



**International Journal
of
Citizenship and Teacher Education**

**Volume 1 Number 2
December 2005**

Citizenship Teaching and Learning

Editor - Dr. Ian Davies, Department of Educational Studies, University of York,
YO10 5DD, UK. E-mail: id5@york.ac.uk

Book Reviews Editor – Professor Mark Evans, OISE, University of Toronto, Canada

Chief Regional Editors:

Africa - Professor Penny Enslin (University of the Witwatersrand)

Asia - Professor Kerry Kennedy (Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong)
and Professor Wing On Lee (University of Sydney)

Australia - Professor Murray Print (University of Sydney)

Canada - Professor Alan Sears (University of New Brunswick)

Europe - Mitja Sardoc (Educational Research Institute, Slovenia)

South America - Rosario Jaramillo Franco (Ministry of Education of Colombia)

USA - Professor Judith Torney Purta (University of Maryland)

Editorial Committee:

Dr Bernadette Dean, Aga Khan University, Pakistan.

Professor Kerry Kennedy, Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong

Professor Wing On Lee, University of Sydney, Australia

Professor Norio Ikeno, Hiroshima University, Japan.

Professor Isoo Tabuchi, Nara University of Education, Japan

Professor Murray Print, University of Sydney, Australia

Professor Alan Reid, University of South Australia, Australia

Professor Mark Evans, OISE, University of Toronto, Canada

Professor Yvonne Hébert, University of Calgary, Canada

Professor Will Kymlicka, Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada

Professor Graham Pike, University of Prince Edward Island, Canada

Professor Alan Sears, University of New Brunswick, Canada

Professor Carole Hahn, Emory University, USA

Professor Walter Parker, University of Washington, USA

Professor Judith Torney-Purta, University of Maryland, USA

Professor John Annette, Birbeck College, University of London, UK

Professor James Arthur, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK

Dr. Peter Brett, St. Martin's College, Lancaster, UK

Dr. Ruth Deakin Crick, University of Bristol, UK

Professor Jon Davison, Institute of Education, University of London, UK

Dr. Elizabeth Frazer, University of Oxford, UK

Professor Márta Fülöp, Institute for Psychology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
Hungary

Cathie Holden, University of Exeter, UK

David Kerr, National Foundation for Educational Research, UK

Professor Concepcion Naval, University of Navarra, Spain

Professor Alistair Ross, London Metropolitan University, UK

Don Rowe, Citizenship Foundation, UK

Mitja Sardoc, Educational Research Institute, Slovenia

About citizED

citizED 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).

citizED's Director is Professor James Arthur of Canterbury Christ Church University. (Tel +44 (0)1227 782277, email jal@canterbury.ac.uk). The Deputy Directors are Dr Ian Davies of the University of York (Tel +44 (0)1904 433460, email id5@york.ac.uk) and Professor Jon Davison of the Institute of Education, London (Tel +44 (0)207 612 6567, email j.davison@ioe.ac.uk). The project administrator is Roma Woodward at Canterbury Christ Church University. (Tel +44 (0)1227 782993, email rlw8@canterbury.ac.uk).

citizED's website may be found at <http://www.citized.info>

About 'Citizenship Teaching and Learning'

Formerly published as 'The International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education', the Journal is now renamed 'Citizenship Teaching and Learning' reflecting our interest in 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.

Citizenship and Teacher Education
Volume 1 Number 2 December 2005

Contents

Editorial – Ian Davies (Editor)

Articles –

KATHY BICKMORE *OISE, University of Toronto* – Teacher Development for Conflict Participation: Facilitating Learning for ‘Difficult Citizenship Education

LYNN DAVIES, *University of Birmingham* – Teaching About conflict through citizenship Education

BERNADETTE L. DEAN, *Aga Khan University, Pakistan* – Citizenship Education in Pakistani Schools: Problems and Possibilities

RUTH DEAKIN CRICK, *University of Bristol* – Citizenship Education and the Provision of Schooling: A Systematic Review of Evidence

