is reflected effectively in the Crick report (QCA, 1998, pp. 56-61). Mr Tess' statement, however, shows that the extent to which teachers are prepared effectively to deal with this fear remains unclear. Also unclear is the extent to which recommendations regarding the implementation of methodologies such as the 'neutral chairman', the 'balanced' or the 'stated commitment' approaches, which are outlined in the Crick report (ibid, p. 59), can be considered as effective recommendations while the vagueness of the 'common sense' approach, which is presented in the same document (ibid, p. 60), seems to contribute to rather than to resolve teachers' lack of confidence in dealing with the 'nasty bits' which Citizenship Education brought into the National curriculum. Furthermore, what Mr Tess', Ms Riggs' and Ms Wales' extracts convey is a perspective on parents' expectations from the school which have little relevance to the aims and content of Citizenship Education. In that respect, parents' focus on their children's 'results' (obviously the ones related to the students' academic performance) puts into question not only the content and the methodologies of Citizenship Education but also the subject's significance in the

context of their children's education. This is also confirmed by Holden who noticed that teachers in her study feared that parents did not value the part of the school work that is related to the moral and social aspect of Citizenship Education (op. cit., p. 248). Most importantly, Holden shows that the parents in her study confirmed the validity of the teachers' perspective, stating that 'the basics of reading, writing and maths were seen as far more important' (op. cit., p. 253). It needs, however, to be noted that Holden's study examined the views of teachers and parents of primary school students. Parents in her study did seem to be positive about the prospect of social and political issues being discussed in the secondary school. It was not among this study's intentions to investigate whether this shift in parents' expectations does take place. What the views of the teachers in Hillcliff High, however, seem to show is that this possible shift is not followed by a change in the teachers' perspectives regarding parental expectations of secondary education. In terms of the interaction between students and teachers this perspective is sufficient to position parents' invisible presence as being one that directs the interaction away from open discussions or the discussion of 'controversial issues' in which students and teachers expose themselves to the dangers of dealing with the 'nasty bits' of education., It is, however, to be expected that such understandings of parents' expectations would drive teaching further down the route of dealing with topics and implementing curriculum which have explicit relevance to students' academic performance.

Overall, parents seem to have an invisible but effective presence in school life. Their expectations - at least as these are understood by teachers - have a clear impact on teachers' performance and on students' behaviour and affect, to a great extent, the interaction between students and teachers in Citizenship Education.

5. Conclusions (and a few steps beyond)

In this section, analysis focused on the role of those groups whose decisions, priorities and expectations have a direct impact on the interaction between students and teachers. The evidence supplied by teachers and students in this study allowed the identification of three such groups: the school's management team (and more specifically the headteacher), the Government (and the Ofsted inspection teams) and the students' parents. Teachers and students acknowledge (directly or not) that their interaction does not take place in a vacuum but that it is monitored and affected by the priorities, directions and expectations of the three groups which comprise the audience of their performance. These groups operate at a distance from the actual settings in which students and teachers interact which is evident not only from the physical absence of members of these groups from the classrooms, but also from the lack of any reference in the evidence supplied by students' and teachers' regarding the influence that they can have in these groups' actions and decisions. In these ways, this distance allows these groups to assume an invisible but effective influence on the interaction between students and teachers. As the concluding part of the discussion in this section will claim, this effectiveness is achieved in two ways: through *surveillance* and through *role subjectivation*.

Surveillance here refers to the Ofsted inspection teams' authority to define a period during which they can visit a school, observe the interaction of the members of its community and evaluate the extent to which the performances of those members (together with other aspects of the school life) address the priorities and produce the set of outcomes defined and desired by the Government. The effectiveness of the surveillance is not decreased by these visits being occasional and of limited duration. With the authority to define the time of the inspection, Ofsted seems to operate in a way that resembles the function of the panopticon (Bentham, 1787): the cells (classrooms) are the spaces occupied by inmates (teachers and students) who have

no knowledge of (or the power to define) the time in which they shall be observed by the supervisor (inspector). 'Thus', as Perryman notes, 'institutional authority is invisible, but the objects of power, which in school are the teachers and pupils, are visible and supervised' (Perryman, 2007). The act of surveillance is operated also by the headteacher 'the new hero of educational reform' according to Ball (Ball, 2003, p. 219). As Ms Riggs confirms, teachers view the role of the headteacher as the permanent representative of the inspection regime and the in-house promoter of the ethos which this regime promotes. Finally, surveillance is also achieved through the constant collection and public exposure of information related to 'myriad of judgements, measures, comparisons and targets' showing the extent to which teachers achieve the goals and deliver the set of predefined outcomes (ibid, p. 220). Of course, the effectiveness of the surveillance which is achieved through the public exposure of such information could not be sustained unless the public adopts and values it. Indeed, as Holden's study suggests (Holden, 2004), parents do share the priorities leading to such outcomes. In that respect, teachers can feel that the members of the public perform the role of the Ofsted inspectors by their constant (and outcomes-based) interest, which is fed by the uninterrupted flow of relevant information. Even teachers themselves as parents may not be unaffected by this result-oriented evaluation of what Pring calls the 'quality circle' of educational provision (Pring, 1999). (It is characteristic that Mr Web, despite his scepticism towards these educational priorities, in a part of his interview mentions that his daughter is a student in a private Grammar school which is well known for its academic result-orientated culture.) Furthermore, the antagonistic form of the presentation of these results (as in League tables) leads to the adoption of the role of the inspectors by members of the school in question, and other schools, including, of course, teachers themselves.

The link of the surveillance to specific outcomes has led Perryman to suggest the term 'panoptic performativity' to describe 'a regime in which frequency of inspection and the sense of being perpetually under surveillance leads to teachers performing in

ways dictated by the discourse of inspection in order to escape the regime' (Perryman, 2006, p. 14). In her article, Perryman refers to a school under special measures, with frequent and intense inspections. Since, however, the surveillance is achieved through the constant evaluation and publication of the performance of the school and since it is carried out not only by external teams but also by the management of the school, we can claim that the application of the 'panoptic performativity' can be extended to all schools, irrespective of the frequency of the inspections they receive. Besides, if we adopt Perryman's argument we have to accept that the aim of the culture promoted by the Ofsted inspections is the 'normalisation' of the school which will lead it out of the special measures and the school staff out of the constant surveillance. 'Normalisation' she states, 'must be grounded in discourse, which sets the boundaries for required reforms.' Panoptic performativity, in that sense, becomes 'the regime within which teachers and schools can successfully demonstrate their acceptance of the Ofsted and school effectiveness discourse and successfully normalise' (ibid, p. 152). In that respect, surveillance has no end, but several manifestations: actual inspections direct schools to the adoption of the 'outcome-based' discourse; inspections are accompanied and followed by publications of the effectiveness of the schools in producing these outcomes and adopting this discourse (normalisation); adoption of the discourse leads finally to the second method by which the invisible audience affects the school discourse: this is the 'role subjectivation' which leads to a condition of self-surveillance.

The term subjectivation has already been discussed in the previous section in reference to the internalisation by the students of the values and principles underpinning the operation of the school. In the context of the analysis of the role of the invisible audience, a form of subjectivation can be detected in the teachers' role and it refers to the internalisation by them of the expectations and priorities defined by the Government, adopted by the public and promoted by the management of the school. There is, however, one important point which differentiates this form of subjectivation

from the one discussed in relation to the students' role: it seems that at personal level, some teachers express their scepticism and question these expectations for the effect that they have on the school's discourse and their relationship with the students. When, however, these teachers actually interact with the students and perform within their professional role, they demonstrate no sign of this disbelief and scepticism. In that respect, it appears as if the unquestioned adoption of these expectations is an integrated feature of the costume of their role which suppresses any (personal) views which are out of line with the role. In that respect, this form of subjectivation refers to the *role* rather than to the actual person that performs this role. This bipolar relationship of (some) teachers with their roles is possibly the only effective way of dealing with the pressure that panoptic performativity places upon them: 'under inspection, teachers may experience their greatest crisis on true self' (Perryman, 2007, p. 177). Overall, this may be the greatest price that needs to be paid for the introduction of the 'performativity' culture in the English educational establishments. This is the point at which 'performance' as it has been used so far in this thesis meets a term of common root, of equal importance but conceptually different:

'Performativity is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change - based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic). The performances (of individual subjects and organisations) serve as measures of productivity or output, or displays of 'quality', or 'moments' of promotion and inspection. As such they stand for, encapsulate or represent the worth, quality and value of an individual or organisation within a field of judgement.'

(Ball, op. cit., 2003)

The constant surveillance and judgement of teachers' acting performance brings a profound change on teachers' subjectivity (ibid, p. 219), and leads, according to Ball, to the development of an 'ontological insecurity'. In this context, 'both the interactions and relations between colleagues and those between teachers and students are affected' (ibid, p. 224). In terms of the latter, this study has shown how in teachers' interviews, students are transformed into 'products', to actual evidences of their teachers' professional effectiveness, of their ability to operate within and in line with the culture of

performativity. This culture of 'performativity', however, takes an additional dimension when it is projected into the context of Citizenship Education. This dimension is the topic of the discussion that follows.

The discussion of this section considered teachers' statements regarding the simultaneous opposition by the Government of two kinds of expectations. The first is related to the performativity which refers to the achievement of what Mr Web has termed 'results'. According to teachers, this seems to be the kind of performativity that is prioritised both by parents and the school's management. The second kind of expectations is related specifically to the implementation of Citizenship Education. Mr Web referred to this kind of expectation as a 'relaxed' methodology. This description, together with the teachers' claims presented in this section which describe a lack of individualism and limited participation allow us to link these methodologies with what was described in the previous section as 'flexible performances'. In that sense, teachers' description of a discrepancy between the two kinds of expectations from the Government refers to the same discrepancy that has already analysed and which was linked to the significance of academic subjects and to the students' expectations. In that analysis, it was claimed that the school discourse and the understanding of the priorities linked to their roles, led teachers and students to 'resist' both the construction of 'flexible performances' and the implementation of 'democratic' or more 'participatory' practices. In this section, we see that this resistance is not perceived necessarily as a product of a choice of the most effective methodology driven from an intention of the parties to satisfy each others' expectations, but as the outcome of the imposition of the will and the priorities set by groups which are not present when the parties interact. It is worth noting that even the students, as their views outlined in the previous section demonstrate, seem to adopt the expectations which are linked to academic results and to their employability. In that sense, teachers seem to hold a role loaded with the expectations of all involved parties to 'produce' better academic results. As the

teachers in this study maintain, the introduction of Citizenship Education did not only add an extra workload to their role, but brought a load of expectations and methodologies which are in conflict with the achievement of the outcomes that students, parents, management and also the Government itself expects teachers to achieve.

The above described condition seems to recall not only Pring's scepticism regarding the compatibility of the 'business-like' school's discourse to the one suggested by the Citizenship Education; it has also direct connotations of Lyotard's description of the two models of knowledge (Lyotard, 1984). As Lyotard maintains, knowledge in highly developed societies is differentiated between a narrative and a scientific-technical model (Sarup, 1993, p. 135). Knowledge in a scientific-technical sense is based on 'descriptive ('denotative') true/false statements ... and involves questions of competence extending to both the determination and application of criteria of efficiency (efficient/inefficient)' (Fazzaro et al, 2002, p.18). Performativity is driven by this model of knowledge and requires a technical use of language in order to 'optimise the relationship between inputs and outputs' (Fazzaro et al, 2002). Narrative knowledge, in contrast,

'concerns abstract notions including, but not limited to, justice, freedom, liberty, morals, beauty, ethics, happiness, virtue, and, of course, access, equity, and fairness ... which are not reducible to mere objectively defined scientific true/false or technical efficient/inefficient descriptions. They have no absolute meaning. They represent values; thus, they are subjective prescriptions'.

(Fazzaro et al, 2002, p.19)

Knowledge in scientific/technical terms does not allow the development of such subjectivities, but it presupposes a consensus which, however, is easily achieved because of the descriptive nature of this model of knowledge. The nature of the scientific-technical knowledge and its dependency on a consensus which is not the product of a dialogue and which excludes any possibility for such dialogue to take place led Lyotard, as Fazzaro points out, to 'disqualify scientific-technical knowledge as the knowledge necessary for good citizenship' (ibid, p.23). (In these ways Lyotard

repeats Aristotle's similar distinction between knowledge for productive and knowledge for practical disciplines.) In line with these views we can claim that the culture of performativity through the support that it offers to the scientific-technical model of knowledge closes the dialogical spaces that should be available to students and teachers for the achievement of a consensus on the subjective-laden notions that are the core of Citizenship Education. Freire, writing some years before Lyotard and two decades before Fazzaro, has efficiently argued for the importance of such dialogue. He writes:

'Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. Hence, dialogue cannot occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming – between those who deny others the right to speak their word and those whose right to speak has been denied them.'

