Citizenship Teaching and Learning

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citzED is funded by the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) in the UK. citizED is a collaboration within higher education organised principally around citizenship education in primary, secondary, cross curricular, post 16 and community involvement contexts. It is working in partnership with a wide variety of individuals and organisations including the Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT).

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CiCea (Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe http://cice.londonmet.ac.uk/) emerges from one of the European Commission's Socrates Thematic Networks. Cice is a network of about 100 higher education institutions, from 29 countries in Europe sharing an interest in the way in which children and young people learn about citizenship in the European context, and how they construct their identities.

About ‘Citizenship Teaching and Learning’

The Journal focuses on citizenship teaching and learning in all contexts, for all ages within and beyond schools; international, global and cosmopolitan with a commitment to academic excellence within diverse democracies.

Citizenship and civics education are diverse and contested fields encompassing, amongst other matters, social and moral considerations, community involvement and political literacy. The Journal appeals to those large academic and professional populations within the field of social studies education. The Journal exists as an international forum in which researchers, policy makers, administrators and practising professionals in a range of local, national and global contexts and age-related phases within and beyond formal educational institutions report and discuss their on-going or completed work.

Previous issues can be downloaded for free from http://www.citized.info/e-journal.

Linked to the Journal is an international conference on citizenship education – an annual conference that takes place at venues across the world drawing together experts on citizenship education from across the globe.
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Introductory Editorial

I am delighted to write a brief introduction to this special issue of *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*. The publication of this edition of the Journal is our first special issue. I am extremely grateful to Kerry Kennedy and Wing On Lee who have achieved a magnificent outcome in their roles as guest editors. A few words will explain the thinking behind special issues for *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* and to make clear my reaction to the pieces that are included here.

citizED and the individuals who work within it are committed to coherent, diverse and dynamic understandings of citizenship education. The outcomes of our work (including this edition of *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*) allow us to explore citizenship education, share insightful ideas and build on the foundations of good practice that already exist in many parts of the world. We do not wish to identify precise substantive forms of citizenship education and assert that they are somehow unproblematically better than others. That would be a perverse way to proceed in the development of understanding and practice devoted to multicultural democratic societies. Rather we want to allow voices from around the world to be heard and to contribute to a dialogue that will help us make a difference.

As such there are several points that follow from the above and are relevant to a consideration of this first special issue.

- **Our commitment to collaboration requires partnership within a framework.** Special issues that are guest edited by experts allow us not only to generate new insights but to do in a way that is an expression of our determination to be inclusive. The guest editors are more than ‘guests’.

- **Citizenship Teaching and Learning** is formally described on our web site as an international journal. The word ‘international’ has a number of meanings. Increasingly, I prefer ‘cosmopolitan’ to ‘international’ (the latter suggesting too much reliance on a simple collaboration between nation states) and I am very pleased that the editors and authors of this edition have taken us well beyond the confines of nation states in generating their work. ‘International’ is also used as an indication of academic quality and not just as reference to geographical origin or political perspective. The work included here – even when it relates to work within one country or area within in a country - will be of interest to academics around the world.

- **The choice of the theme of this special issue – Asia – is a signal that we are not content to talk about citizenship within narrow ‘western’ limits.** Asia is massively significant in its own right and the articles that are included here are full of insightful analytical comment. Something of the complexity of citizenship education in Asia is revealed by case studies and evaluations with elements of comparative work included.

- **In this edition of the Journal there is a broad coverage of themes relevant to citizenship education.** Political, social and moral and community issues are all explored. There is, therefore, a very valuable partial coverage of some of the main features of citizenship education and a means of beginning to understand the key aspects of developments in Asia.
The interpretations that the authors and readers bring to these articles are dependent on context. ‘Citizenship’ does not mean the same everywhere. People will write according to their understanding of a range of cultural traditions, and what may be positive to one person may be seen as lacking critical edge in another. The opportunity to read the work of the authors based in Asia is valuable especially when that work challenges our perspectives.

Kerry Kennedy and Wing On Lee have recruited a talented team of authors to write on diverse topics relevant to citizenship education and skilfully edited their work so that it can be brought to the attention of a very wide audience. The guest editors of the first special issue of the citizED journal have developed our understandings and have inspired us all to find out more and to collaborate with those who are so fruitfully involved in the promotion of citizenship education in Asia.

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Guest Editors’ Introduction

Citizenship Education in Asia: Diversity, Tradition and Challenges for New Times

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This Special Edition is focused on Asia, or more correctly East Asia. It is important to state at the beginning that the themes we are able to draw from the papers included in this edition are not representative of Asia or East Asia. Indeed, we would need to devote several books to this topic if we wanted to represent the diversity of the geographic entity that makes up the Asian continent. That diversity is religious, political, social, economic and cultural in the deepest sense of all those terms. While we acknowledge and respect this diversity, we have not attempted to reproduce it here.

Rather, in this edition, we wanted to highlight issues that we thought would be relevant for both understanding the region as well as gaining deeper insights into the nature and purpose of citizenship education. Thus we have not tried to develop an ‘Asian’ perspective on citizenship education, although we have tried to do that elsewhere (for example, see Lee, Grossman, Kennedy and Fairbrother, 2004). We were more interested here to see how national contexts construct citizenship education in particular ways. The following issues have been addressed:

- The subject based delivery of citizenship education in a Korean context
- The status of global citizenship education in Hong Kong and Shanghai
- New approaches to moral education in the People’s Republic of China
- The shift from cultural nationalism to political nationalism in Japanese citizenship education
- The political socialization of politically active students in Hong Kong
- The role of lifelong learning in promoting citizenship education in different Asian countries

There are a number of generalizations that can be made about the East Asian cases included in this special edition.

‘Strong states’ and politics in citizenship education

It is clear that citizenship education is both a national concern and a personal construction in all of the cases outlined here. The cases of Japan and the People’s Republic of China, for example, show the extent to which the state actively intervenes to create a vision that guides the preparation of citizens. Politically, of course, the two states have different systems and the visions that each espouses are
different. Yet each country reflects a ‘strong state’ perspective when it comes to citizenship education. The same can be said of Korea.

Despite the democratic transition in Korea and Japan, the state has maintained a strong stance when it comes to education. Western ideas appear to have greater penetration in both countries probably because their recent history has brought them into direct and significant contact with the United States. Thus ‘social studies’ and ‘lifelong learning’, both very much western constructions, have found their way into their education policies. What is interesting to learn from the case of Korea’s social studies reported here is that there is as much ‘cultural manoeuvring’ at the level of the school as there was in importing these western ideas in the first place. However, the cultures of subjects and academic departments play a significant role in Korean Middle Schools, a role that is not always supportive of citizenship education.

Cultural manoeuvring for national citizenship education in Asian countries

Cultural manoeuvring seems to be an important process used in many Asian countries to highlight the significance of national cultures as distinct from globalized culture and even distinct from ‘Asian’ culture. The most extreme example in this edition is the case of Japan. The citizenship curriculum is obviously Japan-centred, to an extent that Asia is either ignored or not seen as relevant to Japan’s citizenship education. The focus on national culture and values is not too far from the surface in Korea and China. This starts to question the very idea of ‘Asian’ culture and puts the focus much more on national cultures. The relationship between national culture and Asian culture that has emerged from this edition deserves future investigation.

This focus on national cultures is nowhere more important than when it comes to assimilating western concepts and materials into national citizenship education. The citizenship curriculum developed is thus open to the West but remains conservative (in preserving traditions) that would best serve the national interests. In many ways, the cultural arguments are intertwined with national interests, and the cultural arguments are thus political. An example can be drawn from the development of social studies in Korea. This phenomenon is expressed in a nutshell by Jho in his analysis Social Studies in Korea. According to him, the definition of social studies has been subject to social and cultural modifications, and has been closely accompanied by the legacy of a strong state, an ideology of nationalism mixed with anti-communism.

Cultural manoeuvring in Japan is quite distinctive. The State integrates the self (individual), the nation and globalization for the national interest while at the same time excluding any conception of an ‘Asian’ perspective for young Japanese citizens. Self-realisation is linked with the happiness of national citizens. Cultural nationalism becomes a justification for the provision of only one version of history being taught as ‘the’ truth and as uncontroversial facts, for the purpose of “deepening love for our country’s history, and develop self-awareness [sic] as a national citizen” (p15). Cultural nationalism thereby forms the ground for political nationalism. What is more, globalization also serves cultural purposes in Japan. Instead of facilitating the citizens to develop an open attitude towards the global society, globalization is used as a rationale for cultural nationalism: “to develop self-awareness as Japanese people living in international society” (p14).
Eclectic conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education

Despite the strong state’s cultural manoeuvring, the papers in this edition show that Asian countries are increasingly a part of the global community. The latest citizenship curricula of many Asian countries comprise concepts, subjects and teaching approaches probably imported from the West. Park’s paper has identified the growth of lifelong learning, community-based learning and service learning in many Asian countries. Jho has analysed the introduction of social studies in Korea (and social studies has also been introduced in Hong Kong and China [as integrated studies], and other Asian countries as well). In a volatile situation today, as Asian countries face various changes and challenges generated from interactions with the global community, it is inevitable that various concepts and interests would confront each other. It is therefore important to for us to caution that Asian conceptions of citizenship not be stereotyped or seen as static. As a matter of fact, conceptions of citizenship in Asian countries are constantly being adjusted in response to the changing social, economic and political circumstances within and outside their countries.

Eclecticism may be the best term to describe the main feature of citizenship education in Asian countries today. Leung’s paper on political socialization in Hong Kong highlights the eclectic citizenship concepts of selected students and teachers in Hong Kong. He finds a mix of citizenship concepts from his student subjects, such as ‘personally responsible citizen’, ‘participatory citizen’ and ‘justice-oriented citizens’. Leung’s observation echoes another study of secondary school in Hong Kong, which describes Hong Kong’s citizenship education as eclectic, characterized as a mixture of religious education, civic education, personal and social education, sex education, media education, environmental education, and etc. (Lee, 2004).

Although we have highlighted above that citizenship education in the Asian country cases is strongly characterized by strong state politics and cultural manoeuvring, the boundaries of citizenship education are continuously being broadened. Park, for example, shows links between lifelong learning, community-based learning and social services in many Asian countries. Cheung points out that the boundary of citizenship education in China is being extended towards law education and psychological health education. Lee and Leung’s paper has identified that global education is also regarded as important by the secondary school teachers they surveyed.

The fluidity and unpredictability of Asian citizenship

The above analysis discusses citizenship education at the macro and policy level. If we study citizenship education at the micro and practice level, we may find concepts of citizenship and citizenship education even more fluid. ‘Strong state’ perspectives on citizenship education do not always take the responses at the next level in the system into consideration. ‘Strong states’ might dictate a vision, but schools and teachers have it in their power to subvert or distort that vision.

In the case of global citizenship education in Shanghai and Hong Kong and political socialization in Hong Kong, the views of students and teachers are expressed strongly. In Shanghai and Hong Kong for example, both teachers and students have views about what be they think should be in the curriculum when it comes to global citizenship. Yet the views from the two international cities in China are not consistent – the priority of competition for the Shanghainese and social values for the Hong Kong people reflect different cultures, different levels of
development and different attitudes to the West. That is to say, issues play out differently in different contexts and in many ways defy prediction. It is only the local, rather than the global or even the national that can explain the differences between Hong Kong and Shanghai students.

The salience of the local is highlighted again with Leung’s study on political socialization. It is particular teachers interacting with particular students that bring about certain kinds of outcomes. These outcomes it might be said are not consistent with current policy prescriptions relating to citizenship education in Hong Kong, yet they emerge as personal constructions by committed students and teachers. Leung’s paper demonstrates the role that the young citizens play in defining citizenship. His interview with secondary and tertiary students found that the political socialization process is not deterministic, and it is not possible to predict what course of actions students would choose or why the views of the socialization careers and the students sometimes agree and sometimes disagree with each other. He concludes that political socialization is an active process, and the individuals interact and negotiate with the socialization careers in specific contexts to construct their political realities.

The negotiation between socialization careers and the individuals does affect the citizenship education agenda. Cheung’s paper shows that despite a strong state intervention in citizenship education in China, the ‘negotiation’ between the state and the individuals has led to a unique phenomenon that Cheung has termed as ‘regulated individualism’. This is a version of compromise between the state of and the individuals in the process of modernization and economic liberalization in China. The notion of ‘regulated individualism’ acknowledges the growing significance of the individuals in the collectivity on the one hand, but retains a strong state perspective on the other. Translating this to the citizenship curriculum, the regulated part is reflected in law education being regarded as a component of the citizenship curriculum. On the other hand, the individualistic part is reflected in psychological health education and the increasing emphasis on ‘I’dentity in curriculum content. In Korea, the development of social studies is far from a one-sided insertion from the state. Jho points out that it has continued to be a debate in Korea in regard to the definition of social studies and integration, and it continues to reflect shifts in the political stands of the country.

**Conclusion**

In looking more deeply at the cases themselves, and the generalizations that have been derived from them, we are led to ask what lessons might be learnt from them? First, we would want to stress that these cases show us that Asia is not just an exotic location far from the Euro/American ‘centricness’ concerns that often dominate debates on citizenship education. Distinctive Asian concerns focus on young people enmeshed in rich cultural traditions and diverse political systems confronted by globalized economies accompanied by liberalized values.

It seems clear that as the Asian countries presented in this edition face the challenges of globalization they draw on national conditions and circumstances to create a citizenship education that seeks to anchor young people in traditional values. At the same time we have seen that schools, teachers and students can make a difference. Macro policy contexts may seek to develop an all embracing view of how future citizens should be prepared but local values in particular schools with particular teachers cannot be ignored. It is this interplay between the macro and the local that will determine the outcomes of citizenship education in Asian countries in the future. Macro contexts will always be a powerful influence sanctioned as they
are by the state, yet individuals cannot be discounted as significant influences at the local level.

Finally, this edition shows how the study of Asian cases provides another lens with which to view citizenship education. Yet it is a lens that is not necessarily confined to Asia. The Asian cases presented here can also contribute to the discourse of citizenship education internationally. Issues such as regulated individualism in China, cultural and political nationalism in Japan, the ideological constraints and debates on social studies in Korea, and the role that Hong Kong schools and students play in defining citizenship and citizenship education all contribute to a broader academic discourse in the field of citizenship education. We would hope that in the future there will be a greater integration of views about the nature and purpose of citizenship education and that this edition may have made some contribution towards that end.

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Asian (?) Citizenship And Identity In Japanese Education

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ABSTRACT This paper focuses on concepts of identity and citizenship promoted within the Japanese education system. Through an analysis of recent policy and curriculum documents, set within a broader historical context, the aim of the paper is to examine how education policy is used to shape Japanese children’s sense of identity and citizenship within the territorial spheres of the nation and Asia. The paper concludes that present and proposed education policy do not allow for, much less encourage, the development of identities or citizenships beyond the national sphere.

Introduction

Is Japan part of Asia? Geographically, of course it is. How about in Japanese people’s minds? A survey of 4th and 6th grade elementary school students in a rural area of Japan in 2000 found that, when asked to identify from a list of countries those which were in Asia, only 31% of Japanese students selected Japan as one of the countries (Parmenter, Lam, Seto and Tomita, 2000). Why do Japanese children not identify Japan as part of Asia? To what extent do Japanese people consider themselves to be citizens of Asia? The aim of this paper is to explore the territorial spheres of citizenship education in Japan, focusing on the nation and Asia. The highlighting of the two territorial spheres of the nation and Asia as the focus of the article means that the discussion of citizenship education in Japan presented here is partial. It also means that it is more negative than, for example, an article focusing on the issue of active citizenship education or lifelong citizenship education in Japan would be. These caveats need to be borne in mind, and other aspects of citizenship education in Japan also need to be understood in order to gain a balanced view of the whole. [1]

Citizenship education in Japan

In this section, I would like to highlight a few salient features of citizenship in Japanese education. The features highlighted are by no means an exhaustive list, and neither should they necessarily be seen as the most important features of citizenship education in Japan. They are raised here because of their relevance to the themes of Asian citizenship and national education in Japan.
Concepts and definitions: citizenship, culture and identity

In Japan, as in many other parts of Asia, there is generally a greater overlap of the concepts of citizenship, culture and identity than is found in many European, North American or Australasian nations. For example, the argument that citizenship entails status and rights while identity involves belonging and solidarity (Isin and Wood, 1999) becomes very fuzzy in Japan, where there is no single word for “citizenship”, and the most common term for “identity” is the Japanized version (aidentiti) of the English word. Lee’s (2004:27) theory of the ‘self’ as being at the centre of citizenship education in ‘the East’ provides an explanation of why the two notions of citizenship and identity are less clearly distinguished in much of Asia (at least East Asia) than in those countries which trace their philosophical citizenship roots to the Greeks and the Enlightenment. The lack of emphasis on political aspects of citizenship in Asia is also highlighted by Lee (2004:32).

First, rather than talking about politics, citizenship education in the East talks about morality. Second, many Asian countries tend to focus on the development of individuality (as far as the self is concerned) and relations (as far as society is concerned) in citizenship education.

This emphasis on the apolitical development of the self and human relations as the core of citizenship education naturally has as much to do with identity as it has to do with citizenship, and trying to dichotomise the two concepts in discussion of citizenship education in Japan is extremely difficult and potentially meaningless.

A similar problem exists in trying to separate concepts of citizenship/identity from culture. This is partly due to the fact that much of citizenship education in Japan is purportedly apolitical and so cannot be easily contrasted with culture. It is also due to the fact that education for national identity, which is an essential part of citizenship/identity education, relies so heavily on cultural nationalism in Japan (Yoshino, 1992) Basically, cultural nationalism is acceptable within the education system framework, while other forms of nationalism, as will be described later in the paper, are contested.

Explicit, implicit and absent citizenship education

As in any country, there are both explicit and implicit aspects to citizenship education in compulsory education (age 6-15) in Japan. The explicit aspect, which actually forms a relatively small part of the school experience of the individual child, is found in civics education (koumin). This comprises one-third of the social studies curriculum of junior high school, and is usually taught as a block in the third year of junior high (at age 14-15). Before this, students have a very limited amount of civics education as part of integrated social studies in their 6th year of elementary school.

The implicit part, which is not referred to by the term ‘citizenship education’ in Japan, but covers a lot of the same ground as citizenship education in other countries, is found in other curriculum subjects (especially geography, history, national language, foreign language), moral education, special activities, integrated studies, extra-curricular activities and school life. The fact that so much of what is classified as citizenship education in other countries goes under a variety of other names in Japan blurs the boundaries between citizenship, identity and culture still further. It is also relevant to the theme of this paper to emphasise that what is absent from the curriculum and educational practice (whether it be implicit or explicit) is also a vital part of citizenship education.
The remit of central government curriculum guidelines

Finally, in terms of ground-clearing, it is important to highlight the power that the central government holds in determining the aims and content of citizenship education in Japanese schools. The education system in Japan is highly centralized, and measures such as a detailed national curriculum, a textbook authorization system, textbook-centred teaching and examinations help to ensure that the policies made by the Ministry of Education reach classrooms and students as intact as possible. Furthermore, the fact that elementary and junior high schools as far apart as Hokkaido and Okinawa have very similar school systems, school routines, school events etc. means that students throughout Japan are exposed to similar, though not identical, forms of informal citizenship education.

Having emphasized these three points, I would like to step back briefly from the educational field and present a 'potted' history of Asia in Japan in order to provide a context for later discussions.

Asia and Japan: historical and contemporary relations

For many people, the prominent image of the relationship between Japan and the rest of Asia is one of ambivalence and tension. This is undoubtedly an accurate and important image, but it should be noted that throughout most of history, Japan’s relations with the rest of Asia have actually been close, cordial and fruitful. The early peoples of Japan arrived as migrants from other parts of Asia, and were followed until the 1600s by waves of cultural migration to Japan, in particular from China and Korea. One of the best-known of these periods is the 6th-7th centuries, when Buddhism, Chinese administrative practices and laws and Chinese learning were actively incorporated by those in power in Japan. For example, the Soga clan, who were of Korean descent, like many of the aristocratic families of Japan, encouraged the adoption of Buddhism, while later Shoutoku Taishi (574-622), who was half Soga, promulgated the Chinese-influenced Seventeen Article Constitution of 604 (Henshall, 2004:17-18). In subsequent centuries, too, China and Korea continued to be influential in Japan in all spheres. Even in what is commonly referred to as the ‘closed country’ period of the 17th and 18th centuries, the Tokugawa shogunate, while enforcing seclusion from the West (except Holland), maintained diplomatic and trading relations with other parts of Asia (Gordon, 2003:18). Accepting the general agreement that humans first appeared in Japan around 200,000 years ago (Henshall, 2004:8), this means that people and cultures from other parts of Asia were a positive and vital presence in what is now Japan in the first 198,850 years of its history.

However, the period of history which has had most influence on contemporary Japanese people’s perceptions of Asia and themselves as Asians is probably the subsequent Meiji period, followed by the period leading to and during the war. With the Meiji restoration of 1868, Japan’s attention turned to the West and to modern nation-building. Two of the slogans of the time, “rich country, strong army” and “Japanese spirit, Western techniques”, emphasise the preoccupation with developing the nation to compete with Western nations in politics, trade, education and culture. This dual preoccupation with the West and the nation naturally detracted attention from Asia. When attention returned to Asia, it was in the form of expansionism, colonialism and war. Comparatively short in terms of time, this period of expansionism and war has had an impact in Japan disproportionate to its historical length. As Tipton notes:
For everyone who lived through the war, it left a lasting memory. Even more than five decades after its end it continues to haunt Japanese domestic politics and foreign relations. Yet the generations born since the war have learned little about it in their school book. (Tipton, 2002:124)

The ambivalence regarding these years, demonstrated by this gap between the huge impact of the war and the ignorance or ‘sweeping under the carpet’ of what happened, is perhaps the most significant factor in contemporary Japanese people’s attitudes to Asia and perceptions of themselves as Asia. The ghost of war continues to haunt Japanese policies and people’s perceptions of Asia and concepts of self because it is rarely dealt with openly, but is allowed to lurk in the shadows of people’s historical consciousness.

In fact, it is probably only in the past decade or two that the shadow of colonialism and war and its associated silence have given way, at least in part, to a revival of interest in the rest of Asia. This gradual awakening of interest in Japan’s neighbours has led to the ‘discovery’ of modern, contemporary Asia and Asians, not only at a political/economic level, but also at the level of popular culture and perceptions. The media have played a major role in this rapprochement with the rest of Asia, fuelling the craze for Korean dramas and movies etc. The media, along with the local governments and NGOs, have also become more aware of Asia within Japan, with increasing attention being paid, for example, to the existence and issues of Japan’s largest minority groups, which are Korean and Chinese. Not all media attention is positive, but it is largely thanks to media attention that many Japanese people are gradually starting to change their ideas about Asia and themselves as Asians in this first decade of the 21st century. As is often the case, however, the media is ahead of education policy, which is the focus of the next section.

Education policy and practice

In every country, education policy and practice have a role in both reflecting and shaping citizens’ concepts of themselves in the world, and Japan is no exception. In this section, I will examine the relevant underlying assumptions made in Japanese education policy, and then look in detail at the ways in which some of the issues relating to national education and education about Asia are being played out at present in Japan.

Underlying assumptions: homogeneity and uniqueness

In terms of citizenship and identity, the two essential assumptions underpinning Japanese education policy are homogeneity and uniqueness. Although these assumptions are not made explicit in policy documents, they are implied throughout policy documents and curriculum guidelines.

Looking first at homogeneity, the curriculum guidelines are replete with references to developing self-awareness as a Japanese person, with the assumption that all children in Japanese schools are Japanese people. For example, the first two (of three) aims of social studies for the sixth grade are as follows:

- To deepen interest in and understanding of the achievements of our ancestors who have worked hard for the nation and society, to cherish our country’s history and traditions, and to develop a sentiment of love for the country.
To develop an understanding of the workings of politics in everyday life, the principles of our country’s political government, life in countries which have a close relationship with our country and the role of our country in international society, and to make students aware that it is important to live together with people of the world’s countries as peace-seeking Japanese people. (Monbukagakusho, 2003a:28)

Although the assumption of homogeneity is not explicitly stated, the use of phrases such as ‘our ancestors’, ‘our country’ and ‘Japanese people’ clearly mark the boundaries between ‘we’ Japanese and ‘the other’ countries or international society, and the children to whom these guidelines apply are expected to be Japanese. Similar statements can be found throughout the guidelines in various subjects at various levels of education. The exception, interestingly, is found in the social studies curriculum for junior high school. While the history section uses the same kind of language as was quoted above, the civics section is devoid of such phrases, and instead focuses on the more neutral term, ‘national citizen’ (Monbusho, 1999a).

As far as the concept of uniqueness is concerned, there has been an influential movement in post-war Japan, known as the ‘nihonjinron’ (lit. theories of the Japanese people), which emphasizes Japan’s uniqueness, usually by means of differentiation from significant ‘others’. Although this movement is long past its peak, its theories continue to pop up in various spheres of everyday life in Japan, and educational policy is one of these spheres. Thus, for example, the explanation of the curriculum guidelines for junior high school moral education published by the Ministry of Education includes comments such as the following:

'It is important to aim for the development of a deeper objective understanding of our country from a wide perspective, while at the same time deepening understanding of our country’s unique, outstanding traditions and culture and their virtues, and an attitude of wanting to maintain and carry on these values as well as create new culture. (Monbusho, 1999b:57)

Having demonstrated briefly the ways in which these concepts of homogeneity and uniqueness are used in the curriculum guidelines, the next obvious point of enquiry is the reason for such characterizations. Why are these concepts necessary in education policy? They have already been discarded as myths in academic literature on Japan in general (Befu, 2001; Dale, 1986; Douglass and Roberts, 2000; Oguma, 1995; Sugimoto, 2003), and Japanese education in particular (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999; Ota, 2000). At the same time, these concepts are increasingly out of touch with reality. To give a few statistics, there were over 2 million registered foreigners in Japan at the end of 2004 (1.57% of the total population), of whom 55.6% were from China and Korea, and approximately 14% were under the age of 19 (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2006a). In addition, the number of illegal ‘overstayers’ in January 2006 was estimated to be almost 200,000 (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2006b). The number of international marriages in 2004 was 39,511, which represented 5.48% of the total number of marriages, and this percentage is increasing every year. Of the children born in Japan in 2004, 2% had one Japanese parent and one parent of foreign nationality, and this percentage is also increasing every year (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2005). There are also the indigenous minorities such as the Ainu and Ryukyans, as well as significant numbers of naturalized Japanese (mainly of Korean origin).
In other words, the concept of homogeneity in Japan is fading fast from reality, and is likely to become increasingly redundant as numbers of immigrants and children of international marriages rise, so why cling to the notion as one of the underpinning notions of national education policy? The answer, in my opinion, goes back to the point made earlier about the relationship between citizenship, identity and cultural nationalism. As concepts, homogeneity and uniqueness are essential to Japanese cultural nationalism, and cultural nationalism is essential to developing the inseparable notions of citizenship and identity through education. Until an alternative theoretical basis can be found for citizenship and identity education, it will be difficult for policy-makers to abandon the myths of homogeneity and uniqueness. Until policy-makers do abandon the myths, minority children in Japanese schools will continue to be faced with either assimilation or exclusion, and very little possibility in between.