HARRIET MARSHALL, *University of Bath* – Developing the Global Gaze in Citizenship Education: Exploring the Perspectives of Global Education NGO Workers in England

NORIO IKENO, *Hiroshima University, Japan* – Citizenship Education in Japan after World War II

Book Reviews:

The following [Book Reviews](#) are available in this edition:

Howard Zinn on Democratic Education - Zinn, Howard with Donaldo Macedo. (2005), Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers. Reviewer: Daniel Schugurensky, Associate Professor, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto (OISE/UT)

Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and Issues - Edited by W. O. Lee, David L. Grossman, Kerry J. Kennedy & Gregory P. Fairbrother. Published 2004 by Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong. Reviewer: Yeow Tong Chia, Doctoral Student, The Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto

Learning to Teach Citizenship in the Secondary School - Edited by Liam Gearon. Published 2003 by RoutledgeFalmer, London. Reviewer: Yves Laberge, Ph.D. (retired lecturer), Institut québécois des hautes études internationales, Département de sociologie, Université Laval, Québec City, Canada

Nachhaltiges Lernen in der Politischen Bildung. Lernen für eine Gesellschaft der Zukunft - Klaus, Moegling & Horst, Peter. Opladen: Leske + Budrich 2001. Reviewer: Professor Dr. Christine Zeuner, Universität Flensburg, Institut für Allgemeine Pädagogik und Erwachsenenbildung/Weiterbildung, Germany

Editorial

In July 2005 the first issue of the International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education was launched at a very successful major international conference at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. Some of the excellent papers that were presented at that conference can be seen at http://www.citized.info/ijcte/conf_2005.htm. A selection from all papers has been made by the conference organisers and is presented here in issue 2 of the Journal.

The conference brought together fifty of the leading academics in citizenship education and teacher education from around the world (Australia, Canada, Europe, Hong Kong, Japan, Pakistan, USA). Supported and jointly organized by citizED and OISE/UT (CTL, CIDE, TLC) the conference keynotes, paper presentations and panels discussed current key developments in research, policy and practice in citizenship education across the world at national, regional and international levels and explored significant possible future initiatives in citizenship education and teacher education.

This special conference issue of the Journal includes some of those voices from around the world that were heard at our inaugural conference. Kathy Bickmore (University of Toronto, Canada) reflects on the significant distinctions that can exist between the expansive rhetoric associated with teacher education programmes and the at times impressive - but also very challenging - realities. Ruth Deakin-Crick (University of Bristol, UK) uses a high profile research methodology to review the literature of citizenship education and points to priorities for teacher education. Lynn Davies (University of Birmingham, UK) makes an argument based on a range of research projects for ways to consider educating about conflicts. Bernadette Dean (Aga Khan University, Karachi, Pakistan) provides insights into the state of citizenship education in Pakistan. Norio Ikeno from Hiroshima University, Japan discusses the trends in citizenship education in Japan since world war 2. Harriet Marshall (Bath University, UK) discusses findings from a recently completed research project in which she explored the nature of the 'global gaze' that may be relevant to the development of citizenship education.

These papers are individual pieces of work that show the rich tapestry of initiatives and thinking that exist in the contested and increasingly significant field of citizenship education. And yet, they have a common base in that they all represent aspects of the high quality work that is taking place around the world. They all provide meaningful insights into contemporary and likely future issues, are international (and/or global in their scope or perspective), and are based on the latest research and scholarship.

The Journal is attracting an increasing number of submissions as it becomes more firmly established. In 2006 there will be 2 issues, one of which will be a special Asian edition. Plans are already being developed for a special US edition which will be published in 2007. There will always be space in the Journal for good pieces of work and contributions should be sent to rlw8@cant.ac.uk.