(Freire, 2005, p. 88)

It is obvious that for Freire, dialogue is a dissensus-based process which leads, through conditions that guarantee free and equal participation, to the consensual 'naming of the world'. Projecting his views on the theory of symbolic interactionism which has offered the theoretical base for this doctoral study we could say that dialogue allows interacting parties to participate freely and equally in the process of defining the situation which is constructed through, and because of, their interaction. Dialogue, in that sense, is a deeply humanistic and humanising process or, as Freire puts it, 'an existential necessity' (ibid, p. 88). 'And since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world in which is to be transformed and humanised, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person's 'depositing' ideas on another, nor can it become a simple exchange as ideas to be "consumed" by the discussants' (ibid, pp. 88-89). But as the discussion in this section showed, this is exactly what appears to be happening in Hillcliff High under the conditions imposed by the culture of performativity. Teachers indeed report this product-based view of education and of their students, while the 'naming of the world' is based on a vocabulary which is the product of a consensus achieved outside of the

interaction of students and teachers and as such is viewed as a vocabulary imposed rather than constructed. Under these conditions participation is limited if not meaningless. Following the course of thought outlined above, we could claim that the imposition of the requirement from teachers and students to participate in open dialogues and to construct conditions of 'active learning' as Citizenship Education suggests, is nothing more than a demand to operate contrary to the institutional discourse constructed by common social expectations from education and the performativity discourse that these expectations support. Moreover, to impose such requirements on schools and to include them in their evaluation could be nothing more than an integration of such requirements in the discourse of performativity. Such integration could potentially alter the very nature of the knowledge that such requirements advocate and lead to the promotion of a technical-scientific approach to narrative knowledge, reducing Citizenship Education to skill training. The evidences supplied in this study suggest that teachers in Hillcliff High may be exactly at the stage in which they need to decide whether they will create the space for a dissensus model of Citizenship Education or proceed with the above reduction. The chapter which follows will provide a context for the discussion of this issue.

Chapter 11

Trapped in their roles?

1. Introduction

The previous chapters provided a description of the roles that students and teachers undertake in the context of Citizenship Education in Hillcliff High. It was shown how teachers assume a central role in this interaction and how students support the construction of such a role through their 'actively passive' participation. The analysis continued to examine the variations of the models of interaction and discussed those teachers' and students' views which raise the issue of the 'appropriateness' of teachers' different subject backgrounds for the teaching of Citizenship Education. The 'compatibility of discourses' was then considered and the analysis discussed the compatibility of priorities as expressed through the interaction between students and teachers with regards to the discourse of Citizenship Education as this is understood by the teachers involved in the subject's implementation. The analysis in the last chapter placed the issue of discourse compatibility in the context of 'performativity' in education and raised the issue of teachers' position regarding the expectation that may be placed on them to achieve the aims of Citizenship Education while operating within a performativity discourse. In this sense, the development of the analysis so far has led to the discussion of different forms of role conflict experienced in the context of Citizenship Education. As appears from the discussion in the last two chapters, these role conflicts are experienced mainly by teachers. This should possibly be expected, since teachers are the ones who have been assigned the task of implementing the new subject. It is, however, a finding of this research which needs to be discussed since it raises the issue of students' involvement in the implementation of Citizenship Education. This is one of the issues that will be discussed in the context of the analysis

presented in this final chapter, which will examine the role conflict as a result of a 'role' (as opposed to a 'person' or 'personal') interaction.

Focusing on the conflict experienced by teachers and implementing Wilson's classic suggestion on the formulation and the forms of teachers' role conflict, we can recognise at least two models of conflict: a) conflicts that arise from the diverse expectations of those whose activities impinge on the role; and b) conflicts arising from circumstances in which the role is inadequately supported by the institutional framework in which it is performed (see Wilson, 1962, pp. 27-28). It is not, however, in the intentions of this analysis to focus on the specific forms of the role conflict. Instead of looking at and analysing the details of these forms, the evidence of this study suggest that the understanding of the conditions that lead to the experience of the role conflicts should allow us to step back and construct a broader view of the issue. In particular, the analysis will turn to the examination of teachers' and students' perspectives regarding the reasons for which they operate within specifically constructed roles which lead them to experience these conflicts. In this sense, this chapter will look beyond the issue of role conflict in order to discuss the conditions that allow these conflicts to arise. These conditions will be summarised and described as a 'role-trap'. It will be claimed that the interaction between teachers and students does not seem convincingly to be an interaction between personalities, but as an interaction between roles which mask and to some extent suppress and prevent the expression of these personalities. It will be argued that by supporting the construction of these roles and by entering into their performance characters, students and teachers interact and approach each other as roles, stripped of their personalities and appear almost dehumanised. Following this perspective it will be suggested that the role conflict, irrespective of its origins or forms, may be an outcome of the inflexibility which has its roots in the actors' interacting almost exclusively through their institutional roles. In this sense, it will be suggested that beyond the role conflict that teachers refer to, beyond the discussion about the compatibility or incompatibility of discourses, there is an

important issue that is waiting to be explored: this is the role of Citizenship Education as the touchstone which reveals an inflexible 'institutional relationship' between teacher and students as well as between teachers, students and their school.

2. From interaction avoidance to role interaction

An opening to this part of the discussion has already been made in Chapter 9 where the flexibility and inflexibility of performances were discussed. It was claimed that flexible performances are based on 'open-ended negotiations' which allow actors to express their personalities. Teachers and students seem to value their participation in this form of performance. At the same time, however, they indicated that these performances are not appropriate to accommodate the teaching of 'academic' subjects pointing out that 'inflexible performances' are linked to expectations related to academic performance, the expectations which seem to be prioritised by teachers and especially by students. The age of the students seem also to play an important part in the creation of the possibilities for flexible performances to be constructed and it was shown that only older students (usually Y10 and Y11) are provided with opportunities to participate in more open-ended negotiations. At that age, however, it was noticed that students have already adapted to the institutional conditions making the level of their motivation to participate actively and to lead them to unpredictable outcomes to be low. The above indicated that students and teachers operate within a discourse which links the expected function of the school with the construction of 'inflexible performances'. Examining this type of performances, it was recognised that these are highly structured, they accommodate closed negotiations and they hardly allow students' and teachers' roles to overlap. Inflexible performances were also linked to higher levels of 'interaction avoidance'. The issue of 'interaction avoidance' has been described in this study in relation to the tendency observed among students and teachers (and

especially among 'teacher-protagonists' and younger students) to avoid interacting with each other under conditions of undefined purpose and not to interact at a rather personal level. It was also linked to the construction of different spaces by teachers and students where the possibilities for out-of-classroom interaction are minimised. This became particularly observable during break-time when the school field seemed to be divided with teachers and students occupying different areas of the school premises. Similar observations were made during the Y9 Geography outings. Students and teachers were consistently occupying different spaces, something that was apparent especially in the bus, where there was always a gap of one or two rows with empty seats separating teachers (sitting in the front of the bus) and students (sitting at the back). The same observation was made in the field that was visited during the second outing: as they were walking through the fields, students formed small groups none of which integrated any of the teachers. (In that outing Mr Web was the leading teacher, while Mr Dyce and Ms Hill were accompanying the group. It is worth noticing that Mr Dyce was teaching this class the year before.)

Every time we arrive at the place that they discuss, Ms Hill and Mr Dyce walk close to Mr Web, who gives the information about the place. In the cataract (there is no space to stand next to Mr Web) Mr Dyce sits near me although he had to do a whole circuit to reach the place where I was sitting. We were waiting for the rest of the class and for Ms Hill to arrive and we chatted with Mr Dyce about tracking. I turned to the group of students that I was chatting with (also about tracking) as we were walking there and tried to engage them in the discussion. I gave up – it was either me talking with them while Mr Dyce was observing or me discussing with Mr Dyce which made students chat with each other [.....] Mr Web occasionally talks with students when we walk but he seems to prefer to talk to me or Ms Hill when one of us is around. [...] Mr Dyce seems to be uncomfortable when he walks next to the same group of students for some time. There is consistently a reason for him to stop and let the group overtake.

(Notes from Y9 Geography outing – Dales)

Outings seem to provide numerous opportunities for students and teachers to interact in ways that are distinctively different to the ones that are available in the school. The two parties however, do not seem to recognise or take up these opportunities. Despite the fact that Mr Dyce was interacting with this group for a whole

year in his classroom, neither he nor the students seemed to make any effort to engage in any form of discussion. When, however, such opportunities are repeated, or when teachers and students spend more time outside the school, this situation seems rather different:

... and [Sph? 474-5] they can see a different side of you and you can see a different side of them whenever you go away like, with the 6th form we were away for a week whereas lower down school the most they are going to be out is a day.

(Interview with Mr Dyce, Geography teacher)

... if you are on residential, it's a different kind of ... of role: you still have the responsibility but ... there's more opportunity to take an interest in what they are doing as individuals and getting to know them as individuals.

(Interview with Ms Jones, Head of English)

Mr Dyce and Ms Jones point out that there is a different form of performance taking place when teachers and students have the opportunity to engage in a personal interaction where the two parties are 'getting to know each other as individuals' and that this performance suggests a different form of role. It is worth noting that most teachers of academic subjects who occasionally support the construction of flexible performances (and personal interaction within them) are ones that had the experience of spending time with students outside the school. (With the exception of Mr Dyce, who in the above quote refers to the relationship that he had with the 6th Form students of the school where he was working before he came to Hillcliff High.) The difference between the forms of interaction that are constructed and the opportunities that each provides becomes evident from Sean's claim:

- *I'd say [w/w? 328] if I had a problem, if I had an issue, that I want to resolve, then if I know the teacher ... I'd say to the teacher. Otherwise, if –if I am not that well communicated with the teacher, I won't ask him the same thing, I just keep my distance; just get on with the stuff / work.*

(Interview with Sean, Y11 student)

This distance that Sean refers to is the distance that the role interaction guarantees: Sean, in this respect, describes how the lack of knowledge of the teacher

as a person leads him to retract into his role and interact through it, doing what his role suggests: getting on with his work. The interviews supply a plethora of evidence demonstrating that teachers and students understand their interaction mainly as a role interaction. The role-play in which one student meets a teacher in the corridor of the school was consistently represented as a role interaction, something that was discussed with the students: (All the following role-plays start with a teacher and a student meeting in a school corridor as they are walking in opposite directions):

*T: Can I get your phone?
S: Which phone sir?
T: The one you have got behind your back.
S: Yes sir.
T: You'll get it back at the end of the day.
S: Yes sir.
The end*

(Role-play 4, Drama exercise 6, Y7 students)

*T:- Hey!
S:- Yes?
T: Chewing gum!
The student is taking a piece of chewing gum out of his mouth.
T: Bin!
The student walks and throws it in the bin. They both walk away.*

(Role-play 4, Drama exercise 6, Y7 students)

*T: What happened to your homework?
S: It is ready Miss
T: I want it on my desk at 3.
S: Yes Miss.
The end*

(Role-play 4, Drama exercise 4, Y8 students)

Students had very similar comments to make in the discussions that followed:

Discussion: [...] I asked why there was so limited talk. They say that teachers are not really talking to them in the break-time, it is always about the rules that a teacher talks to a student in the corridor. I pointed out that this is not my impression; I think for example that teachers and students are often greeting each other in corridors. They disagreed – 'teachers do not greet them – apart from some teachers who are 'friendly'. I asked whether students greet the teachers: -'yes, the friendly ones'. I asked why, since this does happen in real life, it is not shown in their role-plays. –"Because this is not what usually happens", "it is the exception."

(Notes from group discussion, Drama exercise 6, Y7)

After noticing that in that role-play the interaction was consistently initiated by teachers, the researcher asked the Y8 group to design a play where the student would have the first line:

S: Sir, I didn't understand the lesson.

T: So you better pay attention next time.

The end

Discussion: [...] asked to comment on role-play 4 [...]. Some of the comments: 'You have nothing to say' 'It seemed unnatural' ... 'it would never happen.'

(Notes from group discussion, Drama exercise 4, Y8)

The claim that it is unrealistic for a student to initiate an interaction is not accurate: occasionally students do initiate discussions and at least one case has been recorded in the field diary. What the Y8 students' claim, however, seems to point out is that the content of the interaction, as well as the initiative and the purpose of it, are all defined by the roles that teacher and students hold; therefore all the above elements of the interaction are expected to be controlled and regulated by the teacher as it happens when the two parties interact when they are in the classroom. Different conditions make the interaction seem 'unnatural', which means that they are unlikely to occur. Also unlikely, in their view, is the chance to exchange a friendly greeting or have a friendly (even brief) conversation, since this happens only between them and 'friendly' teachers, who are the *exceptions* among the teaching staff. Drawing from this, students clearly tend to associate the teaching role with the one which establishes (and is established by) 'inflexible' performances.

A different picture of the interaction was drawn by the 6th form students. Only one of the role-plays of the 4 groups participating had any reference to the application of the school rules as the content of this interaction and even in that case the interaction was much friendlier than in the role-plays of the students from the lower school. The students gave a clear explanation about that: as they said at the discussion that followed (where some of the role-plays of Y7 and Y8 were brought to their attention),

there is a big difference between 6th form and the rest of the school: *'In 6th form you are not really at school.'* (Or, as Mrs Riggs pointed out in her interview: *'6th form is different "cause we can make our own rules as to how we behave and live up here – we are a separate community almost up here.'*) These comments, together with the ones made by the students from KS3 and KS4 show the extent to which the interaction between students and teachers is perceived by students as being determined by the teachers' institutional roles, and the extent to which they associate these institutional roles with the establishment of impersonal interactions.

3. Functional empathy, individuality and role interaction

Students' consideration of their interaction with teachers as a role interaction which was analysed above it is shared also among teachers. Indicative of this is not only the teachers' references to students as 'products' in the context of their scepticism about the educational discourse which is promoted, in their view, by the government and is supported by the school's management (see the quote from Mr Web's interview, pp. 237-8). The same impression is supported by the observations made in relation to the empathetic aspect of the interaction with their students. In the context of that analysis, several observations point out that teachers systematically approach and interact with the class as a whole, while the personal interaction with individual students is from one extreme to another: exceptional or circumstantial. Teachers in the classrooms very rarely address themselves to individuals and, when done, this is usually in order to warn or punish students who obstruct their teaching with their behaviour or to apply rules which protect the uniformity of the class (such as the request for students to remove their coats, a request that has been addressed numerous times in the lessons observed). Even in those cases, however, many teachers prefer not to address the individuals who break these rules but, instead, the whole class:

Y9 listen! There are two important questions to answer! DO YOU LISTEN? Listen to what I say because I will say it only once. Some of you may think that this is not for them. Well, the exams are for all of you. Y9! Do I need to remind you that I am expecting mouths to be shut?