**National education**

In this section, I would like to look in greater depth at the way in which education for national citizenship and national identity is being framed in current policy debates. I would like to focus on two influential policy documents which were produced by the Central Council for Education and will be used as a basis for education reforms in Japan over the next 15 years or so. The first document, published in 2003 as a report to the Minister of Education, has the English title of “New Fundamental Law of Education and Basic Promotional Plan for Education Befitting to the New Times” (Central Council for Education, 2003) and the second document, published in 2005, is entitled “Redesigning compulsory education for a new era” (Central Council for Education, 2005 [2]). In both of these documents, there is clear and insistent reference to citizenship education as one of the key goals of education policy. At the beginning of the 2003 report, the following claim is made:

*Education is the very foundation of our country and society. To surmount the adversities our country and society face at present and will face in the future, to pursue the self-realization and happiness of each of our national citizens and to achieve the realization of the ideals and prosperity of the nation, there is no driving force except education.* (Central Council for Education, 2003)

The 2005 report begins in a similar vein:

*We live in an age of change, an age of confusion, an age of intense international competition. In such an age the role of compulsory education in shaping the character of each citizen and nurturing the people who will make up our nation and society is all the more vital. The central government has a duty to guarantee the fundamentals of compulsory education to ensure that nothing can ever compromise the bedrock of our nation and society.* (Central Council for Education, 2005)

The evocation of danger, confusion and competition as a rationale for national citizenship education is nothing new, but it is interesting to analyze the ways in which the ‘self-realization and happiness of national citizens’ and ‘the character of
each citizen’ are linked to cultural nationalism in the documents. A few quotations from the 2003 document should illustrate the point:

*Today, it goes without saying that our country and society are confronting great crisis. Among national citizens, the sense of values we held until now is wavering, and a sense of loss of self-confidence and entrapment is spreading. The loss of an ethical view and sense of social mission are leading to the loss of confidence in justice, equity and safety. [3]*

For the most part, explanation of what exactly “the sense of values we held until now” entails is absent, although the occasional comment gives a hint, such as the following:

*The ability to appreciate beautiful things as beautiful and express that is a universal value possessed by human beings, and is the soul and power at the base of creating new culture. In particular, Japanese people have loved nature and treated it kindly since ancient times, and have created a rich culture. [4]*

Anyone visiting the centre of Tokyo may doubt this generalization of Japanese people’s love of nature, but it is one important element of the nihonjinron theories mentioned earlier.

More common, and arguably more worrying, is the way in which globalization is used as a rationale for cultural nationalism. This argument appears in current curriculum guidelines too, but repeated statements such as the following in recent reports suggest that it will be stressed even more strongly in the next set of education reforms:

*As globalization progresses, it will be exceedingly important to deepen understanding of the traditions and culture of one’s own country and region, respect them, and nurture a sentiment of love for one’s hometown and nation in order to live in international society as a Japanese person. [5]*

Similarly, in the 2005 document, it is stated that one of the main points to be taken into consideration in the next set of curriculum guidelines should be “to develop self-awareness as Japanese people living in international society” (Central Council for Education, 2005:18). This is a continuation of present policy. Taken together, statements such as those above suggest that cultural nationalism, set against the vague ‘other’ of ‘international society’ will continue to be the main focus of citizenship education in Japan for the next 15 years or so, at least.

However, cultural nationalism is not the only concern of policy-makers. In recent years, more overt nationalism has been on the education agenda. The most obvious example is the history textbook debates, which continue to cause tensions and rifts between Japan and China and Korea in particular (Barnard, 2003). Although the controversy in recent years has centred on the publication and authorization of a right-wing school textbook, New History Textbook [6], which gives a more positive view of Japanese wartime history than other textbooks, this textbook is used in very few Japanese schools. A more serious problem concerning history education is the problem, common to all the textbooks, of only one version of history being taught as
‘the’ truth, combined with the necessity to focus on ‘uncontroversial’ facts as the content of history textbooks, as memorization of such facts is what is tested in the all-important entrance exams. The fact that no history is included in the curriculum until the sixth grade of elementary school (age 11-12) does not particularly help either. What students end up with is a sanitized, single, limited version of national history, the explicit aim of which is “…to deepen love for our country’s history, and develop self-awareness as a national citizen” (Monbusho, 1999a:79).

An even more recent development, which was a topic of fierce debate at the time of writing, was the controversy over the extent to which patriotism should be part of school education. The decision by some local boards of education in Saitama, Iwate, Ibaraki and Aichi prefectures to grade ‘patriotism’ on sixth-graders’ report cards received considerable media attention (e.g. Asahi Shinbun, 26th May 2006, Mainichi Shinbun, 26th May 2006). The rationale for including an evaluation of students’ ‘patriotism’ was that it is part of the aim for sixth-grade social studies (see above), but the educational validity of grading students on their patriotism, as well as the practical issues of how to evaluate patriotism and what to do about non-Japanese students, are obviously subject to question and whether this practice will spread nationwide remains to be seen.

Another example of the swing to more overt political nationalism in Japanese education is provided by the controversy over the use of the national flag and anthem at entrance and graduation ceremonies in public schools. In the guidelines for Special Activities, it is stated that the national flag should be raised and students should be told to sing the national anthem at entrance and graduation ceremonies (Monbukagakusho, 2003a:98; 2003b:106). In most areas of Japan, this is left in practice to the discretion of schools. The national flag (Hi no maru) and anthem (Kimi ga yo) are emotive symbols connected in many people’s minds with wartime history and blind nationalism, and so there is considerable opposition to their use in schools, particularly among the traditionally left-wing Teachers’ Unions. However, under the right-wing governor of Tokyo, Shintaro Ishihara, Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education has adopted a policy of enforcing the use of the national flag and anthem at the 2309 schools in its area, and carefully monitors compliance. Teachers who do not co-operate with the directive are punished by fines, salary cuts and suspensions (“Hi no maru/Kimi ga yo” shobun heshuuiinkai, 2004). They also have to undergo “retraining” courses, which they have to continue “if the results are unsatisfactory” (Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, 2004), and are subject to even stricter punishments if they repeat the offence. The enforcement has been criticized not only by Teachers’ Unions (which are now much less influential than they were before) but also by the Tokyo Bar Association as “violating the freedom of conscience of teachers and children” (Tokyo Bar Association, 2004), but has continued. At the graduation and entrance ceremonies of 2006, the flag was raised and anthem sung at all 2309 schools, although 32 teachers refused to stand for the anthem (Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, 2006).

Nationalism in school education in Japan is, therefore, starting to appear in more blatant forms than it has done throughout most of post-war history, when political nationalism was shunned and the Teachers’ Unions were a powerful force against policies such as those described above. Still, however, the strongest form of education for national citizenship relies not on political symbols or overt patriotism, but on cultural nationalism, embodied in the Japanese language, traditions, lifestyle and character. The myths of homogeneity and uniqueness are essential to support this form of nationalism and, as such, education for multiple citizenships and
identities, as well as education about the rest of the world, can be problematic. This applies particularly to education about Asia, which is the focus of the next section.

Education about Asia

To summarise the argument of this section in one word, the most noticeable feature of education about Asia in Japanese schools is its “non-existence”. In the social studies curriculum guidelines for elementary school, Asia is not mentioned once. In fact, the guidelines contain no reference to the world beyond Japan until sixth grade (Monbukagakusho, 2003a). In this year, at the age of 11-12, as well as covering the entire span of history of Japan and the government and Constitution of Japan for the first time, students learn about Japan’s role in the world and the life of people in countries which have close economic or cultural relations with Japan. The curriculum guidelines do not specify which countries should be included, and the breadth of content to be covered in 100 class hours (i.e. 75 actual hours) is impossibly wide, meaning that coverage is necessarily superficial and scanty.

At junior high school (age 12-15), there is a greater emphasis on world knowledge in social studies. Again, though, Asia is inconspicuously absent. The curriculum guidelines for geography do not mention Asia once, in spite of the fact that two of the three content areas are “the regional structure of the world and Japan” and “Japan seen in comparison with the world” (Monbukagakusho, 2003b: 16-18). Neither do the guidelines for civics contain the word Asia (Monbukagakusho, 2003b:28-35). The aims and content sections of history make reference to East Asia/Asia a total of 4 times. East Asia is mentioned in the sections on ancient history and the middle ages. Asia is mentioned once in reference to invasion by Western countries, and once in reference to the pre-war and war period (Monbukagakusho, 2003b:21-24). In all four cases, Asia is referred to as an ‘other’, and there is no mention of Japan as part of Asia. Instead, there is a leap from the national sphere to ‘international society’ or ‘the world’, bypassing Asia completely. This leap from the national sphere to the world sphere is also evident in the curriculum guidelines for other subjects and in the policy documents quoted earlier.

So what do students not learn? They do learn something about the history of Asia, but this is overtly taught through a Japanese lens. For example, returning to one of the four instances in which Asia is mentioned in history guidelines, the notes on teaching specify the following:

As far as “relations with East Asia” are concerned, relations with our country should be treated, but details on the succession of dynasties and so on in East Asia should not be treated. (Monbukagakusho, 2003b:26)

Knowledge is therefore limited and nationalized. They learn very little about the contemporary cultures and lifestyles of people in other Asian countries. Very few students have the opportunity to learn other major Asian languages, such as Chinese or Korean. The vast majority of students only ever learn English at school, and English is heavily dominated by American English and stereotypical American culture. Finally, nowhere in the curriculum do students have the opportunity to consider themselves as Asians. Beyond the nation, the only identity or citizenship approved in education policy is that ‘as a Japanese person in international society’. As mentioned in the discussion of the 2003 and 2005 education policy documents in referred to earlier, this trend is unlikely to change in the next 15 years.
The absence of Asia in the Japanese school curriculum explains the lack of knowledge and awareness quoted at the very beginning of this article, but why is Asia so conspicuously shunned by education policy-makers? One reason is probably the ambivalence towards Asia mentioned in section 2, together with the dominance of the US as the significant ‘other’ in post-war history. Combined, these two factors could explain the bypassing of Asia in the teaching of world knowledge and development of concepts of self in the world in Japanese education. Another contributory reason may be the strong emphasis on cultural nationalism and its assumptions of homogeneity and uniqueness present in post-war education policy. Cultural nationalism is relatively easy to create and maintain when the significant ‘other’ is obviously different, and indeed, most of the nihonjinron discourse is built on theories dichotomizing Japanese and American cultures. If other Asian (particularly East Asian) cultures and peoples were brought into the equation, it would be extremely difficult to maintain the myths both of homogeneity and of uniqueness, especially as much of what is promoted as “Japanese culture and traditions” would have to be recognized as “Asian culture and traditions”. It is thus in the interests of those who advocate cultural nationalism to try and bypass Asia.

Discussion

In this article, I have focused on Japanese citizenship education policy as it relates to the territorial spheres of the nation and Asia. The article began with a comment about Japanese elementary school students’ lack of awareness that Japan is even part of Asia. I would like to finish the article by returning to the views of Japanese students, this time university students. Asked about their views of themselves as members of the nation and of Asia, the following comments were typical:

*Japanese culture is wonderful, and I myself am proud of being Japanese.*

*If you look at Japan from a world perspective, I think it’s a unique country (in terms of culture), so I don’t really feel I belong to Asia.*

*Japan is an island country separated from the Eurasian continent and, although it’s rude, there’s the image of Asia as developing countries, so my awareness of being a member of Asia is weak.*

*Even if it’s all Asia, the only relations are through imported goods and so on, so I don’t have awareness of being a similar race or anything like that.*

*I’ve never been aware of Asia or East Asia, and I think Japan is Japan, so I don’t ever tend to think of them together.*
I’m Japanese, so I’m not Asian. I’ve never been to Asia, and I have no idea what kind of lifestyle Asian people lead or what kind of clothes they wear or anything...

The other countries of Asia are close geographically, but psychologically they are very distant.

I don’t really have any clear image of what ‘Asia’ is.

I’ve never thought about it.

As these comments illustrate, the views of many students regarding themselves within the territorial spheres of Japan and Asia reflect very accurately the goals of educational policy described earlier. These students are ‘successful products’ of Japanese citizenship education policy, in terms of national and transnational territorial awareness. The trend of current policy to further strengthen students’ sense of national identity and citizenship and continue to bypass Asia suggests that the Japanese education system will be developing students with similar views in the years to come.

Whether this is a good or bad thing is a completely different question, and depends on personal opinion. To end with my own opinion, I would argue that Japanese education policy-makers could spend less time worrying about national identity and citizenship, as education for this purpose is already highly effective. Instead of constraining students to the aim of being ‘Japanese people who can live in international society’ (i.e. using the transnational sphere to strengthen the national sphere), it would seem to be more educationally valid to promote multiple territorial identities and citizenships, such as ‘a member of international society’, ‘a global citizen’, ‘a citizen of an Asian country’ and so on. Of course, ‘Japanese citizen/Japanese identity’ will naturally be one of these options, but there is a big difference between being forced into a single citizenship/identity and being encouraged to develop a range of concepts of citizenships and identities in the national and transnational spheres. This is particularly true for the increasing numbers of minority children in Japanese schools, but it can be claimed that it is equally important long-term for the majority. Going back to the Central Council for Education 2003 report quoted in section 3.2, it could be argued that in order to achieve “the self-realization and happiness of each of our national citizens” in the 21st century, it may be necessary to open up a world of possibilities beyond the nation through education.

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Asian? Citizenship And Identity In Japanese Education

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The Making of Social Studies Education
In Korea: Implications for Citizenship Education [1]

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ABSTRACT Based on historical and empirical analyses, this paper attempts to explore in Korean middle schools the enacted meaning of social studies education that has been acknowledged as a major vehicle of citizenship education among Korean educators. A particular focus of the study is placed on the perceived meanings and pedagogical consequences of subject matter education manifested in the narratives of middle school social studies teachers. In sum, this study indicates that social studies education is a social and cultural construct within the idiosyncratic historical contexts of Korean schooling. The teacher narratives analyzed in this study also suggest that contrasting views of subject matter professionalism persist in local schools, with some detrimental effects on citizenship education. In addition, it seems there is a disparity between teacher education programmes and middle school curriculum requirements. The findings of this paper should prompt social studies and international educators in Korea and abroad to rethink the current practices of subject matter education as well as the appropriate conditions conducive to achieving the aims of citizenship education.

Introduction

The imagery of Korean schooling is more than a Confucian drama. As such the practice of social studies education aimed at promoting civic competence is not clear. A brief glance at the history of South Korea (hereafter Korea) in the 20th century would tell us that Korean schooling has resulted from the interplay of social and historical conditions. These unique contexts have been powerful for shaping the meaning of what is taught and learned. Acknowledging this claim, international and comparative research on citizenship education needs to benefit from abundant stories and potential commonalities emerging from the situated complexities of schooling in various social contexts. While recent large-scale comparative studies in relevant fields have enriched our understanding of problems and possibilities in citizenship education (e.g., Cogan, Morris, and Print, 2002; Steiner-Khamsi, Torney-Purta, and Schwille, 2002; Toney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001), there still remains much to be debated regarding both the meanings and consequences of citizenship education via social studies subject matter.

What role is social studies education actually playing to promote citizenship education? And what kind of school context is the most conducive to the professional growth of teachers? Guided by these questions, and analyzing historical
and empirical data, this study attempted to interpret the enacted meaning of social studies education particularly in Korean middle schools which have been acknowledged as a major vehicle of citizenship education among Korean educators (Cha, 1983, 1996; Cho, 1997; Kim, 1995; Kyoyukbu, 1992, 1998; Lee, 1992). First, I conduct an historical analysis of the construction of social studies subject matter in 20th century Korea. Second, based on qualitative data drawn from selected middle school social studies teachers, I interpret the pedagogical consequences of their work situated in the institutional contexts of Korean middle schools.

In sum, this paper will draw attention to the argument that the reality of subject matter education is being socially and culturally constructed within the historical and institutional contexts of schooling in a particular society (Jenness, 1990; Kliebard, 1995; Lesko, 1988; McNeil, 1986; Page and Valli, 1990; Siskin, 1991, 1994; Stodolsky, 1988; Thornton, 2005). I view the practice of Korean social studies education as an educational phenomenon constructed in idiosyncratic socio-historical contexts of schooling and the teaching profession. In addition, this paper will illuminate the disparity between teacher education programmes and middle school curricula, as well as contrasting views of teacher professionalism in Korea’s middle schools, both of which can exert detrimental effects on citizenship education. The present case study of Korean social studies teachers will shed light on the significance of the voices of teachers, as well as the need to rethink the nature and practice of social studies education.

Methodological Framework

To describe ‘what is meant by social studies education’ and ‘how that definition is perceived and interpreted’ in local Korean schools, I employed both socio-historical and empirical analyses. Using a socio-historical approach, I intend to clarify for international readers the nature of Korean schooling and social studies subject matter. Mainly focusing on the emergence of social studies subject matter in 20th century Korea, this study attempts to illustrate the complex interplay of multi-faceted factors behind the very name of citizenship education. Hopefully, this analysis will help both domestic and international audiences situate the meanings of current educational practices within broader societal contexts.

In parallel with this socio-historical approach, I have conducted qualitative analyses of data collected from semi-structured interviews with selected social studies teachers who worked in various schools. Methodologically, as a post-positivist investigator, I was trying to make sense of what is going on in the field, highlighting the presence of local voices in the data, and paying attention to the particular as well as the general patterns (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Eisner, 1998; LeCompte and Preissle, 1993). [2]

For teacher interviews, I focused on a small group of secondary social studies teachers who volunteered for my on-going teacher research. [3] Those teachers were working in various schools, but are similar in that they completed their social studies majors at prestigious 4-year universities in Seoul and worked in public middle schools located in the metropolitan area.

Korean Social Studies Education Revisited: Historical Perspective

In this section I begin with a socio-historical analysis of the development of Korean schooling, and then take a closer look at the emergence of social studies subject matter in 20th century Korea. The purpose of this section is to situate the
meanings of teacher narratives within the broader social and historical contexts of Korean schooling.

**Background: Strong State Control over Schooling [4]**

The transition from traditional Confucian society (late 15th through 19th century) to modern Korea was traumatic. As noted earlier, Korea in the first half of the 20th century was severely agitated by a series of historical events. Among these, three historical events have combined to provide a profound context for the development of social studies subject matter, as well as the Korean educational system: Japanese colonial governance (1910-1945), American military governance (1945~1948) and authoritarian military dictatorship (1961~1993) (McGinn, Snodgrass, Kim, Kim, and Kim, 1980; Yoo, 1992).

Education in traditional Chosŏn Korea was not only a major agency for indoctrinating Confucian norms through the study of the Confucian classics, but also a critical vehicle of upward social mobility (Deuchler, 1992). While tight state control of those higher-educational institutions meant they were open only to males from the ruling class, there existed widespread awareness of education as an important factor in improving the socioeconomic status of an entire family. The Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, however, brought an abrupt close to this pre-modern educational system, having a lasting effect on the Korean school system.

First, it is hard to reject the claim that Korea was bequeathed two contrasting entities by the Japanese colonial governance: an enervated civil society and strong state regulation, conditioned by colonial modernity. The Japanese colonial government introduced a public school system as part of its attempt to run colonized Korea efficiently. This resulted in a modern public school system based on fourteen or fifteen years of education. This system was similar to its Japanese counterpart, but different especially in that the programmes of higher education were narrowly defined and access to them was severely limited for Koreans (Yoo, 1992). Under this colonial education, indigenous forces to restore national sovereignty and ethnic identity were deceitfully manipulated and eventually obliterated. The notion of the strong state is another vestige of Japanese imperialism. Indeed extreme centralization and a rigid regulative bureaucracy persist in the contemporary Korean school system (McGinn et al., 1980; Chung and Armer, 1994).

With respect to the institutional culture of school organizations, Korean secondary schools have until recently retained educational practices akin to those of Japanese schools. Much of what Rohlen (1983) saw in his ethnographic study of five Japanese high schools in the mid-1970s, seems notably similar to the institutional life of Korea’s high schools, in terms of both the form of school practices and structural arrangements of the school. For example, such school features as a hierarchical relationship between senior and junior students, strict school uniform and hair code, mass calisthenics, and daily and weekly school rituals in fact appeared for the first time in Korea. All exhibit a strong resemblance to those of Japanese secondary schools, whose main purpose was to inculcate attitudes of submission to authority.

While the Japanese colonial era lingers on in the concepts of a strong state and school rituals, the impact of the four-year American military governance has been closely linked to the ideals of the progressive educational movement, these constituting an indisputable goal of the Ministry of Education and the nature of
social studies education to date. With the end of Japanese imperialism, the United States military government temporarily took over the southern half of the Korean peninsula, which would later become South Korea. A series of educational plans initiated by the U.S. military government were aimed at eradicating Japanese colonial schooling so as to build the infrastructure of an autonomous system dedicated to educating both the teaching force and good citizens.

As for the strong modern state, this legacy bestowed upon Korea by Japanese colonialism has continued to play a vital role in the politics of the authoritarian military regimes in the second half of 20th century Korea (Cummings, 1997; Eckert, Lee, Lew, Robinson, and Wagner, 1990; Robinson, 1991). Bent as they were on using indoctrination as a way of legitimizing their political ideology, the military regimes emerged as powerful educational gatekeepers by establishing a uniform channel to the social elite group and by exerting especially tight control over the highly selective higher-educational institutions. The state government took the initiative in shaping educational policies and practices, leaving little autonomy to the local schools at all levels. Student credentialing, school curricula, opportunities for higher education, student recruitment, teacher personnel management—all such matters were administered largely by the central government.

In particular what has been known as pyŏngjunhwa--the policy of equalization of student recruitment in the local middle schools--has been the most influential of all school policies in local secondary schools. This extreme policy originally was implemented so as to cut down on the severe competitiveness of the middle and high school entrance examinations and on fraudulent and illegal college entries. Based on this policy, students are assigned to the local public and private schools in their residential areas by an automatic selection system, unless they apply for other vocational or specialized high schools (e.g., schools specializing in science, foreign languages, culinary arts, or animation). Meanwhile, this policy of equalization has been also powerful enough to erase all significant differences among local schools in virtually all aspects—school resources, teachers, curricula, and administrative scheduling, and even the architectural styles of school buildings. The implementation of this top-down policy has been hailed by some as evidence of liberation of children from ‘examination hell’; others have criticized that such a policy is based on that notion of forced equity, which deprives both students and schools of their rights to choose. [5]

Since the early 1990s, however, Koreans have witnessed unprecedented educational changes in a relatively short span of time. Seemingly, these tangible changes stemmed from a series of educational policies (e.g., the 7th national curriculum revision, school management committee, and legalization of a teacher labour union) launched by the new civilian political leaderships in the post-military governance era. Recent moves made by the Ministry of Education have represented the mainstream policymakers’ awareness that the conventional modes of authoritarian control and supervision over schooling no longer meet the changing ethos of Korean society.

The nature of social studies education in Korea has been shaped by these historical contexts. Below I will describe the emergence of social studies education as one of the core school subjects based on this particular historical background.

The Emergence of Integrated Social Studies

As noted earlier, during the period of the American military governance (1945-1948) the colonial school subjects were systematically overhauled by newly
organized educational committees, jointly comprised of American military officials and hand-picked Korean scholars. The main mission of these ad hoc committees was to eradicate the militaristic, indoctrination-style school curricula and to disseminate democratic ways of life through new school subjects, more compatible with the political purposes of the United States (Cumings, 1997; Lee, 1992; Yoo, 1992). School curricula in the post-liberation Korea were subject to explicit and implicit ideological constraints, closely associated with a growing Cold War ideology. Once the old ‘susin’ of the colonial school curriculum had been removed, the new school subject ‘sahoe (or sahoe saenghwal),’ a Korean version of social studies, was born. The Educational Law of 1954 legally endorsed sahoe, social studies, as one of the official national school subjects (Lee, 1992). [6]

It is hard to deny that the nature of social studies subject matter at this embryonic stage was heavily influenced by that of the United States. At the core of this foreign impact was the very definition of social studies as the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities. For the then-current American military officials, the importing of subject matter concepts and frameworks from their homeland onto the Korean canvas seemed a practical choice, considering their political ideology as well as their sheer ignorance of Korean society and culture. Since then, there has been a growing consensus among social studies educators that an integrative approach is the right way to go. This American-style aim of integration across multiple disciplinary areas—history, geography, and general social sciences—has been legitimated in the post Korean War period by the mainstream curricular discourse in social studies. Most importantly, this idea led to the troika of social studies education, the marked division of the three big terrains and subsequent university departments—History Education, Geography Education, and General Social Studies Education. [7] At any rate, integration certainly has been the binding theme, rarely having been challenged for several decades. [8]

Under this strong American influence of subject matter education, it is particularly notable that, the concept of ‘citizenship education’ itself has become integrated into the social studies subject matter. A brief look at the social studies literature since the 1960s would confirm that the discourse of Korean social studies has consistently identified the ultimate value of their professional area as being the most essential channel of democratic citizenship education in local schools (Cha, 1983, 1996; Cho, 1997; Kim, 1995; Kyoyukbu, 1992, 1998; Lee, 1992). Similar to what has been observed in the United States, the umbrella slogan of ‘promoting desirable democratic citizenship’ resulted in differing understandings and conceptions of what ‘civic competence’ or an ‘effective citizen’ actually means.