Teacher Development for Conflict Participation: Facilitating Learning for 'Difficult Citizenship' Education

KATHY BICKMORE, *OISE, University of Toronto*

ABSTRACT A key to citizenship for socially just democracy is the development of capacity to nonviolently and equitably manage conflict. How are teachers educated and supported for this responsibility? This paper is drawn from a larger on-going study that compares implicit and explicit curricula, policies and programming for 'peacekeeping' (security), 'peacemaking' (dialogue and conflict resolution), and 'peacebuilding' (difficult citizenship — redressing social fractures and injustices that underlie destructive conflicts) in three urban Canadian school districts serving racially and culturally diverse populations. In particular, this paper examines the professional development-related opportunities available to teachers to support their facilitation and teaching for peacebuilding citizenship. The few teacher learning opportunities offered seem unlikely to enhance teachers' capacity to foster diverse students' development of agency for difficult citizenship. Much of the explicit professional development available in the schools examined emphasizes teachers' control of students and containment of disruption (peacekeeping), instead of their facilitation of diverse students' participation in constructive conflict management (peacemaking and peacebuilding). Professional learning opportunities are often relegated to short, fragmented occasions, primarily during teachers' volunteer time after school: this severely limits their potential to foster critical dialogic learning on the difficult issues of citizenship education practice.

Introduction

"Democratic education at its best," as Amy Gutmann argues, "is a product of many public deliberations reiterated over time" (2004 p.89). Democratic disagreements — in classrooms as well as about classrooms— can be constructive opportunities to rebuild community, to remedy injustices, and to build citizenship capacity in policies and practices. Democratic processes and social institutions are mechanisms for making decisions in the context of social and political conflict. Even constructive conflict behavior —nonviolent confrontation of basic disagreement, opposition, or injustice— provokes uncertainty and discomfort (Curle, Freire, & Galtung, 1974; Galtung, 1996). To really engage in dialogic decision making, across substantial human differences, is 'difficult citizenship.' Difficult citizenship is critical, engaged citizen participation for social change toward justice, not merely passive membership. How might teacher learning opportunities make it more likely that diverse students would gain experience in constructively handling such conflict, as preparation for difficult citizenship?

Teacher expertise and confidence is crucial, to effectively encourage and guide student participation in conflict education. Significant global and local citizenship subject matter is complex, often ill-defined, and sometimes controversial (Kelly & Brandes, 2001; Parker, 2004). Intersecting identities and justice issues—for example in relation to gender, ethno-cultural/racial diversity, international disparities, heterosexism, and inter-religious biases— influence the interpretation, ramifications, and options for handling each conflict. Much of this social, political, and moral subject matter was not taught to teachers when they were students (Ayers, Hunt, & Quinn, 1998; Boler & Zembylas, 2003; Freire, 1998; Van Galen, 2004). Further, today's populations of students are increasingly diverse, with unequal social status and incommensurate prior knowledge bases (e.g. Banks & Banks, 1995; Bickmore, 1999; Cochran-Smith, 1995; Harris, 1996). Twenty-first century students evidently impact, and are more clearly impacted upon by, a much wider world than students of past generations (e.g. Elkind, 1995; Kirkwood-Tucker, 2004; Thornton, 2005; Torres, 1998). Thus to teach for democratization, in the context of student diversity and globalization, requires more substantive knowledge, more skills, and more comfort with openness and uncertainty than to teach for unquestioned dominant 'common sense.' This can feel overwhelming, especially for novice teachers. Such complexity is not easy to handle, especially in the context of educational systems' social pressures and sanctions (Bigelow et al., 2002; Ladson-Billings, 2004).

Teachers' knowledge and comfort zones are shaped by the formal and informal learning experiences they have had access to, by the discourses shaping thought, and by actual participation (practice) and the feedback it elicits. This paper considers how teachers may develop capacity and confidence to teach complex, conflictual, globally-relevant subject matter—thus to facilitate students' capacity development for difficult citizenship—in equitable, inclusive, and dialogic ways. Later, I juxtapose these insights from the research literature with an in-depth investigation in one large urban school district (supplemented by more cursory study in two other districts), of the actual resources and infrastructure available to support such teacher learning for difficult citizenship education.

