Citizenship Education And The Provision Of Schooling: A Systematic Review Of Evidence

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ABSTRACT This paper summarises the findings of a systematic review of empirical evidence that can inform the manner in which citizenship education is implemented in schools, particularly in relation to curriculum construction and development, learning and teaching leadership and management, school ethos and community relations and teacher learning, knowledge and practice. The evidence gathered by this review process makes a significant contribution to knowledge about the implementation of citizenship education, for policy, practice and research. The implications of the review are significant for teacher education and professional learning. This learning has to do with three main facets of professional education: (i) the development of a set of values consistent with a vision for citizenship education (ii) the development of a body of knowledge relevant for being an educator in contemporary society - knowledge concerned with ethical understanding and processes of social change (iii) the development of professional skills around a pedagogy for citizenship education, including an awareness of educational policies and practices which support inclusion and the involvement of every child in the learning process. Genuine participation in the learning process by teachers and students requires school-based decision-making and this is likely to lead to local differences, requiring a policy that encourages diversity rather than uniformity. Citizenship education requires teachers to use and trust their own professional judgement, working within a culture of professional responsibility rather than only within a culture of technical accountability.

Introduction

This paper reports on a systematic review of research that identified evidence of any impact of citizenship education on the provision of schooling (Deakin Crick, et al, 2004). The findings are framed by the reasons for the review, its funding, timing, methods and focus and the meaning of key terms. I begin by setting out the background to the review, the review team’s view of the meaning of key terms and an account of the review methodology. The main section gives the findings of the review, and these are summarised in the conclusions.

Background and rationale for the review

There were two important contextual factors: the introduction of National Curriculum citizenship education (from August 2002) and the involvement of higher education institutions in the training of teachers in citizenship education. This
review was undertaken because of a perceived gap in professional knowledge about the implementation of citizenship education in schools. The history of the development of the citizenship education initiative in England spans the 1990s and has been informed by the requirements of the 1992 Education Act which required the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED) to report on the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils in schools, by developments in Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) and by a range of initiatives which addressed the personal and social aspects of student development, including the National Forum for Values in Education and the Community. All these initiatives have been informed by growing societal concerns about values and the personal development of young people. Many of the providers of resources for citizenship education are in the voluntary sector and within government departments. The function of this review was to explore and examine the available empirical evidence relating to the broad context of implicit and explicit citizenship education.

Definitional and conceptual issues

The conceptual framework that was adopted for this review is drawn from Crick (1998). This framework was selected because it was itself the outcome of considerable expert research, development and consultation, drawing on a wide range of processes, which together were referred to at the time as forming ‘preparation for adult life’ initiatives. It is also a framework that defines the scope of citizenship education in England and, although its terminology is contested, it is ‘maximal’ in its scope and provided a broad pragmatic framework around which to focus the study.

The key elements of the Crick framework focus on moral and social development, community involvement and political literacy.

Policy and practice background

McLaughlin (2000 ; 1992) characterised Crick’s approach as a ‘maximal’ in its breadth and scope. However, it is not uncontroversial in its definitions and its scope. Davies (1999; 2000) for example, has identified nearly 300 definitions of citizenship education; Crick has been criticised in its most basic terms and as being in itself undemocratic. Most research subsequently has investigated terminology and definitions of citizenship in the National Curriculum (Flew 2000; Heater 1999; Lawton 2000; Scott 2000).

Compared with Crick, the programmes of study for the National Curriculum for Citizenship appear to focus more on political literacy, but many of the outcomes are in the domain of personal development, such as developing the skills of enquiry and communication or developing skills of participation and community action (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1999). Citizenship is linked in these documents to whole school ethos and organisation, to values education and to the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils. Whilst much discretion is left to individual schools, it is clearly expected that citizenship education will appear in discrete curriculum time, across the whole curriculum and in extra curricular activities, and be related to the school’s particular vision and values. There is little discussion about pedagogy or assessment.
Research background

Kerr (1999; 2000;1999a; 2002) reveals a number of common sets of issues and challenges which are facing education systems worldwide and which have led to the contemporary focus on citizenship education and its related themes. Although these themes are often disparate, they have in common a focus on schooling outcomes other than traditional achievement outcomes. Thus the domain of citizenship education includes all of those planned interventions in schooling which have as their purpose a personal or social outcome, rather than only a focus on academic or vocational qualifications.

In a British Educational Research Association (BERA) Professional User Research Review, Gearon argues that research into explicit citizenship education in the UK is ‘as new as its post-Crick and post-National Curriculum context’ (Gearon 2003 p.1). However, within disparate areas such as values education, character education and PSHE, there is a considerable amount of research which is relevant since these areas are being drawn in under the newer remit of citizenship education. He refers also to ‘implicit citizenship education which has antecedents from the 1970s onwards in relatively marginal initiatives, such as peace education, global studies, human rights education and political education’ (Gearon 2003 p.5).