(There are four students at the back of the class that are a bit noisy)

(Geography, Observation schedule OG5, Y9 class)

In this respect, the interaction between students and teachers seem to be more accurately described as interaction between teachers and the class. Indicative of this is that in questions related to their interaction with the students, teachers often replace the word 'students' with reference to 'the class':

- *How would you describe the relationship that you would like to have with your students?*

[...] overall is the one that there is mutual respect that ... you know ... [.....] a good class is where you can give an analogy, you can tell a story about something and you can move on.

(Interview with Mr Tess, Head of History)

The above observations support Cooper's claim (Cooper, 2003) about the development of a 'functional' model of empathy in which the students are considered as forming a unified group and this group being 'the other' in the interaction (Hammersley, 1990, p.16). Cooper notes:

'The overall impression we gain [...] is that teachers cannot model Ormell's hard values [values which the person not only holds, but actively displays in practice] towards pupils as individuals, only as a group. The constraints of time and ratio force them into a more complex situation regarding values [...]. Functional empathy asks for more from children than it gives and appears to have to strengthen rules and structures to support their compliance. [...] In practice each individual classroom teacher models lack of time, lack of attention, lack of effort, lack of praise, lack of personal credibility, lack of discomfort, lack of exposure for each child.'

(Cooper (2002), pp. 292-293)

Similarly to Cooper's study, it was observed that teachers rarely use questions that refer to students' personal experiences and in many cases it became clear that they were not aware of the students' names. Issues of time and class size were recognised by both teachers and students as having a significant contribution to this:

- *I think that's difficult [to establish a personal interaction] in the lower school, where you've got 30 kids; you certainly would do that with the 6th Form when you are planning certain [w/w? 460] or [field work? 460/1] projects, which we actually did last week, [Sph? 461-/2] and a lot of that is student-centred.*

(Interview with Mr Dyce, Geography teacher)

- *... they understand more when the class is empty and you are one to one and talking but ... in the class they don't understand you at all.*
- *Why is that?*
- *I don't know, because they can't put full attention to you 'cause they've got a class of 30 people.*

(Interview with Adam, Y9 student)

Evidently, the conditions in which teacher and students interact do not provide enough opportunities for such kind of interaction allowing functional empathy to be the most frequently occurring one, especially between students and teachers who operate usually through 'inflexible performances'. As Cooper observes, 'functional empathy is the teacher's response to having to interact with large numbers and their attempt to engage with and support a whole group' (ibid, p. 316). In this respect, the classroom conditions lead to the establishment of interactions between students and teachers that seem to be lacking in acknowledgment of students' individuality. As Cooper states: 'this model of behaviour functions at a much shallower, lower moral level because children are not treated as unique individuals for sufficient amounts of time' (ibid, p. 316). Inevitably, functional empathy supports an interaction which keeps students and teachers at a virtual distance from each other, operating in a way similar to the distance observed in the field trips and break-times:

- *...tends to be, hmm ... very, very rigid – you know, you are the teacher, they are the class. It's hard to ... get close to them.*

(Interview with Mr Tess, Head of History)

The rigidity and distance between students and teachers do not only strip students of their individuality, but it affects also the way that students perceive teachers' individuality. Aaron's view of the kind of attitude he wishes his teachers to have in order for him to have a good relationship with them is indicative of this:

- *... hmm ... Not to shout a lot; if they don't shout a lot then I am all right with them; just being normal, not like a teacher.*

- ☺ 'Being normal –not like a teacher'? ☺
- ☺ *Yes, like ... be a normal person, just ... don't have the relationship as a teacher and a student ... have a relationship ... like ... a friendly relationship.*
(Interview with Aaron, Y9 student)

The quote does not only point out Aaron's inability to think of his teacher as a person; it shows also that for him, the expected relationship between teachers and students is one that does not allow teachers to present themselves as real people. Indicative of this is Ashid's inability (and possibly his lack of motivation) to imagine his teachers out of their role:

... the teachers are teachers; I cannot think of what they do after school, I cannot imagine how teachers are when they are leaving school.
(Interview with Ashid, Y9 student)

In line with the observations made about the difference in the models of interaction that are developed in flexible and inflexible performances, students' age, teacher's background and the subject taught seem to allow occasionally the constructions of interactions where personalities do emerge. This, however, does not seem to challenge the overall view of the interaction between teachers and students as being one stripped of the parties' personalities:

- You said before about the teacher being close to the students..yes?
- Yes.
- Can you tell me a bit more about that?
- *It's like ... I don't know ... like ... if I wanted to go to get advice ... to a teacher about something, I probably would go to my Geography teacher, because ... I don't know [...] / we just / through discussion and things like in the class you just get to know [them? 211] and it's not // it's like a teacher you respect [them?212] because ... it's like / it's not just a teacher, it's an actual person and [...], it's not like the other teachers [w? 217/8] the rest of my subjects ... and you feel like ... this age ... you've got a ... a kind of connection really about the ...[w? 222] subject and things [w/w/w? 222-3].*
- You said that he is a 'real' person; what do you mean? The other teachers are not?
- *They are too, but hmm, like ... for example ... RE ... I really am not interested in at all but I go / I mean I do achieve highly in it, because I do my work and stuff but the teacher ... she doesn't / she is just – she is just there and she just teaches what she has to teach, she doesn't ... ask questions, she doesn't / she is not interested in like our ... like more personal things that are happening in the school like ... the Drama teacher - is also the other one that I like - she is just like interested to know about ... you as well as ... like the subjects , so ...*

(Interview with Rehana, Y11 student)

The lack of interest (or the inability for such interest to be expressed due to lack of time, pressure applied by the class-size etc.) reinforces the distance that Mr Tess referred to. The distance and the lack of personal interaction, of course, affect students' ability to empathise with their teachers. However, this does not mean that the interaction that students develop is not an empathetic one. Besides, the exchange of roles and the view of the self from the other person's perspective is an essential element of any interaction between humans, even in the case of the interaction between humans who do not approach each other as individuals. The role-plays, the introduction of which was largely based on the aim of this study to illuminate this aspect of the students' perspective, showed that students do empathise with their teachers. As will be shown, however, the depersonalised form of interaction that teachers and students are involved in, lead students to formulate a form of empathy which can be recognised as another manifestation of functional empathy: it is an empathy with the role that the teacher assumes rather than with the person that performs this role.

In general, the teacher's persona in students' role-plays resembles the one that appears in inflexible performances. The characteristics of this persona include the strict application of the rules, the distance with the students, the support of close-ended negotiations. The professional strengths which were illustrated in the 'job interview' role-plays had little to do with the candidates' ability to have good relationships with the students but included their ability to 'control the class' to 'apply the rules', to 'be strict', to 'deal with disruptive students', to 'know their subject'. Impressively, however, the discussions which followed showed that students did not use these plays necessarily to criticise the way that teachers perform their roles and did not see these 'professional strengths' as inappropriate. Reflecting on their role-plays they stated that:

[Teachers] have to be like that; otherwise they would not be able to teach and we would not learn'. [...] 'It is not up to them only – they have to teach classes of 30.

(Notes from group discussion, Drama exercise 1, Y9)

If you want to be a teacher these days you have to be strict' [...]. 'You can't just ... teach. You need to know your stuff but if the class is just not interested then it is not enough... and you have to apply the rules' – 'it's the teachers that make sure that the rules are there.

(Notes from group discussion, Drama exercise 4, Y8)

It is evident that students are aware of the conditions under which teachers' roles are constructed and performed – at least the conditions in the construction of which students are directly involved. Besides, teachers do not hide from them the kind of challenges attached to the teaching profession. This awareness, however, and the acknowledgment of these conditions, followed by the distance between themselves and the teachers, and the depersonalised view of the teacher, lead students to demonstrate an empathy not to specific individuals who perform the role of the teacher but more generally to anyone who performs this role; to demonstrate, therefore, another form of 'functional empathy'.

The above discussion indicates that students and teachers tend to consider each other as unified expressions of specific institutional roles rather than as individual people who actively reconstruct these roles. The occasional opportunities available for them to interact on a personal level allowing their personalities to emerge seem not to be sufficient to challenge this condition since its formulation is closely linked with the institutional conditions (need for the application of rules, classroom size, curriculum, evaluation of performance etc.) and the expectations that direct the role of the school. These conditions affect the interaction process between students and teachers (for example through the way that power is expected to be applied) and the perceptions of each other's role (empathy) leading this interaction to confirm, reinforce and reproduce the conditions which were initially responsible for the de-personalisation and de-humanisation of the interacting parties. In this respect, the introduction of Citizenship Education can be viewed as the external factor which challenges the terms of this interactive process, suggesting the formulation of a different model of interaction. It creates this challenge because in the roots of its methodology, its content and its aims,

there is the need for interaction between individuals who expose (and construct) through their interaction their views, beliefs, and their political stands. It is not necessary to think in terms of democratic practice which accommodates the above in the core of its meaning in order to understand this. Even the simple examination of the essential elements of Citizenship Education as these are suggested in the Crick report can easily demonstrate the need for personalised interaction in the context of the subject. The 'disposition to work with and for others with sympathetic understanding', the 'courage to defend a point of view', the 'willingness to be open to changing one's opinions in the light of discussion and evidence', the 'ability to tolerate other view points' (QCA, 1998 p. 44) are some of the elements which show how Citizenship invites and expects the participants in this form of education to 'open up' and establish forms of interaction which construct roles that do not suppress or hide the personality of the ones performing them. In that sense, Citizenship Education suggests a form of teaching and learning as an 'internal relation', as 'constitutive –like authority – of the very fabric of human moral and civic association' (Carr, 2005).

In order to illuminate this role of Citizenship Education as the 'external factor' in the interaction between students and teachers, it is necessary to re-examine the issues of *resistance* and *flexibility* in the light of the role-interaction and to discuss the evidence from this study that are related to the issues of *participation* and *ownership* in education.

4. Citizenship Education in the context of the Interaction between students and teachers

A key element of citizenship education, repeated throughout the report of the Advisory Group is active learning and (students') active participation: "Active citizenship" is our aim throughout (QCA, 1998, p. 25). Also important for Citizenship Education is the element of community involvement: 'Active citizenship both inside the school and

relating to the community' (ibid, p. 25). What, however, seems to be missing from the report is a link between these two forms of participation and a view of the school as a community (Osler & Starkey, 2001, p. 297). In this last part of the analysis it will be argued that the challenge for Citizenship Education is very similar: neither students nor teachers seem to perceive their participation in the school as a participation in a political community. Their interaction, as they describe it, does not resemble to one between personalities that are engaged in the construction of a community but, rather, an opportunistic cooperation in an already established and externally defined institutional environment.

The discussion in the previous parts of this chapter has progressively shown that the interaction between students and teachers is perceived by both parties primarily as an interaction of predefined roles. Students and teachers see each other (and themselves) in this interaction not as personalities but as homogenous models of 'a teacher' and 'a student' creating 'identities that conform to the dominant norms and standards, making an Anybody of everybody' (Glass, 2000, p. 287). As a consequence of this perception of their interaction, a distance between students and teachers is created allowing phenomena such as 'interaction avoidance' to occur which reinforce and further lengthen this distance. It is not, however, the only kind of distance that can be observed within this interaction. Also clear is the distance that is established between the interacting parties and their own role, a form of disengagement from the personas that are constructed and are exposed through these roles. This becomes evident in teachers' concept of professionalism which prevents them from expressing their views when these are not inline with the priorities and methodologies promoted by the management of the school; it is also evident in the discussion of chapter 10 and particularly in relation to Ball's observation regarding teachers' *ontological insecurity* (see p. 246). In relation to the students, this distance is expressed in their dissociation from the processes of the lesson, the development of techniques to avoid teachers'

attention and is possibly best described by a student in a group interview during the pilot stage of this study:

- How well do teachers know you?
- *They don't know us at all, they copy the reports like ... you read the report and I know is not me at all.*
- *Some they do, the PSE teacher does, because you can talk to her.*
- *The form tutor does [...]*
- [...] I am wondering ... if I ask you to make a role-play with 5 minutes of your life in which you will show me yourself – something that would help me to understand who you are as a person, which setting would you choose to place the scene? You in the classroom, in the playground, in the street, in your bedroom... where would that be?
- *The playground.*
- *No, outside school. In my bedroom probably.*
- *I would choose Jenny's house. I spent most time there than in my home ☺.*
- Do you bring your life from outside school inside?
- *Yes, with our friends.*

(Group interview, Y9 Urban High)

The students in the above quote, responding to a question that was not included in the final interview schedule, show in the most graphic way the level of their *personal* disengagement from their role as students as this role is presented in their interaction with their teachers. This lack of personal engagement suggests that their participation in this role interaction should be more efficiently described as 'role cooperation' rather than as participation. The quote from Mr Web's interview is indicative of this:

- *How would you describe an 'ideal relationship between students and teachers'?*
- *Well, we've got certain ... work / we've got work to complete, we've got specifications to follow, and I'd expect ... students to make every effort to get to do that; and that's one of the most important ones; the other one I would think is that ... to me ... and I quickly establish this if I can –you don't establish it with all students, but I say "right, I am here; and I am not here to give you a bad time; I am here –we are gonna be here for at least a year, maybe two years, and we've got to get on," "And how to we get on?" And I say "Well, you know, I'll make a pact with you, that I make the lessons interesting and I'll try to make the lessons fun, when I can, and if we are doing any assessments or tests you'll know in good time, and if possible I'll actually make sure that you are aware of what we have to cover for those, and I'll give you the support that you need, and what I'm asking for is co-operation and ... to be co-operative."*

(Interview with Mr Web, Head of Geography)

The extracts from Mr Web's interview quoted previously in this thesis have drawn a picture of a teacher who values personal interaction with students but he finds it hard

to establish them. The expectations from the management, the invisible role of the government, the general discourse of schooling are some of the factors that he recognises as obstacles to achieving this. In the above quote Mr Web shows that (his perception of) these conditions have led him to form a more realistic expectation regarding the model of this interaction. The cooperation that he refers to seems to be based on a business-like agreement with his students, on a form of contract. The terms of this contract have been formulated in the context of his perception about the situation within which the two parties have to interact. They do not seem to be a product of open negotiation between him and the students and there doesn't seem to be much space for further negotiation. Students enter into this agreement without really having a variety of alternative options – neither, of course, does Mr Web.