Among these conceptions, an overarching mainstream definition of the social studies has been to help young students assume an office of a reflective citizen who is able to make informed decisions about various social issues and make civic actions in our diverse and interconnected world (Cha, 1996; Kyoyukbu, 1998; Lee, 1991). Having distanced itself from the mere teaching of various disciplinary concepts and generalizations, the notion of social studies subject matter has been frequently associated with the terms such as reflective inquiry, rational decision making, higher-level thinking, or the teaching of controversial social issues. As part of this social studies discourse in the second half of the 20th century, the nature of democratic civic competence has highlighted the value of situating curricular knowledge within students’ every day life experiences. Accordingly, good social studies teachers need to provide students with opportunities to relate curricular
topics to their daily lives; they are responsible for encouraging every student to become a reflective thinker who understands the explicit and implicit meanings of social phenomena from various vantage points, who shares his or her idea with others, and who actively participates in the political process.

Meanwhile, it should be pointed out that the definition of social studies subject matter was influenced by some social and cultural modifications in the Korean context. Although such American intervention was powerful, it did not completely overhaul the existing culture of schooling. Since the 1960s, Korea’s social studies education has been closely coupled with the legacy of a strong state, an ideology of nationalism mixed by anti-communism, and the micro-politics seen among the discipline-based social studies professionals.

The discourse of Korean social studies curriculum in the second half of the 20th century was not free from ideological constraints, but severely distorted by authoritarian dictatorships. The state government in Korea was in strong command of social studies curriculum and textbooks at the national level until very recently. Authoritarian military leaders capitalized on the national social studies curriculum so as to legitimate their cold-war ideology and to prolong their political life.

The idea of integration itself provided another motive to make Korean social studies education different from its American counterpart. The fact is that for the past decades general consensus about the importance of integration has not led to any tangible agreement as to what integration actually means and how it is possible in the national curriculum. [9] This is also partly the case in the United States, considering the name ‘social studies’ has been a political umbrella term covering various discipline-based interest groups. In Korea, however, the idea of integration has created vivid confrontations under the micro-politics of the three idiosyncratic curricular subdivisions—History, Geography and General Social Studies (GSS hereafter). In the revision of national social studies curricula, for instance, these three subdivisions quickly have turned into fervent interest groups, whose common goal is to win more class hours per week and to gain more unit space in national curriculum for their own disciplinary contents, than the other rivals.

One of the results from this tedious political battle is that most of the content and method courses in university teacher preparation programmes have been departmentalized with only marginal collaborations among History, Geography and GSS departments. Acknowledging this structural problem, the Ministry of Education has modified the existing teacher preparation system since the late 1990s, by creating a new-born area of social studies teacher certification, namely ‘Common Social Studies’ (kong’t’ong sahoo kyouyuk chon’gong) (Kyouyukbu, 2000). The Ministry of Education has mandated local universities to launch a Common Social Studies (CSS hereafter) programme as an inter-departmental one that will prepare prospective social studies teachers for their non-major content areas. [10]

The above historical review reveals that Korea’s social studies education has become closely coupled with the idea of citizenship education. Also my discussion suggests that the notion of social studies education in Korea, while it has borrowed heavily from the United States, has been socially and culturally shaped by its unique historical contexts. The practice of social studies education should not be regarded as a universal object, but as a social one constructed by the combination of various contextual factors.

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Pedagogical Consequences of Social Studies Education: Analysing Teacher Narratives

In this section, I illustrate some major findings from my qualitative analysis of teacher interview data. My in-depth teacher interview was centred on the following core questions:

- What do the middle school social studies teachers perceive the meaning of teaching social studies to be?
- What interpretations do they give to social studies curriculum and teaching?
- What are the instructional demands and constraints they confront on a daily basis?

I intend to focus on the commonalities across the interview data. In sum, two pivotal themes emerged from the teacher narratives, and these themes were co-constructed by the teachers and me throughout the research process. These themes are: instructional constraints arising out of the teaching of non-major subject areas and the ambiguous nature of social studies professionalism. In sum, the findings presented in this section indicate something other than those teachers’ personal vignettes. Rather the findings illuminate the impact of institutional contexts on their social studies practices, this ultimately being detrimental to the achievement of the proposed goals of citizenship education.

Instructional Constraints from the Teaching of Non-Major Disciplinary Areas

[Vignette 1]

In teaching Social Studies 3, I’ve tried to reconstruct the existing textbook for my instructional purposes as much as possible. But, in teaching Korean geography in Social Studies 1, which I did not study properly, I tend to stick to the content structure of the textbook because I still feel incompetent in the area of geography.

[Vignette 2]

(Even though I major General Social Studies in my university) I know I have no choice but to teach ‘Korean History’ or geography units in ‘Social Studies 1’ sometime soon. Frankly, the school was originally assigned to teach Korean History this year. But the fact is that ... I am a novice teacher, and I have never taught Korean History before. Even though I have been certified as a common social studies teacher, you well know, I took only two history courses on Western and Eastern Civilizations and one on Korean history. (...) What is worse is I am in charge of 7th grade homeroom. Tons of duties regarding student management and administrative paperwork are coming up. For a beginning teacher, it takes a lot of preparations just to grasp the unit contents of a single textbook. So I begged the social studies department head for this year that I would teach Social Studies 1 and 3.
Fortunately, other social studies teachers seemed to understand my situation, but on condition that I will teach Korean History next year. I must spend the coming winter break to catch up with all the Korean history stuff.

Teacher narratives identified in my study suggest that social studies teachers were subject to persistent constraints stemming from their non-major subject areas under the current middle school social studies curricular framework. For instance Ms. Cho, a GSS major and experienced teacher in her early 40s, confessed that she felt nervous whenever teaching geography units in her Social Studies 1 classes. Likewise, Mr. Lee, a GSS major who had 7 years of teaching experience felt overburdened when thinking about the need to memorize and organize all the geographical facts contained in World Geography units in the Social Studies 2 textbook. This kind of psychological anxiety was the most severe in the case of Ms. Park, a novice teacher who just entered her third year of teaching. She confessed that she became worried whenever she imagined her being questioned by some mischievous students about historical facts in National History classes.

Social studies teachers in Korea’s middle schools are very often forced to teach specific areas that they did not actually study in an appropriate manner in their pre-service teacher education programmes. Any prospective social studies teacher normally focuses on a single major or concentration out of the three departments—GSS, History and Geography. My social studies teachers recalled that they had been required in their university teacher education programmes to take at least 6 credits (normally equal to 2 courses) in each of the other two non-major concentration areas (History and Geography). And since the launching of CSS, the number of minimum credits that CSS majors should take across the three concentration areas has slightly increased. When prospective social studies teachers are placed in local middle schools, they are expected to teach subjects across all three major areas. Because middle school social studies curricula exhibit a multi-disciplinary structure, and because most of the local middle schools cannot afford to balance out the number of social studies teachers in the three disciplinary areas, it becomes almost inevitable that they teach non-major disciplinary units.

However, it was a shared feeling evident in the teachers’ narratives that pre-service teacher education programmes actually have not been appropriately preparing prospective social studies teachers for the instructional situations they would be immersed in after graduation. The teachers told me that the current policy of CSS rarely changed the situation at all, believing that such minimum course requirements had only a marginal effect on preparing them for teaching social studies textbooks they would be confronting.

The teacher narratives indicate that their feelings of incompetence tended to make them rely mostly on textbook-based instructional approaches toward their non-major subject areas. When teaching their non-major subject areas, social studies teachers tended to feel much less efficient in terms of organization of factual knowledge, use of supplementary sources, or application of the teaching method appropriate to given instructional contents. Although I did not systematically observe these teachers’ lessons in which they were teaching their non-major content areas, their narratives drawn from in-depth interviews convinced me that the teaching of non-major content areas represents a considerable burden on these teachers, and consequently has a detrimental effect on the quality of civic education. In his ethnographic study of two Korean social studies teachers, Lee (1996) argued that the teaching of non-major subject areas is likely to mirror deficiency in
teachers’ capability of reconstructing subject matter content (Lee, 1996: 186-189). Ms. Park’s above confession tells that the undesirable circumstance noted in Lee’s study in the mid 1990s is being reproduced in local classrooms of the year 2006, despite the policy to develop CSS.

Under this common instructional environment, another vivid finding was that the teachers challenged the very idea of integrated social studies. They did not give full credence to the long-standing mainstream belief that the quality of social studies education would be more effectively promoted by teaching through integrated contents, as opposed to separate disciplinary areas. For instance, Mr. Kim was one of the teachers who most fervently asserted that current ‘half-baked’ curricular integration might have a chance to eliminate some unique strengths of each disciplinary area. In the eyes of these teachers, the idea of integrated social studies curriculum was viewed as a conventional myth which makes people believe it is the most effective way to achieve the aims of democratic citizenship education. Teacher narratives exhibited a shared feeling that local practitioners had been innocently swayed by this kind of political rhetoric employed by the policymakers and output-oriented bureaucrats who have barely known how teachers actually teach in their workplace and what they need. [11]

Needless to day, these conditions seem to create unfavourable educational contexts for implementing the aims of citizenship education that is assumed to be an aspect of social studies education. Above all, it was evident that those teachers felt constrained in developing what Shulman (1987) called pedagogical content knowledge. The ownership of pedagogical content knowledge differentiates experienced teachers from novice ones. Pedagogical content knowledge goes beyond scientific knowledge, whose production is the goal and responsibility of scientists. To become a highly professional social studies teacher, then, one needs to develop a type of practical and interpretive knowledge drawn from the combination of content, method, and contextual information about learners and classroom environments. Without being properly equipped with relevant pedagogical content knowledge, the teachers who majored in GSS did not feel ‘professional’ enough when teaching geography and history units. With such instructional conditions, teachers tend to take a myopic view toward every day lessons, marginalizing the supreme goal of encouraging individual students to become reflective thinkers who are capable of connecting curricular knowledge with their real-life experiences. It is fair to say that this undesirable outcome in the teaching of social studies is not accidental, but contrived by the reality of the administration of social studies in schools.

The Ambiguous Nature of Social Studies Professionalism

[Vignette 3]

Whether teachers work really hard on their teaching, or neglect their instructional responsibilities, doesn’t really make any difference. In either case there is no tangible consequence. I believe that a higher professional position such as principal and district supervisor has been reserved for those who are well versed in dealing with the administrative tasks and making bureaucratic connections. I believe this system generates a distorted image of a professional teacher as

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someone who is obsessed with official teacher credentials, while obviously lacking the core part; that is, enthusiasm for and commitment to teaching.

Mr. Kim’s serious complaint nicely captures one of the widespread beliefs among Korean teachers about the teacher reward system. The complaint signals another compelling theme regarding social studies teachers’ educational practices drawn from the teacher narratives: the ambiguous nature of social studies professionalism. Put another way, social studies teachers admitted that their daily curricular and instructional practices tended to be almost discrete professional activities, lacking in any mutually shared pedagogical philosophy among their colleagues.

Many descriptive studies of teachers’ work conducted in Korea and the United States demonstrate that isolation or individualism epitomizes the professional ethos of schoolteachers (Flinders, 1988, 1989; Jho, 2001; Lee, 1996; Little, 1990; Lortie, 1975). Such characterization certainly accounts for the subject matter sub-culture of social studies teachers in most of Korea’s public middle schools. Indeed, teacher collegiality was extremely rare in the sphere of classroom instruction. With the exception of several cross-checking activities (e.g., making instructional handouts, maintaining the same content coverage and instructional pace, and developing mid-term or final exam questions), these teachers tended to work individually with only marginal collaborations. What makes them work individually?

One of the notable answers to this question has been proposed by Flinders (1989). In his study of high school English teachers in the United States, Flinders maintained that teachers “not only accept their isolation, but actively strive to maintain it” (Flinders, 1989:63), doing so largely in order to save time and energy. Flinders’ argument implies that a phenomenon of teacher isolation is likely to be most teachers’ strategic choice, so as to survive in their workplace. This might be the case for Korean social studies teachers, considering their heavy workload that universally mirrors the three basic responsibilities in Korea’s schools—classroom instruction, administrative paperwork, and homeroom management.

Another persuasive answer to the question of teacher isolation was drawn from the teacher interviews. It pinpointed the idiosyncratic feature of school administration in most of Korean middle schools—the loose connection between the administrative and the instructional. The teachers in this study were of the same opinion that the school administration has organized its departments largely in order to cope with the administrative tasks mandated by the municipal office and the Ministry of Education. This administrative tendency hugely undercut any hope the social studies teachers might cherish of building up a core of subject matter professionalism, particularly in that it physically separates them from one another and re-groups them by the administrative department. [12]

In this regard, one of the common wishes expressed by the teachers for their professional development was, ironically enough, to have a particular working space or office reserved only for the social studies staff. It is noteworthy that this clearly contradicts the interpretation advanced by Flinders (1989). In my Korean study, the teachers’ wishes happened to centre around the idea of working together in their own space. In their view, this serves the very same purpose of saving time and energy.

It is obvious that the perceived disconnection between the administrative core and the instructional core cannot be beneficial to the enactment of citizenship education. The existing administrative structure of Korean middle schools appears to
prevent teachers from developing mutually collaborative professional relationships. One of the plausible consequences of such structural disconnection was that schools tend to prioritize administrative efficiency over the pedagogical purposes of individual subject matter education (McNeil, 1986; Meyer and Rowan, 1983; Ingersoll, 1994). The organization of school departments regulated by the Ministry of Education runs against not only the purpose of promoting civic competence but also that of teachers’ subject matter professionalism. What the school administration actually does is to make teachers responsive to the external policy mandates.

This detrimental situation with regard to teacher professionalism seems to be exacerbated by the teachers’ pervasive distrust of the existing teacher evaluation system. The social studies teachers think that the existing teacher evaluation system by no means provides a meaningful context for the promotion of subject matter professionalism. As seen in the following narrative, they were convinced that those who are excellent in classroom instruction are not likely to get appropriate career rewards from the current teacher evaluation system.

[Vignette 4]

I’ve never trusted teacher evaluation by the administrators. I’m not talking about the specific case of my school, but about overall teacher evaluation in our schools. Whatever they say, I believe the most important job for teachers is to teach our students. There can be nothing else! But, the things the school administration takes into account for teacher evaluation have nothing to do with classroom practices. That new teacher credit system, I think, gives us a good example of the reality. This new system concerns only with how often individual teachers attend teacher education programmes and workshops. Of course, some teacher education courses and workshops are helpful for our classroom instruction. But the fact is … those teachers in the in-service programmes are probably sitting there just to get their credits necessary for being promoted to the position of school administrator or district supervisor. I have no doubt about the fact that those who really dedicate themselves to teaching their kids are going to have the least chance of becoming a head teacher, a district supervisor, or a principal.

Teachers’ perceptions and interpretations have a clear message for what passes as teacher professionalism: if individual teachers wish to obtain the officially endorsed status of ‘professional’, they should spend less time and energy in preparing classroom instruction and homeroom management, and more in boosting their official career points. In this teacher perspective, both the head teacher system (susŏk kyosaje) and the merit pay system (sŏngkwagŭpje), recently promulgated by the Ministry of Education as a way of providing local practitioners substantial career incentives, would only bolster teachers’ distrust of the idea of teacher evaluation itself. In the absence of any fundamental change with respect to what it means to be a professional teacher, these contrived incentives will merely lead to the mass production of official credentials, marginalizing the value of ‘practical wisdom’ embodied in excellent teachers’ daily classroom practices.
Discussion

In this study I have explored the meaning of social studies education in the context of Korea, based on historical and qualitative analyses. A particular focus of the study was placed on the perceived meanings and pedagogical consequences of subject matter education manifested in the narratives of middle school social studies teachers. In sum, this study illustrates that the nature of social studies education is a social construct in the idiosyncratic historical contexts of Korean schooling. The teacher narratives analyzed in this study also suggest that the existing disparity between teacher education programmes and middle school curricula, as well as contrasting views of subject matter professionalism persist in local schools, imply some detrimental effects for citizenship education. The findings of this paper should prompt both policymakers and practitioners to rethink the current practices of subject matter and citizenship education.

First, my findings suggest that we must rethink the underlying assumptions of social studies curriculum and teacher preparation. What do Korean policymakers and curricular specialists mean when they talk about integration? What are the pedagogical grounds for teaching an integrated social studies curriculum? And what meanings do they have for teacher preparation? The social studies literature in Korea has been virtually silent on all of these questions. Despite the increased mainstream attention to the problem of teacher preparation, this study implies that social studies teachers’ professional constraints will persist unless the nature of teacher preparation is tailored to the actual school curricula, unless the curriculum policymakers rethink the multi-disciplinary structure of middle school social studies curriculum, and unless teachers are encouraged to find their own ways of connecting subject matter contents with methods in appropriate manners.

Second, the findings of the study suggest that the mainstream understanding of teacher professionalism has to be substantially reshaped so as to make it centre not only on the teachers’ own professional growth, but also on the utmost goal of citizenship education—encouraging youngsters to acquire basic knowledge and skills necessary in becoming reflective thinkers.

The message here is simple but powerful: the quality of social studies instruction and teacher professionalism needs to be enhanced if social studies is to be an effective vehicle for citizenship education. Schools need to recognize that pedagogical goals and tasks consistent with the aims of citizenship education need to be at the core of teachers’ daily work. This will involve changes in the administration of social studies and an alignment between social studies teacher education and social studies curricula. When teachers are able to teach in the areas for which they have been trained, there will be more space for innovative teaching and more time to consider how the goals of citizenship education can be incorporated into the social studies curriculum.

There is an observed gap between what social studies teachers believe to be fully professional and what policymakers choose to happen in the workplace. Schools need to provide teachers with an appropriate work environment in which their pedagogical content knowledge and skills can be developed. These knowledge and skills need to be recognized as part of the core criteria for judging the professional quality of individual teachers. In addition, the school’s work environment must be conducive to identifying differences in subject matter teachers’ viewpoints and their instructional styles, and to enabling debate and discussion about ways to achieve the goals of citizenship education. In such a professional environment, individual teachers’ professional perceptions and beliefs can be challenged and negotiated, so
as to develop agreed-upon definitions of teacher professionalism contributing to the aims of citizenship education.

These suggested changes are both structural and professional in nature and their importance has been highlighted by the voices of teachers themselves. These voices provide a heuristic lens through which to refocus the nature and practice of social studies education in a very particular social context. Hopefully, such a refocusing can contribute to the construction of a more reflective pedagogical discourse that will enhance citizenship education in Korean middle schools.

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**NOTES**

[1] This work was supported by the Sungshin Women's University Research Grant of 2006.

[2] In this study ‘I’ am on one hand a native investigator who is looking at my own native social settings in which I have been raised and educated. On the other hand, acknowledging the ideas and concepts flowing out of the lively discussions in the Western educational scholarships, ‘I’ am a post-colonial ethnographer who comprehends the significance of contextually-relevant use of theories.

[3] My on-going research concerns teachers’ professional perceptions and activities regarding politically constrained, marginalized curricular themes in the mainstream social studies curriculum, such as the teaching of North Korea, and gay and lesbian issues. As participating in this larger study, these teachers and I have developed good rapport, and have begun to experience “educational criticism and connoisseurship” (Eisner, 1991) on the “ideologically incorrect” issues. A brief profile of four major informants is illustrated in Table 1 (Note: all teachers’ names are pseudonyms):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>School Subject</th>
<th>University major</th>
<th># of Years In Teaching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Cho</td>
<td>Social studies 1 &amp; 3</td>
<td>General Social Studies Ed.</td>
<td>15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Kim</td>
<td>Social studies 1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>General Social Studies Ed.</td>
<td>9 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Lee</td>
<td>History &amp; Social Studies 2</td>
<td>General Social Studies Ed.</td>
<td>7 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Park</td>
<td>History &amp; Social studies 3</td>
<td>General Social Studies Ed.</td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[4] In this paper I subscribe to the McCune-Reischauer system of romanization of Korean words universities. In the case of any Korean author’s name, however, I use their preferred romanization for the reference.
In 1969, by replacing autonomous entrance examinations in individual middle schools within centrally administered national entrance testing, the Munkyobu, the then-current Ministry of Education, monopolized the authority to allocate students to the local middle schools. This state monopoly of student recruitment first reached the high school level in 1974, and as of 2000 all middle and academic high schools in Korea’s major cities were subject to this equalization policy (Kyoyukbu, 1998). As things now stand, however, totally contrary to the policymakers’ expectations, hakwon businesses—after-school private institution and tutoring—have been thriving than ever before. Under this state policy, it is notable that the prestige of an individual secondary school has been determined not by the school characteristics, but almost entirely by the degree of socioeconomic affluence of the school community. Indeed, a new cultural term has come on the scene: pal hakgun (the 8th school zone). This refers to that school district surrounded by the most affluent school communities which produces the largest entry group to gain entry into the top-notch universities.

The literature on the development of social studies subject matter in this period is really scanty. Lee (1992) conducted an in-depth historical analysis of the birth of social studies subject matter in Post-Liberation Korea, looking specifically at how certain definitions of social studies came to be legitimated by various domestic and foreign forces with their differing perspectives. There still remains much to be answered with respect to the construction of social studies during this political era.

The major of General Social Studies Education indicates the subject matter education specified for the teaching of the combined area of politics, economics, law, and sociology and anthropology.

The social studies curriculum has assumed multi-disciplinary unit structure consisting of history, geography, politics, economics, law, sociology, and anthropology under the name of civic education, its ultimate goal being to instill in Korea’s young people the values of democratic citizenship. For instance, the national Social Studies 1 textbook for the middle school 1st grade, equivalent to the 7th grade in the United States, contains various units relevant to Korean geography and world geography; the national Social Studies 3 textbook the middle school 3rd grade is comprised of various discrete units from sociology, anthropology, politics, law, economics, and contemporary Korean history.

For example, the basic framework of the 7th and latest national curriculum revision has proven itself to be another version of a discrete multi-disciplinary curriculum, lacking any substantial evidence of integration. Under this circumstance, there has been a growing voice of calling for the “disintegration” of current triad of history, geography and general social studies, so that each of three content areas can be taught by separate textbooks at the middle school level.

At the core of these new teacher education policies is a drive to increase the number of minimum course credits prospective teachers must take in their non-major departments. Those who have been certified as common social studies majors will be the first assigned to local middle schools. For in-service teacher education, local social studies teachers have been required to take a certain number of content and method courses in their non-major subject areas using their summer and winter recess periods.

In general, beginning teachers interviewed in this study seemed doubtful as to the effectiveness of the current policy of CSS. They were doubtful that current pre-service and in-service teacher education programs would help middle school social studies teachers feel competent about teaching across multiple disciplinary areas. They did not buy the policymaker’s faith that social studies teachers can be equally knowledgeable and proficient in each of three concentration areas. As one teacher aptly put, the current administration of social studies subject matter in middle schools is analogous to an unlikely situation that every cardiology major is mandated to become a specialist in both dermatology and orthopedics.

For clarification, it should be noted that Korean teachers normally do not have private places in their workplace. In middle schools, for example, there are 4–5 faculty offices. But the majority of faculty members work in kyuomusil, the main faculty office. It is a typically observed scene in almost all of kyuomusils in Korean middle schools that teachers’ desks create platoon-like formations by administrative department. This spatial arrangement, believed to be one of the vestiges of Japanese colonial schooling, symbolizes both a formal hierarchy and the efficient division of administrative tasks, called ŏpmu punjang.
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Transition Of Moral Education In China: Towards Regulated Individualism

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ABSTRACT With specific reference to moral education policies enacted by the state of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) between the 1980s and 2005, this article develops the concept of “regulated individualism” to understand how the PRC state copes with the tension between the newly acquired personal autonomy and the bottom line of the socialist collectivism. It demonstrates that regulated individualism can be indicated along four dimensions: the persistence of national education policy in a socialist direction, the creation of legitimacy for the reform of moral education, the broadening scope of moral education, the diversification of methods for moral education and the conditional adjustment of the state-defined individual-collective relationship. This article concludes by discussing the new pattern of individual-collective relationship that differs from traditional collectivism in Mao’s China, conditional autonomy for educational institution, teachers, and students, and the gradual but conditional liberalization in moral education in the context of China’s ongoing economic and educational reforms.

Introduction

This article suggests that what we called “new socialist” in China can be understood through the concept of ‘regulated individualism’. In this paper, regulated individualism refers to the new role of individuals tolerated by the Chinese Communist Party in the fields of economics and education. In the economic field, it refers to the emergence of individual traders, manufacturers and even workers as agents of new forms of production activities. The modernisation programmes launched in China were expected to lead to a form of entrepreneurialism that creates an economic space for individuals, firms and regions. These entrepreneurial forms were to be recognized by the Party as an important strategy for raising the material level of the society. These new forms entailed a new tolerance of the Party for the space an individual can construct in the economic arena. From the point of view of this paper, this new balance between individual and collective creates a greater but still limited autonomy for individuals. We refer to this change in the balance as regulated individualism. This does not mean the recognition of individualism as understood in the Western sense. Indeed, Western individualism is still very much rejected by the Party. Hence individualism is not recognized as a moral principle but as a conditional strategy. Regulated individualism may well be, from the point of view of the Party, an outcome of the modernization project. For some, this space represents a potential for legitimating more intensive involvement for the emergence of a civil society at various levels. Thus new conflicts are created in the move from
an ideology of traditional collectivism to an ideology of regulated individualism. For some, this space represents a potential for legitimating more intensive involvement for the emergence of a civil society at various levels.

In the field of education, regulated individualism refers to the recognition of individual space in the pedagogic process, although it highlights individuals to the danger of abusing this newly recognized conditional autonomy. It creates conflicts with the old socialist ideology of traditional collectivism because regulated individualism stresses to certain extent autonomy for individuals. However, it also raises moral problems because there is a new tension between the newly acquired personal autonomy and the base line of the socialist collectivism. In other words, the changing nature of socialist morality would lead to a new mode of moral education.