The most prominent review of research during this transitional phase was the review of values-based research by Halstead and Taylor (2000) which linked citizenship to values education. It focused on five key research areas and several teaching and learning related questions in respect of which the summaries of research were related: social background research; the development of values through the life of the school; theoretical frameworks and strategies; curriculum and teaching methods; and assessment and evaluation of the development of pupils’ values.

In order to adopt any approach to citizenship education, at school or initial teacher training (ITT) level, it is critical to have an informed view of the scope of education for citizenship in relation to content, pedagogy, leadership and management, ethos and external relations. Views of politicians and lobbyists are not sufficient; educators necessarily respond from a different perspective, which is that of the informed practitioner whose central task has to do with learning within a particular community. There has been very little serious research that has addressed models of practice for citizenship education at a school-based level, and very little attempt to integrate notions of citizenship education into broader educational philosophies and practices.

The Review Group was concerned that the research should not be narrowly focused on the current English experience of citizenship education, but should include an international dimension on policy, provision and practice which would significantly strengthen the review.

This review draws together evidence of how schools make provision for citizenship education and the impact of that on the processes and structures of schooling. Alexander (1992) proposed a framework for analysing school practice, which includes observable factors: the context or the ethos of the school, the pedagogic process (i.e. learning and teaching), the content of the curriculum, leadership and management and external relations. This provided a framework for analysing provision: that is, those structures and practices in which schools engage to support their aims and purposes. In this review, citizenship education was understood as all the planned curriculum provision that professional educators construct for their students in order to develop as active and informed citizens. This
provision may be formal or informal, extra-curricular, cross-curricular or within particular curriculum strands, including the provision for pastoral and personal development of students. These intentional practices may thus relate not only to subject content, but also to relationships for learning and principles (such as equality, fairness) underlying policies, and teaching and learning practices. They thus relate to both pedagogy, and school ethos and culture. This review aimed to begin to identify the effect of citizenship education on key aspects of school policies, including learning and teaching, leadership and management, curriculum, personal development and community relationships. It also aimed to begin to identify the conceptual frameworks that inform those practices, and how curricula differ from setting to setting and over time. It did not address questions of impact or effectiveness in terms of student outcomes.

The Review Methodology

Funding for the review was provided by the citizEd Project and by the Evidence for Policy and Practice Information and Co-ordinating Centre (EPPI Centre). The EPPI-Centre supports groups in undertaking systematic reviews of research in education to inform policy and practice. Its purpose is to provide for the education sector a resource that gives practitioners and policy makers access to constantly updated results from syntheses of research evidence. As a condition of funding, reviews are undertaken by groups who use the precise specification, tools and procedures described briefly later. The group for this review was called the Citizenship Education Research Group which represented a wide range of researchers and practitioners and steered the review. The Review was carried out by the author of this paper with a team of four reviewers.

The search for studies was completed early in 2003, thus any studies published after that date were not included. Although the search for studies was world wide, only studies which were reported in English language were included. Moreover although studies were included from several countries, our perspective as reviewers was inevitably influenced by our own background and experience. The policy and practice implications of the review were drawn up in consultation with UK based educators and policy makers who identified what they saw as necessary change for UK policy and practice. Readers in other countries have to judge the salience of the findings and implications for their own cultures.

The review included all types of empirical studies. It did not give preference to randomised controlled trials, nor indeed to quantitative studies. The term intervention was used to describe an intentional educational activity whose purpose was to promote citizenship education as defined by the review.

The review attempted to appraise the weight of evidence for each study. This was based on a combination of methodological soundness, as far as can be judged by what is reported on, the relevance of the study type to the particular review and the appropriateness of the choice of intervention and outcome measures to the specific questions being researched. The overall judgement is review specific and does not represent a quality judgement of a study in its own right.

Review Procedures

The overall question that was addressed in the review was:

*What is the impact of citizenship education on the provision of schooling?*
The provision of schooling was understood to mean:

1. learning and teaching
2. school context and ethos
3. leadership and management
4. curriculum construction and development
5. external relations and community

In order to achieve all the aims of the review, it was necessary to address the further question:

What are the implications of the findings of the review for teacher education?

The term ‘impact’ was used in this review question with care. It could imply a linear, cause-effect relationship between citizenship education and the provision of schooling. However, the CERG was concerned that such a narrow definition might not do justice to the complexity of the two variables, and the iterative relationship between them. Thus the review was concerned with the nature of the relationship between the two variables and impact in either direction.