In the context of such cooperation and of the dual kind of distance which participants experience, the question that arises is related to the particular model of citizenship which students and teachers construct through their interaction. As was claimed in the second chapter of this study, the view of active citizenship 'inside the school' as an essential element of the education that the Crick report advocates justifies the consideration of the school community essentially as a political one, as membership in a community which 'involves a set of relationships between rights, duties, participation and identity' (Delanty, 2000, p.9). Such an approach towards school presupposes and requires a feeling of belonging from students and teachers to this community that allows this community to operate as 'a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity' (Cohen 1985: 118). The process of drawing and depositing meaning and identity from the community is the manifestation of the duality of political participation as a process of construction of the community (as shared space) and of the citizen (as an inhabitant of this space). Therefore, participation is the outcome and the condition for the construction of this community.

For a community to exist teachers and students need to be actively involved in the construction of a shared meaning and for this construction to take place a sense of community should exist. Teachers and students in Hillcliff High, however, seem to visit rather than to inhabit the shared space which accommodates their interaction. In this visit their personality is suppressed and their approach to the 'other' is one that is based on generalisations and depersonalisations. They perceive their interaction not as a manifestation of their community but as an agreement the terms of which are imposed upon them all. This is not to say that students and teachers are detached from the school. The students in the group interview which was quoted above show that part of their 'real life' enters the school in respect to their friends. The study, however, has shown that the perception of the school community as one which includes both teachers and students is not there. The reality that students and teachers construct is not one that overlaps with the one constructed by the interaction of students with their friends or by the teachers and their colleagues, but it operates as a third space, regulated by rules which are non-negotiable; in terms of Citizenship, this space supports the construction of disengaged identities. Employing Osler's consideration of the elements of citizenship (Osler, 2005), this is a citizenship that does not go beyond the recognition of a *status*.

The above raise the issue of *ownership*. The shared space of disengaged citizens cannot belong to somebody –not even to anybody; it belongs to nobody. Aiming to raise a feeling of ownership among students towards their school (QCA, 1998, p. 36) has rightly been placed in the context of active participation. This is, however, a major challenge since for participation to be raised a sense of community needs to have already been developed. Hudson (2005) has shown how Bradley's (2003) formulation of a politicised identity ('identities which provide a constant base for action and where individuals constantly relate to this' (Hudson, 2005, p. 121)) is the end of a course

which starts from a sense of belonging to the community which provides the base for this course. For this feeling to be shared among students and teachers and for the school to operate as a community of practice for active citizenship, there is a need first to recognise the right of students and teachers 'to participate in the construction, maintenance and *transformation* of order' (Bernstein, 2000, p. xxi – my emphasis).

If we examine the level of students' commitment to Hillcliff High and their perceptions about the possibilities to transform the established order, the picture is does not support any optimism. Rehana, who is in her final year, explains in her interview the reasons that lead her peers to remain disengaged:

- *'[...] people think I am going to take this ... we've only got like so many days of school; nobody will want to do anything about it.'*

(Interview with Rehana, Y11 student)

Students' attitudes towards the students' council are also indicative of this disengagement: (see also relevant results from recent NFER study; Ireland et al, 2006, p. 42.)

- *Can we chat a bit about the students' council?*
- *.....*
- *Do you know what it is?*
- *No.*
- *It is a body consisted by students which represents them .i.*
- *Oh yes ... I am one of them, I think.*
- *You are a member of the students' council?*
- *Yes.*
- *But you are not sure?*
- *No, I am, but I forgot about it.*

(Interview with Neil, Y7 student)

Neil is not the exception. Many students had not heard of the students' council and even more students were not aware how the council works. Apart from the attitudes adopted by Rehana's class mates, students' interviews suggest that the reasons for this disengagement should also be sought in the shared students' belief that '*nothing changes*'. In the same interview, Rehana points out that '*a lot of students think that is ... down to the teachers to change it, because nobody is gonna listen to... 15 year olds*'. Alistair agrees:

- You are describing to me a situation in which teachers do not seem to take into account what the students have to say or want. Am I right to have this impression?
- Yes, they don't do really anything. Everything they say goes.
- Do you agree with their decisions?
- No, sometimes no.
- You are Y8. Do you think that in the future you will try to change this situation – to make teachers listen!
- No, I think I will just continue with what is w? . I will try to stay out of trouble.
- You know, this is something that other students have told me, and it makes me wonder why students do not do anything to change a situation which they do not like and they consider as unfair.
- I don't know.
- Why have you personally taken this decision to go along with this situation?
- Because even if you do try, nothing will be done about it.

(Interview with Alistair, Y8 student)

Although Alistair's impression of the extent of his teachers' authority may be justified, this study has shown that it is not a view that teachers share with him. Ms Wales and Ms Riggs have pointed out that their authority is limited by a headteacher who operates as an 'individual decision maker', Mr Web has referred to the role of governmental (and the school's management) expectations which draw the lines of teachers' action and Mr Tess has expressed his frustration related to the need to perform a role of the behaviour-manager when he would prefer to establish open relations with his students. Moreover, it has been shown how students are themselves formulating the conditions which frame their teachers' roles.

This is the context in which Citizenship Education enters. It is a context of impersonal interaction and of limited ownership of the interacting parts over the setting which shelters this interaction; a context of limited participation and a place of resistance to change. The description of the context, however, has limited value, if it is perceived as being a solid and unchangeable construction. What the context is, is defined by the perspectives of those who place their action and interaction within this context. The ownership is not defined in legal terms but it is the expression of a feeling of belonging; the resistance or endorsement of a change is the expression of one's attitude towards the prospect of change; the model of interaction itself, is a

construction which reflects the expectations and predispositions of the interacting parties. In this sense, the context is fluid and not a finished construction but a construction in a constant remaking (or reproduction). Therefore, in order to examine the role of Citizenship Education it is necessary not only to view teachers' and students' perspectives regarding the reality constructed by their interaction but also their predispositions towards the potential change of this reality caused by the new subject.

The first thing that should be noted is that teachers recognise the need for change.

An extensive quotation from the interviews is necessary to illuminate this:

- *[.....] I am wondering if there are any obstacles to this change. [...]*
- *Ms Riggs: I think that is an evolution rather than a change, in a ... / you have to / sort of move on from expecting everything to happen inside the classroom ... and ... hmm ... and ... and cross-curricular things need a bit more ... time to evolve in that way and then it becomes more ... natural to expect groups to be out **doing** something else. But **yes**, as a link to your subject but also has another ... aspect to it, as well. Hmm ... the **students** [...] our students know how to participate in most things [.....]. And I think it is important that the activities or tasks that are provided [to reflect? 506] what students want. 'Cause the worst possible thing you can do is make a decision, "oh, this sounds really good", "this looks that we can tick this box in Citizenship, let's do it!", and it [falls? 508] on its face because ... our students will behave well, but their feedback will be "oh, ^that was a waste of time^, 'cause I didn't learn anything from it", so, it needs to engage them and it needs to be something that is very-very close, you know, is important enough to them, for them to ... to get involved.*
- *Could the School council help in this direction? Could I*
- *Ms Wales: I think that it should / I 'd like to see it influencing the policy |*
- *Ms Riggs: Absolutely. I've even suggested that they **should** go to the government meeting as a fairly normal [w? 518] of the year. **They, they, they will go to** sub-committee meetings, they may be invited and have something to say, but the school council at its best ... ought at least to be informing decisions that are made about how money is spent in this school.*
- *Ms Wales: I think they should inform policy and make decisions. We have ... **so many** students capable, really-really capable of this and ... and ... this is an ethos shift as well. But we have to understand that ethos shift takes [money? 525] and may take time. But **It is** an ethos shift. But **we certainly** have the kids who can do it. [...].*
- *How does that management team of the school feel about this ... evolution which leads you to put forward these suggestions?*
- *Ms Riggs: [...] [the reason I took up the role of citizenship coordinator is that] I am **very** committed to this kind of thing –kids being engaged and involved- and I **have to sit in 6th** form council meetings where they told me "we don't like this and we'd like you to change it" being very-very clear about the*

*reasons they need this to change, and I had ☺ to swallow my pride and say: "yes, if this is the decision of the group then we will ... have to change it ..." ... you know, there **are some things** and they understand that, you know, if I said to them there would be occasions when I will have to make a stand ... and I will explain to you the reasons for that. [...].*

(Interview with Ms Riggs (Citizenship Education coordinator) and Ms Wales (Head of PSE))

Ms Riggs and Ms Wales show that there is both recognition of this need and the will to implement it. The shift in the ethos that they both advocate is already happening in the 6th form but most importantly it has already happened in a part of the management team, since both these teachers are members of it. Moreover, this shift seems to have been adopted and endorsed in these teachers' practice leading Ms Riggs to 'swallow her (role) pride' and accept students' decision, to reveal the reasons that prevent other changes from happening and to advocate (later in this interview) the students' council to be actively involved in the decisions over new teaching appointments.

Mr Tess recognises that this shift in the ethos should influence his (new role) as this is constructed in the classroom interaction:

- *... teaching, especially in a subject like History, especially in subjects like Politics ought to [hold? 116] discussions, they ought to be like flow of ideas. There ought to be, in some ways, - dare I say - semi-unstructured ... you know, but I think in our days, in most schools, teachers are facing so much discipline problems that what they tend to do is to have formalised, structured lessons which can be very effective but they lack that little part.*
- *What do you think students miss from this lack 'of this little part'?*
- *I think it enables them to ... open their minds, to speak more, to get better ideas and give their opinions and their interpretations of things more, ... rather than simply acceptance of what you tell them. I mean, they can't do it all the time, and I firmly believe in the fact that we are teachers, we have to teach things that they don't know and it's not just sort of ... where they will learn by [132/3], I don't mean that, but I do think that ... certainly in Political education I don't see how you can teach political education meaningfully without becoming involved in a 'two-way flow'; I really don't. Otherwise, you are doing some sort of civics or constitution where you are simply teaching some basic rules – this is the Constitution, this is the name of this, this is the name of that, this is how our laws are passed and that's it ...; but I don't really think that this is political literacy, I think that ... is some sort of Civics; which may be useful, but is not ... political literacy. Political literacy is getting them – even at the age of 11 onwards just to conceive the idea of challenging*

... ideas and ... interpreting and seeing and understand why things happened, not just what happened.

(Interview with Mr Tess, Head of History)

Considering the teaching of Citizenship Education as a 'two-way flow' implies the need for the construction of the *community* as has been suggested by this last part of the thesis. Mr Tess recognises the difficulties –as Ms Wales and Ms Riggs do. What is important, however, is that the above views - as well as other similar views expressed by other members of staff - indicate that the frustration and stress, the role conflict that teachers experience, is a frustration experienced by people who want and recognise the need for this community to be constructed. If a pessimism and frustration is suggested by the association of schooling with the construction of inflexible performances which may prevent the establishment of such a community, the views quoted above suggest that we should be equally optimistic because flexible performances are a possibility, even if they still operate as exceptions. If we give some space to this optimism, then we can realise that the students' disengagement is one that is supported by the specific conditions which the teachers who participated in this study wish to see changed.

Viewed in this light, Citizenship Education is a source of current frustration as much as it is an opportunity for a transformation of the interaction between students and teachers:

But what I do have to work on is... you want an individual, you want to get to know them as individuals, I see it [the exam results] currently as a group success. And I want to get to the point where I can say: you are an individual, you are a lot more than that and you can make a valuable contribution in very small ways in any of the [w? 624] you belong to.

(Interview with Mr Dyce, Geography teacher)

The limited participation of students and teachers challenge and are challenged by Citizenship Education With methodologies which require personal interaction, with expectations of establishing a sense of ownership, with aims which extend to active involvement in the communities, the new subject requires the reconstruction of

teachers' and students' perspectives towards the school community or, if a community is a symbolic configuration as Cohen suggests (Cohen, 1985), a reconstruction of the community itself. Despite the frustration and the stress expressed by the teachers in this study, despite the association of the role of the school with methodologies that prevent this community from emerging, students' and teachers' statements and also their practice suggests that the introduction of the subject does create possibilities. One of the important - and to some extent unexpected for the researcher who conducted it - findings of this study is that teachers, the ones who have been assigned the task of the subject's implementation, recognise the importance and agree with the principles of Citizenship Education. Their frustration is the outcome of this; their role conflict is accompanied by the claim that the forces which create this conflict are external to them, something that allows them to be critical towards these forces even if it leads them at the same time to be sceptical about the future of the new subject. In that respect it may be necessary to be aware of this conflict, it may be worthwhile studying it but it may be pointless to place it in the centre of the discussion on Citizenship Education. There is little value in trying to find institutional measures to resolve these conflicts – it will be rather a utopian task since negotiation and conflict, as well as the exchange and assumption of different roles are essential elements of our social life, irrespective of the context in which this is observed, institutional or not. The point is to allow humans the flexibility to resolve these conflicts, to teach them how to enter into the negotiation process. This is what Citizenship Education has the potential to achieve: to become the context for and a site of such learning.