Contexts for difficult citizenship learning: culture, politics and conflict in schools

Citizens' (students' and teachers') ways of thinking, being and behaving are not completely autonomous. Rather, individual and collective agency is shaped and constrained by the currents of power surrounding cultural patterns, social locations, and education. Prevailing discourse shapes learning by encoding and reinforcing relations of power through its presumptions, for example in the ways it recognizes, denies, normalizes or constructs as 'other' certain identities and patterns of behavior (e.g. Butler, 1999; Ellsworth, 1997). Identities each person 'performs', language used, and mass public media shape what each of us comes to believe is natural and possible (also Epstein & Johnson, 1998). Young citizens can learn to be relatively critical, self-reflexive participants in cultural rituals and popular media—consciously questioning and influencing, though inevitably also influenced by, the discourses around them (Applebaum, 2004; Cary, 2001).

There seem to be escalating patterns of social fracture, and disengagement from formal democratic governance, in many parts of the world (e.g. Mátrai, 2002; Print, 1998; Salomon & Nevo, 2002; Tawil & Harley, 2004; Torney-Purta, 1999). The word 'politics' often refers, in prevalent discourse, to destructive conflict—

intra-organizational tensions, corrupt leadership, scheming. To try to reverse this incentive toward cynicism and disengagement, citizenship education often idealizes the politics of governance and inter-group interaction, preaching tolerance and the power of the democratic process. Such avoidance or palliative care is insufficient to handle social ills and build social harmony, and even counter-productive, where school knowledge thereby appears naïve and irrelevant to students steeped in public media images of dirty dealing and social tensions. Any teaching (even or especially that which ignores/assumes power relations) is inevitably political — it has ramifications for the distribution of power. Thus clearly some kind of practice with recognizing and handling social/ political conflict in constructive ways is essential to education for difficult citizenship.

A powerful aspect of citizenship education is the modeling and practice embedded in the implicit and informal curriculum of school social relationships, including the climate of competition or equity, the sanctioning of violence, dissent and (dis)obedience, and the opportunities for democratic engagement by students, faculty and staff (Bickmore, 2004a). Schooling is by no means always a benign force for democratic justice. It can promote violence, for example in dehumanizing and inequitable punishment, condoning sexual and homophobic abuse, or indoctrination into militarism, violent masculinities, or hatred of the ‘other’ (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Callender & Wright, 2000; Davies, 2004; Harber, 2004; McCadden, 1998). Through explicit and implicit expectations and reward structures, school and classroom climates can exacerbate (or alleviate) the status competition and prejudice that underlie most harassment and social exclusion (Aronson, 2000; Bickmore, 2002; Gordon, Holland, & Lahelma, 2000). Educators shape and limit (in)equitable opportunities for diverse students to transcend their traditional roles and practice making a difference, for example in student governance, or peer leadership for conflict resolution, anti-bias, or social and environmental change (Bickmore, 2001, 2003; Close & Lechmann, 1997). School social justice education initiatives will not be successful unless they also help to redress inequities in students’ opportunities for educational success (Ghosh, 2004; Maynes & Sarbit, 2000). In an international study, Akiba and colleagues (2003) found that (independent of violence rates outside schools) school systems that reduced the variance between most-successful and least-successful students (for example, because they de-emphasized tracking and/or offered remedial help) also had lower rates of overt physical violence than more competitive systems. Thus citizenship education for social justice includes educators’ roles in shaping the school and school system’s human rights climate, as well as classroom curriculum (Opffer, 1997; Osler & Starkey, 1998; Smith, 2004).

The remainder of this paper investigates how public school teachers might be prepared and supported to build such citizenship capacities. In light of this framework, I then examine the context for teacher professional learning in one large Canadian school district.