Literature Search

A detailed and replicable search was made of all electronic databases and journals. The number of studies found in the initial search was 301. Studies were included if they appeared to meet the inclusion criteria from a reading of the titles and abstracts. The full texts of 217 of these were obtained and read and of these 203 were excluded because they were not reporting on citizenship education or the provision of schooling, not reporting on schools, if they were conducted pre 1988, if they were not reported in English or if they were not empirical research.

The remaining 14 studies were characterised by coding using keywords devised to be generic for educational research as a whole and two sets of review-specific keywords. The review specific keywords are presented in table 1 below. They were coded online using the EPPI Centre software and the characteristics of the set of studies were discussed by the review group.

These 14 studies were then analysed in depth, using guidelines for coding and quality assessing educational research (EPPI-Centre, 2003; EPPI-Centre, 2003) and EPPI-Reviewer®, the EPPI-Centre’s reviewing software. (For further details see the EPPI Centre website [1]). Data-extraction and assessment of the weight of evidence brought by the study to address the review question was conducted by pairs of Review Group members who worked first independently, then moderated their decisions and came to a consensus. Details of the final selection of studies are set out in tables two and three, which gives for each study the evaluation of weight of evidence relevant to the review, the type of study, the country and the age range, and the types and combinations of citizenship education and provision of schooling addressed by the studies. A full list of references can be found in Appendix One.

Synthesis of evidence

The findings of each study are reported under each aspect of the provision of schooling: that is, learning and teaching; school ethos and context; leadership and management, curriculum construction and development; and external relations and community. Where there are findings that relate specifically to another aspect of provision, these will be identified under that heading. Any other themes that
emerged from the studies, which were not directly related to one of the identified categories of school provision, were treated as a second phase of findings and are reported later. The findings are presented according to their weighting (high to low) and alphabetically by author. The findings are reported as they were by the authors and with the authors’ conclusions and implications. Table 4 shows which studies are most relevant to particular aspects of the provision of schooling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship Education</th>
<th>School provision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moral and social responsibility</td>
<td>Learning and teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community involvement</td>
<td>Curriculum construction and development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political literacy</td>
<td>School ethos and context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual moral social and cultural development</td>
<td>External relations and community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education for diversity</td>
<td>Leadership and management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character education</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Emotional and social literacy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Values education</td>
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<td>Service learning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict resolution</td>
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<td>Peer mediation</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Human rights education</td>
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Table One: Review Specific Key Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of provision</th>
<th>Studies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Learning and teaching</td>
<td>Russell, 2002; Clare et al., 1996; Day, 2002; Deakin Crick, 2002; Holden, 2000; Maslovaty, 2000; Mooij, 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum construction and development</td>
<td>Holden, 2000; Day, 2002; Deakin Crick, 2002; Clare et al., 1996; Russell, 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership and management</td>
<td>Carter and Osler, 2000; Deakin Crick, 2002; Flecknoe, 2002; Maslovaty, 2000; Mooij, 2000; Taylor, 2002; Holden, 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School ethos and context</td>
<td>Behre et al., 2001; Carter and Osler, 2000; Flecknoe, 2002; Taylor 2002; Williams et al., 2003; Gilborn, 1992; Naylor and Cowie, 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External relations and community</td>
<td>Holden, 2000; Haviv and Leman, 2002; Gilborn, 1992</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table Four: Relevance of studies to aspect of provision of schooling
Learning and teaching

The findings of seven studies were considered to be relevant to this theme. Three of these studies were rated as having a high overall weight of evidence in relation to the review question. Three of the other four studies were rated as having medium and one as having low weight of evidence in relation to the review question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Methodological quality</th>
<th>Appropriateness of research design</th>
<th>Relevance of study topic</th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Type of study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behre et al. (2001)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clare et al. (1996)</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deakin Crick (2002)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>11-18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flecknoe (2002)</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>11-18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maslovaty (2000)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mooij (2000)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell (2002)</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams et al. (2003)</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Types of Study: 1 - Exploration of relationships, 2 - Evaluation – researcher manipulated, 3 - Naturally occurring evaluation*