Chapter 12

Conclusions

This thesis described a case study of a secondary school in England. The study set out to explore the interaction between students and teachers in the context of Citizenship Education. As the discussion in the second part of this thesis showed (Chapters 2, 3 and 4), such investigation is justified mainly on two accounts:

- a. The official documentation outlining the aims, content and methodologies of Citizenship Education as well as the relevant literature recognise that factors that lie outside the formal curriculum (ethos, hidden curriculum, school discourse) have a significant role in the successful implementation of the subject.
- b. The interaction between students and teachers is one of the most significant elements and a determinant for the construction of the factors which are considered as parts of the informal curriculum.

Through the development of a methodological framework which is based on the theoretical approaches adopted by a large number of interactionist studies, the research attempted to respond to the following research questions:

Main research Question:

What is the nature of the interaction between students and teachers, in the context of Citizenship Education?’

Subsidiary questions:

1. How do the teachers and students define the situation of their interaction with each other in the context of Citizenship Education?

2. What roles are constructed by teachers and students when they interact with each other in the context of Citizenship Education?

On the basis of the responses of the participants in this study and the researcher's direct observations, the interaction between students and teachers in the context of Citizenship Education is an impersonal and unengaged one. Teachers and students define their interaction in the school in terms of the impact that this interaction has on students' academic performance. This is evident in all 'academic' subjects through which Citizenship Education is implemented in Hillcliff High. There are, however, subjects in which this definition is not applicable (mainly PSE, Drama and Art). In these subjects students and teachers are engaged in more personal interactions. These subjects, however, and the model of interaction that is applied are considered by the participants as being exceptional and they consider these subjects as of lower importance in relation to their expectations. The definition of the situation that is constructed by the interaction between students and teachers in terms of academic performance leads students to participate actively in the construction of a passive and unengaged role which they undertake considering this to be a condition for the acquisition of the service that the school provides. Under these conditions, the roles that students and teachers perform seem to suppress their personality and to (re)produce an image of the teachers as 'producers' and of students as 'products'.

The discussion in the last three chapters in which the the above was considered in depth, raised some important issues and allowed the construction of an argumentation which is directly related to the implementation of Citizenship Education. The key points from this discussion, the issues identified and the implications that they hold for schools, for policy makers and for teacher trainers will be discussed in this concluding chapter of this thesis.

1. The thesis

The central argument (thesis) of this study is that that students and teachers interact with each other in a rather impersonal and unengaged manner. The descriptions that they provide about theirs and each other's role and the way that they present themselves in the context of their interaction seem to (re)construct a conformist view of 'the' teacher and 'the' student which leaves very limited space for the personality of the actors behind these roles to be brought forward. This situation was described in this study as a 'role interaction'.

As the review of the literature which refers to the study of human interaction showed, individuals do not only *adopt* but they also *construct* their roles through their interaction with each other. Goffman (1991), however, has argued that in the context of the interaction which takes place within institutional settings, this may not be the case: in those interactions, the roles are largely pre-defined and the actors are called to conform to these roles and perform them in the most efficient way. The study of the interaction between students and teachers showed that both these views are able to describe parts of what is taking place in Hillcliff High. Indeed, the students and teachers in this school seem to *construct* their roles in the context of their interaction. Teachers seem to agree that their professional role is performed in a way that facilitates the provision of the appropriate support to students in order for them to achieve academically. They also justify a degree of conformism in their performances, arguing that their role in the school should be based on a *consistency* in the application of rules and on the projection of an image which demonstrates that they are in agreement with each other and that they actively support the policies and priorities adopted or developed by the management of the school. Students, in turn, seem to associate 'effective teaching' in the context of the 'important subjects' (primarily those related to their grades and GCSE results) with a teacher's role that limits their opportunities for

active participation. They also consider 'friendly' interactions with teachers as facilitating their learning but without this 'friendliness' challenging their position as passive 'recipients' of the information that the teachers provide. The negotiations that take place between students and teachers (on the content of the lesson, the layout of the classroom, time management etc.) are not ones that challenge the 'egocentric' role of the teacher, but ones that actively promote the construction of a dominant a role.

The above, however, describe only one aspect of the process which leads to the manifestation of the teachers' and students' roles. Another aspect, which is not necessarily unrelated to the above observations, is hidden within students' and teachers' acceptance that such roles allow them to construct the most effective performances for the fulfilment of their expectations. We cannot, for example, fail to notice that these views coincide and reproduce an image of the teacher and of the student which is very similar to one that our society seems to collectively hold and which is often portrayed (and reproduced) through the media, popular literature even through our anecdotes. Two teachers in the pilot stage of this research have actually claimed that the construction of their teaching styles started during their school years and that as professionals they are ('inevitably' as one of them said) reproducing the style demonstrated by their teachers. In this sense, teachers and students do not construct but they reproduce their roles according to some societal norms which may remain unchallenged or possibly supported within their professional training. This, however, is not the only indications that teachers and students not only construct but that they also adopt their roles. Other clear indications are provided by the introduction of Citizenship Education.

The introduction of Citizenship Education seems to have challenged the roles that students and teachers perform and the models of their interaction. Through the methodologies and general recommendations demonstrated in the Crick report and incorporated - to a varied extent indeed - in the Citizenship curriculum, schools are encouraged (if not requested) to promote teaching practices that take into account

students' social and cultural background and interests. This type of recommendation seems to be progressively gaining support and we could consider as indicative of this the recent introduction of the duty of schools to actively promote 'community cohesion' through an 'open (classroom) climate' in which students are encouraged to contribute with their own experiences from their engagement with their culture (see National Curriculum web site: Identity and cultural diversity: <http://curriculum.qca.org.uk/cross-curriculum-dimensions/culturaldiversityidentity/index.aspx>.) (Although it does not fall strictly under the Citizenship Education agenda, similar recommendations are also promoted through the 'Every Child Matters' initiative – see: www.everychildmatters.gov.uk/participation.) The issue of *relevance*, however, which the Crick report (QCA, 1998, p. 36) and the above policies promote, describe a shift in the ethos of the school and more specifically in the interaction between students and teachers which, in order to be achieved, requires the members of the school to demonstrate flexibility in the formation of their roles. This study has shown that this flexibility is not detectable in the community of Hillcliff High. The reasons may be related to the conceptualisation of teaching and learning roles which is promoted publicly and which was discussed above, but it goes beyond that.

Teachers in this study have claimed that the roles that individuals hold in the school are determined by conditions that are beyond those individuals' control. In an attempt to identify the agents who hold this control the study analysed the role of the 'invisible audience' of the 'performance' that students and teachers give through their interaction. The three groups who comprise this invisible audience are, according to the participants in this study, the management team (and more particularly the headteacher), the parents and the policy makers. In the examination of the participants' perspectives about the way that these groups operate, the study showed that these groups are considered as imposing their expectations on the school community in a way that frames the interaction between students and teachers. It was not among the aims of the study to explore whether these perspectives coincide with the intentions of

these groups. What the study was concerned about and what it discussed is the extent to which the members of the school community feel that they are in control of their own roles and whether they consider that they are provided with the flexibility that is required for a shift in the way that they perform these roles. To this question, the response from the participants in this study is negative.

The lack of flexibility, however, is not the only implication of the above described conditions. Possibly even more important is the implication which is related to the relationship of both parties with their own roles and with the school community, together with the level of their personal engagement in their interaction with each other. The study has shown that students and teachers are often critical of their own practice and they describe a situation in which - they feel that - it traps them in a performance which they do not necessarily enjoy or value. This 'trap' can be possibly described as a condition of lack of ownership towards their own role and consequently, of lack of ownership towards the situation that they construct.

Considering the suggestions contained in the Crick report together with the new initiatives on the promotion of community cohesion through the school curriculum and practice, we could claim that Citizenship Education contributes to the establishment of a school community which encompasses all four conceptualisations of community suggested by Annette: as a place, as 'a normative idea linked to respect, solidarity and inclusion', as a promoter of cultural identities and as a 'political ideal which is linked to participation, involvement and citizenship' (Annette, 2003, p. 140). The question that then arises is 'what conceptualisation represents most effectively students' and teachers' perspectives of the school community?' For Hillcliff High, which is proud of the way that it addresses the cultural diversity of its student population, we could claim that the third conceptualisation of community represents at least some of its members' relevant perspectives. In that case we should pose the question about whether this conceptualisation is sufficient in order for the school community to meet all the requirements and to address all the recommendations that accompany Citizenship

Education. The evidence does not support a positive response. In terms of space, Hillcliff High seems to be divided: in the classrooms, the school corridors and in the play ground teachers and students occupy different spaces and appear as if they are living separate lives. In their perspectives about each other they appear stripped from their personality, from any attachment to each other, and from any commitment to a *common* goal. Their participation in their interaction with each other is neither a manifestation of nor a basis for the development of any solidarity, but the outcome of a contractual agreement, the obligations of which it is felt that are imposed upon rather than constructed by the two parties. In that case, the previous question may need to be rephrased and seek an answer as to whether students and teachers consider their presence in the school amounting to membership of a community or as a business-like engagement. If the second is the case, then the successful implementation of Citizenship Education in Hillcliff High may depend on whether it 'is willing and able to move beyond a politics of consumer satisfaction ... to a more deliberative and participatory democratic politics' (Annette, 2003, p. 143).

Indications as to what is the response of this community to the above question exist within the community itself. A first indication is many teachers' positive stance towards the implementation of methodologies that are not in agreement with their current roles. Besides, although students agree that a 'personalised' model of interaction with their teachers and their 'active participation' in the organisation of the school may not be appropriate to support their academic learning, they did accept that a 'friendly' relationship facilitates this learning. At the same time, it has been clear that the management of the school has the will to promote students' active participation. There are, however, barriers that need to be lifted. The responsibility for this falls on the shoulders of policy makers, parents, teacher trainers, but, most importantly, on the school community itself.

2. Implications for policy makers

This study shows that despite the multiple initiatives that have been promoted in schools in the last five years, the school community is still hesitant in adopting and promoting methodologies that are related to the 'democratisation' of the school ethos (such as students' active participation, personalised teaching and learning, open discussions etc.). As the discussion showed, this hesitation may not be based on obstacles that are objectively identified but on the perspectives and embedded beliefs of the members of the school community. As the last Ofsted report on Citizenship notes, 'the intentions for Citizenship Education remain contested and are sometimes misunderstood' (Ofsted, 2006). This may be one of the most important and urgent issues that have to be addressed. If we follow some of the argumentation constructed in this thesis, we could claim that such misunderstanding may be related to the public image of the role of the teacher and the student, the subjectivation of the school community to an ethos that has not been consistent to the principles of Citizenship Education but also to a policy practice that leads to teachers being 'over-managed' (Crick, 2003, p. 17). In this sense, policy making needs to consider three concerns: provision of information and support; communication and negotiation of the aims and methodologies; and teachers' empowerment. The principle underlying the educational policy that is suggested in this thesis is that 'every member of the school community matters'.

3. Implications for teacher trainers

It is more or less common practice for studies in education to discuss the implications that the findings have for teacher trainers. It is very often that more intensive training is

needed or training to be available for a wider part of the teaching population. This study will not dispute such a need. What, however, the argumentation in this thesis suggests is that *more* training is not sufficient to support teachers in their effort to respond effectively to the aims and methodologies of Citizenship Education. If we consider the role of the 'invisible audience' as this was described by the teachers in this study, or if we bear in mind the points made about the *subjectivation* of the school community to an imposed ethos, then *more* training could add to the frustration and teachers' feeling of disempowerment: if the obstacles are beyond teachers' control then more training will only increase the community's expectations of these specialist teachers without increasing their opportunities to apply their expertise and to contribute to the shift in the school ethos that Citizenship Education advocates. Therefore, apart from making training in Citizenship Education more consistent and widely available, we need also a quality of training which challenges preconceptions about the way that the school community should operate. Training also needs to challenge the concepts of childhood embedded in public beliefs and to promote a view of the student as a fellow citizen who is able and entitled to participate actively in the public - and, therefore, in the school - life. Teacher training in Citizenship Education should be embedded in all teacher training courses since - irrespective of whether it is taught as a distinctive or cross-curricular subject - Citizenship is taught through, and it affects the overall ethos of, the interaction of all teachers with all students. The principles, finally of Citizenship Education should be applied in teacher training: teacher training, in this sense, should promote the trainees' participation and lead to the empowerment of teachers.

4. Implications for schools

This study suggests that Hillcliff High needs to move some communication barriers before being able to raise participation barriers. This is a suggestion for a community-

based school in the sense that it should be a school which operates as a community rather than as an institution or an hierarchical organisation. This, of course does, not mean that hierarchies should not exist. What needs to be challenged are not the hierarchies per se, but the ways that hierarchies operate and the attitudes of the school community towards these hierarchies. For this to be achieved, students, teachers and the management of the school have to establish means of communication. In this context, communication is understood as linked to the desire for *belonging* (Baumeister, and Leary 1995) and, therefore, as an act with strong connotations to citizenship. If such communication is missing, then students' participation may seem to be a part of the missionary agendas of some inspired members of staff rather than a political act springing from commitment, a sense of responsibility and a sense of community.

Finally, an implication of the results of this study concern specifically the role of the students in relation to all of the above. Students' active involvement should not be restricted to specific, adult-defined activities but should extend to all fields of public life in which students are involved. This does not necessarily mean a change to the way that the public life is organised. It means, however, a shift in the attitudes towards young people and students. It needs *respect to reasoning* (Crick, 2003, p. 27) as Mrs Riggs portrays when she makes students aware of the reasons that some things cannot change in the school. This respect needs to be embedded in all forms of policy making, especially when it concerns young people. Public life needs to engage young citizens by informing, disclosing rationales, actively portraying societal expectation that these young people should actively participate. In relation to the implementation of Citizenship Education, this view, together with all the suggestions and thoughts presented in this thesis suggest that possibly, one of the deficiencies of the current model of Citizenship Education applied in schools is that it may not give enough opportunities to become itself the object of students' scrutiny. For the subject to achieve its aims, it may be necessary for the school community to develop a sense of

commitment and ownership towards the subject. For this to happen, it is necessary for students (and teachers) to feel that they are actively involved in the construction of the subject, the definition of its content, its aims and methodology.