The abandoning of radical collectivism means that the homogeneity of ideological positioning ceases to exist. However, this new form of individualism has also created problems for the State, which led to certain ambivalent positions of the State with regard to the control of this emerging individualism. Goldman describes Chinese society in the early 80’s as being in a state of “political openness, literary repression” (Goldman, 1994:62-87). Schram suggests that the extent to which “freedom or democracy Deng [is] prepared to accept” is circumscribed by both “internal” and “external” constraints. By “internal”, he means “limits set by the balance within the Party and especially within the top leadership” (Schram, 1986:8). The left represents the conservative voice and often acted as patrons of traditional collectivism. By “external”, he means “the limitations set by the ideas or instinctive reactions of Deng Xiaopeng himself and of other partisans of reform to their own actions”. Thus, “when ... free discussions... appear to be developing a momentum which threatens Party control, he [Deng] himself feels obliged to call a halt” (Schram, 1986:9).

In this paper, we argue that the emergence of regulated individualism is a response to the new socialist era in China. With special reference to the PRC’s moral education policies enacted in the past two decades between the 1980s and 2005, this article suggests that regulated individualism can be indicated on four dimensions: the persistence of national education policy in socialist direction, the creation of legitimacy for the reform of moral education, the broadening scope of moral education, and the diversification of methods for moral education, and the conditional adjustment of the state-defined individual-collective relationship.

The persistence of national education policy in socialist direction: the political regulation

National education policy with a socialist direction determines the political framework which regulates education to serve the state’s political and economic projects. Since coming to power in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party has shaped education towards a socialist orientation upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the CPC’s political ideologies. All educational institutions were required to offer compulsory political courses to teach Marxism, revolutionary history of the CPC, and socialist values, including socialism, patriotism, and collectivism. Additionally, the state required students to participate in compulsory social practice, which transmitted the preference of a socialist worldview over a capitalist one and translated students’ learning from political courses into practice.

Drastic economic reform occurred from 1977 through the early 1980s, reshaping the Chinese economy and education. As a result of the shift in national focus from the Maoist “class struggle” to economic reconstruction, education had become the
foundation for modernizing science and technology, the key to realizing the Four Modernizations programme. The state no longer viewed Chinese education as an instrument of “proletarian politics.” However, education still served the official central value system, which was expressed in an ideology based upon Marxist-Leninist theories and the party’s different interpretations of socialism and policies during specific periods. The emphasis of interpretation changed from class struggle in Mao’s version of socialism before the economic reform in the late-1970s, to a primitive stage of socialism characterized by using capitalistic means in the socialist economy, as interpreted by Deng, Jiang, and Hu after the late-1970s.

In the 1980s, however, the state had to admit that moral education was not effective enough to guarantee that students had a firm belief in communism (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1988; State Education Committee, 1990a). Facing student demonstrations, such as the movement in 1989, Deng Xiaoping advocated that: “educational institutions must always put the persistence in correct political direction as the first task” (Li, Fang and An, 1997). Echoing Deng, the state called up countywide educational institutions to improve the quality of moral education, being responsible for preserving the CPC’s leadership, supporting the CPC-defined socialist political values, and equipping students with morality, behaviour, values of legality, psychological health that demanded by new era of economic openness and reform (State Education Committee, 1990a; Ministry of Education, 1998).

Thus, despite economic reform and political opposition, the PRC state has persisted with the transmission of socialist ideology and values to maintain its socialist nature and orientation. In particular, the primary aim of moral education was to serve political needs, train students ideologically, and enable all of those who received an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically, so as to become well-educated workers imbued with a socialist consciousness. Consequently, the curricular and administrative structures of education, even as they changed in the process of economic development, have adhered to the central value system, which defines the principle of regulated individualism.

Indeed, the more Chinese society moves to a socialist market system, the more importance the State is attaching to the educational system maintaining the collective interest of the society. Almost all policy papers on moral education released in the last decades emphasize the importance of the collective interest of the society and yet there is also an emphasis of the new individual role.

The creation of legitimacy for the reform of moral education: a new rule of the game

The creation of legitimacy for economic and educational reforms has been a new rule of the game in the PRC’s social change after the 1980s. Unlike the educational revolution in Mao’s China, an era of lawlessness (wufa wutian), educational reform in the 1980s were conducted in line with the principle governing the nation in accordance with the rule of law (yifa zhiguo), a concept that was written into the national constitution in March 1999. At the same time, the state stimulated that education would also be governed according to the rule of law (yifa zhijiao) as part of educational reform (Communist Party of China Central Committee and State Council, 1993). The task of creating legitimacy for educational reform has been undertaken by three lawmakers bodies at national level, including the core leadership of the CPC, the National Peoples’ Congresses (NPC), and the State Council. Their decisions, instructions or opinions have a ‘law-binding effect’ on
education policies (Zhang, 1994). The NPC plays an increasingly important role in enacting national education laws as part of education reform to respond to or prepare for new social change. These laws have five inter-related specific functions: legalization of national development goals and strategy in education, provision of legitimacy for education reform and redefinition of locus of control, rectification of specific problems, specification of administrative procedure, and gate-keeping of values (Law, 2002).

In the 1990s, the state’s law-making machinery has enacted both administrative policies and laws to create legitimacy for the reform of moral education. In its decisions on reforming national moral education, the Central Committee of the CPC (1985:2302) claimed:

*In order to adjust to the country’s socialist modernization program, the advancement of science and technology, the changes in socio-political and economic arenas, and personal characteristics of children and youths in the new era, we need to reform our Marxism moral education and politico-ideological education, including serious reform in curricular structure, contents, and teaching methods ... The transmission of Marxism should be related to the distinguished characteristics of adolescent life, knowledge base, and psychology, ..., should lead them to set up correct worldview and philosophy of life, to know how to use correct views and methods to solve important problems facing their life, and to fulfil their responsibilities to the nation.*

Moreover, the Central Committee of the CPC and State Council has reiterated repeatedly that moral education should face a new issue arising from the social transition from a centrally planned economy to a socialist market economy -how to improve the quality of moral education in the new era of socialist market economy, and therefore, “educational institutions should initiate diverse methods based on the researches and their own conditions”, in order to “equip students with new values, such as quality, efficiency, competition, open-minded, and etc, which are important to serve socialist market economy”, to “encourage students to study positively, creatively, and actively”, to “provide students with comprehensive education in morality and psychology”, and to “relate moral education with students’ personal characteristics at their ages of adolescence” (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1988:2822-2823; 1994:3687; General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China & General Office of the State Council, 2001).

Additionally, the state has created a legal framework in which both the state’s central values and individual students’ rights are protected. The 1991 Law for the Protection of Minors (Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, 1991) starts by the clause that:

*In order to protect minors’ mental and physical health, to protect their legal rights, to advance their whole development morally, intellectually, and physically, and to train them to become successors and constructors of socialist course, ..., the state, society, schools, and families should provide minors with moral education, law education, communist and patriotic education ..., to equip them with socialist*
morality, and to reject the influence of capitalist and feudalist values on minors,

and

[w]orking with minors should follow four principles, i.e., protect minors’ legal rights, respect minors’ human dignity, fit with minors’ physical and psychological characteristics, and provide both education and protection to minors.

The 1995 Education Law stipulated that nationwide educational institutions should undertake basic political tasks. Such tasks included: upholding Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and socialist theories with Chinese characteristics, serving socialist modernization, training constructors and successors for the socialist course, and transmitting worldviews of patriotism, collectivism, and socialism to students (National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, 1995, Article 3 and Article 6).

These decisions and laws, as suggested by this article, show a development of the function of moral education. The state has redefined the role of moral education to be not merely a political agent, but also an area of pedagogy in which educational psychology and students’ needs and rights are concerned.

The broadening scope of moral education: increasing ‘I’ identity

Since the 1980s, the scope of moral education has been broadened from its original exclusive emphasis on the transmission of socialist values to include law education, psychology health, and knowledge of life (State Education Committee, 1993; 1995a; 1995b). As in the past, students at all educational institutions are required to study and pass compulsory political courses before graduation. Political courses continuously act as the main channel to transmit the CPC-defined socialist values including Marxism, Party’s lines, and national leader’s thoughts, and, socialist moralities summarized as ‘five loves’-love motherland, people, labour, science, and socialism; and ‘four have’-have ideal, morality, knowledge, and disciplines.

Law education is a new element of moral education, providing different emphasis of teaching content at different levels of education. Primary school students are required to study the laws and regulations relating to their daily life, for example, Law for the Protection of Minors, Law for the Prevention of Minors from Crime, and traffic rules. Secondary school students are required to study laws relating to national identity, including national Constitution, National Emblem Law, National Flag Law, and Regulations on Social Security. Students at higher educational institutions are required to pass compulsory courses about Marxism theories on legislation and Chinese legal politics. Despite the difference in teaching content, law education at all educational institutions serves common educational objectives, including upholding the CPC’s ‘long-term’ dominated leadership, enhancing students’ belief in ‘five loves’ and ‘four have’, reinforcing students’ identity to China, and increasing students awareness of preserving the state’s political stability; otherwise they would be violating the state’s law (State Education Committee, Social Security Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China & Ministry of Justice, 1995).
Psychology health and knowledge of life are also new elements of moral education. Their appearance in moral education relates to the state’s expectations of attracting students’ attention to moral education, and increasing students’ awareness of linking their personal developments with the growth of national competence in the world (Ministry of Education, 2005a). In doing so, the state has allowed increasing ‘self’ identity, in addition to ‘collective’ identity, in moral education. In Mao’s China, moral education had an image of creating ‘collective’ identity among students. For example, moral education was to train students to become ‘the party’s good sons and daughters’, while thinking about self was criticized as ‘false behaviour of denying the collective leadership and ignoring the benefit and discipline of the nation and collectivities’ (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1962:1078).

The situation was changed in the middle 1980s, when the state set up a new task of moral education, i.e., to train students to become ‘citizens with morality and behaviour advocated by the socialist country’ (State Education Committee, 1986:2424). This new task indicates the state’s permission to ‘self’ identity in moral education, as the citizen status grants students legal rights to act according to themselves wishes within the legal framework. Additionally, teaching content about knowledge, experience, and skills of life also reflect increasing ‘self’ identity in moral education. According to the latest national guideline for moral education issued by the MoE (2005a), moral education at primary schools should teach students some basic life and social skills, such as how to live safely and healthy, how to do things creatively, how to understand oneself. In secondary education, moral education should teach students some philosophy of life, such as sense of responsibility, positive attitude, self-determined, and self-discipline. They are also provided with some knowledge and experience relating to adolescent development (such as mental and psychological health, friendship and love relations, sexual moralities, rejecting drugs, and etc.) In higher education, moral education includes knowledge and experience concerning family life and career development consulting service; and students were encouraged to learn to be creative, competitive, to have capabilities of self-management, independent thinking, and problem-solving, for these capabilities are important for students’ future life and employment.

The diversification of methods for moral education: increasing institutional autonomy

To improve the quality of moral education, the state has devolved increasing institutional autonomy to schools and teachers, allowing them to explore new means of education. The state played a principal role in providing resources, opportunities, and suggestions to encourage schools and teachers to create initiatives. One example can be seen from the improvement of academic image of moral education teachers. Generally, moral education teachers are administrative staff serving political organs at educational settings. They may not be holders of certificates or degrees in education. Their poor teaching methods and pedagogy was one of the most important causes of students’ rejection of moral education (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1988). To rectify this problem, the state gave them easier admission to read for a master or doctoral degree program in Marxist Theories and Political Education (Ministry of Education, 2000a; General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China & General Office of the State Council, 2001). In these programmes, teachers can learn pedagogy and teaching methods.
especially how to relate the transmission of socialist values to adolescent’s personal characteristics, and how to make extra-curricular moral education activities attractive to students. Moreover, the state called upon educational institutions to reequip teachers with new knowledge and teaching techniques (such as basic Information and Communication Technology skills) for new moral education tasks (Ministry of Education, 2004).

Another example is the alliance-building for promoting school-based moral education. In addition to the on-campus moral education channels such as curriculum and extra-curricular activities, the state encouraged educational institutions to build up alliances with community and social organs, in order to construct a favourable environment to increase the influence of school-based moral education on students. To facilitate alliance-building, the state suggested that schools should explore off-campus moral education bodies, which could be culture, science, and technology museums, public libraries, and historic sites of the CPC’s organs, and requiring these establishments to provide free admission or reduced price to visiting groups led by their schools (General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China & General Office of the State Council, 2001). Moreover, the MoE (2005b) asked mass media such as China Education Daily, China Education TV Station, and websites hosted by the CPC’s organs, to promote school’s experiences in moral education.

The conditional adjustment of the state-defined individual-collective relationship

The most significant characteristic of ‘regulated individualism’ is the conditional adjustment of the state-defined individual-collective relationships in line with the changes of social circumstance. In the early 80’s, economic reform entailed a gradual liberalization and relative ‘political openness’ in the society (Goldman, 1994).

We shall use one incident that happened in the mid eighties to illustrate the controversies related to the emergence of regulated individualism: the campaign against spiritual pollution in 1983. It was a campaign launched by the CCP to react against what they saw as a concerted move to promote Western bourgeois liberal ideas in Chinese society. For the CCP, there is a clear difference between learning useful ideas from the West and wholesale westernisation. In this particular campaign, the issue at stake was an argument first raised by Wang Ruishui, an associate editor with Renmin Ribao (People’s Daily) as early as 1980 on the possible existence of a lienation in a socialist nation. For Wang, alienation does not cease to exist in socialism. He then goes on to identify possible ideological, political and economic alienation in socialism (Brugger and Kelly, 1990:145-146). This has become a contentious issue within various intellectual circles and over six hundred papers have been published in various newspaper and journals (Goldman, 1994:116). In China, where the State is the arbitrator of the distinction between the thinkable and unthinkable, such a discussion would be regarded as illegitimate when the discussion is likely to be re-contextualized in a way which the State sees as rendering potential challenge to the fundamental order it is maintaining.

When Wang revised his work in 1983, it was regarded as offensive to socialism by the conservative ideologues. The campaign against spiritual pollution was thus officially launched in a speech made by Wang Zhen, who was a Politburo member and the President of the Central Party School [4] on October 1983. In his speech entitled Guard against and Remove Spiritual Pollution on the Ideological Front;
Raise High the Banner of Marxism and Socialism, Wang suggested that, “There are also those who are constantly propagating so-called ‘socialist alienation’, saying something to the effect that socialism suffers not only from ideological alienation, but from political alienation, and economic alienation. They even go so far to say ‘the roots of alienation are to be found in the socialist system itself’. These views are entirely opposed to Marxist scientific socialism.” (quoted from Schram, 1984:46)

A number of articles followed suit. However, what was supposed to be an ideological campaign among intellectual circles became a social and political campaign against the reform. It became too much for the Party leaders when the grassroots organization issued directives concerning appropriate dress and hairstyles, and general moral conduct for all citizens. Others began to challenge the emerging responsibility system, a core reform measure advocated by Deng since the early 80’s. The Party thus had to call an end to the issue after one year of confusion. It was signalled by the publication of a paper from Hu Qiaomu, a senior Party ideologue, who “condemned the application of theory of alienation to socialist society but accepted a compromise in affirming the validity of ‘humanism’ as an ‘ethical principle and moral norm’ within the framework of historical materialism” (Tsou, 1984:332).

Similar experience can be seen in the policies on moral education. Within the decade between 1978 and 1988, the Central Committee of the CPC (1985-1988) made two Decisions that oriented the reform of moral education to fit into China’s economic reform process. The 1985 Decision granted a certain degree of individual freedom to teach and learn. For example, it encouraged schools and teachers “to be positive, creative and active” in “conducting investigation”, “writing school-based teaching materials”, “pooling ideas together” and “testing new ways to improve moral education”. Moreover, it promoted learning Marxism in a free academic environment, which allows “free and active discussion”, “independent thinking”, “the introduction of diverse academic viewpoints”, and “the free expression of personal perspectives” on social conditions and Marxism (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1985: 2302-3). The 1988 Decision furthered such a freedom by giving explicit instructions that moral education should “equip students with knowledge about civil rights and responsibilities”, should “foster students’ democratic consciousness”, should “be conducted in democratic, equal, and harmony atmosphere”, and should “increase students’ capabilities of self-mastery, independent thinking, and self-teaching” (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1988: 2822-3). As regard to the relationship between individual and collective, both Decisions merely made general principles that ‘students should know and obey the principle of socialist democratic centralism’ (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1985), and education should help students ‘deal with relationship between individual, collective, and national benefit correctly’ (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1988). Neither of them mentioned any objection to Western capitalist values.

However, the situation dramatically changed soon after 1989 student movement. In his speech given to army commanders, Deng Xiao-Ping (1989) pointed out that the movement was the result of the spread of capitalist liberalization and the weakness of political and ideological education. As an echo to Deng, mass media, such as the China Education Daily, called for the strengthening of political and ideological education and the objection of capitalist liberalization (Commentator of China Education Daily, 1989). Immediately the State Education Committee (1989a; 1989b) released two decisions on moral education, stipulating that educational institutions should ‘unify minds’ in line with the Party’s direction, promoting the
Four Cardinal Principles [1] and rejecting the wholesale Westernization and Western bourgeois liberal ideas. In the following six years, the State Education Committee(1990a; 1990b; 1993; 1995a; 1995b) promulgated a series guidelines on moral education, repeatedly reiterating that moral education should educate students to object to extreme individualism, to put national and collective benefits above the individual’s, and to be obedient to the collective’s decision.

Since the mid-1990s, there has been a state reoriented educational reform to prepare for economic globalization. To catch up the global trend in the use of information communication technology in education, the MoE initiated the construction of a national information network, the China Educational and Research Network (CERNET), which was established in 1995, and enabled countrywide educational institutions to access the Internet. In 1997, the MoE issued a Suggestion on the Reinforcement of Teaching and Learning of Computer Courses. According to this Suggestion, students are required to take courses in basic computer skills. The Central Committee of the CPC (1999) also pointed out that the use of the information communication technology (ICT) in education should be promoted in order to provide students with more educational resources, and expecting students to grasp new capabilities of searching and accessing information from multiple sources. The use of ICT did not only broaden students’ outlook, but also provided them with a freer cyber space of communication and more individual freedom to access, and spread, information via the Internet.

At the same time, however, the authorities also perceived that ICT generated a new potential challenge to moral and political education. In 2000 the national President Jiang Ze-Min publicly claimed that ‘Internet is a new battle zone’ in which political enemies attempted to spread information opposite to China’s political system (Tsinghua News, 2001). The negative impact of the Internet on moral education became a hot topic of discussion in the educational circle. The discussions were concerned that the cross-border flow of ‘unhealthy information’ might ‘pollute’ the environment of political and moral education at schools, and the increasing individual freedom in the cyber space might result in the spread of anarchism and laissez-faire (Qu, 1999; Zhang, 2000). As a quick response, the central government decided to use the Internet as a new medium to transmit moral and ideological education, blocking the flow of information threatening to China’s politics, and especially rejecting the ‘ideological and cultural penetration: i.e., the influence of the values of individualism, money worship, and hedonism on students’ minds’ (Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 2000; Ministry of Education, 2000b).

After becoming a member of the World Trade Organization in 2001, China gradually incorporated global paradigms and practices of economy and education in the process of openness to global influence. The most notable phenomenon in the society was the emergence of the concept of ‘xiaozi’, which originally refers to ‘petty bourgeois’, but has been broadened to include capitalist values and Western life style (Zhong, 2003). The key ideas of ‘xiaozi’, including seeking individual freedom, enjoying material richness, and ignoring political affairs, have been widely accepted and become popular in the society (Netbig, 2006). Facing this increasing individualism in civic society, the state showed tolerance, but used the law as a tool to regulate the phenomenon. This can be seen from the change to the words in the state-defined individual-collective relationship in the Implementing Guideline of the Construction of Civil Moralities, which states: ‘[the state] respects personal legal rights...encouraging civics to gain personal benefit through legal means, while expecting civics to build up the value of putting national and collective benefits first’
In its policies on moral education, the state changed the tone from “hard sell” to be more flexible. For example, the MoE (2005c) called for the creation of new measures to make moral education ‘more interesting and enjoyable’, so as to ‘attract students’ attention to the contents of teaching’. How the schools and teachers respond to the MoE is still unknown, but we can see that the state intended to give moral education a more comfortable and acceptable image in the evolving context.

**Discussion and conclusion**

This paper has demonstrated that, despite the broadening scope of moral education, CPC-defined socialism continues to play a role as gate-keeper of values; while at the same time, laws act as new rules of the game to regulate education. It is within these political and legal frameworks that the state has granted a space for individual students to develop their own interests, goals, thinking, and life skills. The increasing emphasis on ‘self’ identity, however, will not exceed the state’s political and legal framework.

Moreover, the improved academic image of moral education teachers reveals dual changes in moral education. On the one hand, teachers have been granted more autonomy in increase their teaching capability, raising their academic qualification, determining teaching methods, and orientating teacher-student interaction in teaching process. On the other, all these individual freedoms serve the political commitment of helping students to understand the nation’s tasks, and to develop students’ morality of serving the nation.

Furthermore, though the state has allowed individual educational institutions to have more freedom to explore their own ways to promote their school-based moral education, such an increasing freedom has to be subject to the state’s increasing means of regulation. This is because their performance in moral education will be given increasing scrutiny in educational evaluation by educational administrative authorities (Ministry of Education, 2005c).

The complexity of the PRC’s moral education policies suggests that the concept of regulated individualism portrays a changing relationship among the state, educational institution, teachers, and students in the new context of China. It means the state has granted a certain degree of individual autonomy for educational institutions to act upon its own initiative to implement the state’s policy on moral education. The state also recognized individual teachers and students’ freedom to create methods in the teaching and learning process. At the same time, however, the state holds the power to regulate such individual autonomy and freedom within the framework of national education policy and law, which has defined education’s socialist nature in the context of China.

Regulated individualism portrays a new pattern of individual-collective relationship that differs from traditional collectivism in Mao’s China. Traditional collectivism deemed the primacy of collectivist over individualist considerations where the individual did not have an independent status from collective control, and the construction of individuals was always instrumental to the development of the collective. The concept of regulated individualism discussed in this paper sees the individual as neither under absolute control of collective, or having full freedom to liberate from constrains imposed by collective and the state. Instead, the state gradually decreases the control of the collective over the individual, allowing individuals to enjoy relative freedom to determine their own goal of development.
Yet the extent to which individuals can enjoy freedom is adjusted by the state in light of the socio-political and economic conditions.

Here we see interesting conditional autonomy for individuals and gradual liberalization in the state-defined relationships between individual and collective. The liberalization process reflects how the state adjusted the space between two poles, i.e., the state’s regulation and individual autonomy. Individual space is recognised and accepted as long as it is beneficial to the development of the collective. However, when individuals exercise their autonomy, they are not expected to challenge the social and ideological basis of the collective. The increase of individual autonomy has been accompanied with the increasing means of regulations that serve as the bottom line of individual freedom allowed by the state.

The gradual liberalization and conditional autonomy in moral education can be seen as a practice of Deng’s philosophy, ‘groping for stones to cross the river’ (mozhe shitou guohe). This proverb describes the broad social context in which the state tests new ways to fit its reform agenda into the Chinese context. The concept of regulated individualism, as suggested by this paper, provides a specific understanding of the struggle of the state in the dilemma between the tolerance of individualism and the preservation of collectivism in the process of China’s economic and educational reforms.

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NOTES

[1] The Four Cardinal Principles are: upholding the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, upholding the socialist road, upholding the people’s democratic dictatorship, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought (Deng, 1979).

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How Do They Become Socially/Politically Active? Case Studies Of Hong Kong Secondary Students’ Political Socialisation

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ABSTRACT Evidence obtained from focus group interviews supports a conception of political socialization as an active process where individuals interact and negotiate with socialization agents in different contexts to construct their political realities. The citizenship understandings of socially or politically active students in this study were basically eclectic, including conservative views about doing the best in their diverse roles as well as more radical orientations, such as participating in demonstrations and protests in opposition to unreasonable laws. Issues based teaching, experiential learning, and teachers with credibility have been identified as significant political socializing factors for active democratic citizenship. Such a finding has significant implications for teacher education.

Introduction

It has been argued that civic education in Hong Kong has evolved through three stages, and now is in the third stage of “Re-depoliticization of civic education” (Leung and Ng, 2004). This stage is characterized by the removal of political content, for example, education for democracy and human rights education, which were in an earlier curriculum statement, Guidelines in Civic Education for Schools (Curriculum Development Council, 1996), but not in the current reform document, Learning to Learn – The Way Forward in Curriculum Development (Curriculum Development Council, 2001). In this recent document, civic education has been renamed Moral and Civic Education, indicating a shift of emphasis. Contents related to personal and interpersonal education, family education and moral education are introduced to replace elements related to human rights and democracy. In addition, the current reforms are also characterized by a strong promotion of national and patriotic education with the support of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government. At the implementation level, studies have indicated that, regardless of what the original Guidelines proposed, schools tend to implement what they prefer. This means political content is not well addressed and there is little, if any, formal teaching about democracy in the curriculum (Curriculum Development Institute, 1999; Lee, 2003; Morris and Morris, 2001). In summary, civic education in Hong Kong schools is not adequately preparing youth for democratic citizenship.
Although the second IEA Civic Education Study indicated that Hong Kong students fared well internationally in citizenship knowledge, with a strong concern for elections, freedom of expression and political rights, it was pointed out that Hong Kong students “have a tendency to avoid activist politics” (Lee, 2003:605). These students may have political knowledge but are not necessarily behaving as active democratic citizens.

Nevertheless, in the two major demonstrations that have taken place in Hong Kong since its return to Chinese sovereignty, both on 1 July 2003 and 2004 respectively, many youth participated and several youth political organizations were formed. For example, the Hong Kong Secondary Students’ Union, the Youth Round Table, the 7.1 People Pie and the Democracy Tutorial Classes were formed by students in secondary schools and tertiary institutes. These groups of students organized seminars and discussion groups on various political, social issues and helped to organize demonstrations for the cultivation of a democratic culture in youth. This implies that, despite the lack of civic education, some students have become very socially and politically active and seem well prepared for democratic citizenship.

How do these socially and politically active students develop despite the depoliticized nature of civic education in Hong Kong? What are the factors that contribute to their social and political activities? How do the contextual factors influence students’ active participation in democratic citizenship? How do they understand the concept of active citizenship? These are the basic issues to be explored here. The study has been designed to contribute to a better understanding of political socialization in a particular Chinese context. A better understanding of what and how socializing agents influence youth can lead to more effective programmes designed to cultivate active, democratic citizens.