**Table Two**: Details of the 14 studies (see appendix one for full references)
Deakin Crick’s (2002) case study explored the development of a set of shared values within a school community and the utility of those shared values as specific interventions in teaching and learning across the secondary school curriculum. One of the key findings of this high-rated study was the quality of discourse around values in enhancing the learning and personal development which took place. Teachers in the study found that, by introducing shared values into teaching and learning across the curriculum, they related to the whole person as learner, incorporating the students’ personal and emotional experience and their story into the process of learning, rather than just focusing on the student’s acquisition of knowledge, skills and understanding. The teachers reported that integrating spiritual, moral, social and cultural development into their own subject teaching was more meaningful and useful than addressing it in a separate part of the timetable. They also found that the quality of higher order creative and critical thinking skills was enhanced in lessons where values were brought to the foreground. Values interventions were found to provide a vehicle through which students could make meaning out of their learning, through naming and speaking about their own experiences and connecting with the stories of their community, as expressed in their values. Teachers stimulated students to engage in responsible action resulting from
their learning, thus moving beyond the curriculum. As a result, teachers were required to move beyond the traditional confines of their subject to engage with local and global issues. This resulted in professional learning. Although the Christian foundation of the school influenced ethos and mood, whole-school spiritual, moral, social and cultural development was needed to bridge a gap between theory and practice.

Maslovaty’s (2000) highly rated study of teachers’ strategies for dealing with moral and social dilemmas in Israeli state religious elementary schools supported the findings that an ethical dimension is perceived to be an essential part of teachers’ educational perspective and of their pedagogical knowledge and responsibility. A consensus on professional morality was seen as a key dimension of the profession and discourse about a democratic society is seen as essential to the educational process. Teachers recognised and accepted the responsibility of the school system for resolving moral dilemmas. Over one-third of the socio-moral dilemmas identified in the study were dealt with in the context of the classroom in a way that exposed all students to a shared experience of situations of conflict, confrontation, exchange of views or multi-directional thinking, as well as co-operative decision-making and responsibility for action. Private talk or dialogue between teacher and student was the most common pedagogical behaviour and this was linked to ‘cognitive coaching’. The author described this as a way of thinking and working which ‘invites self and others to shape and reshape their thinking and problem solving capacities with the goal of forming people who think autonomously and work interdependently’ (Maslovaty 2000, p.439). Teachers used content, specific differentiation in teaching strategies to address different types of dilemmas.

The teachers’ own beliefs and value systems were found to contribute to their choice of strategy, leading to the conclusion that the development of the teacher’s own reasoned, comprehensive and flexible socio-moral credo is important. Furthermore, the context in which teachers work affected their choice of strategy: a decentralised, professional learning community was found to be more supportive in this domain than a context where teacher support was absent and a ‘technical culture’ existed. Overall the study provides evidence of a high weight that socio-moral issues should be dealt with in schools by using strategies for self-reflection, dialogue and discourse. Coping with socio-moral dilemmas may contribute effectively to the construction and development of teachers’ and pupils’ meta-cognitive, decision-making and problem-solving competencies.

In conclusion, Maslovaty’s study indicates that the socio-cultural climate of education and of class learning needs to support educational processes. Two important issues that arise from the study are a need for consensus on professional morality and discourse about a democratic society and participation in in-service training to raise teachers’ awareness of socio-moral issues. Teachers accepted the school’s responsibility for resolving dilemmas. The learning climate in classrooms where socio-moral dilemmas were dealt with exposed pupils to a shared experience of conflict, exchange of views, co-operative decision-making and responsibility for action. Professional learning communities supported teacher choice of appropriate strategies for dealing with dilemmas, such as self-reflection, dialogue and discourse.

Russell’s (2002) highly rated study into children’s moral consciousness and the role of children’s discussion produced relevant findings. Firstly, children’s discussions incorporated certain themes that included the concept of fairness, responsibility and choice, the value of human life, authenticity and respecting others. Both boys and girls used empathic and impartial reasoning interchangeably, depending on the context. The conclusions were that dialogue has an important part
to play in fostering reflective thinking, understanding, tolerance and respect for others, and that the student voice is an essential component. The implications of this study for teaching and learning are that didactic teaching methods do not promote moral consciousness, whereas the art of dialogue as a pedagogical strategy is critical. Letting go of power leads to an atmosphere of trust and safety, enhancing the pupil/teacher relationship and increasing participation and inclusion. Key thinking and learning skills developed in the context of moral dialogue can be transferred to other areas of knowledge and learning. The classroom can become an inclusive environment through respectful discussion as opposed to the ‘winning’ characteristic of a debate. This enables pupils to develop higher cognitive abilities and engage in meaningful learning.

A medium-rated study of a Forum Theatre workshop designed to invite the audience to actively engage in moral dilemmas as they are presented in a play (Day 2002) provided evidence that drama can be a very useful vehicle for personal development, for social interaction, and for political action and engagement. Empathy was stimulated in students by the play and this provided motivational energy, which was focused on action and was orientated towards the ‘other’. Students then transferred this empathy to other ‘victims’ they knew in schools. The Forum Theatre provided an opportunity for moral reasoning, for ‘frame freezing’ and for discussion about moral issues. Students engaged with the process through identification with ‘real life’ issues and with identification with the real experiences of actors. The forum created a co-operative learning environment in which dialogue and debate was a key strategy. The message of respect for others was conveyed through both the content of the theatre and through the process of learning that took place.