5. Future research

a) Methodological Suggestions

Carrying out the study which is presented in this thesis has revealed the need for some particular issues to be taken into account by researchers investigating the fields of Citizenship Education and human interaction in the context of formal education.

One such issue that the researcher had to resolve is related to the contextualisation of the interaction between students and teachers within the limits of Citizenship Education and more specifically to the identification of these limits. This issue is closely related with the cross-curricular implementation of the subject but also with the subject's close association to the school's ethos. From the early stages of this study it became clear that the multidimensionality of the nature of the ethos could jeopardise the maintenance of a clear focus which is a necessary condition for the systematic collection and analysis of data. In order to resolve this issue the researcher had to turn to the suggestions contained in the theoretical and methodological foundations of this study. In that respect, the responsibility for the identification of the lessons and aspects of the school life that are relevant to Citizenship Education was carried out mainly (but not solely) by the participants in this study. The researcher however, recognises that there are functions of the school life that can be relevant to Citizenship Education which may not be recognised by the members of the school community as such. The most obvious example would be the lessons on subjects which are not included in the list which, according to the management team of Hillcliff High, are assigned with the

implementation of Citizenship Education. There is very little to suggest that lessons in Maths or in Science classrooms (subjects which are not included in this list) or indeed the interaction between students and teachers within those classrooms is less significant or relevant to Citizenship Education than the one taking place in the classrooms of 'citizenship – relevant' subjects. In that respect, the researcher had to accept that in some cases the drawing of the lines which defined Citizenship Education (and contextualised the interaction between students and teachers) were based on the school's community (and particularly of the management team's) unchallenged perceptions of Citizenship Education. He had also to remain alert in order to deal with the propensity of these lines to blur when examined in the context of the school ethos. Long discussions during supervision were devoted on this issue and those discussions are considered retrospectively as an essential tool for the researcher to maintain the focus on a tightly defined topic.

An important methodological issue that was necessary to be addressed within this study is related to the interpretation and analysis of the evidence, especially in relation to the researcher's commitment to look beyond the literal, 'surface' meanings and to 'analyse participants' actions on a semiotic, dramaturgical and phenomenological base' (see p. 51 in this thesis). This commitment raised two major issues. The first is related to the identification of the symbolic dimension of actions, rituals and objects which are embedded in the school life. Reflecting on the experience acquired from this study the researcher considers that the skill to identify such dimensions is dependent upon the ability of the observer to achieve a degree of dissociation and un-familiarisation from the school life. The researchers need to leave out of the research site much of what they already know about schools and schooling and they need to start experiencing and viewing the school life afresh. An example of the outcome of such process can be viewed in the case of the 'classroom ownership' which has been discussed in this thesis. The use of the classroom's keys – to take one of the founding elements of that

discussion – has been an unquestionable part of the teacher's role which the researcher himself had performed for long periods in the past. The initial identification of a symbolic dimension in this aspect of the teachers' role was the outcome of numerous observations of the life in the schools of the pilot study and only after his conscious effort to identify similarities between teachers' and students' 'performances' and those of other professionals who operate in other, non-educational institutions. This process helped him to build a new perspective to view and examine the school life which he used also to re-visit his own practice. The interpretation of that symbolic dimension however, it was a task that raised the second major issue in relation to the researcher's commitment to look beyond 'the literal and the surface meanings'. This is the issue of the validity of that interpretation which had to be addressed by means that exceeded the development and implementation of a model for systematic analysis of evidence or the employment of methods such as the peer debriefing and the negative case analysis (see p. 142 in this thesis). As with the identification of the 'context' (Citizenship Education' – see previous paragraph), the theoretical pathways of this study suggested that it was mainly the participants who could bear the responsibility to reject or validate such interpretations. This raised the need for a continuous and systematic member-checking on the analysis of the evidence with a special focus on the identification and symbolic interpretation of this evidence. The need for continuous member checking was addressed through the incorporation of purposefully designed questions used in the informal meetings and occasionally in the interviews with participants. (See for example the first and second question in the interview with Damien, pp. 197-8.) Meetings with the participants during the analysis stage and for the dissemination of the findings provided the researcher with opportunities for more systematic member checking. These meetings proved particularly useful not only because they contributed to the empowerment of the participants who had the responsibility to reject or validate the researcher's interpretations but also because they engaged the school community into discussions about the school life, about the hidden

meanings of their actions and about the possible interpretations of their roles and performances. Those sessions were also valuable because they revealed to the interacting parts each other's (often significantly differing) symbolic interpretations of various aspects of the school life; in that sense, the validation of the researcher's interpretations provided the interacting parties with the opportunity to understand each other, to introspect their performances and improve their interaction.

One significant aspect of the experience acquired from the analysis of the evidence of this study is related to the appreciation of the importance of a systematic early engagement of the researcher with this process. As it was mentioned in a couple of occasions in the fourth part of this thesis (discussion) there has been cases (very few indeed) that findings remained incomplete and claims could not be fully supported because of their late identification in the analysis. This late identification has as a consequence a lack of systematically gathered data which could be able to support those claims (see for example the issue of teachers' avoidance to visit specific parts of the school – pp. 162-3). It is felt that this limitation of this study confirms the need for an early implementation of a systematic method of analysis with a care for an employment of a versatile progressive focussing' strategy (Cohen et al, 2000, pp. 147-8).

An issue that has already been discussed in the methodology chapter but it is meaningful to be briefly negotiated again in this section is the importance of the selection of the appropriate site for a case study with similar focus as the one described in this thesis. Both core aspects of this study (human interaction and Citizenship Education) are greatly affected by and they affect the school's ethos. Researchers should be aware that there may be significant peculiarities in the ethos of certain schools with obvious consequences for the generalisation of the study's findings. The diversity in the ways that schools have implemented Citizenship Education also contributes on the significance of the special care that the researcher

has to give in the selection of the study's site. The experience gained from the researcher's visit in a variety of schools during the pilot study indicates that in some cases it can be particularly difficult for the researcher to differentiate the schools the staff of which claim that 'Citizenship Education is everywhere in the curriculum' from those that Citizenship appears to be nowhere.

b) Areas for future research

As was mentioned previously, one aspect of the implications of this study is related to parents' support of Citizenship Education and to the operation of the school as a community. Any recommendation in that direction, however, needs to be based on a clear view of parents' perspectives regarding the issues raised in this thesis. The construction of this view should be one of the priorities of future research concerned with the issues raised by this study. Also necessary is the investigation of the school leaders' and policy makers' perspectives regarding the operation of the school as a political community. Such information would not only allow us to establish a better view of the role of the 'invisible audience' but also of the ways that we can promote the communication between everyone involved in the formation of the school ethos.

One area which could be investigated is the extent to which and the particular ways that the interaction between students and teachers in Citizenship Education is effected by the participants' cultural background. It would be particularly useful for such a study to seek to describe the sense of *ownership* as this is constructed by students from ethnic minorities towards their school. In a small scale investigation of this issue that the researcher of this study conducted in 1999, students from ethnic minorities seemed to be marginalized within their own school community and to be interacting with their teachers in a more impersonal and unengaged manner than their peers.

Indications exist within the data of this study that differences in the model of interaction and participants' perspectives are influenced by students' academic performance. This is an issue that is worth investigating further since it could support or dispute some of the claims made in this thesis.

A note that the researcher feels that needs to be added at this final section of this thesis is a suggestion for future research in the area of Citizenship Education to seek students' perspectives on the implementation of the subject. Some attempts have been made (for example the 2005 NFER longitudinal study (Kerr, 2005)) but they do not always seem to integrate within their methodologies an interest to investigate students' perspectives but rather to collect information to *inform* the successful implementation of the subject. Part of this 'subject' however, is the students' participation; when our aim is the successful implementation of this aspect then this 'subject' should be integrated in and promoted through our methodologies; we, as researchers inevitably become a part of this subject, we become advocates of students' participation, and we act as teachers of Citizenship Education.

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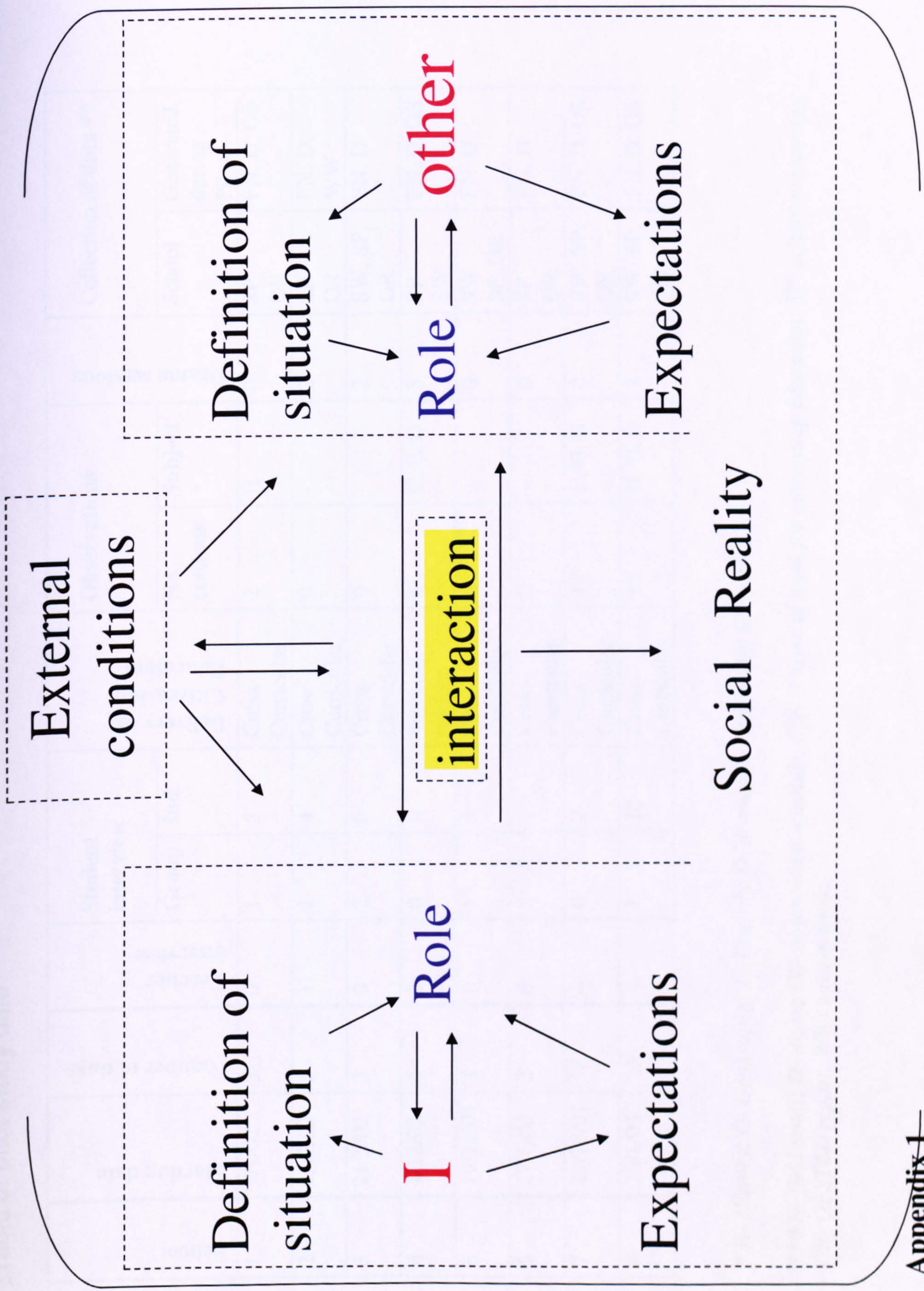
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APPENDICES



**Appendix 2
Table of pilot study data**

School	Starting date	Number of days	Teacher interview		Student interview		Delivery of Citizenship Education	Observations		Drama sessions	Collection of data **	
			Teacher interview	Ind.	Group	Ind.		No. sessions	Subject *		School	Generated during Pilot
1	9/1/02	3	0		1	5	Cross-Curricular	2	H	0	SP OR	FN, D, OS
2	25/2/02	5	1		1	4	Cross-Curricular	0	-	2	SP OR	FN, D, WW
3	21/5/02	3	0		2	0	Cross-Curricular	0	-	2	SW, SP, OR	FN, D
4	4/12/02	6	2		0	0	Separate subject	4	C, E, D	8	SP SW	FN, D, OS
5	19/12/01	3	0		1	5	Cross-Curricular	0	-	0	SW SP, OR	FN, D
6	27/6/02	3	0		3	2	Cross-Curricular	0	-	0	SP OR	FN, D
7	29/10/01	18	4		0	7	Cross-Curricular	12	E, G, H	0	SW, SP, OR	FN, D, OS
8	20/1/03	26	4		1	12	Cross-Curricular	15	H, G, E	2	SW, SP, OR	FN, D, OS

* H- History; G- Geography; E- English; D- drama; C- Citizenship Education

** FN- field notes; D- diary; OS- observation schedule; SW- scheme of work for citizenship education; SP- school prospectus; OR- OFSTED report; WW: written work;