**Political Socialization**

Traditional understandings of political socialization focus on the macro or system level. The emphasis is on the induction of members of a polity into the political system. Cultural transmission leading to the internalization of values and ideology supporting the whole system (Marshall, 1998). Recent political socialization research, however, has focused on individuals’ learning and negotiating processes and uses a broader understanding of politics than did earlier researchers (Flanagan and Gallay, 1995). Recent scholars also point out that there are many contextual factors that can influence the political development of students, including schooling (Flanagan and Sherrod, 1998; Hepburn, 1995; Torney-Purta, 1995; Niemi and Hepburn, 1995; Rosenberg, 1985; Sigel, 1995; Yates and Youniss, 1998). The political socialization model adopted by the IEA Civic Education study reflected this interactive concept (Torney-Purta, Schwielle and Amadeo, 1999) and is shown in Figure 1. In the centre of the octagon is the individual student, surrounded by public discourses of goals, values and practice relevant to civic education. Discourses influence the individual through various ‘carriers’ or ‘socialization agents’, including, the family, peer group, formal community, informal community and school. The outer octagon that circumscribes these processes includes the ‘macro-systems’, composed of institutions, processes and values in politics, economics, education and religion, the country’s international position, the social stratification and symbols and narratives in national and local communities. This means that the actions of carriers are embedded in institutional and cultural contexts. The present study focuses on the carrier, ‘school’ with an emphasis on relevant pedagogies,
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particularly issue-based learning and experiential learning as well as civics teachers themselves.

Figure 1: The political socialization model, adopted by the IEA Civic Education study (Torney-Purta et. al., 1999:18)

Schooling as a political socializing carrier

Schools have long been considered influential political socializing agents or carriers. Nevertheless, reports about the impacts of formal teaching of civic education on democratic citizenship are mixed; some identified positive impacts, while others identified none (Niemi and Junn, 1998; Print, Ornstromare and Nielsen, 2002). The conventional view among political scientist was that civic education had only marginal impact on students’ democratic orientation. However, this conventional wisdom has undergone significant revision recently (Finkel and Ernst, 2005). Factors facilitating teaching and learning of democratic citizenship have been identified.

In general, civic education programmes that make use of active pedagogies, such as, role playing, dramatization, group decision making and the like, will have greater effects on an individual’s orientation (Nemerow, 1996; Porter, 1993; Print, 1999, Print et al., 2002). In particular, scholars have argued that an open classroom culture which facilitates discussion of controversial issues, exchange of opinions, expression
of attitudes, tolerance, mutual respect for difference of opinion and support of social justice, often correlate with attitudes and competence that have the potential to foster active citizenship (Blankenship, 1990; Ehman, 1980; Hahn, 1998; Hess, 2001; Niemi and Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz, 2001).

Experiential learning has also been found to be effective. This includes various forms of students’ participation in decision making, such as, student councils or other forms of student government (Lai and Wu, 2003; Print et al., 2002; Torney-Purta, et al., 2001). It has also been pointed out that experiential learning and service learning programmes, especially those emphasizing political dimensions and social justice, are effective in fostering personal, interpersonal and active citizenship development in students (Billig, 2000; Leung, 2003; Mooney and Edwards, 2001; Robinson, 2000). In addition, Finkel (2003) and Leung (2003) argued for the effectiveness of involving advocacy NGOs in experiential learning as they can act as resource providers and expert advisors. Moreover, experiential learning that can involve students both cognitively and emotionally in politics has been identified to be a better predictor of long-term political engagement (Boehnke and Boehnke, 2005).

In addition to pedagogies, the perceived credibility and likeability of civics teachers by the students is another crucial factor. It has been found that the perceived credibility of the teacher can enhance the acceptance of the message conveyed by the civic teachers (Finkel and Ernst, 2005; Goldenson, 1978).

Non-schooling factors

Non-school factors that have been found important to promote civic engagement include home literacy resources (except Hong Kong), time spent watching TV news and reading newspapers, educational background of parents, expected years of education (Niemi and Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, et al., 2001). In Hong Kong, Lee (2003) has argued that the exposure of students to media during the transitional period of Hong Kong from UK to People’s Republic of China was an important factor for the development of democratic citizenship of Hong Kong students. Since this paper focuses on school related factors, non-school factors will not be explored in detail.

Political socialization as negotiating processes

The IEA ‘octagonal model’ of political socialization suggests that discourses influence the individual through various ‘carriers’ or ‘socialization agents’ that are embedded in cultural and institutional contexts. As recent research on political socialization has shifted to the emphasis of learning by the individual, socializing processes are much less perceived as static and passive. Instead, individuals interact and negotiate with the factors in the social, economical, cultural and political contexts. Individuals actively engage in constructing their own political realities in the contexts. They create the principles upon which decisions are made through constructing, refining and reconstructing as they grow up (Flanagan and Gallay, 1995; Flanagan and Sherrod, 1998; Torney-Purta, 1995). Research on attitudes has also pointed out that attitude change does not occur uniformly across a population’s exposure to persuasive messages, but rather depends conditionally on a series of variables related to message, message context and to individual themselves. In a nutshell, individuals are engaged actively in the political socialization processes (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Finkel and Ernst, 2005).
Research design

In this study the basic research question is “How have contextual factors, pedagogy, (issue-based learning and experiential learning) and civic teachers influenced students’ active participation in democratic citizenship in Hong Kong?”

Specifically, we asked:

- What are students’ understandings of an active citizen?
- What are the school related factors, with particular reference to pedagogy (issue-based learning and experiential learning) and civic teachers that encourage students to become socially or politically active?
- How do the individuals negotiate in the socializing process?

This research was based mainly on focus group interviews of students, secondary or tertiary, who are active in social or political participation. Socializing agents, such as civic teachers, NGO people involved in school civic education programmes, who were identified as influential by the student participants were also interviewed for triangulation purposes.

Sampling

There were two ways of sampling the student participants. The first group of students was purposively sampled from two active students groups, Democracy Tutorial Classes and the Hong Kong Secondary Students’ Union. They were either secondary students who had participated actively in several mass demonstrations or tertiary students who had participated actively in several mass demonstrations when they were secondary school students. The total number of student participants in this category was 19. For the second group of students, the Alliance for Civic Education (ACE), a federation of local NGOs working on civic education, was approached for names of socially or politically active secondary school civics teachers. Teachers were then asked to identify socially or politically active students. Similar to the first group of students, this second group of students was either secondary students or tertiary students who had become politically active and started to participate when they were secondary school students. The total number of participants in this category was 18, making up a total of 37 student participants. In this paper, only the results from the second group of students will be reported. The eighteen students included three male university students, Chiu, Ho and Kwok (aged 19-20) who had graduated from school Li and three 6th form female secondary students, June, Cheng and Tung (aged 18-19) from the same school. Two male 6th form students, Yip and Chow (aged 18-19) were from school Kee. Ten 3rd or 4th form secondary students (aged 14-16), Sze Sze (female), Chan Pak (male), To To (female), Big Lo (female), Little Lo (male), Little Wan (female), Chi Fai (male), Orange (female), Ng (male) and Shun (female), were from school Cheng.

For teacher participants, four civic teachers were named by the students as significant socializing agents and the results of interviews with them are reported here. They were Mr. Cheung and Mr. Fong from school Li, Ms Liu from school Cheng and Mr. Leung from school Kee. Except Mr. Fong, all were the active civic teachers recommended by the ACE. Three political oriented advocacy NGO people, who had been involved in school civic education programme were also recommended by the interviewee students as significant socializing agents. They were Fred, Frankie and Debby. All names are pseudonyms.

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Data collection and analysis

The period of data collection started from July 2005 to February 2006. Qualitative data was collected by semi-structured focus group or individual interviews with students, teachers and NGO people. The interviews were conducted in Cantonese, the native language of the participants. Each interview lasted for one and a half to two hours. They were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim in Chinese. The ‘constant comparative method’ was adopted for analyzing data. Each transcript of interview is compared with another transcript, one incident with another incident, one category with another so as to look for emerging patterns.

Findings and discussions

The findings reported in this paper address the three research questions listed above and are reported here as (1) understandings and behaviours of active citizens, (2) political socialization factors and (3) students negotiating in socialization process.

Understandings and behaviours of active citizen

All the eighteen students were described as active socially or politically when referred by their teachers. However, their socially/politically active behaviours varied from a minimum of showing concern and willingness to discuss current issues only to active participation in and members of political oriented NGOs. The three 6th form students, June, Tung and Cheng from school Li showed a limited understanding of active citizenship As June said:

After being taught by Mr. Cheung in Liberal Studies, I have become much more concerned about politics and current news.

Chiu, a graduate from school Li, showed a much fuller understanding:

I have joined the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement of China (comment by author: a subversive organization as defined by the People’s Republic of China) as a member because I like its mission, to redress June 4 injustices, and to make a more just society.

The remaining fourteen students were in between these two poles. In addition to discussing current issues, they all identified other forms of participation apart from joining political NGOs. Chow, a student from school Kee, actively participated in social services and leadership trainings. Two students of school Cheng, Ng and Big Lo had written publicly in response to government consultation on public policies. All of the fourteen, except Chow, had participated in various demonstrations, such as, the July 1 demonstrations, anti-World Trade Organization (WTO) demonstration and the annual memorial gathering in Victoria Park for the June 4 Incident [1]. Some accounted for their minimal participation by the complexity of politics while some said they only participated in events rather than in particular groups since they could not always identify with everything the groups do. Though they varied in the degree of participation, the involvement of all these students was already stronger than the vast majority of secondary students in Hong Kong.

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When the eighteen participants were asked for their understandings of what an active citizen was, all except Chow and Tung expressed eclectic views reflecting both conservative and radical stances. Some conservative views included the duties of the citizens to perform to their best in their respective roles, to obey the laws, to know more about and to care for the society, to contribute to the common good of the society, to balance private and common goods. Some radical views were checking the government by various means including voting, writing responses to public policies, organizing demonstrations, protesting against unreasonable laws. Chi Fai from school Cheng argued that

*We have to uncover the ‘hidden agenda’ of the government.*

His classmate Big Lo supported this view:

*As active citizens, we have to start from knowing more about the society. When we hear about unfair issues, we have to voice out. We have to know what the government is doing. We can write letters. If more radical actions are needed, we can organize protests and demonstrations.*

Similarly, Yip, a student from school Kee voiced:

*In addition to contributing our best to the society, as citizens, we have to criticize and monitor the government if we could.*

Concerning the issue of obeying the law, Kwok supplemented:

*Citizens should obey ‘reasonable’ laws but have to object the ‘unreasonable’ laws. We have to help in developing a better society and to reduce injustice.*

This view of rejecting ‘unreasonable laws’ was shared by most participants. All, with the exception of Chow and the three students in school Li, had participated in the demonstration against the Basic Law Article 23 [2], which was considered by many Hong Kong people as against their basic human rights. The idea and action of rejecting unreasonable laws implied an understanding of the concept of civil disobedience. It seems that many of these activist students are quite ready to be active citizens for a democratic society. The full range of views expressed by the students are similar to the categories of citizenship identified by Westheimer and Kahne (2004): ‘personally responsible citizen’, ‘participatory citizen’ and ‘justice-oriented citizen’, with Chiu more inclined towards being a ‘justice-oriented citizen’ while Chow was more inclined towards being a ‘participatory citizen’.

However, their conception of active citizenship was still restrained as only Chiu and Chan Pak were able to talk about the idea of global citizenship. Chiu commented:

*Concerning environmental protection, indeed this is the duty of citizens to make the world sustainable. As we are enjoying the gift of the world, we have to make our world develop in a balanced manner.*
The group of students in school Cheng had been actively participating in various social and political issues but they were dissatisfied. Since they were below the age of 18, the legal age for adults in Hong Kong, they were not treated as ‘citizens’ and had very little power, both in the society and school. Little Wan pointed out:

*There are many labels in the society. People always say you could do things after age 18. But so many youth are still immature at age 18 while many others are very mature before that age. Nevertheless, we (i.e. under the age of 18) are not given sufficient space for expressing our opinions.*

This group of teenagers revealed a serious problem. Youth do not see themselves with sufficient channels and chances to express their views at both societal and school levels. This reflects a deeper issue that children are considered as “not –yet: not yet knowing, not yet competent and not yet being” (Verhellen, 2000). By defining childhood as a preparation period, they are placed in a state of limbo. This lack of channels for participation is incompatible with their understandings of ‘active citizenship’ and experiences of participation.

**Political socialization factors**

Some significant school related factors identified in the study include teachers, civic education related subjects taught with an issues based approach, experiential learning with social and political elements, NGO people involving in civic education activities and students’ self governance with tolerant school ethos. Some non-school related factors revealed include family members talking about news, social and political events, religion and church. In the following discussion, we shall focus on teachers, the issues based approach and experiential learning. Basically these factors intermingled giving a composite influence and it is hard to separate them. However, based on the interviews, these factors have been separated in the following discussion.

**Teachers**

The contribution of the four teachers to the political development of the students was very significant. Both Yip and Chow said,

*Mr. Leung was the most significant factor.*

Similarly, Little Wan said:

*After all, Ms. Liu is the most important because she led us participate. We felt interested after participation and naturally we started to think.*

Her classmate Little Lo supplemented this view:

*I agree that the most significant influence is Ms. Liu. She taught us when we were in Form 2. She has broadened our horizon so that we know more about our society, our context.*
Another classmate Shun commented that without Ms Liu, they would all become ‘potatoes’. Students and graduates from school Li made similar comments about Mr. Fong and Mr. Cheung.

These four teachers shared some similarities in their personalities which were effective in influencing students. They are knowledgeable, open minded, critical and competent in challenging students to think from different perspectives. In addition, they showed concern for social and political issues and students. Orange from school Cheng commented:

*Ms Liu knows many things about current news and always ‘forces’ us to think from different angles. She is also easily approachable.*

Cheng from school Li argued:

*Mr. Fong and Mr. Cheung are different from other teachers. They are very causal and approachable. They concern about students’ welfare and willing to give a helping hand.*

Cheung himself echoed the view and elaborated:

*I think after all, the most significant factor is our affective relationships with the students and ourselves as being role models.*

In addition, except for Mr. Leung, all were active participants in social and political issues, such as, demonstrations and rallies. Mr. Leung explained:

*I tend to participate mentally and intellectually. My classrooms are already my battle fields of participation.*

In sum, the teachers’ credibility and likeability as influential political socializing factors recognized by Finkel & Ernst (2005) and Goldenson (1978) have also been identified in this study.

**Issues based approach**

In general, all the four teachers adopted an issues based approach in teaching civic education related subjects, such as, Liberal Studies, Civic and Life education. All of them were good at challenging students to think about issues from different perspectives. June from school Li commented:

*Mr. Cheung uses current news issues to teach, which makes you feel very interested. We collect data about the news and then discuss or even debate. He will bring in both the ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ sides of the arguments for us to reflect and decide.*

Her classmate Tung supplemented:

*Mr. Cheung will lead you to think and analyze the issues instead of telling you the ‘right’ answers.*

Kwok also commented that:
Mr. Cheung encourages us to speak our views and rationales, no matter we are for or against. Then he may share his views. Hence, we can view an issue from different perspectives.

When being asked for his teaching strategy, Mr. Cheung elaborated:

In addition to providing information to the students, we have to create chances for them to discuss current issues.

Similarly, Chow commented about his teacher:

Mr. Leung will not give us a so called 'right answer'. Instead he provides different perspectives of the issues to us and requests us to make our own decisions. If we cannot decide at the moment, he will encourage us to keep on thinking. Usually, he gives his views when being asked.

Mr. Leung commented:

I intend to provide them with alternative views, especially those being marginalized so as to balance the mainstream ideas. But I will not impose. I wish them to be more sensitive and critical.

Similarly Ms Liu used an issues based approach:

For those who could not go for experiential learning, I used issues based teaching. Issues that we are going to explore include Disney Land and anti-WTO. I shall ask students to collect information and will explore the issues from various perspectives.

It is clear that issues based teaching adopted by the teachers encourages students to explore current issues from different perspectives and to formulate and argue for their rationales, in a supportive classroom climate. These teaching and learning processes are compatible with those identified by Hahn (1998) in European classrooms. They are useful in broadening the horizons of students, increasing their social and political awareness and enhancing their competence to analyze issues critically.

Experiential learning

Ms. Liu used many experiential learning activities in her teaching of Life and Civic Education. She took students to participate in various activities, such as, a Poverty Walk, June 4 Memorial Meeting, observing competing candidates in election time, July 1 and anti-WTO demonstrations. Experiential learning influenced students in different ways. Chan Pak’s comments reflected the views of all students:

I think this activity (i.e. the Poverty Walk,) should be promoted because it not only raises our knowledge, it also lead us to think. Usually we learn by words and pictures but now we learn by direct personal experience which leaves us with deep impact. I have more concern for social issues and feel less alienated from the society now.
In addition, students felt themselves undergoing a change as they engaged more with the real world, but they found it hard to express what had happened. Sze Sze put it this way:

*Very interesting. I am not quite sure what exactly I have learned from these activities. My feelings are very strange and hard to express. But some changes have happened. I can see things more accurately now. I feel interactions. When we read newspaper, TV programmes, they are just one way. But now we are exploring and interacting.*

This group of students had very positive experiences from experiential learning. Their interest in the society was enhanced. They were more motivated to pursue knowledge and their horizon for viewing things was broadened. Their sense of identity had also been strengthened. The most important outcome was that they were witnessing their own transformation and growth.

In responding to the students’ feedback, Liu reiterated:

*I want to have some breakthrough in the traditional curriculum and catch up with the updated current issues. I also love to use cultural issues to raise their social consciousness. After presenting what they have experienced, they will feel that they own the learning and the knowledge. One very important thing about experiential learning is that the students explore and construct their knowledge.*

Another factor leading to the success of experiential learning in Ms. Liu’s school was the involvement of politically oriented NGOs. Ms Liu herself is very active in ACE and she invited the ACE people to help in various activities. Chan Pak said:

*In addition to Ms Liu, I think outside tutors such as Debby, Frankie and Fred are very helpful too. In the Poverty Walk, they helped us broaden our understandings of poverty and related issues in Hong Kong.*

Debby, an NGO staff member elaborated:

*We want to help the students reconstruct their stereotyped pre-conceptions of some communities and social phenomenon.*

Both Fred and Frankie mentioned the importance of interacting with the experiences and debriefing process for learning. But they did not elaborate in detail. All students from school Li did not mention experiential learning. Mr. Fong explained that experiential learning was mainly used for education for national identity, where students were led to mainland China for experience for a few days. He said it had good impact on students but he did not elaborate because both Mr. Cheung and he were not involved. Concerning the use of experiential learning in local issues, Mr. Fong and Mr. Cheung had different views. Mr. Fong was in favour of using experiential learning, bringing direct experiences to students. But Mr. Cheung had reservations for fear that the experience would result in strong emotional impacts that students might find difficult to handle. He said that he preferred encouraging them to go if they chose to go after thoughtful consideration instead of organizing them to go.
School Kee also seldom used experiential learning. But after an educational activity on ‘discrimination against sexual orientation’, Chow explained:

*I think it would be better if we could directly talk with homosexual people instead of listening to tapes. Then we can understand them in depth, such as, what kind of pressure they are facing.*

Mr. Leung of school Kee supplemented that he would use more experiential learning activities in the future as he realizes its strength but he was aware that a great deal of time is needed for these kind of activities.

In sum, it seems that Ms. Liu is very keen on using experiential learning and was quite successful in using experiential learning to cultivate active citizens. Students’ visions have been broadened, social consciousness enhanced and concern and participation in social and political activities increased. Mr. Leung of school Kee also recognized the potential and wanted to use experiential learning more in the future. However, teachers in school Li had some reservation.

**Students negotiating in the socialization process**

In the socialization process, students embedded within institutional and cultural contexts actively evaluate and negotiate with the socializing agents in constructing their political realities. The agents may be reinforcing each other or working in opposition.

In facing the socializing effect of the media, Shun from school Cheng counteracted and formed his own view:

*When we were small, we were always concealed from the fact by the media, for example, we always felt that the Mickey Mouse of the Disneyland is very lovely. But now we know that when we hold the toy, the workers in China were working in inhuman conditions.*

When being asked about their general feelings of being involved in so many social/political activities, Shun’s classmate Chi Fai stated his position:

*I start to have changes. I think we should go beyond observing the society to changing the society. We should not run away from our responsibility. As we know more about the society, we should try to change it. But we have to do it step by step.*

In responding to comments that they were ‘playing politics’, Sze Sze argued with emotion:

*I don’t care what you call me. The most important thing is that I am doing things that I believe I should do. I am just exercising my rights, such as, voicing my opinions and rallying.*

But at the same time, she expressed a strong sense of burden:

*I have never felt a sense of superiority. Instead, I always feel a strong sense of burden. As I know more, I want to know more and more. But*
at the same time, I feel I cannot change much. Yes, a sense of powerlessness.....

In school Li, although Mr. Cheung was the major socializing agent, his students did not always respond in the same way, often taking quite different stances. Chiu, a graduate of the school, was introduced to the June 4 Event when he was age 12 (1st Form) in a school assembly. He was moved and started his search for democracy:

_The activity made me start to care about the issue (ie the June 4th event) and I started to search in the library. What made these people sacrifice their lives? What goals they were heading for? This started my journey of searching of democracy. Later I realized that democracy has not been implemented in our daily lives. I found that there were many undemocratic ways of doing things in my school. Later, I got in touch with the Student Union. I approached them directly._

In the whole process, Chiu played an active part in evaluating and constructing his political future in his interactions with many socializing agents including, Mr. Cheung, the search for democracy in the library, student union and significant social / political events and people. At last, Chiu chose to participate actively in the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement of China. He believed that by joining the Alliance he could help to build a just society.

Kwok and Ho, graduates from the same school as Chiu, had quite similar experiences with Mr. Cheung, nevertheless they had different responses because of a different evaluation of the experiences. Unlike Chiu, both participated in individual events and valued the participation but they did not join any NGO. Their reflection on the experience led to different conclusions from that of Chiu. They explained their view:

_Many of these groups are immature. Most of them are ‘interest groups’ that exist because of their self interests. Their concerns may not fit all of my concerns. For organizations, I think it is not the right time. I do not have a comprehensive view of the world and we are not sure who is right and who is wrong. I don’t think I can have a stance at this stage._

The differences between Chiu and his two classmates suggests that although teachers can be powerful socialization agents, the personal construction of meaning for individual students will always be a key consideration. Chiu, for example, may have been subject to other experiences that led him to think and act differently from his classmates or his own personal values may simply have been different.

Similarly, Chow and Yip from school Li behaved very differently though both remarked that Mr. Leung was the major influence on them. In the WTO event, Chow participated actively as volunteer in preparing the conference, while Yip participated as volunteer to help the demonstrators. Chow had a history of working as volunteer in social services and involvement in leadership training, with an emphasis on charity rather than social justice:

_I think taking part in preparing such a big and international conference is a great opportunity for learning as I can talk with and serve many people from different parts of the world. But for demonstrations, I feel they are too remote._
It seems that Chow’s history of service activities and leadership training reacted against Mr. Leung’s more critically oriented influence, making him inclined towards being a ‘participatory citizen’, with emphasize on serving but not challenging the establishment (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). Unlike Chow, Yip has always been very critical. He said this critical attitude developed from his long history of reading books and newspapers commentaries critically. He explained his participation in the WTO demonstrations:

*I am afraid that the media will mislead us by portraying a distorted image of the Korean farmers. It seems that the police are afraid of the farmers. Perhaps some kind of pre-conception of the farmers has been implanted. I want to be a witness. In fact, I find them very orderly and peaceful. Those who act violently are only a minority. But they were the ones reported by the media, not the peaceful ones.*

Yip’s more critical attitude is more in line with Mr. Leung’s critical orientation. It seems that Chow and Yip had different attitudes towards the establishment with Yip being more critical and perhaps less trustful. These personal values may explain why they react differently towards Mr. Cheung as a socialization agent.

As featured in the ‘octagonal model’, negotiation is embedded in the individuals’ context, including the religious context. The contradictory effect of the religious context on negotiation was evident from students in school Li. June commented:

*My learning in church also hinders me. They taught me that I should not get involved in politics as politics are complicated and even ‘dirty’ to a certain degree. I feel confused, as Mr. Fong, a Christian teacher, encouraged us to participate. Why is he so different from my church?*

When the individual’s context, for example, their religion, conveys messages opposite to those of other socializing agents, for example Mr. Fong, the individual may feel confused and frustrated. However, June’s classmate, Cheung held a very different view of her religious context. She said she would criticize and question political figures whenever she got chances:

*My church encourages me to know more about politics. University students in my church teach us what politics are. My church, in addition to being concerned about God-Man relationship, is also concerned Man-Man relationship.*

From the discussion, individuals do not react to the political socializing agents passively as suggested by the traditional view of socialization. Instead, in alignment with recent views of socialization, the individuals negotiate with the socializing agents within their own individuals’ contexts, resulting in different emotions, interpretations and constructions of his/her political realities, which lead to personal political decisions and further actions.

**Conclusions**

The results of this study cannot be generalized because they have been based on purposive sample of socially and politically active students. Yet the views of the young people interviewed in this study are helpful in understanding how this
particular sample of activist students in Hong Kong created meaning from multiple processes of political socialization. In addition, it also suggests hypotheses for further studies on how active democratic citizens develop in different social and political contexts.

Evidence obtained from this study supports the conception of political socialization as an active rather than a passive process. Individuals interact and negotiate with socialization ‘carriers’ in specific contexts to construct their political realities. It also provides evidence supporting the move of political socialization literature away from a ‘narrow’ to a ‘broadened’ conception of politics. This group of activist students was interested and competent in participating in political activities interpreted in a broad sense, such as serving the underprivileged, writing responses to consultative documents and joining rallies and demonstrations. Yet the socialization processes were not deterministic – it was not possible to predict what course of action students would choose or why at times there was consistency between the views of key socialization ‘carriers’ and those of students, and at other times there was dissonance. Given common socialization experiences, what are the dynamics of individual student’s negotiation and interaction with the ‘carriers’ against the backdrop of complicated contexts? All these are issues worthy of further research. In addition, how educators could make use of the broadened conception of ‘politics’ for cultivation of democratic citizenship is another issue worthy of research.