Holden (2000) conducted a two-school study into teachers’ beliefs and practices in social and moral education, and students’ perceptions of teaching. This medium-rated study provided evidence that moral and social development was seen as a process which underpinned all that teachers do and that it takes place in a wide variety of contexts across the curriculum, and particularly in Circle Time and in ‘literacy’ hour. Teachers had some difficulty in defining moral development and their practice tended to be dominated by ‘teacher talk’ and the teachers’ agenda. The author concluded that there is a need to allow students to define the agenda and to participate in debate to enhance learning. The students were found to have a complex understanding of social relationships and of ‘right and wrong’ from an early age. The author suggested that, in order to be more explicit in this area, and to include the wider aspects of citizenship education, there is a need for professional learning to extend teachers’ knowledge and allow for greater flexibility in curriculum delivery.

Mooij’s (2000) medium-rated multi-level study into the promotion of pro-social behaviour aimed to ascertain whether pupil behaviour could be influenced in a pro-social direction. This study was achieved through planned interventions at the school and classroom level. The findings indicated that school-level interventions did have an effect and that these were social-pedagogical, and didactic school and class variables, although ‘personal’ variables were more significant than intervention effects or co-variable effects.

In relation to teaching and learning, the most important school characteristics which promote pro-social behaviour were regular strategies or procedures used by teachers and schools to get along with pupils. These included rules of conduct and didactic rules; partly individualised but socially relevant didactic learning procedures; assessment and evaluation procedures; and procedures to reinforce
desired pupil behaviour. A key finding was the importance of student participation in the creation of those procedures and the extent to which students felt responsible for them (see also, Flecknoe 2002; Taylor 2002). Procedures for getting along with conspicuous or ‘at risk’ students were important, as was a whole-school strategy for promoting the development of pro-social and cognitive behaviour.

In a low-weight study focusing on the nature of instructional conversations, Clare et al. (1996) identified the importance of classroom discourse in creating a ‘zone of proximal development’ for students in moral development, alongside their reading comprehension. The quality of language, interaction and questioning by the teacher was found to be crucial. Within literature lessons, the teacher brought into focus developmentally appropriate moral dilemmas, and created cognitive dissonance for her students in addressing themes within the stories that were relevant to the moral development of the students. A study of the texts produced by students exposed to this quality of discourse showed that they were able to move beyond a superficial understanding of the basic points to explore the moral and emotional quality of the texts and the embodiment of those qualities in various characters. The authors concluded that moral education could be a useful tool for enhancing students’ comprehension and that these forms of learning could be usefully integrated. However, this process requires teachers to move from the conventional role of ‘reciters’ of wisdom into a more open, facilitative and conversational pedagogy. The authors concluded that this needs professional understanding and skill, which may not be acquired in a teacher education system where there is a focus on didactic methods and technical competence.

Curriculum construction and development

The findings of six studies were relevant to this theme. Initially, only five studies were keyworded as addressing curriculum construction and development, but on closer inspection, another study provided supportive evidence on this aspect of the provision of schooling. Two of these six studies were rated as having high and three medium overall weight of evidence in relation to the review question, and one was considered to have low weight.

Russell’s (2000) highly rated study provided evidence of learning in one domain (literacy) being integrated with another (moral consciousness) and concluded that the skills of dialogue and debate promoted as part of the development of moral consciousness could, and should, be transferred across the curriculum. Clare et al.’s (1996) low-rated study provided evidence to support this.

Holden’s (2000) medium-rated study provided some evidence that moral and social development can be offered through all parts of the curriculum, especially in literacy and Circle Time. Deakin Crick’s (2000) highly-rated study supported this finding, with examples of how the school’s values were highlighted within traditional curriculum subjects. Day’s (2002) medium-rated study focused on drama as a vehicle for personal development, and there was evidence that the empathy and skills developed in that context were transferred across domains. There was a need for other subject teachers in the school to be aware of that possibility and to extend and develop the learning from the Forum Theatre to other subjects and domains.

In a medium-rated evaluation of a Unified Studies course some 20 years afterwards, Williams et al. (2003) discovered evidence that a unique, experiential high school curriculum, not specifically designed to cultivate character, helped to change the environment of character education, and bring about students’ appreciation for people and environment. The authors suggested that character and
moral sensibility can be learned indirectly in a high school setting through highlighting moral issues embedded in all academic subjects and linking real world perspectives to school experiences and to students’ lives. The experience required a high level of teacher and student involvement; a caring learning environment; differentiated teaching and learning; interdisciplinary perspectives; active participation; dialogue; co-operation; teamwork; problem-solving; and practical applications of learning.