Appendix 2
Table of pilot study data

School	School type *	Approximate Number on roll	% 5 GCSEs A*-C	% SEN	Attendance	Permanent exclusions (2002/2003)	Fixed term exclusions (2002/2003)	% free school meals	% of black/ ethnic minority students	% English as additional language
1	C	1060	20	7.39	85.15	5	114	34.28	7.31	4.31
2	C	1100	28	27.97	86.83	8	223	32.56	15	10.94
3	C	900	65	6.75	93.52	1	76	11.01	6.76	2.18
4	C	600	22	15.1	80.97	3	237	46.76	39.19	32.33
5	C	1000	35	23.15	89.13	5	154	30.62	12.5	16.76
6	C	900	58	10.4	91.26	6	211	23.38	25.2	11.34
7	SE	200	0	100	75.91	4	98	96.13	16.85	8.61
8	G	1000	63	8.26	94.2	1	64	6.2	29.84	13.1

* C- Comprehensive, 11-16; G- Grammar; SE- Special Education

Appendix 3
Overview of the main study 2003-2004

MAIN STUDY OVERVIEW

INTERVIEWS

a. STAFF INTERVIEWS

Staff	
Head of Art	√
Head of History	√
Head of English	√
English Teacher (N.Q.T.)	√
Head of Geography	√
Geography Teacher (1)	√
Geography Teacher (2)	√
Head of PSE	√
PSHE teacher	√
Drama Teacher	√
Head of R.E.	√
Citizenship coordinator	√
L.S.A. (1)	√
L.S.A. (2)	√
Head teacher	(informal)

Key:

1 st part – 2003	2 nd part - 2004
-----------------------------	-----------------------------

Appendix 3
Overview of the main study 2003-2004

MAIN STUDY OVERVIEW: OBSERVATIONS

A. LESSONS

SUBJECT	1	2	3	4	5
Art	(H) Y7	(H) Y8	(H) Y9	(H) Y9	(H) Y10
Business Studies					
Drama	(T) Y7	(T) Y8	(T) Y8	(T) Y9	(T) Y10
English	(H) Y7	(H) Y8	(H) Y8	(H) Y9	(N.Q.T.) Y9
Geography	(T1) Y7	(T1) Y8	(T1) Y9	(T2) Y9	(T2) Y10
History	(H) Y8	(H) Y9	(H) Y9	(H) Y10	(H) Y10
P.S.H.E.	(H) Y7	(H) Y8	(T) Y9	(T) Y10	
R.E.	(H) Y7	(H) Y8	(H) Y9	(H) Y10	(H) Y10

H= Head of the subject
T, T1, T2 etc = Teacher
N.Q.T. = Newly Qualified Teacher

B. ACTIVITIES AND OUTINGS

• Geography outing 1	Y9	√
• Penal system awareness	KS3	√
• Geography outing 2	Y9	√
• Election Day	KS3, KS4	√
•		

1st part – 2003 2nd part - 2004 **Key:**

Appendix 3
Overview of the main study 2003-2004

DATA – SUMMARY

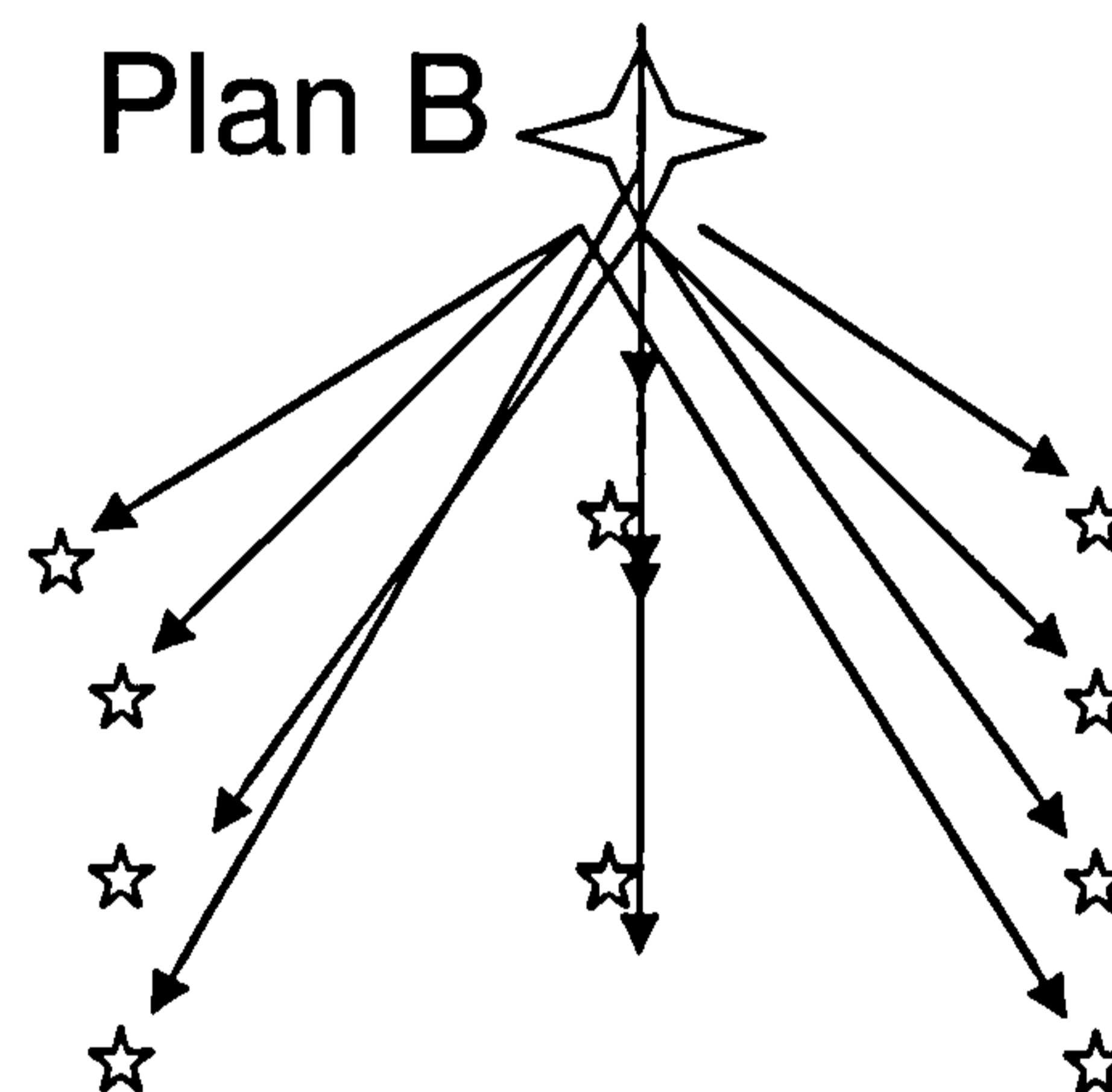
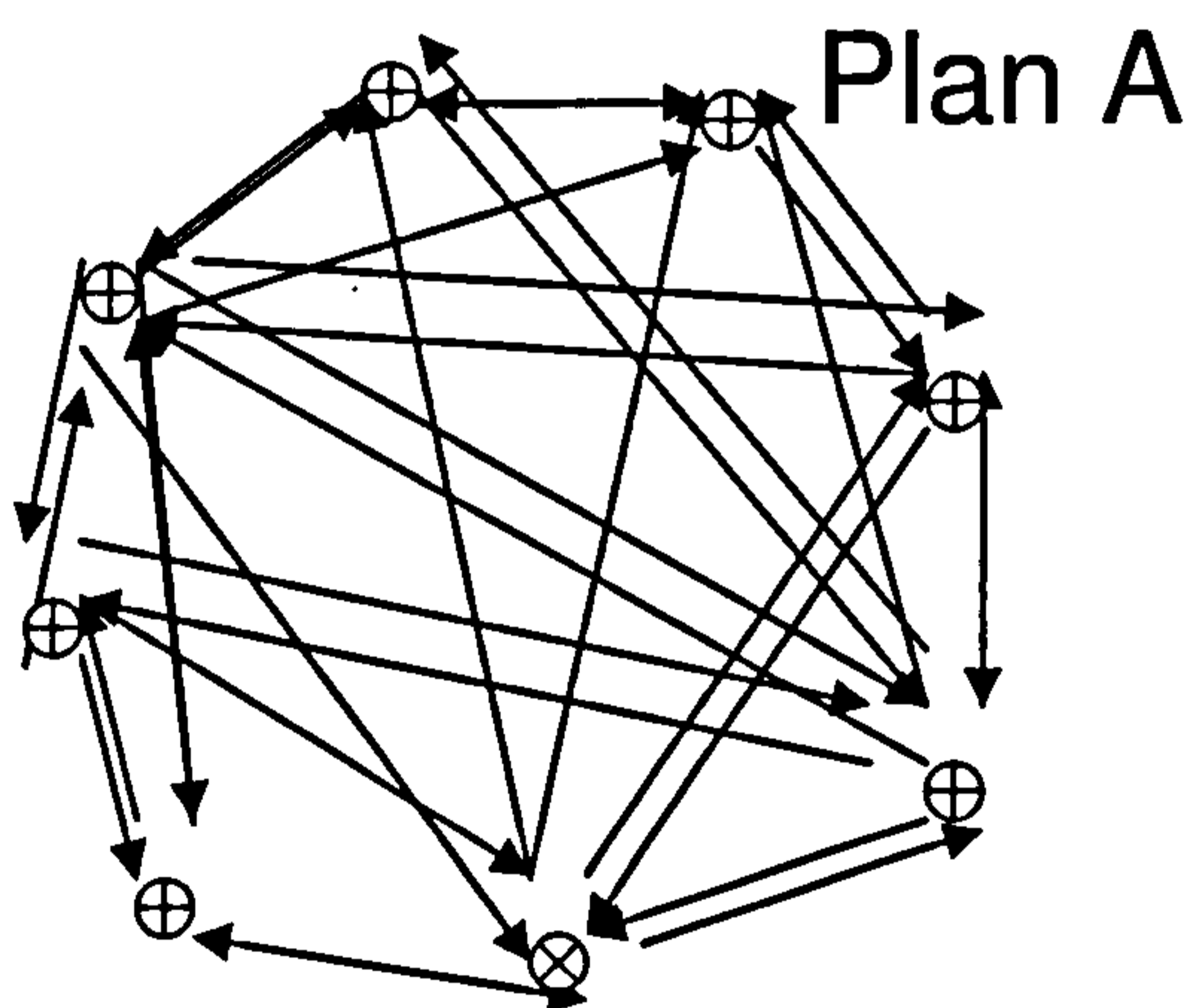
INTERVIEWS	Students	43	Staff	15
	Recorded	43	Recorded	14
	Fully transcribed	20	Fully transcribed	14
	Partially transcribed	23	Partially transcribed	-
Total: 58				

OBSERVATIONS & FIELD NOTES	Lessons	35
	Outings / activities	4
	Field notes	19 files (all partially transcribed)

ROLE PLAYS	Y7	2
	Y8	1
	Y9	1
	Y10	1
	6th form	1
	Total	6

Students' Interview schedule

1. How would you describe the 'ideal relationship' that you would like to have with your teachers?
 - a. Are there any teachers with whom you have developed such relationship?
 - b. What are the reasons that you develop better relationships with some teachers more than others?
2. What is the 'ideal teacher' for you?
 - a. What do you expect from your teacher?
3. What is the 'ideal student' for you?
 - a. How do you think your teachers would describe the 'ideal student'?
4. How would you describe a classroom in different subjects:
 - a. (alternative descriptions)



5. Do you have a **students' council** in your school?
 - a. What is its role? Do you participate?
 - b. Do you think that there should be more opportunities for the students to participate in the way that the school is run? Why?
6. What do you think is the ideal relationship that the teachers want to develop with their students?
7. What would be the things that you would change in the school to help you develop a better relationship with the teachers?
 - a. (Are there reasons for not having the ideal relationship that are not in yours and the teachers' control?)

Appendix 5
Teachers' interview schedule

TEACHERS' INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Factors determine the kind and quality of interaction and relationship that is developed between students and teachers.
 - Factors related to students (...personal qualities?. .behaviour?.. academic performance?... age?... gender?... cultural background?...).
 - Factors related to teachers (..general attitude?... use of authority?... personality?... subject knowledge – expertise?... subject ?... age?... gender?..)
2. Give a description of the **“ideal” relationship** you would like to develop – or have developed – with students.
3. Do you feel that the development of such a relationship is feasible in the school you are currently working in?
 - (→ if there are obstacles, where are they located? – school, educational policy, students' behaviour / background / other..?).
4. How big a part of your **teaching style** do you feel that you have developed with the aim of enabling the development of better relationships with students?
5. How necessary do you believe that **authority** is in effective teaching? What is the purpose of it –where does it come from (**sources**)?
6. Is there any space for students to **practice** their **democratic** skills in your classroom?
 - (How) could things be better?
 - Same for whole school
7. What do you think that students **expect** from their teachers?
 - (how do these expectations match up with yours?)
8. How do you think that **students** would describe the **'ideal student'**?
9. (what is the 'ideal student' for the students?)