Evidence also indicates that the understandings of citizenship of this sample of active students are basically eclectic, including conservative views of doing the best in whatever roles they are and obeying the law to more radical views of participating in demonstrations and protests in opposition to unreasonable laws. Moreover, most of them have practiced their more radical understanding of ‘active citizenship’ by being involved in various recent demonstrations. These understandings and practices are significant in the development of democratic citizenship, matching the democratization of Hong Kong. However, their sense of global citizenship was weak as revealed in previous discussion. This is not a satisfactory phenomenon in a globalizing era and much work has to be done to address the issue. In addition, their conceptions and action of active citizens challenges the taken for granted assumption that children are just ‘preparing for citizenship’, a concept which put them in the state of limbo. More channels for youth and children participation are urgently needed and they should be treated as ‘here and now citizens’ at both societal and school level to address the issue of emerging young ‘active citizens’

As for the cultivation of active democratic citizenship, issues based teaching, experiential learning, and teachers with high credibility and likeability have been identified as significant political socializing factors for this sample of students. Much more resources should be put to schools so that they could use these pedagogies to cultivate active citizens. However, the possible negative impact of emotional arousal in experiential learning, which could be a hindrance to the development of critical thinking, was raised in the research. Further research is needed. In addition, the involvement of advocacy oriented NGOs in experiential learning was another controversial issue deserving further research. Last but not least, the characteristics of effective civics teachers have been identified. These characteristics include for example, open mindedness, being very knowledgeable, willingness to care and to participate in societal issues, willingness to care for students, and courage. Teacher education programmes could well focus on the development of these attributes in order to produce graduates who can cultivate democratic citizenship.
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NOTES

[1] The Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, also known as the Tiananmen Square Massacre, June 4th Incident, or the Political Turmoil between Spring and Summer of 1989 by the government of the People's Republic of China, were a series of demonstrations led by students, intellectuals and labour activists in the People's Republic of China between April 15, 1989 and June 4, 1989. The resulting crackdown on the protestors by the PRC government left many civilians dead, the figure ranging from 200–300 (PRC government figures), to 2,000–3,000 (Chinese student associations and Chinese Red Cross). (Retrieved from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia on 2 September, 2006 at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/June_4th_Event)

The Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movement of China launches annual public memorial candle lights assembly in every June 4 evening in Victoria Park staring from 1990, requesting the PRC government to redress the June 4 Incident. Several tens of thousand people participate every year.

[2] The Basic Law, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, the People’s Republic of China is the mini-constitution of Hong Kong after the return of sovereignty of Hong Kong to the People’s Republic of China (PRC) as a special administrative region in 1997. Article 23 of the Basic Law states: The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People’s Government (PRC government, added by the author), or theft of state secrets, to prohibit foreign political organizations or bodies from conducting political activities in the Region, and to prohibit political organizations or bodies of the Region from establishing ties with foreign political organizations or bodies.

On September 24, 2002 the HKSAR government released its proposals for the anti-subversion law. It is the cause of considerable controversy and division in Hong Kong, which operates as a separate legal system in accordance with the Sino-British Joint Declaration. Protests against the bill resulted in a massive demonstrations (amount to half million people, added by the author) on 1 July, 2003. In the aftermath, two cabinet members resigned and the bill was withdrawn after it became clear that it would not get the necessary support from Legco (Legislative Council, added by the author) for it to be passed. The law was then shelved indefinitely. (Retrieved from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia on 22 August, 2006 at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hong_Kong_Basic_Law_Article_23)

REFERENCES


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How Do They Become Socially/ Politically Active?


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Global Citizenship Education In Hong Kong And Shanghai Secondary Schools: Ideals, Realities And Expectations

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ABSTRACT The world has become increasingly interdependent with the ongoing trend of globalization. Preparation for citizenship obviously needs to extend beyond students’ national boundary, such as understanding the impact of citizenship behaviours in one region upon the other parts of the world, and the promotion of peace and justice across nations. This paper reports a study on global citizenship education (GCE) in secondary schools in Hong Kong and Shanghai conducted from December 2002 to June 2003, organized by the Centre for Citizenship Education of the Hong Kong Institute of Education, the Department of Education of the Shanghai Teachers' University, and the Love Outreach Education Academy and Oxfam Hong Kong, with funding provided by the latter. The study aimed at understanding (1) teachers’ knowledge, skills and values toward GCE, (2) GCE curriculum available in schools and its implementation; (3) difficulties in implementing GCE in schools; and (4) the kind of change and support that teachers expected for enhancing the development of GCE. The study also provided data for comparing the similarities and differences in the two major international cities in China. The study finds that teachers in Hong Kong and Shanghai both support global citizenship education in their schools, but they have encountered problems and difficulties such as pressure from the exam-oriented curriculum, lack of training, lack of support from the school and government, and also a lack in self efficacy, not feeling that personal efforts can bring about changes in the world. There are interesting contrasts between Hong Kong and Shanghai teachers. Shanghai teachers are comparatively more interested in global affairs, whereas Hong Kong teachers are relatively more interested in local affairs. Shanghai teachers tend to focus on knowledge and skills in global citizenship education, whereas Hong Kong teachers tend to focus on values.

Introduction
The last few decades have witnessed the development of world studies, international and comparative education, global education and global citizenship education. The call for developing world studies took place in the early twentieth centuries, with the establishment of The World Education Fellowship (formerly known as New Education Fellowship) during World War I, and the Council of Education in World Citizenship was established during World War II. Associated
with the development of world studies was the emergence of the concept of world citizenship. In 1972, Henderson launched the World Studies Project, developing teaching materials to promote world studies, and promoted the concept of the world citizen (Richardson, 1996).

International education was promoted by the United Nations after World War II, which is also known as education for international understanding and peace education. In 1974, a recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms was made by the United Nations. And in this context, the UNESCO recommended the following educational principles:

- There should be international and world perspectives in different levels and forms of education;
- Education should enhance understanding and respect for the values and living styles of different nations, culture and civilisation;
- There should be understanding of the increased interdependence between nations and countries;
- Students should develop communication abilities;
- Students should be taught to understand their responsibilities at individual, societal and national levels, in addition to rights;
- Students should be taught to participate in solving problems of not only their own societies and countries but also of the globe (Zhong, 1998).

The concept of the global village has led to the development of global education and education for interdependence. The conceptual development from world studies to international education, and further to global education suggests some subtle change in the degree of global awareness– from the need to understand more about other parts of the world (in world studies), to the urge for comparison and collaboration (in international education), and further to the awareness that we are actually living in one global world, and what happens in one part of the globe may have substantial impacts elsewhere. In this context, the development of the awareness of being a global citizen is increasingly important in today’s globalized world.

In relation to citizenship, such notions as post-national citizenship, supranational citizenship, intercultural citizenship and multi-dimensional citizenship, etc., have become increasingly important in the recent literature (Cogan, 2000; Fouts and Lee, 2005). For Blankenship (1990), it is important that citizenship education should develop world-mindedness among students. According to Lynch (1992), citizenship education should teach global democracy, global pluralism and sustainable development. For Van Steenbergen (1994), cultural citizenship and ecological citizenship should be a part of global education. And for Falk (1994), the simple fact of increased opportunities to travel around the world has necessitated the development of global citizenship education.
The world today obviously has to prepare young citizens to develop a perspective beyond the national boundary, to understand the impact of individual citizenship behaviours upon the other parts of the world, and to enhance the awareness of the need to promote peace and justice across nations. To keep abreast with the rapid pace of globalisation, there have been concerns that efforts in education should focus on developing an international perspective among the youth, increasing their awareness of global development, and urging them to assume their responsibilities as citizens of their local, national, and global communities. Therefore, how to implement and strengthen the element of global citizenship education in the school curriculum has become an important educational issue.

Recent curriculum development in Hong Kong has witnessed a growing awareness of the need to strengthen global citizenship. The 1996 Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools mentioned the need for students to learn more about concepts of global citizenship, global village, human rights, and global responsibilities (Education Department, 1996:37). The 1998 junior secondary Civic Education syllabus suggested such topics as a world of diversity, global citizenship, and other basic issues (e.g., life and dignity, equality, and freedom) to be taught in schools (Curriculum Development Council, 1998:17-20). In more recent curriculum reforms, various newly developed curriculum documents invariably mentioned the need to cultivate global awareness. For example, the reform blueprint document Learning for Life, Learning through Life remarked:

*The world is undergoing unprecedented changes, and Hong Kong is no exception. We are seeing substantial changes in the economic structure and the knowledge-based economy is here to stay. Hong Kong is also facing tremendous challenges posed by a globalized economy. Politically, reunification with China and democratisation has changed the ways Hong Kong people think and live. Our social structure is fast evolving and there is an urgent need to alleviate the disparity of wealth. The society is adapting its culture and mainframe to these changes. The rapid development of information technology has opened up new domains in all aspects of our lives and creating new challenges. (Education Commission, 2000:3)*

In addition, the cultivation of global awareness is suggested in “A Message from the Chairman of the Curriculum Development Council” in the document Learning to Learn, which says:

*To cope with the challenges of the 21st Century, education in Hong Kong must keep abreast of the global trends and students have to empower themselves to learn beyond the confines of the classroom. The school curriculum, apart from helping students to acquire the necessary knowledge, should also help the younger generation to develop a global outlook, to learn how to learn and to master lifelong skills that can be used outside schools (Curriculum Development Council, 2001:1).*

It is also highlighted in the Summary Section:
The Curriculum Development Council (CDC) has conducted a holistic review of the school curriculum during 1999 and 2000 in order to offer a quality school curriculum that helps students meet the challenges of a knowledge-based, interdependent and changing society, as well as globalisation, fast technological, and a competitive economy (Curriculum Development Council, 2001:i).

The newly developed area of study, namely Integrated Humanities, made deliberate efforts to insert topics related to global citizenship education in the syllabus Form 1 through to Form Five (Age 12-16). And in Form Four (Age 15), a specific section ‘Globalisation’ has to be covered.

In Shanghai, similar efforts in developing global citizenship education can also be found. In 2001, the central government issued the Outline of Basic Curriculum Reform (Trial Version) A report published by the Shanghai Education Research Institute in 2002, argued that Shanghai needs talents of ‘four haves’: have ideals, have morals, have discipline and have culture [education]. Moreover, the ‘four haves’ should relate strongly to three characteristics: a strong sense of justice, a specialisation complemented by diverse abilities, and globally versatile knowledge and skills (Hu and Jiang, 2002). It says, “Education has to face modernisation, face the world and face the future”. ‘Facing the world’ can only be realized by developing a global perspective that comprises five elements: global awareness (e.g. understanding interdependence, the globe as one world, peaceful development, environmental protection, international justice, etc.), global knowledge (e.g. world geography, world history, current international issues, lingua franca, international trade, etc.), global skills (e.g. global values, including empathy, human rights, respect for life, justice and peace, etc.), and global behaviour (e.g. participating in action that promotes world justice) (Ministry of Education, 2001:1).

It is obvious that the Hong Kong and Shanghai education authorities are aware of the need to broaden citizenship perspectives in their communities, and these efforts have been realized through curriculum development. However, so far, what we can see is government efforts at the level of documentation. How much impact will these policy documents have in the daily life of schooling? It is this fundamental question that sparked our project. We wanted to know more about what was happening in schools with the implementation of global citizenship education. To better understand the current situation of global citizenship education in secondary schools, to identify the possibilities and difficulties to implement global citizenship education in schools, and to explore appropriate and effective approaches for educators to strengthen their efforts, a study on global citizenship education in secondary schools in Hong Kong and Shanghai was conducted from December 2002 to June 2003, organized by the Centre for Citizenship Education of the Hong Kong Institute of Education, the Department of Education of Shanghai Teachers’ University, the Love Outreach Education Academy and Oxfam Hong Kong, with funding provided by the latter. The study aimed at understanding (1) teachers’ knowledge, skills and values towards global citizenship education, (2) global citizenship education curriculum available in schools and its implementation; (3) difficulties in implementing global citizenship education in schools; and (4) the kind of change and support that teachers expected for enhancing the development of global citizenship education. The study also provided data that helped us to compare teachers’ views in relation to global citizenship education in the two major international cities in China.
The subjects were educators in both cities, including secondary school principals and teachers. Because it was not possible to execute a probabilistic sampling design, a questionnaire survey was conducted by convenience sampling, and as a result, 720 questionnaires were collected in Hong Kong and 561 questionnaires were collected in Shanghai. In order to understand findings from the questionnaire survey and to tap information beyond the questionnaire, eight rounds of focus group interviews were held in both places after preliminary analysis of the survey findings.

The questionnaire focused on:
- Interest in global issues;
- Understanding of global citizenship education;
- Implementation of global citizenship education in secondary schools, and the effectiveness of the current efforts; and
- Difficulties encountered in implementation and the support needed to do a better job.

The questionnaire was developed jointly by colleagues from Shanghai and Hong Kong, and was revised several times based on results from several rounds of piloting, until both the Shanghai and Hong Kong teams felt sure there was no misunderstanding of the questionnaire on the part of the subjects. Several open-ended questions were provided in the questionnaire, in order to solicit original suggestions from the teachers. All their answers were recorded and content analysed in order to generate a picture that could help us understand the perception of educators in respect to global citizenship education. Below are the findings that show the ideals, reality and expectations of the educators in Hong Kong and Shanghai.

Ideals: Perceptions of the significance and nature of global citizenship education

Interests in Global issues

According to the educators’ perceptions, Shanghai’s students are more interested in global issues than local issues, whereas Hong Kong students are more interested in local issues than global issues.

In Hong Kong, only 3.5% of the respondents feel that students are ‘more interested in global issues’ than other issues (such as local issues) and 17.2% feel that they have ‘equal level of interest in local and global issues’. The corresponding proportions in the Shanghai sample are 21.2% and 51.4%. In contrast, 69% of the Hong Kong educators agree that Hong Kong students are ‘more interested in local issues’ than other issues (such as global issues), as compared with 25.5% of the Shanghai sample. See Table 1.

This phenomenon can be interpreted from various perspectives. Shanghai’s case is easy to explain. As Shanghai has always been the most open city in China, and with China’s increased role in the international arena, particularly since becoming a member of WTO, it is not surprising that Shanghai students have strong interests in global issues. However, as Hong Kong has had the strongest international exposure compared to any other city in China, it is quite intriguing that Hong Kong students are more interested in local interests than global issues.
Global Citizenship Education In Hong Kong And Shanghai Secondary Schools

This perhaps can be explained in two quite contrasting ways. On the one hand, despite being an international city, Hong Kong has been overwhelmed by local issues since the handover of sovereignty, in sorting out its own political and cultural identity, in clarifying the meaning of ‘one country, two systems’ in both conceptual and operational terms, and in locating its relationship with the Chinese Mainland. All these local issues are not only more important to people in Hong Kong in relative terms but are of immediate concern for the people, and it not be surprising that students are more interested in these issues. On the other hand, this phenomenon may really reflect that Hong Kong students are being misled by the perception of inhabiting an international city. The feeling of being in an international city has made them feel less urgent about understanding global issues. In fact, according to a study, Hong Kong young people’s choice of media consumption is more concerned with finding entertainment, and less on knowing world news (Chung, 1999).

Whereas students in Shanghai are being spurred by the opening up of China to the world to acquire more global information, Hong Kong students do not seem to have such an urge by living in an international city.

While the educators from both cities have different views on students’ level of interest in global and local issues, educators in both cities are themselves highly interested in global issues. In both Hong Kong and Shanghai, around 90% of the educators express interest in global issues. In Hong Kong, 23% of the educators ‘strongly agree’ and 65.2% ‘agree’ that they are fairly interested in global issues; in Shanghai, the proportions are 37.6% and 56.2%, respectively.

Concepts of Global Citizenship Education

Teaching diverse values constitutes the highest priority for global citizenship education in Hong Kong, whereas enhancing competitiveness is the highest priority in Shanghai.

In both Hong Kong and Shanghai, over 90% of the respondents participating in the study agree that global citizenship education needs to be strengthened. In Hong Kong, 37% of them ‘strongly agree’ and 55.9% ‘agree’ about the need to strengthen global citizenship education. In Shanghai, the respective figures are 58.8% and 40.4%. We asked for the reasons why the respondents feel global citizenship education needs to be strengthened. Respondents from both cities expressed divergent views. On the one hand, whereas the Hong Kong respondents regard ‘cultivating the understanding and appreciation of diverse values’ as the most important reason (mean score is 1.42 out of maximum of 2), this reason is rated third by their Shanghai counterparts (mean score is 1.42). On the contrary, whereas the

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Table 1: Students’ interest in global and local issues (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Shanghai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equally interested</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More interested in local issues</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More interested in global issues</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equally not interested</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This perhaps can be explained in two quite contrasting ways. On the one hand, despite being an international city, Hong Kong has been overwhelmed by local issues since the handover of sovereignty, in sorting out its own political and cultural identity, in clarifying the meaning of ‘one country, two systems’ in both conceptual and operational terms, and in locating its relationship with the Chinese Mainland. All these local issues are not only more important to people in Hong Kong in relative terms but are of immediate concern for the people, and it not be surprising that students are more interested in these issues. On the other hand, this phenomenon may really reflect that Hong Kong students are being misled by the perception of inhabiting an international city. The feeling of being in an international city has made them feel less urgent about understanding global issues. In fact, according to a study, Hong Kong young people’s choice of media consumption is more concerned with finding entertainment, and less on knowing world news (Chung, 1999).

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Shanghai respondents regard ‘enhancing students’ competitiveness’ as the most important reason (mean score is 1.53), this reason is rated fourth by the Hong Kong counterparts (mean score is 1). On the other hand, the Shanghai respondents express a higher level of significance in their ratings, the range of mean scores is between 1.42 and 1.53, but the range is between 1.00 and 1.42 among Hong Kong respondents. All mean scores are reported in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank Order of Reasons</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Shanghai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understanding and accepting diverse values</td>
<td>1 (mean=1.42)</td>
<td>3 (mean=1.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expanding the scope of knowledge</td>
<td>2 (mean=1.41)</td>
<td>2 (mean=1.51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raising awareness of global issues</td>
<td>3 (mean=1.40)</td>
<td>4 (mean=1.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhancing students’ future competitiveness</td>
<td>4 (mean=1.00)</td>
<td>1 (mean=1.53)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Reasons for strengthening global citizenship education by rank order and mean

The Shanghai respondents’ reasons for enhancing global citizenship education are similar to their perception of students’ views on the significance of global citizenship education. They think students regard global issues as important, and they think the stated reasons for teaching global citizenship in the questionnaire are also very important. In contrast, the Hong Kong educators think that students are more interested in local rather than global issues. They also feel that the stated reasons for enhancing global citizenship education are relatively less significant, as compared to the Shanghai counterparts. The rank order of the reasons also provides further insight for this phenomenon. For Shanghai, the urgency comes from competitiveness. However, this is a less significant reason in the Hong Kong educators’ eyes. For the Hong Kong educators, teaching values is the most important reason for global citizenship education. The findings seem to reflect the different developmental stages of the two international cities in China. As China is opening up and enhancing her role in the international arena, competitiveness might be a more important priority. However, as Hong Kong has already had international contacts for a long while, people’s attention has already shifted towards understanding the values behind globalisation, rather than promoting competition.

We asked the respondents to suggest additional reasons for global citizenship education. It is interesting that the suggested reasons are different between the educators in the two cities. Three major reasons are suggested in Hong Kong, namely, developing students’ competence, the positioning of Hong Kong and multiculturalism. In Shanghai, there are two major reasons suggested, namely, development of the country and the world and developing students’ competence. The added reasons are more or less in line with the rating of the reasons listed in the questionnaire. In the main, the Shanghai respondents are more concerned about competitiveness in relation to the country’s development and students’ competence. However, the Hong Kong respondents are more concerned about values (in relation to multiculturalism), although they also mention competence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History and Culture</td>
<td>Traditions, cultures, religions, beliefs and histories of countries around the world; global culture and major philosophies; impact of global culture on local culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Development</td>
<td>Political systems of different countries; features of international politics, development and causes; hegemony; democratic systems and political regimes in the West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development</td>
<td>Overview of global economic development; international trade; operation and impact of trans-national companies; impact of economic globalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty and Socio-economic Development</td>
<td>Uneven distribution of wealth in the world and its causes; food and hunger; poverty alleviation; developing countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War and Peace</td>
<td>Cultural, religious, ethnic and racial conflicts; world peace and international order; impact of war; Middle East conflicts; terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Global environmental pollution; ecological development; natural resources and environmental protection; sustainable development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Community</td>
<td>International organisations; pros and cons of globalisation in different countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong/China’s Relationship with the World</td>
<td>Role of Hong Kong/China in global development; role of China in international affairs; participation of China in WTO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship Knowledge and Values</td>
<td>Citizen’s rights and responsibilities; relationship between the individual and the state; relationship between the individual and the world; equality and justice; respect, appreciation and acceptance of different cultures; cooperation and interdependence; empathy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship Skills</td>
<td>Analytic and critical thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum Design and Implementation</td>
<td>Definition and content of global citizenship education; relationships between global citizenship education and economic development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Global citizenship topics suggested to be taught by Hong Kong and Shanghai educators

Educators in both cities have complex understandings about global citizenship

We asked what topics should be covered in teaching global citizenship. This section of the questionnaire was open-ended. We were surprised to see a wealth of topics suggested by the Hong Kong and Shanghai respondents. As can be seen from Table 3, not only are there a wide range of topics, but these topics cover a wide range of areas of study, such as history and culture, politics, socio-economic development,
environmental protection, civic knowledge, values and skills, and international organisations.

However, there are also some differences between the Hong Kong and Shanghai educators in their emphases on the topics to be covered. Topics suggested by the Hong Kong respondents mainly cover such areas as religion, culture, environmental protection, international relations and cooperation, citizenship concepts, global issues, local issues and controversial issues (see Table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Religion, religion and ethnicity, religion and freedom, respecting different religious beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Different culture and value systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental issues</td>
<td>Sustainability, civic responsibility in environmental protection, understanding geographic features of other regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International relations and cooperation</td>
<td>Resource distribution, Third World development, international organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controversial issues</td>
<td>War and peace, ethnic issues and discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship issues</td>
<td>Human rights, knowing about the world also a local issue? (see below), citizenship rights and responsibility, student as a global citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global issues</td>
<td>Economic interdependency, globalisation and diversification, the role of China and Hong Kong in the world, China’s entrance to WTO and globalisation, national identity, awareness and responsibility</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Global citizenship topics suggested to be taught by Hong Kong educators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational issues</td>
<td>Educational exchange, comparison of educational systems, bilingual education, curriculum development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Cultural integration, global popular culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International awareness</td>
<td>Hot issues, international situation, political systems of different countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>WTO, knowledge economy, economic development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Global citizenship topics suggested to be taught by Shanghai educators

However, topics suggested by the Shanghai respondents mainly cover educational issues, culture, international political systems, economy and students’ competence (see Table 5). This shows rather different perceptions about the contents of global citizenship education between the Hong Kong and Shanghai educators. The Hong Kong educators regard religion and controversial issues (such as war and discrimination) as important areas to be covered, but these are not mentioned by the
Global Citizenship Education In Hong Kong And Shanghai Secondary Schools

Shanghai counterparts. In contrast, the Shanghai educators regard educational issues, economy, international political systems and student quality as important areas, and these areas are not mentioned by the Hong Kong counterparts. It seems that the Hong Kong educators are more interested in discussing issues, and these issues are more closely related to values. However, the Shanghai educators are more interested in knowledge, which is more closely related to competence and competitiveness. These findings are in accord with Hong Kong educators’ ranking values the first reason for strengthening global citizenship education and Shanghai educators’ ranking competitiveness.

Educators in Hong Kong and Shanghai are knowledge- and competence-oriented rather than action-oriented in global citizenship education.

We asked the respondents what students should understand in relation to the topic ‘uneven distribution of wealth in the world’. Educators in both cities in general regard knowledge about the global world as important, such as ‘interdependence between developed and developing countries’ (49.9% in Hong Kong; 58.6% in Shanghai), ‘population and resource distribution’ (49% in Hong Kong; 47.6% in Shanghai), ‘international cooperation and the world’s relation to China or Hong Kong’ (31.8% in Hong Kong; 41.9% in Shanghai). In addition to knowledge, ‘the ability to make judgement (with critical thinking)’ (56.5% in Hong Kong; 32.5% in Shanghai) and ‘empathy’ (37.7% in Hong Kong; 25.3% in Shanghai) are also regarded as important.

In comparison, the educators’ emphasis was more on knowledge than on empathy. Three topics that smaller proportions of respondents of both cities think their students should understand are ‘I can do something to change the situation’ (15.9% in Hong Kong; 11.7% in Shanghai), the ‘ability to understand data’ (8.2% in Hong Kong; 13.4% in Shanghai), and the ‘ability to search information from the web’ (7.5% in Hong Kong; 17.5% in Shanghai). These may indicate that in these educators’ eyes, efficacy is not important as a component in the teaching of global citizenship. By the same token, self learning and discovery abilities do not constitute a must in the curriculum. These three items are related to taking action and independent learning. They are clearly not emphasized as much as knowledge about the global world. Another topic that was endorsed only by a smaller proportion of respondents of both cities is ‘impact of multinational corporations’ (14.7% in Hong Kong; 8.9% in Shanghai). These are quite surprising results given the ostensibly apparent impact of multinational corporations on the world’s economy and culture. Notwithstanding the emergence of such a common pattern, there were also clear differences in preference between the respondents of the two cities. For example, there was a sharp contrast between the two cities in regard to the significance of critical thinking, which is accorded the highest proportion, 56.5%, in Hong Kong, in contrast to 32.5%, in Shanghai. The topic ‘empathy’ also elicits levels endorsement, with 37.7% in Hong Kong but 25.3% in Shanghai.