A core component of critical citizenship teacher education is to develop teachers’ capacity to facilitate students’ practice with democratic processes and skills. These include dialogue, conflict analysis and resolution, constructive discussion of controversial issues, deliberation and decision-making. Social justice citizenship education applies such processes to various shapes and sizes of interpersonal, political, global, historical and current social questions and problems. Democratic processes are not generic, simple, or technical: questions of unequal power, cultural norms and values, identity and difference, equitable access and voice are inseparable from the processes people use to communicate and make decisions together (e.g. Bickford, 1996; Freire, 1970; Ross, 1993; Young, 1998). Such

individual and procedural capacities are (by themselves) not sufficient to equip students/ citizens for social justice building, but they are certainly a necessary condition. Democracy and social change require conflict management. It seems obvious that students/citizens are likely to gain capacity in democratic processes when they have opportunities to practice these processes, with guidance and feedback, in the classroom. Matters of conflict and fairness are intrinsically interesting (as well as all around us in society), so school knowledge is also more engaging and credible when students have opportunities to practice handling conflicting perspectives. In this postmodern era, alternative (including critical and subaltern) perspectives and knowledges are technically more accessible than ever before. Yet it requires not only pedagogical skill, but also sophisticated subject-matter understanding, for teachers (and teacher educators) to be able handle such complex information in an open (constructively-conflictual) and accessible manner (Kymlicka, 1998, 2003; Parker, 2004; Thornton, 2005).

Any transformation in curriculum depends heavily on teachers' academic and professional preparation. Especially in resource-poor communities, textbooks (although these typically rely on uncritical master narratives and fragmented/overloaded information) often form the main basis for the implemented curriculum (e.g. Milligan, 2003; Tupper, 2005). Official curriculum materials and textbooks (that very often guide teachers' as well as students' knowledge development) too often gloss over or censor critical or troubling information — for example, Laura Finley (2003) asks, "how can I teach peace when the book only covers war?" Other such sources are downright inaccurate. For example, Karen Riley and Samuel Totten (2002) critique several U.S. state-endorsed human rights and Holocaust curricula, pointing to shallow analysis, inattention to multiple factors shaping contexts and events, and historical inaccuracy. Paulette Patterson Dilworth (2004) finds similar kinds of problems, along with a few shining alternatives, in the multicultural content of social studies curricula implemented in selected U.S. classrooms. Robert Nash (2005) cites U.S. Supreme Court decisions ensuring schools' right and responsibility to teach about multiple world religions in a balanced fashion, yet laments that such topics are typically avoided or presented in woefully misleading ways. Even relatively-available resources that could supplement or replace textbooks (such as material found on the internet, in newspapers, and distributed by business-oriented development initiatives) themselves can be shallow, decontextualized, and uncritical of social injustices.

What makes dominant discourse hegemonic is the way it builds an understanding of the status quo as 'natural' or common sense, masking or closing down openings for re-thinking, so that teachers (and students/ citizens) don't even realize what they don't know. Teachers' capacity to discern that some information, topics, or questions are missing or misleading, their knowing where (and why) to find alternatives, are a necessary precondition for students' critical citizenship learning. This is not merely a matter of adding information to the basic master narrative: knowledge transformation that would open the way for social justice would significantly change both which knowledge is developed and how it is interpreted and juxtaposed with other information (Bickmore, 2004b; Pang & Valle, 2004; Woynshner, 2002). Education for difficult citizenship challenges the partial nature of curriculum resources as well as students' prior knowledge. This requires raising questions about the stories underlying geographic, political, and historical phenomena, and thereby "disrupting the repetition of comforting knowledges" (Kumashiro, 2004 p.47). This disruption, in turn, provokes the desire and the need for further knowledge building. Such discomfiting moral and political questioning

is at least as important in teacher education as it is in elementary and secondary classrooms.

Teachers' capacity development for critical citizenship education

The initiatives that show the most promise in meeting teachers' need for deeper, experientially grounded professional development for social justice citizenship education do not involve simple knowledge dissemination. Quantity of knowledge cannot substitute for quality of knowledge, nor for a sense of efficacy (agency) in interpreting and applying that knowledge. The teacher development opportunities that seem to offer this quality tend to be relatively horizontal —built around extended experiences of dialogue, critical reflection on practice, and dissent among peers— rather than the typical vertical, short, administratively convenient dissemination materials or workshops (Little, 1993; McLaughlin, Pfeifer, Swanson-Owens, & Yee, 1986; Solomon, 1995; Wallace & Loudon, 1994). This kind of dialogic teacher learning opportunity is by no means the norm in North American public schools.