Leadership and management

The findings of seven studies were relevant to this theme. Initially, only four studies were keyworded as addressing leadership and management, but, on closer inspection, seven studies provided substantive corroborative evidence on this aspect of provision of schooling. Two of these studies were rated as having a high overall weight of evidence, three were considered to be of medium weight, and two of low weight in relation to the review question.

Deakin Crick’s (2002) high-rated study produced findings that indicated the importance of an explicit framework of values in underpinning school development planning and ethos. Participation in the identification of a values framework was an important feature and students in the study were found to have positive views on what was important for them in their school. This led to a set of values that were ‘owned’ by the whole school community. The importance of a values framework was echoed in Carter and Osler’s (2000) low-rated study which proposed a Human Rights framework as a basis for developing a more positive school ethos.

Holden’s (2000) medium-rated study identified the need for a shared policy around citizenship education and the creation of a common language and understanding. Part of this was to do with the development of an explicit set of shared values.

Mooij’s (2000) medium-rated study underlined the importance of a thorough school-specific developmental process, including outside support, in the formation of a policy to encourage pro-social behaviour. He concluded that schools needed to plan and evaluate their own social, cognitive, didactic and organisational developmental processes, based on accurate information.

Linked to this, Maslovaty’s (2000) high-rated study identified a consensus on professional morality as a key dimension of the profession, with a discourse about a democratic society as central to this process. There were also implications in this study for the concept of decentralised education policy in which school leaders are participants in a professional learning community, rather than technicians within a ‘technical culture’.

Taylor’s (2002) medium-rated study of school councils concluded that schools need to be explicitly self-conscious about how the school council fits in with the wider decision-making processes. They could offer this possibility as students participate in democratic processes for influencing and facilitating change in the students’ environment.

Flecknoe’s (2000) low-rated one-school study underlined the importance of a democratic community as a centre of educational leadership. Including students in matters pertaining to school leadership and management enhanced teacher sensitivity to students’ views and created a culture where students listened to each other. He concluded that democratic participation must centre on real issues, not peripheral ones, in order to change behaviours and develop an inclusive agenda. He suggested that the development of pupils through engagement with democratic
procedures is a missing dimension in school effectiveness and improvement theories, since this creates the social capital of trust between groups.

**Ethos and context**

Originally, 10 studies had been evaluated as contributing to this theme, but on closer inspection, the findings of six studies were seen to have high relevance for this theme. These studies were evenly divided as to those considered to have medium or low weight of evidence in relation to the review question.

Behre et al. (2001) described a medium-rated study that explored teachers’ reasoning about their roles and responsibilities in dealing with violence in various spaces in the school. They found that teachers were opposed to school violence, but conceptions of their professional roles and perceptions of responsibilities about intervention varied according to school type (elementary and middle school) and physical location within the school. Middle school teachers were more likely than elementary teachers to say the location of violence affects who should respond and they identified more school locations where they would not intervene to stop violence, because of concerns about physical risk and efficacy. Elementary school teachers emphasised caring for, and safety of, the children. Such findings indicate that different professional norms and school cultures existed in these age-related school settings. The authors suggested that redefining responsibility and roles in specific locations might promote ownership of spaces and reduce violent events. Clearer and more consistent rules and enhanced administrative support would influence teachers’ judgements and reasoning about their roles and responsibilities for intervention.

Although the focus of the study itself was on teachers’ reasoning, there was some evidence about the relationship of this to learning and teaching. All of the teachers condemned physical fights, regardless of where they were located. The teachers’ sense of their professional role and responsibility was the underlying issue that helped explain the differences in thinking between elementary and secondary school teachers, and influenced whether or not the teachers would intervene in situations of violence occurring in different spaces within the school. Professionally undefined spaces in the school created more complexity in teachers’ decision-making.

Elementary school teachers conceptualised their professional roles in different ways from secondary school teachers and were more likely to use reasoning based mainly on moral components, whereas secondary school teachers were more likely to use judgements which were based on moral, social, conventional and personal considerations. There was also evidence that contextual issues were important in influencing teachers’ judgements about whether or not to intervene. The level of administrative support from the school community and the clarity and consistency of the rules operated within the school as a whole had an influence on the teachers’ reasoning.

Taylor (2002) conducted a quantitative and qualitative study of the role of school councils and their contribution to citizenship education. The study was rated as of medium weight of evidence. Her research suggested that participation in a school council can make a positive contribution to students’ personal development, to their social interaction and to their sense of active engagement. In particular, it may develop skills of listening and speaking, discussion, negotiation, teamwork, asking for others’ views and representing them, arguing a point of view and taking a range of information into account when decision-making. It may also foster collaborative learning. Teachers and students perceived the main benefits of a school council as
the existence of a forum in which students were able to discuss their views and concerns, improve school ethos, allow students to contribute to the running of the school, and have a mutually informative process for staff and students. The active experience of the school council was a form of real engagement in learning and in the school as a community.