On the other hand, more Shanghai respondents, 58.6%, than their Hong Kong counterparts, 49.9%, acknowledged the importance of ‘interdependence between developed and developing countries’. Topics like ‘international cooperation’ and ‘its relation to China or Hong Kong’ also had a larger proportion of the Shanghai educators’ agreement as a must in global citizenship education. In this regard, the same pattern emerges: the Shanghai educators placed an overwhelming emphasis on knowledge related items, but the Hong Kong educators placed much stronger emphasis on thinking and feeling. It is consistent with the findings mentioned in the
above sections in that the Hong Kong educators were more concerned about values, whereas the Shanghai educators were more concerned about knowledge acquisition.

Realities: Global Citizenship Education in Practice

Educators in both cities consider topics related to global citizenship as difficult to teach.

We asked our respondents to indicate the level of easiness/difficulty in teaching several topics that have direct relevance to global citizenship. In general, more than half of the Hong Kong educators feel that the following topics are difficult or very difficult for them, namely, ‘international politics’ (77.1%), ‘global economic issues’ (71.5%), ‘sustainable development’ (61%), ‘war and ethnic conflicts’ (59.8%) and ‘global popular culture’ (53%). Two topics are rated by less than half of them as difficult or very difficult, namely, ‘uneven distribution of wealth’ (45.5%) and ‘food and starvation’ (42.2%). Except for ‘food and starvation’ (47.2%), nearly all topics are rated by more than half of the Shanghai respondents as difficult or very difficult, namely, ‘global economic issues’ (64.7%), ‘sustainable development’ (59.8%) ‘international politics’ (58.8%), ‘war and ethnic conflicts’ (52.9%), ‘global popular culture’ (52.2%), and ‘uneven distribution of wealth’ (50.3%). A majority of Hong Kong educators think ‘international politics’ and ‘global economic issues’ as difficult or very difficult to teach further testify to the earlier observation that in their eyes, Hong Kong students are more concerned with local rather than global issues. The lack of interest in global issues would thus make the teaching of these topics difficult, as compared to the Shanghai counterparts. Be that as it may, only a minute proportion, ranging between 2.8% and 8.4% in Hong Kong and between 4.2% and 7.2% in Shanghai, of respondents indicated they have not taught these topics before.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Shanghai</th>
<th>Shanghai</th>
<th>Have not taught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International politics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global economic issues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>71.5</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War and ethnic conflicts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Global popular culture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global uneven distribution of wealth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and starvation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Degree of difficulty in teaching topics related to global citizenship (%)
Educators in both cities consider the major difficulties in implementing global citizenship education as insufficient teacher training, insufficient time for teaching and preparation, and the lack of teaching resources.

We asked the respondents why they feel it is difficult to implement global citizenship education. As shown in Table 7, the major causes of difficulty are related to training, curriculum and pedagogy, with almost more than two-third of the respondents expressing that they agree/strongly agree to the items in these three categories. With respect to training, about 88% and 87% of the Hong Kong and Shanghai respondents, respectively, felt they have not had sufficient pre-service or on-the-job training, and respectively 90.8% and 82.8% of them felt they do not have sufficient understanding of the issues. Regarding the curriculum, 92.2% and 83.7% of the respective Hong Kong and Shanghai respondents feel they do not have sufficient time to teach global citizenship issues. They are equally concerned by the fact that global citizenship education is outside the syllabus (81.8% in Hong Kong; 77.8% in Shanghai), and that they do not have adequate teaching materials (73.8% in Hong Kong; 86.1% in Shanghai). In respect to pedagogy, many of them found it difficult to evaluate teaching outcomes (74% in Hong Kong; 81.3% in Shanghai). About two-thirds of them feel it is difficult to link the topics to students’ everyday experience and encourage students to take action.

There are concerns about the subject matter, in relation to the abstract nature of the topics, the difficulty of making value judgments, and the complexities of local-global relationships. The proportion of respondents expressing difficulty in these items ranges between 60.4% and 72.8%. Interestingly, a much lower proportion of respondents (ranging between 32% and 42.3%) express difficulty in teaching attitudes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Strongly agree/agree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree/disagree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Training related</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient pre-service</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>training</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient on-the-job</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>training of the issues</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curricular related</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need to spend a lot of time</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to teach global citizenship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>issues</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not within syllabus</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to find adequate</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching materials</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy related</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>74.0</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to evaluate</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching outcome</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

http://www.citized.info ©2006 citizED
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Strongly agree/agree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree/disagree</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to encourage students to shoulder responsibility and take action</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to link the issues to everyday experience</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject matter related</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack absolute standards in value judgment</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The issues are too abstract</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>72.8</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to resolve the local-global relationships</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude related</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to teach students respect people from different cultures, regions and ethnic groups</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to help students consider issues from the standpoint of equality and justice</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to encourage students to express their own views, yet respecting others’ views</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Causes of difficulty in implementing global citizenship (%)  
Nb HK = Hong Kong, S = Shanghai

**Expectations: Support Needed to Implement Global Citizenship Education**

*Educators in both cities feel they need a wide range of support for them to implement global citizenship education.*

We asked the respondents about the support they received for implementing global citizenship education. As shown in Table 8, regarding the support listed in the questionnaire, about two thirds of the respondents in both cities feel the following items could be described either as ‘inadequate’ or ‘most inadequate’, namely, “professional training from teacher training institutes”, “attend teacher professional development seminars”, “organize cross-disciplinary activities”, and “teaching materials, reference books, and relevant web resources”. Interestingly, the proportions in both cities thinking these supports inadequate are very similar.
The only exceptions are ‘opportunity to exchange teaching experience with other schools’ and ‘support service from community organizations, including NGOs’. Regarding the former, 73% of the Hong Kong educators think it is inadequate and 66.8% of the Shanghai educators think so. With respect to the latter, 57.3% of the Hong Kong educators think it is inadequate and 71% of the Shanghai educators think so. These responses may reflect the different teaching contexts in both cities. Teaching culture in Hong Kong does not seem to have enough encouragement for exchange between schools, though there are a lot of inter-school competitions in sport and music. On the other hand, the proliferation of NGOs in Hong Kong serves to provide an extensive network for collaboration between schools and NGOs. Whether the story is different in Shanghai deserves further investigation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Support</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Most adequate/adequate</th>
<th>Most inadequate/inadequate</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity to exchange teaching experience with other schools</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional training from teacher training institutes</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend teacher professional development seminars</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organize cross-disciplinary activities</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching materials, reference books, and relevant web resources</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support service from community organisations, including NGOs</td>
<td>HK</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Support needed to implement global citizenship education
NB HK = Hong Kong, S = Shanghai

Conclusion and Discussion

Torney-Purta and her associates, in the concluding part of their large-scale IEA Civic Education project in approximately 20 countries made the following remarks:

*Civic education is a low-status subject and curricular aim in most of these countries. Civic goals are thought of as important, but much less critical than goals in subject areas such as science.*

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Many observers believe that unless civics can be tied to a high status subject, it will receive little support with traditions of subject matter rigour, especially where parents judge the schools on this basis.

Many schools do not have the resources to invest in supervising citizenship projects, or they feel that such activities take student time away from the study of important disciplinary subject matter. Teachers in many countries are concerned about tackling topics that may be objected to by members of the community, find it difficult to implement changes in pedagogy and are uncertain about their own adequacy when several disciplines are connected in a teaching program. Perhaps civics has to adopt more team teaching. Certainly, more resources have to be invested in training. (1999:30-32)

Their comments about the constraints and problems in the implementation of civic education across many countries can be equally applied to the global citizenship education in Hong Kong and Shanghai.

This comparative study shows similar pattern of responses from both Hong Kong and Shanghai educators. Both of them almost unanimously agree that global citizenship education is an important subject or area to teach, but most of the global citizenship topics are considered by the majority of them as difficult topics. When further exploring why they feel them difficult, the major causes of difficulty are related to inadequacy in the domains of training, curriculum and pedagogy. As a matter of fact, problems in relation to curriculum development, adequacy of teaching materials and the ability to employ relevant and effective pedagogical skills are fundamentally a training issue. Because provisions of teaching training are mainly offered by the teacher training institutions funded by the government, any inadequacy in teacher training reflects how government really sets priorities in education. Hence, this study not only reveals a gap between policy and implementation, or planned and implemented curriculum, but also inconsistency between governments’ claims in its emphasis on global citizenship education and the actual funding support for its implementation. Although the major educational policy reform documents and curriculum reform developments, as mentioned above, justify their reform initiatives in terms of globalisation, there is no parallel emphasis on provision of support, such as teaching training and/or curriculum space for teachers to implement this very significant area of education in schools. It is no wonder that when asked what kind of support the educators need in order to implement global citizenship education, they express the need for a wide range of support as listed in the questionnaire.

The present study has brought more issues than answers such that we suggest the following lines of further inquiry. Firstly, the gap between policy and implementation of global citizenship education we have demonstrated is one thing, but whether the global citizenship education planned and designed in both cities is really global citizenship education is another. As Davies et al. (2005:73) argues, “(w)e should not be content with educational responses to citizenship in a globalizing world that do little more than add international content into citizenship activities or global education activities into citizenship programmes”. In other words, the focus of further analysis of education reform documents should not so much be what governments emphasize but on how ‘global education’, ‘citizenship
education’, ‘global citizenship’, and ‘global citizenship education’ are conceptualized. This analysis should be based on the comparison of policy documents and curricula of Hong Kong and Shanghai with the west, e.g., AREIAC et al. (2000), DfID et al. (2000), Oxfam (1997), and WMCGC (2002).

Secondly, the study of global citizenship education should not be confined to the arena of government education policy, subjects of civic education and the like, and teaching activities in publicly funded schools. We should also pay attention to the educational developments in other areas that may unintentionally bring forth the desired learning outcome of global citizenship education. As pinpointed by Schweisfurth:

A great deal was happening in the internationalization efforts of the private school in the study. Staff involved were in the process were finding it a ‘mind-opening and expanding experience’. The internationalism task force was part of the agenda for the school to offer the prestigious International Baccalaureat (IB) diploma, which demands, among other criteria, that schools show evidence of a spirit of internationalism, and that they promote interculturalism. Interestingly, the primary reason that the school originally decided to develop the IB programme is that the high academic standing of the qualification is ensured through its examination system... (2006:48-49)

As the demand for quality education is surging in both Hong Kong and Shanghai, we should delve into whether the internationalization effort as mentioned by Schweisfurth also appears in international schools in Hong Kong as well as in educational institutes, if any, in Shanghai.

Finally, education for values should be set at the top of the research agenda in the study of global citizenship education. As shown in our study, the concern of Shanghai educators is overwhelmingly about knowledge, competence and competitiveness. This pragmatic concern is understandable in the developmental context of China. However, too much emphasis on these domains may be detrimental to the development of students’ appreciation of and respect for other cultures. As Pigozzi argues (2006:3):

There are many targets that mankind will have difficulty reaching if it does not successfully grapple with the challenges of education for values. Many of the countries that risk not attaining the goals of Education for All are countries undergoing, or which have recently undergone, usually civil war. There will be no sustainable development if conflict precipitates us into a ‘clash of civilizations’. But lasting peace, and lasting development require security that goes beyond the state of ‘non-war’. Neither political nor social stability will be realized if groups within society are threatened. Fear, discrimination and intolerance instil the habits of mind and habits of being that erode living together.

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REFERENCES


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The Community-based Learning Approach For Citizenship Education: An Instrument For Attaining A Lifelong Learning Society

BOBAE PARK, Indiana University

ABSTRACT The Community-based learning approach can be a viable mode of civic education by accomplishing the goals of lifelong learning and revitalizing awareness of civic engagement. A number of countries in Asia have already attempted to implement lifelong learning movements by organizing community learning projects, and these initiatives have yielded positive outcomes. Building a learning community through community service and service learning is deemed to have great potential to enhance solidarity among community members for a genuine lifelong learning society. This paper aims to identify the best practices of citizenship education via community service in selected countries in Asia and North America by examining the implications for public service and developing an indigenous civic education model in Asia.

Introduction

From the 1970s onwards the concept of lifelong learning became a ‘buzzword’ and various issues on learning during the life span were raised throughout intergovernmental agencies. UNESCO has served as a pioneering institution in conceptualizing the definitions and important elements of the learning enterprise in the new century as society experiences an explosion of knowledge and increasing demands for new job skills. UNESCO launched the “International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century” to envision education and training needs in the new century. Learning the Treasure Within, alternatively entitled the Delors’ report, presented the essential components in education - learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be, and these have been cited as goal by policymakers and educators (UNESCO, 1993; Gerber, 2003). Of the four dimensions ‘learning to live together’, which connotes learning how to appreciate diversity and differences among people, is believed to bear great significance in civic education (Longworth, 2003:9). The renowned scholars who participated in the project claimed it as one of the necessary skills, or competences, of the knowledge-based society.

Policymakers agree that the new century demands that members of society continue to learn and education should not cease at the doorstep of high school or college. Literally “life-wide, life-long, and life-deep learning” seems an inevitable phenomenon as society stresses obtaining new skills for knowledge workers.
The new century, more than any time in history, poses daunting challenges to family, schools, and workplaces and jeopardizes the stability of our society across the social spectrum because of growing individualization and apathy (Longworth, 2003:6). Alienation among people is prevalent and the advancement of communication technology exacerbates the phenomenon. Time-honoured values such as sympathy and trust, regarded as the critical aspects of social capital, are being neglected due to the hectic nature of modern life and a widening gap among human interactions.

Many countries have identified their grave concerns over demographic transition and declining fertility as emerging societal and economic issues. Among other things, the increase of an aged population has been identified as threats affecting a number of subsequent social issues including the slowdown of national productivity and the change of labour markets in a country. The issue of aging not only aggravates national pension programmes but also overburdens the productive age bracket of the population, and policymakers need to respond by recognizing the value of older workers and by enhancing employment opportunities for the retired not to mention contemplating policy changes to boost the birth rate (Department of Labour, 2006).

To a varying degree, all societies, both East and West, have cultivated the tradition and custom of helping others. However, in western countries like the United States, volunteer work is not uncommon and community service becomes the norm of the society. Young students and senior citizens alike learn the value of helping others and whatever little contribution they provide can make a great difference in the community. Recognizing volunteering as the integral part of civic life, educators conceptualized service learning – combining education and service to community.

In spite of the indispensable nature of civic dispositions that contribute to fostering healthy responsible citizens and to enhance social solidarity in a lifelong learning society, many societies appear to fail to incorporate civic education into major curricula in the formative years of learning and to sensitize its citizens to the importance of creating beneficial public values. As advanced technology realizes ubiquitous learning, the borders between teachers and learners grow less distinctive and instead of certified teachers, “volunteers, paraprofessionals, and aides, citizen experts” will take over teachers’ roles (Steffy and Lindle, 1994:93). Some visionary administrators of universities became proponents of service learning, and higher education institutions rigorously integrate a hands-on civic engagement into academic activities with the intention that service to community instills a commitment to the social concern for the young generation. In general, the unpaid time and work of individuals serve as the building blocks of a highly functioning society by helping members of the community to express their concerns for the common good. For example, the United States has a wide range of non-profit and voluntary organizations as a distinctive sector that has played a pivotal role to produce public benefits as in education and health services. The components of community-based learning can be universal in nature and can be applied in other societies with diverse political institutions to foster caring citizens.

Multifaceted modern societies have brought a drastic transformation of human life and its dilemmas in dealing with various social issues. Disregard of social norms and lack of concerns over community life are rampant. The education community needs to make a concerted effort to foster caring citizens. Enhancing a community service movement across the board can be a powerful tool for strengthening solidarity among people, as has been shown to be successful in
western countries like the United States and selected developed countries. Volunteerism and service learning provisions can serve as a corrective instrument to unite those fragmented societies with a generation gap and various adversities of technology. Apart from the knowledge and skills required for a career, equally important is the building of social capital such as sympathy and compassion for fellow citizens. Many civic educators showed interest in conceptualizing the delivery of citizenship education, and the grid of civic education as developed by Battisoni. He asserted that the policy should be composed of constitutional citizenship, communitarianism, participatory democracy, public work, and social capital in the contexts of purposes of citizenship, understanding of civic education, associated civic skills, and disciplinary affinities (Campus Compact, 2002:17).

It is believed that “old” values like the tradition of revering elderly people must be a plus factor to implement service learning in Asia. There would be pitfalls if the government agency rigidly adopted the western models of civic programmes; therefore caution needs to be exercised in developing a rationale for giving credits for service activities, lest the students simply waste time just to fill in the number of hours and bring a negative attitude toward community service. To fully develop community-based civic education in Asian society might have a long way to go, but there are positive signs. Confucian values, especially attitudes of honouring the elderly, are fairly prevalent in Asia and would catalyze the revitalizing of a once cherished tradition in new ways, thus implementing community service.

### Deliberations on civic education and lifelong learning

#### Civic education and the Lifelong Learning Society

Despite the diverse terms employed in civic learning, the vast majority of civic scholars share concepts like knowledge, skills, and dispositions and cultivating good citizens. Westheimer and Kahne (2004:3-5) identify good citizens from a variety of perspectives: ‘a personally responsible citizen, participatory citizen, and justice-oriented citizen’. Longworth (2004:80) identified ten key qualities as core skills and competences in the age of lifelong learning: 1) self-management skills; 2) handling and interpreting of information; 3) applying new knowledge into practice; 4) learning to learn; 5) questioning, reasoning and critical judgment; 6) management and communication skills; 7) thinking skills and creativity; 8) adaptability, flexibility, and versatility; 9) teamwork; and 10) lifelong learning. Exploring qualities of civic education in terms of social and emotional literacy, Cohen, (2002:196-199) identified 16 skills and understandings to cover the competencies and responsibility of parents, educators, and society.

Despite the rhetoric of policymakers concerning the importance of fostering democratic citizens, civic education has received less attention in the formal curriculum. In many cases, there is no single subject or course solely dedicated to teaching civics content. Only selected topics on civic education are embedded in subjects like social studies and ethics. Educational decision makers justify it by saying there is an abundance of materials to cover in the limited time frame in schools, and there is a growing demand for the knowledge necessary for employment and subsequent heavy workload in the curriculum. Addressing the relative lack of attention to students’ performance in civics, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) organized a joint study by inviting the participation of 28 countries. In that study several negative
aspects relating to the delivery of civic education were revealed. It was found that civic education was a less prioritized subject, and teachers placed little attention on recognizing the importance of civic education in preparing young people for citizenship (Torney-Purta, et al., 1999:13).

Many civic scholars identified community service as one viable civic education model, and emphasized that a positive spontaneous learning community can nurture students into becoming more mature citizens. In addition, learning through service will enable the weaving of a huge learning web, as people not only acquire new knowledge and skills but also learn to bridge gaps among people, apart from merely feeling good about helping others. In a sense, simple observation of people who help others and serve as good role models can encourage others to join volunteer programmes in the future. In Western countries like the United States and Canada, service learning is fairly popular and has received wide attention as a structured educational intervention. The proponents of service learning believe that service learning experience will harness civic skills for youngsters from primary schools through colleges. It would provide eye-opening opportunities for young people to engage in volunteer activities and be equipped with the right social skills as a member of a global citizenry. People who volunteer to teach will serve as connecting agents to mobilize community-based civic education.

The essence of civic education and service learning

There is a significant body of literature on civic education and service learning and the vast majority of it is focused on obtaining knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Most of the conceptual frameworks place emphasis on the younger generation being equipped with those critical skills across their life span. A prominent civic educator has conceptualized a comprehensive theoretical framework of civic education elaborating the key components of education for citizenship in a democracy, namely civic knowledge, cognitive civic skills, participatory civic skills, and civic dispositions. He also elaborated on these four dimensions and the goals of civic education, and attempted to give a sense of direction to educational intervention (Kirlin, 2003:9).

Shumer (2000) stressed that incorporating community service into social studies has a positive impact on students to learn and to develop social skills through active participation in carefully organized experiences. The students’ engagement is designed to meet actual community needs. It integrates the service into students' academic curriculum and provides structured time for thinking, talking, or writing about the service activity. It provides students with opportunities to use their newly acquired skills and knowledge in real-life situations in their own communities and it enhances what is taught in schools by expanding learning into the community and helping to foster caring for others. In a position paper, Branson (1998) reiterated that civic dispositions contribute to the political efficacy of the individual, the healthy functioning of the political system, a sense of dignity and worth, and the common good. Those dispositions of private and public character might be described as: 1) becoming an independent member of a society; 2) assuming the personal, political, and economic responsibilities of a citizen; 3) respecting individual worth and human dignity; 4) participating in civic affairs in a thoughtful and effective manner; 5) and promoting the healthy functioning of constitutional democracy.

In a survey conducted by the National Center for Educational Statistics, the 9th graders who participated in meetings or activities sponsored by any type of
organization had higher civic knowledge than students who did not participate at all (NCES, 2001:xvii). As a further proof, the IEA Civic Education Study found a strong relationship between participation in civic activities and students’ level of civic knowledge and (Torney-Purta, et al., 1999:8).

**Selected models of community-based learning**

**United States**

The United States has made a contribution in laying the foundation of a theoretical framework for civic education and promoted the idea of volunteering to help provide community services. The country has an almost century-long history of volunteerism and community service from the idea of progressive education of John Dewey to contemporary civic scholars and practitioners (Rocheleau, 2004:4). It is a great boon to have a rich soil in which spontaneous sociability and helping people in need are part of civic life. The voluntary sector has spread fast as a unique independent sector that is “different from business and are not part of government” and it plays a critical role to sustain a democratic society (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 1995:103).

The proliferation of nonprofit organizations is seen as an enabling factor as the basis of a flourishing volunteerism and of donations. Keeter, Zukin, Andolina and Jenkins (2002:17) asserted that “a sizable number of Americans give their time and energy to a wide range of service projects” such as volunteering during weekends in education and environmental issues and community service They revealed that half of all Americans are engaged both in civic and political affairs; of the fifty percent, 20 percent is involved in election and 16 percent is devoted to community service [1]. Jeavons 2005, p.212 stated that “nonprofit philanthropic and service organizations occupy a distinctive place in American history because of their origins – largely in religious or other idealistic voluntary associations – and because they have traditionally been vehicles for preserving, transmitting, or promoting social values”. With a strong tradition of volunteerism and voluntary associations, the country evolved non-profit organizations like the Peace Corps, VISTA, National Teacher Corps, and Campus Compact to name a few (Kenny and Gallagher, 2002:19).

There are hundreds and thousands of individuals and nonprofit institutions devoted to setting a solid framework of civic education. It also appears that there is a growing awareness of the importance of service-learning or volunteer programmes in increasing community development. In high schools and colleges, students are encouraged to participate in volunteer work throughout their formal curricular activities and schools facilitate students’ volunteer work by incorporating it as regular classroom work. The traditions of democracy and prevalent voluntary associations are believed to be contributing factors to grow community service and civic involvement (Kenny and Gallagher, 2002, p.19). Apart from national and region-wide initiatives, there are various programmes at the state level that promote youth engagement in the community issue such as the Youth Cabinet (Pearson and Voke, 2003).

Having young people conduct publicly visible demonstration projects was unique because it cast them in a dual role as student and teacher. Not only were they learning, but they were also demonstrating their value to their communities by passing along what they learned to their families.

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The United States Congress defined service learning as “learning and developing through participation in thoughtfully organized service that is conducted in and meets the needs of a community and is coordinated with an elementary, secondary school, institution of higher education, or community service program, and with the community”. [2] As elaborated in the definition, the learning provision integrates community service in formal schooling. The key idea of service learning is service to the underserved in the local community and participants are involved actively to solve the community problems. In 1993, the Congress passed the National Community Service Trust Act and created a specialized agency committed to volunteerism called the Corporation for National Service. The law provides general guidelines of operations for community service and volunteerism - a working definition of service learning as a tool for civic education. According to the National Community Service Trust Act, service learning programmes must be: 1) conducted in the community and meet its needs; 2) coordinated from an elementary or secondary school, an institution of higher learning, or a community-service programme; 3) integrated with the student curriculum or with the educational component of the community service programme; and 4) structured to allow participants to reflect on the service experience (The United States Senate, 2005).

The Department of Education integrated civic education in the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and assessed the civics achievement of students at grades 4, 8, and 12 in 1998. Guidelines for the assessment were established in the Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress. This framework focuses on interrelated components: knowledge, intellectual and participatory skills, and civic dispositions. Together, these components are recognized as the essential elements of civic education in the United States AEP research specified the five fundamental areas as the kind of civic knowledge demonstrated by students such as: 1) Civic life, politics, and government; 2) Foundations of the American political system; 3) How the government established by the Constitution represents the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy; 4) The relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs; 5) The roles of citizens in American democracy; and 6) What civic skills should students be able to demonstrate (NCES, 2001).

The institutions of higher learning in the United States became an hallmark through their commitment to link teaching, research, and community service. Over the decades, universities served as important partners in formulating service learning. In 1985, concerned university administrators launched a programme called Campus Compact “to help the campus forge effective community partnerships, and provide resources and practical guidance for faculty seeking to integrate civic engagement into their teaching and research” (Campus Compact, 2004). Indeed, higher education is a big constituency for community service in the United States. One good example is the Massachusetts Children’s Fund, a programme launched to strengthen families and prevent child abuse by home visiting to support all the first-time parents under 21 of age in Massachusetts. The program is developed to prevent child abuse and neglect; achieve optimal health, growth, and development of infancy and early childhood; to promote maximum parental education attainment and economic self-sufficiency; and to prevent repeat teen pregnancies (Biesecker and Bartley, 2002:399).

Many civic educators believe that civic responsibility can best be developed when teachers work toward linking three components: community service, learning outcomes, and civic education. There are a number of organizations that laid the groundwork for civic learning in schools. The Center for Civic Education, a
pioneering non-profit organization for developing civic education, claimed civic dispositions as those ideals held by citizens and elaborated the dimension of responsible citizens in terms of dispositions, especially participation in civic affairs, such as elections or community service and the assumption of personal, political, and economic responsibilities. Among the concepts related to attitudinal sets as good citizens are belief in the rights and responsibilities of individuals in society and the advancement of the ideals of the government. In the preface of the National Standards of Civics and Government developed by the Center, the aim of civic education is described as:

*It has been recognized since the founding of the nation that education has a civic mission: to prepare informed, rational, humane, and participating citizens committed to the values and principles of American constitutional democracy. This civic mission of the schools has recently been affirmed in the National Education Goals included in the Goals 2000: Educate America Act of 1994 (Center for Civic Education, 1994).*

Although policy implementation is highly delegated to state and local government, many of the administrative organs showed great support to implement civic learning. According to the survey conducted by the Center for Civic Education about half of the 50 states promulgated laws and regulations related to civic education and a number of states require instruction in civics even if the regulations do not require specific courses, standards, or assessments. The Center has developed learning resources called CIVITAS in which integrating civic virtue, participation, and knowledge enables the political process to work effectively to promote the common good and to contribute to the realization of the fundamental ideals of the American political system, including protection of the rights of the individual. The AmeriCorps is another form of community service programme; the main scope of activities cover tutoring and mentoring disadvantaged youth; fighting illiteracy; improving health services; building affordable housing; teaching computer skills; cleaning parks and streams; managing or operating after-school programs; helping communities respond to disasters; and building organizational capacity. The indirect project focused on helping homeless people by donating items through a partnership, Grassroots, with the local homeless shelter.