Appendix 5
Teachers' interview schedule

10. If we consider school classes as teams, teacher should be:

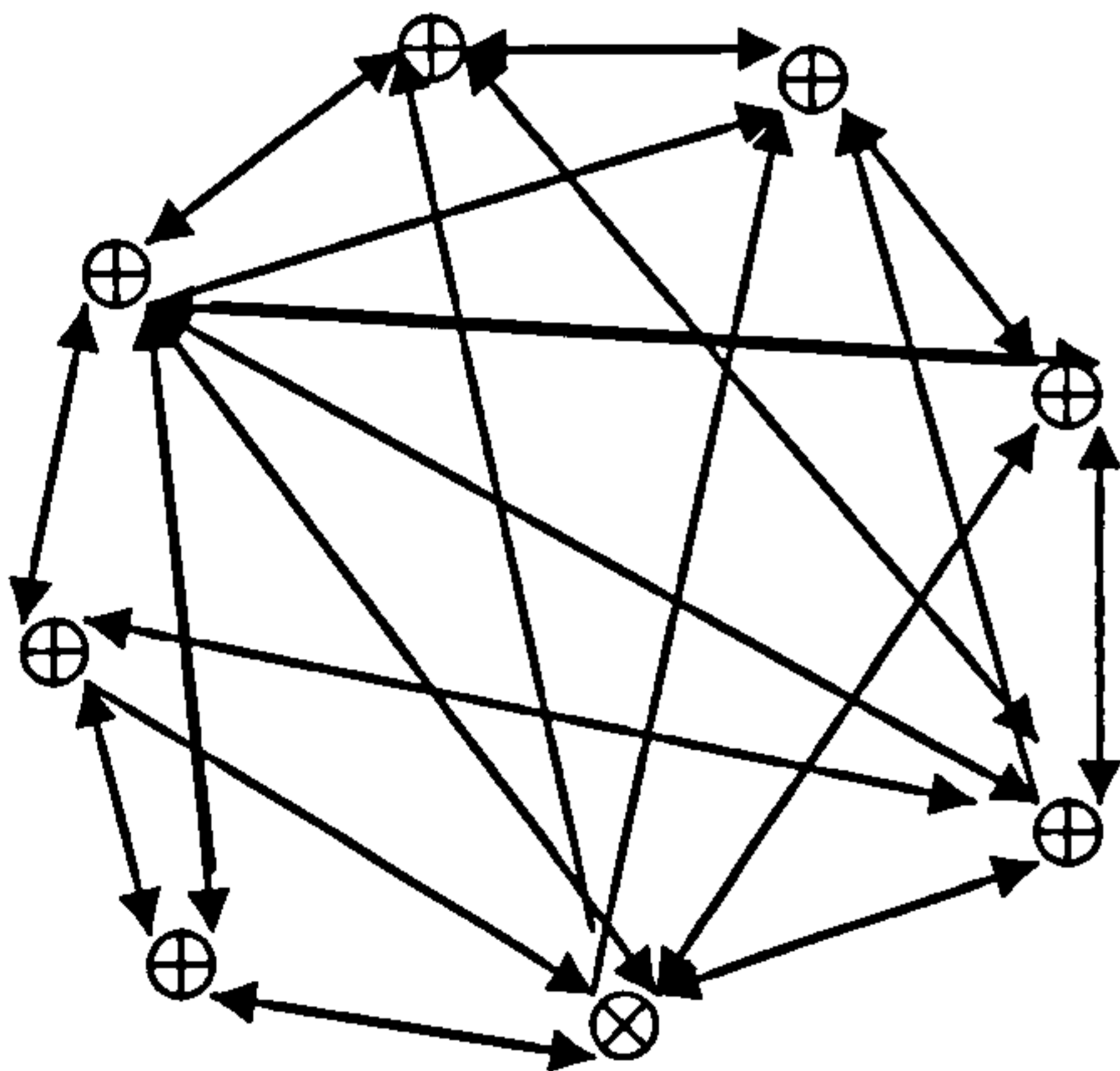
- ▶ standing outside of the team
- ▶ an equal member of the team
- ▶ a special member of the team
- ▶ ..(Other)



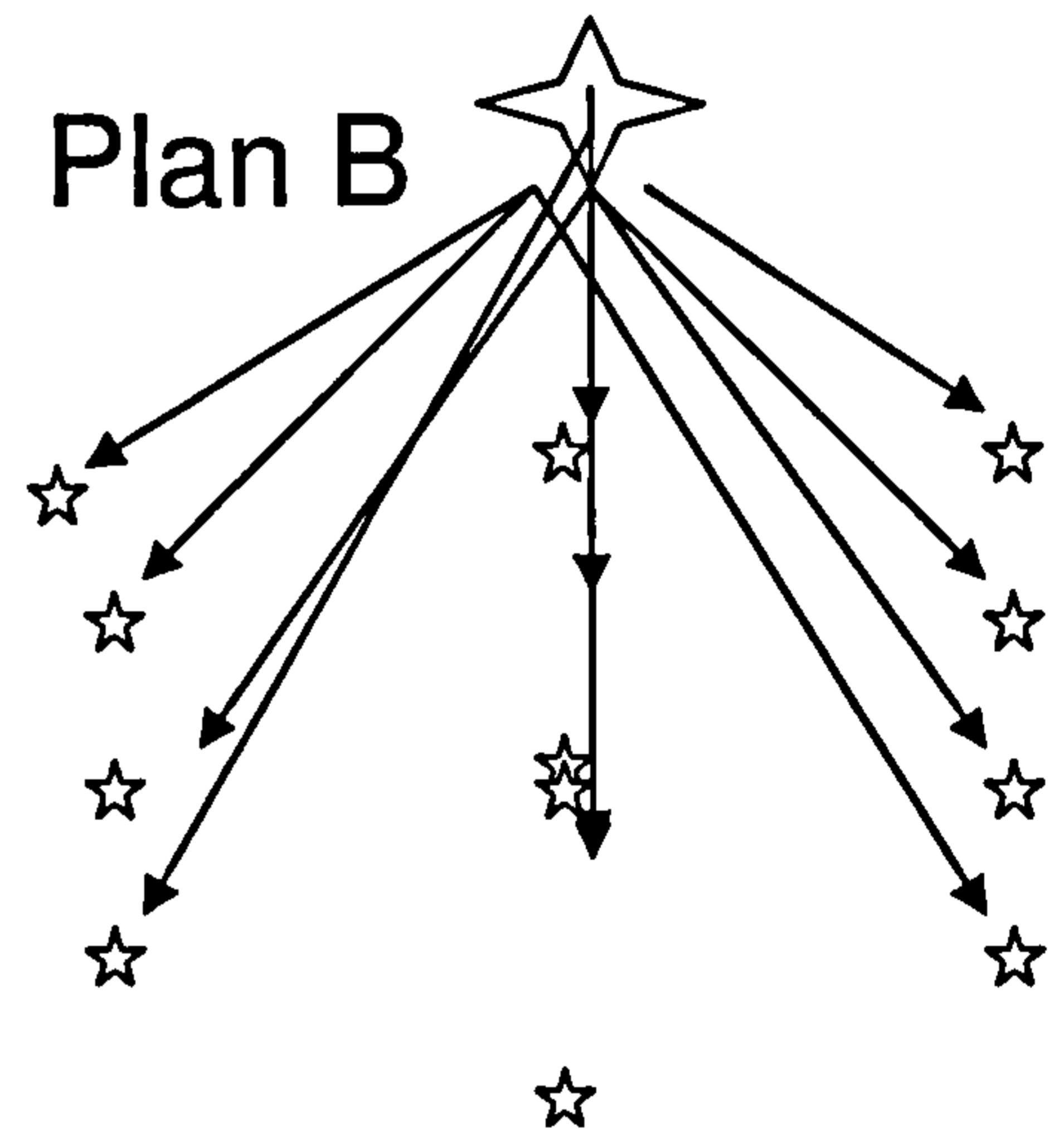
- ▶ coordinator
- ▶ learning facilitator
- ▶ leader
- ▶ guard
- ▶ ... (Other)...

11. Which plan represents better the interaction in your classes? (maybe a combination of the two?)

Plan A



Plan B



12. Do you see any way that the relationship students develop with their teachers can affect their –present and future- political attitude?

Appendix 6
Observation schedule

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Date: Week: 1 2	Class:	Observation no: <i>Date of 1st obs:</i>
Subject:	Topic:	Report:

A. CLASSROOM

1. Displays:

2. Classroom setting

B. LESSON

Introduction to class	
-----------------------	--

Lesson starts	

Appendix 6
Observation schedule

C. T/S

1. Student's name	<i>Tally:</i>	
<i>Comments:</i>		
2. Student's cultural background	<i>Tally:</i>	
<i>Comments:</i>		
3. Student's personal life	<i>Tally:</i>	
<i>Comments:</i>		
4. Promotion of school rules	<i>Tally:</i>	
<i>Comments:</i>		
5. Delivery of instructions	<i>Instructions:</i>	<i>Invitations:</i>
<i>Comments:</i>		

Appendix 6
Observation schedule

6. Promotion of group work	<i>Tally:</i>
<i>Comments:</i>	

7. Closed/open questions	<i>Open:</i>
	<i>Closed:</i>
<i>Comments:</i>	

8. Presentation of personal ideas/ experiences	<i>Tally:</i>
<i>Comments:</i>	

9. Use of threats	<i>Tally:</i>
<i>Comments (reasons/types):</i>	

10. Use of punishment	<i>Tally:</i>
<i>Comments (reasons/types):</i>	

**Appendix 6
Observation schedule**

D. STUDENTS

Involvement

Spontaneity

Presentation of personal ideas/ experiences.	Tally:
Comments:	

Addressing teacher		
Questioning knowledge delivered	Personal questions	Subject matter
Assistance in lesson	Complaints	Lesson planning issues

Appendix 6
Observation schedule

E. General notes

..Other..

G. Comments

Questions/issues for teacher interviews

Questions/issues for student interviews

Appendix 7
Key to notation on interview transcripts

Key to Notation on Interview Transcripts

- (abc) ----- = addition (usually explanatory)
- W w w ----- = variations in volume
- ... / / ----- = short / medium / long pause (about 1/2/3 sec)
- ... ----- = pause for emphasis rather than for thinking
- ☺ ----- = light laugh / loud smile.
- ☺+----- = laugh
- [L/Sph? 123] ----- = long / short unclear phrase. The number refers to the reading on the transcription device's counter.
- [w? 123] ----- = unclear word (w/w/w = number of words). The number refers to the reading on the transcription device's counter.
- **Abc...**----- = loud / stress point / word
- Abc... ----- = stressed point (but not loud – possibly a word or phrase that is said slowly).
- **Abc...** ----- = over-stressed point
- | ----- = the person that speaks is interrupted by the other.
- / ----- = the speaker interrupts himself. After ... means that s/he is more confident –usually the 1st word/s louder.
- - ----- = self interruption again, but there is continuation of the same thought.
- E.I. (...) ----- = external interruption and explanation.
- <*> ----- = affirmative action / sign / sound.
- ^.....^ ----- = the words between the symbol ^ are stressed in a form of questioning. Usually they are at the end of a phrase with affirmative meaning adding to the endorsement in the statement (like adding: 'isn't it?'). Sometimes the stress of the last words indicates some surprise or that the speaker is in doubt.
- 111-2 = from 111 to 112
- 111/2 = between 111 and 112

Appendix 7

Key to notation on interview transcripts

- Emotions (all in {} within the text. E.g.: {sht: we are in control})

- {} = Impressed
- {:-()} = Sad
- {unhp} = Unhappy
- {ang} = Angry
- {v.ang } = Very angry
- {dtmn} = Determined
- {btr} = Bitter
- {srpsd} = Surprised
- {scpt} = Sceptical
- {www} = Talking fast, enthusiastically
- {srcs} = sarcasm
- {irnc} = ironically
- {thrt} = threat
- {hstt} = hesitation
- {dspmnt} = disappointment
- {sht} = Shouting

Appendix 9
Day plan

DATE: _____.

Michalis – day plan

OBSERVATIONS

STAFF INTERVIEWS

STUDENTS' INTERVIEWS

<p><u>P1: 8:50 – 9: 45</u></p> <p>SUBJECT:</p> <p>TEACHER:</p> <p>ROOM: CLASS:</p>	<p>• <u>8:55</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>ROOM:</p>	<p>• <u>8:55</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>YEAR: _____.</p>	M F T L
		<p>• <u>9:20</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>YEAR: _____.</p>	M F T L
<p><u>P2: 9:45 - 10:45</u></p> <p>SUBJECT:</p> <p>TEACHER:</p> <p>ROOM: CLASS:</p>	<p>• <u>9:50</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>ROOM:</p>	<p>• <u>9:50</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>YEAR: _____.</p>	M F T L
		<p>• <u>10:15</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>YEAR: _____.</p>	M F T L

B R E A K : 10 : 45 - 11 : 05

<p><u>P3: 11:05 - 12:05</u></p> <p>SUBJECT:</p> <p>TEACHER:</p> <p>ROOM: CLASS:</p>	<p>• <u>11:10</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>ROOM:</p>	<p>• <u>11:10</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>YEAR: _____.</p>	M F T L
		<p>• <u>11:35</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>YEAR: _____.</p>	M F T L
<p><u>P4: 12:05 – 13:05</u></p> <p>SUBJECT:</p> <p>TEACHER:</p> <p>ROOM: CLASS:</p>	<p>• <u>12:10</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>ROOM:</p>	<p>• <u>12:10</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>YEAR: _____.</p>	M F T L
		<p>• <u>12:30</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>YEAR: _____.</p>	M F T L

L U N C H & R E G. : 13 : 05 - 14 : 15

<p><u>P5: 14:15 – 15:15</u></p> <p>SUBJECT:</p> <p>TEACHER:</p> <p>ROOM: CLASS:</p>	<p>• <u>14:20</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>ROOM:</p>	<p>• <u>14:20</u></p> <p>NAME:</p> <p>YEAR: _____.</p>	M F T L

**Appendix 10
Hillcliff High**

Hillcliff High										
School data (aprox)										
School type ***										
C	1100									
	Number on roll									
	% 5 GCSEs A*-C									
	11.80									
	% SEN									
	93									
	Attendance									
	8									
	Permanent exclusions (2002/2003)									
	185									
	Fixed term exclusions (2002/2003)									
	13.8									
	% free school meals									
	27.14									
	% of black/ethnic minority students									
	14.56									
	% English as an additional language									

*** C- comprehensive