Implications arising from this study are that, in order to flourish, the functioning of school councils needs to be integrated into the school structure, with recognised lines of communication, support and status. Schools need to be more explicitly self-conscious about how the school council fits with wider decision-making approaches in school. The ethos should embody the expectation that realistic school change, which positively affects the student environment, is possible through democratic processes. Student participation at all levels needs to be valued and respected, and particular attention should be paid to facilitating the involvement of non-councillors so their voices can be heard. This can bring about a sense of student empowerment and ownership, which may be accompanied by attitudinal change, which, in turn, can improve the ethos of the school as a learning community.

In examining democracy and citizenship through the school council in one school, Flecknoe’s (2002) low-rated study echoed the need for democratic participation to centre on real issues in order to change behaviours and develop an inclusive agenda. The introduction of a school council heightened respect and trust between teachers and pupils, sensitivity to pupils’ views and development of pupils’ listening abilities. Through the school council, pupils had the opportunity to speak and to be heard; to discuss matters of importance; to be taken seriously; to contribute to decisions made by consensus; and to begin to develop an understanding of democracy in action.

A large-scale medium-rated survey of teachers’ and pupils’ perceptions of peer-support systems to challenge bullying (Naylor and Cowie 1999) found that, in general, the systems were effective in reducing the negative effects of bullying for victims, and peer supporters developed skills and enjoyed offering personal care. However, schools needed to facilitate and support student take-up of such schemes and to work to transform some teachers’ negative perceptions. School benefits included the creation of a socio-emotional climate; the demonstration of care; and savings on teacher time and involvement.

As a result of a low-rated study of school culture through classroom relationships, Carter and Osler (2000) argued that school ethos requires fundamental changes in order to realise children’s human rights in school settings. A narrative account of one school indicated the need to reduce teacher control and rigid discipline, build meaningful relationships, develop a comprehensive vision and inclusive practices for the school community. The authors suggested that pluralism, participation, self-determination, democracy, inclusion and transparency characterise human rights practices and advocated that implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child would provide a participatory structure with explicit human rights education. Through democratic practices and student involvement in school decision-making processes, Carter and Osler argued that students would be able to develop skills to access their rights and claim their identities.

A recurring theme centred on the issue of teachers’ orientation to the control of pupils and their interactions, and the creation of a ‘rigid classroom’ structure, which was found to be counterproductive for positive interpersonal relationships and the creation of a participative culture. Rigid discipline was found to impinge on certain freedoms and preclude particular identities, forming students in a restricted and
stereotyped range of ‘child images’ and masculine identities. It curtailed self-determination.

From a qualitative low-rated study of two contrasting comprehensive schools, one which operated a ‘colour blind’ policy and the other which was actively attempting to realise equality of rights which were genuinely pluralistic, Gillborn (1992) provided evidence to show that, despite often benign intentions, teachers’ frequent criticism and control of Afro-Caribbean students acted effectively to exclude them from opportunities enjoyed by white pupils. The author argued that schools need to be much more pro-active about their anti-racist policies and practices to support race equality. In particular, schools need to pay close attention to the hidden curriculum that, through teacher-student interactions, often reinforces the realities of citizenship for black people and denies black students their rights.

**External relations and community**

The findings of three studies were relevant to this theme. (Originally a further study had been seen as relevant.) Two of these studies were rated as having a medium overall weight of evidence in relation to the review question and one was considered to be of low weight.

Day (2002), in a medium-rated study, examined the use of Forum Theatre to explore refugee and homeless issues in schools by means of educating emotional intelligence through interaction. Through ‘frame freezing’, the drama provided opportunities for moral reasoning, discussion about moral issues, re-examination of social and moral values, and the development of empathy and action. Respect for others was conveyed through both the content and the method of learning. Sympathy towards refugees was transferred into empathy for human experience in general and, in contrast with the rhetoric they experienced in their social/political world, the drama workshop provoked a desire amongst students to do something about refugees and homelessness issues in real life.

In her medium-rated study, Holden (2000) showed that, even when schools appeared to be successful in many aspects of social and moral education and where the ethos, the atmosphere and the way in which children were treated was paramount, there could be gaps in language, perception, understanding and consensus between the views and values of teachers and parents. In the two primary schools studied there was an assumption of shared values, although some teachers saw parents as promoting different values and priorities. The author identified several aspects of provision which schools need to consider in delivering citizenship: rights and responsibilities beyond the school; discussion of democratic processes; a human rights and values-based framework from which students can make decisions; and student participation in debate and agenda-setting.