Recognizing rapid population aging issue as one of the serious challenges and threats to national economy and societal development, many countries addressed the need on how to deal with it creatively (Presidential Commission on Aging and Social Integration, 2004; Seike, 2001). The U.S. Congress took prompt action and enacted the Older Americans Act to respond to population aging, and the lawmakers helped prepare comprehensive strategies to resolve the aged population in terms of its health, education, labor, and pensions and developed an effective human capital development by generating grants and partnerships among public and private sectors. The Department of Labor of the United States has initiated a program called Senior Community Service Employment Program (SCCEP) to recognize the value of older workers and promote reemployment of senior citizens by reflecting the changing demands of business and workforce (Department of Labor, 2006).
Selected best practices in countries in Asia

Japan

Japan has been active in service learning among Asian countries. The Ministry of Education integrated service-learning programmes in the new education reform agenda. One good example is an initiative introduced by a local school in Japan called Kamakura Junior High School and the school administrator rigorously embraced the service learning in the curriculum. Even in the project development phase, students are encouraged to join in the planning of service learning and take initiatives in the delivery phase, thus providing more responsibility and a wide participation on the part of students (Feinberg, 2001). The learning process is not graded, although performance of students is evaluated. Students are expected to evaluate community needs and create a solution or project to address those needs. In an effort to address the aging and welfare services for the old, the school also initiated a community service program by sensitizing the community issue and organizing visits to nursing homes. The school serves as an active participant to resolving community concerns in Japan.

Voluntary organizations in Japan have exerted significant influence over public services (Yamaoka, 1998). In the early 1950s Japan created a nation-wide volunteer service called senior clubs initiated by elderly people. The senior citizens’ clubs are linked with 59 regional chapters, 3,337 of district-wide chapters, and 131,384 individual clubs. The scope of the volunteer programme encompasses activities to enrich the quality of life of individuals and to help community-based welfare service. As in the United States, Japanese lawmakers were proactive to support volunteerism and promulgated a “Law to Specified Nonprofit Activities” in order to reflect the emerging need to forge the voluntary sector of the country. As Yamaoka pointed out, there should be more intervention from the public sector to encourage activities that support civil society and civic engagement (Kezai Koho Center, 2001).

Korea

In 2002 the Korean Ministry of Education initiated the Golden Lifelong Learning Volunteers Program (hereafter Golden Volunteers) in order to tap rich qualified human resources, and to boost social integration through a culture of learning among the elderly population, and facilitate exchange of learning and teaching replicating ‘Pum-aht-I’ and taking turns at giving hands during the busiest farming season of the year. The rationale of the Golden Volunteers is to enhance the quality of living by volunteering and expanding learning opportunities, and filling a niche in community welfare services to help underserved communities by mobilizing retired professionals such as teacher practitioners and people who were in civil service. Those retired teachers are invited as lifelong educators and are encouraged to actively be involved in teaching the children of low-income families after school hours. Broadly, the scope of activities is classified into social service and community outreach work. The social service category covers teaching languages and computer skills to the elderly and disabled, and community outreach service is focused on environment education, literacy education, advocacy, recreation, and legal service. Volunteers also join other learning events freely, becoming learners in the community as well.
As a good community outreach model, the Golden Volunteer programme is comprised of three core dimensions, namely: human resource development, promoting lifelong learning, and volunteering (Kwon, 2004). The central education authority coordinates among its constituencies such as local education authorities, Lifelong Education Center in Seoul, regional Lifelong Education Information Centers, and individual ‘Lifelong Learning Halls’ across the country. As of 2004, there were 2,044 volunteer pools and the ministry has allocated about US$1,600,000 to those executing agencies to subsidize the start-up expenses. It is believed that the senior volunteer service could be one of the exemplary educational policies in Asia as it expands to other countries in Asia to mobilize aged community resources.

Singapore

Singapore has also paid great attention to service learning. Recognizing the potential conflicts among its different ethnic groups, the Singaporean policymakers raised concerns for ethnic integration in education mandates and have placed emphasis on social cohesion by identifying Singapore as one unified nation. The government developed the national education programme and mainstreamed service learning in 1997. The Ministry of Education attempted to reinforce civic education in the school curriculum, and courses designed to teach civic education are being taught as a regular subject from primary to pre-university levels. As the format of delivery, civics and moral education is incorporated under the humanities and aesthetics category. In an effort to address the role of civic education in the community, the Community Involvement Program (CIP) has emerged “to build social cohesion and civic responsibility” and the ministry encourages schools to build partnerships with their local communities (Ministry of Education, 2006) [3].

Implications of service learning to the public sector

Developing timely and coherent policies on civic education and lifelong learning is important to revitalize civic renewal. The public sector must devise policies and programmes to support civic engagement activities to reflect the need to resolve community issues. It is deemed urgent to draw a wide participation in the initiative of the civic engagement movement so that members of citizens “acting together to solve community problems” help stabilize democracy (National Commission on Civic Renewal, 199:9). A well-planned mandate should be in place in the process of formulating policies and developing individual initiatives and programmes.

Unfortunately, top-down unilateral public policy formulation and implementation is often the norm and government agencies are perceived as a regulating authority. As society changes, the government and public servants demand a creative mind-set toward roles and responsibilities in formulating policies and executing the various programmes that affect the lives of citizens. In this context, people in civil service should bear in mind they have the role of coordinator rather than as a directing figure (Longworth, 2003:46). Public service must rigorously pursue identifying the resources and effectively mobilizing those valuable resources into innovative programmes. For example, government agencies can promulgate laws to promote establishment of voluntary institutions, raise funds for non profit activities, and develop incentives for business to support those initiatives.

True public service envisions a harmonious society by spreading a ‘culture of sharing’ so that all members of society are motivated to give what they can
regardless of age, gender, and talents, in a genuine lifelong learning society. More or less, policymakers are advised to have an ‘all around’ perspective in policy formation and implementation by endeavouring to create synergies among people and institutions and by employing a more rigorous bottom-up approach in developing policy initiatives. Ministries can establish standards and established procedures that facilitate educational provision such as service learning, both at central or local education offices and may actively be involved in linking institutions implementing service learning and mobilizing the resources to subsidize costs. In the education sector the community service movement and service learning initiatives should be expedited to increase the aggregate total of the outcomes of lifelong education and weave it into the mandates of education.

Furthermore, inter-agency collaboration in education, youth, and training issues are needed for optimum results in government efforts to improve society, and to promote youth engagement, the community service movement, and senior volunteers. Building a network of a knowledge base in community service and the dissemination of exemplary models of volunteerism will create a positive ‘snowballing’ effect in national, local, and district levels. To galvanize civic education, an ad hoc commission can be launched to formulate mandates in civic education and give feedback to the public sector in the policymaking process. Civic education experts can provide feedback through a policy forum to examine the feasibility of suggested programmes. The proposed commission should be comprised of experts from various disciplines who can give in-depth advice to the government agencies and executive body (Choi, 2004). It can advise setting standards in civic education across the life span of every citizen and help formulate plans and policies in close partnership with educators, scholars, learners, and policy makers, and sponsor focused discussion groups leading to public policy and legislation (Steffy and Lindle, 1994:81).

At the beginning of a policy formulation stage, education and labour ministries can jointly launch a task force to set up senior citizen volunteers. To orchestrate the provisions, the education authority should undertake rigorous reform in curriculum standards and in school administration. A regular school curriculum should be infused with key civic knowledge, skills, and a disposition to foster responsible citizens, incorporating community service and hands-on service learning into formal curricular activities, both in classrooms and in service sites. Individual schools must strive to reach out ardently to the community by an “extended school role in working with families and agency, business, and government leaders” (Steffy and Lindle, 1994:39). Education offices and grassroots schools alike should recognize students as active partners in the developing phase of education programs such as service learning. To do so, school administration should embrace democratic management by which students’ opinions can be reflected in key administration issues. At the university level, service to community should be ingrained through established courses and club activities, and serve as a core mediator in building partnership among recipients and volunteers.

Conclusion

Modern society is experiencing enormous challenges in all walks of life. Moral values appear on the verge of declining and gaps between people are widened owing to deepening alienation and other negative impacts of societal changes. Our generation demands a new ethos in order to build a harmonious society for all. Civic education can serve as a critical tool here and due attention should be paid to
organize appropriate programme throughout the life that fosters responsible caring citizens. Though it is relatively new to Asian society, service learning has a great potential to reduce the emerging social problems and sustain a lifelong learning society. To a varying degree, all cultures have inculcated a helping tradition among community members regardless of distinctions between east and west, and it is the duty of policymakers and educators to motivate ‘life-long’ and ‘life-wide’ learning and to facilitate collaboration among people in order to make a difference in school and community. Benchmarking and learning from each other’s experience will be a good starting point to capture an invaluable resource. Through sharing and learning, and by working together, its synergy can overflow into our everyday living.

One of the critical challenges in governments in Asia is to apply greater leverage to and for the voluntary sector, realigning the legal basis of community based action to boost the creation of non profit organizations and to help the functions of governments. In the long run, as an alternative form of education to the general public, service to community may not only strengthen social cohesion and civic engagement by ‘doing’ and serving, but may also promote a harmonious society to attain the common good. From the public sector’s viewpoint, the gross sum of volunteer activities will tap into additional human resources, and in education the effort will regenerate a valuable teaching force.

In this paper, selected best models of policies and programmes of community-based civic education were reviewed. It is hoped that policymakers and educators in Asia benchmark existing best practices and devise innovative programmes. Considering the fact that Asian countries share a lot in common from tradition and values, education decision makers can turn a vision into reality by formulating universal curricula for civic education and developing indigenous service learning models suitable to the Asian context.

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NOTES

[1] Another good example of community service learning in the United States is the 4-H movement started in the early 1900s. Floyd (2002: 417-418) stressed the “changing culture and needs of the rural American communities of 4-H”.


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The Community-based Learning Approach For Citizenship Education


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Book Reviews

Civil Society, Public Sphere and Citizenship: Dialogues and Perceptions


Civil Society, Public Sphere and Citizenship edited by Rajeev Bhargava and Helmut Reifeld is a collection of exploratory essays which aim to critically consider the nature of civil society, the public sphere and citizenship within the context of modern India. As the editors acknowledge, the field is characterised by the varied, and often contradictory, understandings of ‘civil society’, the ‘public sphere’ and ‘citizenship’ which currently abound in political and philosophical discourse. With this in mind, the editors and authors have succeeded in producing a set of essays which discuss these complex themes in a logical and coherent manner.

The coherence of the essays as a collective text owes a great deal to the excellent Introduction by Rajeev Bhargava. Indeed, it is through this that readers are presented with the definitional and contextual underpinnings of the overall text. Here, Bhargava distinguishes between ‘civil society’ – a space within society between the state and the individual in which citizens form voluntary, private associations - and the ‘public sphere’ – a space open and accessible for all in which participants deliberate on the ‘common good’. These definitions are recognised as being essentially contested, and in developing them Bhargava references and critiques contemporary theorists, most notably Habermas (the referencing of Habermas is a theme common throughout the text; see also Ute Frevert’s analysis in Chapter One for further conceptual analysis in the western context). Bhargava’s consideration is clear and insightful, and, furthermore, is extremely helpful to the reader. I would have welcomed, however, further consideration of the term ‘the common good’, which remained largely undefined by Bhargava. Thus, readers are left to assume that the ‘common good’ is used in reference to the ‘common concern’ or ‘general welfare’ of society. This, however, would be to attach a particular understanding of the concept which may differ to its meaning in the context of modern India. Further analysis would have removed this ambiguity.

The text contains 16 essays, and is divided into three sections. The first four essays, Civil Society, Public Sphere and Citizenship, provide essential definitional analyses. Part philosophical, part sociological, the four essays relate theoretical understandings of civil society and the public sphere to the conditions of modern Europe (Chapter 1), and then to pre- and post-colonial Indian society (Chapters 2, 3 and 4). There is recognition by the authors, particularly by Neeladri Bhattacharya in Chapter 4, that the application of terms of essentially western origin to Indian society raises certain tensions. The second section, Citizenship, Art and the Modern Public Sphere, contains three essays which are critical of the extent to which the modern public sphere privileges certain cultural symbols and language. The third section of the text presents nine essays on the nature of Citizenship in Independent...
India. In Chapter 8 Valerian Rodrigues considers how citizenship is categorised within the Indian constitution. Chapters 9, 13, 14 and 16 each critique the meaning and use of the term ‘civil society’ in modern India, whilst in chapters 10, 11, 12 and 15 the authors consider citizenship from the perspective of groups marginalised from full participation within the public sphere in India.

The discussions within Civil Society, Public Sphere and Citizenship offer an interesting and informative introduction to the nature of citizenship in modern India. Furthermore, the themes within the text resonate wider than its immediate context. Many of the issues raised in the essays have clear parallels with those in Western political societies, in which the contested terms ‘civil society’, the ‘public sphere’ and ‘citizenship’ have been theorised as representing an important operating space between the individual and the state. Thus, informed readers will welcome the focus and style of this text, and will undoubtedly consider the extent to which its main themes compare and contrast to the conditions of their own nation-states.

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Values Education for Citizens in the New Century


It was unsettling for an Australian to read a book on values education at a time when the Australian government has made values a political issue. Recent declamations by various Ministers and the Prime Minister about the need for immigrants and visitors to Australia to sign up to what they call ‘Australian values’, and for those who aspire to be citizens to take a values test, have sparked considerable debate. Associated with this debate has been a focus on the role of schools in developing values, with a national framework for values in Australian schools being developed and distributed to all schools.

One of the features of the values debate in Australia is the view of citizenship upon which it is based. It is assumed that people are citizens of nation-states and there is little reference to the changing circumstances of citizenship in a globalising world. To some extent this is not surprising since we live in a world that is still dominated by nation states that attempt to define political, social and even moral existence in their own terms.

Yet times are changing. Globalisation of economic, political and cultural processes means that nation states increasingly find themselves, and their definitions of social, political and ethical reality, threatened from below as smaller communities strive for greater self determination, and from above as supranational bodies (NGOs, regional and global bodies, transnational companies etc) make decisions which constrain individual national agendas.

We are moving from a world comprising individual nation-states, to a more interdependent global political order. This has implications for many aspects of our society, not the least of which is the meaning of citizenship (which is becoming more multilayered) and thus of citizenship education. Clearly there is need to move
beyond conceptualising these concepts as though they are synonymous with the nation state. An important part of that consideration is what it means to hold and to practise civic values in a global polity. That is, values must be increasingly conceptualised not only at the personal, communal and national level, but at global levels as well.

This book on teaching values for citizenship is timely because to some extent it addresses these very issues. For a start, the book comprises contributions from people in a number of countries in the region, such as China, Thailand and Australia. These different contexts produce some different perspectives on the theory and practice of values education.

In the introduction the editors, Cheng, Lee and Lo, set out the problematic for the book claiming that in relation to values, educators face the challenge of combining ‘…cultural and social pluralism with certain basic and more universal values that constitute international understanding and tolerance as addressed in, for instance, the UN Declaration of Human Rights’. This issue is explored from a range of vantage points, with the seventeen chapters organised around three sections.

The first section involves some theoretical explorations of issues in values education such as the tensions between core values and pluralism, how values education should develop the ability to value, and the epistemology of valuing. These are not easy chapters to read but they are worth the effort, not least because of the depth of scholarship contained in them, and because they provide the theoretical underpinning for the remaining sections.

The second section explores a range of ways in which values education can be represented in the curriculum. Its first chapter canvasses the tensions and choices to be made in planning curriculum structures and pedagogy. This is a backdrop to the other chapters which examine the role of subjects in values education like environmental studies, religion education, social studies, civics and science.

The third section introduces readers to a number of important issues in values education. Some are introduced through an investigation of curriculum and professional practice; others start with curriculum policy.

The issues include attention to the relationship between past curriculum understandings and meeting the challenges of globalisation, the possibilities and problems of professional learning communities, and the processes by which girls remain marginalised as ‘learner-citizens’ in changing educational contexts.

The collection has a number of strengths. Its eclectic nature means that most chapters provide a new insight, and this results in a kind of complex layering of understanding about the different dimensions of values and the implications for values education. Thus, there is attention to the ‘cognitive’ dimension relating to knowledge about values; the emotional dimension relating to a commitment to certain values and the intensity with which these are held; and a process dimension relating to how choices are made and how we can live by the beliefs and values to which we attach the highest priority. Such distinctions enable clearer thinking about which dimensions are the provinces of formal schooling and which are not.

Second, a number of chapters and the collection as a whole throw out some refreshing challenges to established binaries which limit how values education can be understood and practised in new ways. For example, traditional dualisms like universal/local; knowledge/values; public/private; capabilities/compassion; subjective/objective are all questioned and alternative approaches proposed.

Third, there is a recognition that values education does not reside in a single subject. The book of course deals with values education in formal schooling (early on the point is made that learning about values occurs in many other non-formal
settings), but it acknowledges the many different forms that values education can take in the official, the enacted, the null and the hidden curriculum.

The chapters however are uneven, and some have a tenuous relationship with the question of values education, requiring the reader to make his/her own connections. But this of course is a common problem with edited books. For me the biggest disappointment was that the book does not address pedagogical and assessment issues in any more than a superficial way. For example, how can a values education for citizenship program be planned and taught in ways that do not make girls invisible learner-citizens?; and is it possible to assess the knowledge and practise of values?

Nonetheless, this book helps to both raise these questions and to provide the kind of intellectual ballast and clarity of understanding that is needed to begin the debate. For this reason it will be an important addition to the library of any educator grappling with the challenges of teaching for values in the changing circumstances of a globalising world.

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Educación y ciudadanía en una sociedad democrática

[Education and citizenship in democratic societies]

ISBN: 84-7490-796-9

The title of this book, edited by Concepción Naval and Montserrat Herrero, draws attention to a topic of profound contemporary significance. The articles collected in “Education and citizenship in democratic societies” address the subject from a variety of different perspectives.

In recent years, both editors of the volume have addressed the theme of citizenship from their respective fields of interest and research: education and philosophy. Concepción Naval has led a research group on education and citizenship for more than ten years [1] . Montserrat Herrero specialises in political philosophy and is currently involved in a research project entitled ‘The question of legitimacy in contemporary political philosophy’.

The book has four parts. The first part comprises three chapters on the political ideal of citizenship; the second part, four chapters on the relationship between education and participative democracy. The third part is made up of three chapters on education in citizenship; and the last part, two chapters on the challenges posed for teachers in citizenship education programmes.

The focus of the first chapter, by José María Barrio, is the Aristotelian idea of citizenship. According to Barrio, this idea is based on three fundamental principles: human life as ethos, political friendship and community, and logos as the structural framework of the polis. In the final section of the chapter, the author provides a description of the Aristotelian polis. The main conclusion to be drawn from this consideration of the idea of citizenship is, in Barrio’s words: “Politics is an office of the highest worth, but it requires that those who participate in political life make strict ethical demands on themselves” (p.48).
In the second chapter, Dalmacio Negro argues that Europe is currently experiencing a profound material and moral crisis. In political terms, Europe is moving from a social-democratic model to a situation of populist demagoguery. Education in citizenship, in this context, is a tool used to impose a pre-established consensus, which is democratic in name only. As a result, citizenship education does not provide women and men with the means to be free and to work for what is best; rather, it gives rise to a community of citizens, whose primary preoccupation is the state of society as a collective whole.

Francisco Alaterejos explores the relationship between democratic citizenship, European identity and education in the final chapter in this part of the book. It is vital, he argues, that the moral identity of Europe be examined if the identity and ethos that have been lost are to be recovered. In order to achieve this goal, Altarejos proposes that education in general, and citizenship education in particular, should focus on the inculcation of values that remain valid today although their acquisition is perhaps no longer encouraged.

The second part of the book – on education and participative democracy – opens with a chapter by Rafael Alviria entitled “Political education”. Alviria argues that authentic political education leads citizens to become ‘political thinkers’; and the key to such education is to encourage students to respond to the political ideal articulated by Socrates: the good citizen obeys, and remains free to re-think the system of which he/she forms part (see p. 88).

José Luis González Quirós considers the role and value of education in a pluralist society. According to González Quirós, education is to be provided in a context of authority and recognised truth – that is, truth(s) recognised and accepted by a pluralist society. Given that there is at least one value that is beyond any discussion – the dignity of the human person – pluralism cannot be regarded as synonymous with relativism. One of the purposes of education is to communicate what human dignity is and means.

In “Civic humanism and citizenship in the family”, Alejandro Llano argues that the roots of many contemporary social problems are pre-political and pre-economic; responses to these problems, therefore, must be primarily social, rather than political or economic. Civic humanism, as a force that works for the public good, is to be encouraged, especially in and from the family; and the fabric of society renewed and revitalised through a culture of responsible citizenship.

Mercedes Esteban’s chapter emphasises the value of education as a means of fomenting a spirit of citizenship. Citizenship education, in the definition offered by Esteban, is education in the civic virtues that will enable all citizens to participate fully in political and social life. Moreover, education in citizenship is not the sole prerogative of the state; the family, schools and social organizations also have a significant role to play. Thus, Esteban goes on to argue that the citizenship education programme proposed by the Spanish government should aim to provide a framework in which students, parents and teachers may play their full part as citizens.

The theme of the third part of the book is education in citizenship. The first chapter in this section, by Concepción Naval, reflects on the fact that citizenship education, like all authentic education, must be education of the whole person. Personal education implies the consideration of moral concerns. The goal of education in citizenship is not only the education of citizens, but also – and in the first instance – the education of persons; moral concerns, therefore, are central to citizenship education. Naval also draws attention to some emerging issues in relation to citizenship education in democratic societies: globalization; new information and
communication technologies; ecology and the environment; civic virtues; higher education institutions and programmes; and the family.

Following this reflection on the purposes of citizenship education, José Antonio Ibáñez-Martín addresses one of the fundamental tasks faced by all democratic societies: the justification of the framework and content of the legal texts and laws that govern the life of the community. Not only must legal texts be legitimate; they must be, and must be seen to be, just. The importance of this task implies clear recognition of the significance of the participation of all citizens in social life. The citizen’s participation in the life of his/her society is not a set of empty gestures; rather, as Ibáñez-Martín goes on to explain, it is a series of specific and practical acts and responses. To live in a socially responsible way, therefore, is a complex challenge for each citizen; as a consequence, the standard of citizenship education programmes, such as the one proposed by Ibáñez-Martín, must be high. European citizenship education programmes, as well as recent developments in this field in Spain, are also described in this chapter.

The chapter by David Reyero provides an interesting account and analysis of the bond between husband and wife as a vital thread in the fabric of social life. The marriage bond and a commitment to family life are stronger signs of the citizen’s commitment to the common good of society, he argues, than the successful completion of a particular education programme or membership of a non-governmental organization. Reyero also engages with the role of the state and civil society in the education of citizens. In order to encourage awareness and practice of civic virtues, the author argues, state intervention – a common phenomenon in many places – must give way to the renewal and strengthening of intermediary social groups, such as the family and other communities.

The two chapters that comprise the final part of the book focus on challenges for teachers in citizenship education programmes. The first chapter reflects on the value in this regard of education in single-sex schools; the second examines how the idea of citizenship is dealt with in the educational policy of the European Union.

On the basis of data from several international studies, María Calvo argues for the proven value of single-sex schooling in the provision of high quality educational programmes and of a more person-centred education. Moreover, studies of such education programmes reveal that single-sex schools experience fewer problems in the area of behaviour and discipline and have higher standards of academic achievement. The advantages and disadvantages of single-sex and co-educational schooling are compared and contrasted. Calvo goes on to criticise the current Spanish educational policy, which insists that mixed schooling is the only acceptable educational model. Genuine equality of opportunity, Calvo argues, implies that people be free to choose the system of education that they think best.

In the book’s final chapter, Javier María Valle offers an overview of the content of various European Union educational policy statements, with a particular emphasis on proposals with regard to education in citizenship. Valle gives an account of the establishment of the European School in Luxemburg, as the first institution developed by the European Union to promote European citizenship. The author also comments on the Spinelli and Janne reports; the development of educational programmes, such as SOCRATES, to promote European citizenship; and the European Citizenship Action Plan (2004), which seeks to foment active, participative forms of citizenship.

This book is a timely exploration of the theme of citizenship education in democratic societies from a variety of educational perspectives. The significance of participative democracy and the political and ethical dimensions of social life are
also drawn into the discussion. What binds the chapters of this book together to form a single volume, however, is the shared conviction of its authors that a developed democratic society requires the participation of all citizens in its social life. Without this commitment to the renewal and strengthening of the fabric of society, no democratic society can grow to full maturity. All of the authors whose work is included in this book also share the assumption that education may be the inspiration and safeguard of social and civic responsibility.

Another key idea in the book is that education in citizenship implies more than the education of citizens; the education of citizens is one of the goals of citizenship education, but it is not the only one. Education in citizenship must also encompass the overall education of the citizen as a person. As well as being a form of social education, therefore, citizenship education is also – and above all – a form of moral education. A good person is a good citizen: to educate the person is to educate the citizen. The ultimate aim of education in citizenship is to encourage in each person a commitment to his/her own good as an individual and the common good of society.

Notes

[1] More information on this research group is available at:
http://www.unav.es/educacion/investigacion/lineas/ciudadania/citizenship/default.html

Reviewer: Prof. Carolina Ugarte, Department of Education, University of Navarra, Pamplona, Spain
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