In a low-rated study contrasting the race equality policies and practices in two comprehensive schools, Gillborn (1992) illustrated how, after a severe attack on another, mainly white, school in which its students were involved, one school consciously tried to change assumptions and practices so as to build equal respect for all learners and promote a true and strong partnership between the school and the local black community. In so doing, it was attempting to model a genuinely pluralist form of citizenship that worked with and within the law.
Key issues emerging from the studies

The studies in the sample come from different countries and they illustrate that educational processes and practices take place in a social context: the local context of the school in its community, within a specific country, its educational system and ethos, and in a wider global environment. These all impact on citizenship education and its implications for the provision of schooling (Day 2002; Deakin Crick 2000; Gillborn 1992; Holden 2000).

A careful scrutiny of the evidence from the studies pertaining to the five aspects of the provision of schooling led to the identification of six common, overarching themes. These themes were explored and developed in the consultation with users. The six themes are summarised here and represent key values and school practices, which seem to be important to the provision of citizenship education. Conceptually they are inter-related and apply across the aspects of provision of schooling.

Participation in decision-making and ownership and agency

This refers to processes such as involvement, consultation, consensus-making and democratic procedures. Participation was linked with a sense of ownership of the learning, teaching and leadership processes by all participants, and with a sense of agency and choice.

Dialogue and discourse

The practices of dialogue and discourse were highly characteristic of processes of citizenship education. All the studies indicated that schools’ involvement in transformative interactive dialogical pedagogies and democratic processes was not at the expense of, but complementary to the enhancement of academic learning and achievement. Dialogical pedagogies require quality of relationships, which are inclusive and respectful.

Authority and empowerment

The studies provided evidence that exercise of the processes of participation, decision-making, ownership, dialogue and agency tended to challenge authority and power structures and facilitated new forms of empowerment. Democratic approaches to learning and teaching in the classroom (Carter and Osler 2000) and school (Flecknoe 2000; Taylor 2002) may be experienced as challenges to teacher authority and school practices and ethos.

Student-lived experience and relevance

Emerging from the studies was other evidence that suggested that the engagement of students required educational experiences that were age-related and developmentally appropriate. Students need their learning to be relevant to their own narratives and lives.

Teacher learning, knowledge and practice

The studies provided evidence to suggest that teachers needed support in their own professional learning and practice in order to develop appropriate professional skills for dialogue and discourse (Clare et al., 1996; Day 2002; Deakin Crick 2000; Russell 2002). A facilitative approach to power and professional values and ethics were an integral part of teachers’ professional knowledge and practice (Clare et al., 1996; Deakin Crick 2000; Holden 2000; Maslovyaty 2000).
Summary and Conclusions

One of the main outcomes of this research review is to draw attention to the small number of studies which were found to offer dependable evidence to address the questions posed by this review. However, from this set of studies the combined findings relating to these themes, based on the authors’ reports of their findings, their conclusions and the implications drawn and highlighted according to our judgement, professional experience and expertise, were essentially as follows:

- The quality of dialogue and discourse is central to learning in citizenship education.
- Dialogue and discourse are connected with learning about shared values, human rights, and issues of justice and equality.
- A facilitative, conversational pedagogy may challenge existing power/authority structures.
- Transformative, dialogical and participatory pedagogies complement and sustain achievement rather than divert attention from it.
- Such pedagogies require quality in teacher-pupil relationships and pupil-pupil relationships that are inclusive and respectful.
- Students should be empowered to voice their views, and to name and make meaning from their life experiences.
- Contextual knowledge and problem-based thinking can lead to (citizenship) engagement and action.
- Engagement of students in citizenship education requires educational experiences that are challenging, attainable and relevant to students’ lives and narratives.
- Opportunities should be made for students to engage with values issues embedded in all curriculum subjects and experiences.
- A coherent whole-school strategy, including a community-owned values framework, is a key part of leadership for citizenship education.
- Participative and democratic processes in school leadership require particular attitudes and skills on the part of teachers and students.
- Listening to the voice of the student leads to positive relationships, an atmosphere of trust and increases participation. It may require many teachers to ‘let go of control’.
- Teachers require support to develop appropriate professional skills to engage in discourse and dialogue to facilitate citizenship education.
- Strategies for consensual change have to be identified by, and developed in, educational leaders.
- Schools often restrict participation by students in shaping institutional practices but expect them to adhere to policies and this can be counter-productive to the core messages of citizenship education.

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Appendix A Studies included in the review


NOTES

REFERENCES