Despite recognition of its importance, the professional development currently available to teachers is woefully inadequate ... inservice seminars and other forms of professional development are fragmented, intellectually superficial, and do not take into account what we know about how teachers learn. ... Teachers generally welcome the opportunity to discuss ideas and materials related to their work ... yet, discussions that support critical examination of teaching are relatively rare (Borko, 2004 p.3 & 7).

Research shows that teachers need opportunities to bring artefacts of classroom practice (e.g. lesson plans, videotapes of teaching, student work samples) into discussion-based professional development settings (Borko, 2004; Darling-Hammond, Hammerness, Grossman, Rust, & Shulman, 2005).

A culture of joint educative dialogue among school staff members could be created through schoolwide inquiry and acknowledgement that the curriculum inevitably has moral ramifications that are not (and should not be) neutral: “controversy is inevitable when people talk about things that matter to them” (Simon, 2001 p.219). Facilitation and supportive contexts for such dialogue can arise from inside or outside the school. For example, interactive teacher education pedagogies grounded in carefully-chosen internet-based and United Nations information seem to help build critical, gender-equitable international perspectives and capacities (Crocco & Cramer, 2005; Kirkwood-Tucker, 2004). A series of collaborative dialogues among social studies and English educators from a university and local secondary schools yielded insights about alternate ways to implement a concern for social justice in the classroom (Brandes & Kelly, 2000). In another interesting case, teachers from schools with underachieving African-American students observed master teachers teaching their ‘own’ students in an after-school program (Foster, Lewis, & Onafowora, 2005). Each of these initiatives provoked both dissonance (in the latter case, watching their students doing things the teachers hadn’t known they could do) and dialogue (questioning and problem-solving debriefing among the teachers) to build teachers’ understanding.

Culturally relevant teacher development for difficult citizenship education requires both a critical knowledge base about power and domination (based on

histories of marginalization and oppression) and collective participation in culturally meaningful learning activities (Hesch, 1999 p.380). Many teachers already feel a “deep-seated sense of ambiguity” toward prevailing curricula that reflect fragmented information and a “mythic structure of modernism” amid “postmodern realities” (Richardson, 2002 p.135). Richardson facilitated a collaborative teacher action research effort to find legitimate spaces for teaching pluralist and dynamic citizenship within the existing Alberta curriculum, facilitating learning by surfacing the participants’ deeply conflicting interpretations of national identity. Instead of shying away from such controversy, it is worth seeking out as the motivation and frame for teacher development.

Unfortunately, even the best professional development initiatives that currently exist primarily involve only the unusually motivated individuals who choose to seek out learning opportunities, often donating their own time (Borko, 2004 p.5). The scarcest resource to support such learning, for the broad majority of North American public school teachers, is time during the school day.

Collaborative time for teachers to undertake and then sustain school improvement may be more important than equipment or facilities or even [explicit] staff development. ... Unless the ‘extra energy requirements’ [for school change] are met by the provision of the time, the change is not likely to succeed (Raywid, 1993, p.30, citing research by Fullan and Miles, Louis, and Rosenholtz).

Furthermore, Raywid adds, it is unrealistic to expect teachers to add on thoughtful critical and creative work meetings at the exhausted end of a regular school day. ‘Creating’ that extended, quality professional development time (under conditions of scarcity that prevent adding much staff) requires political will and creativity to redesign existing timetables, add time to school days or school years, and/or change staffing patterns by creating some larger or combined classes to free up other time.

Open, equitable, well-facilitated classroom discussion of important political and moral issues is a necessary, although by itself insufficient, condition for students’ development of social justice citizenship capabilities and motivations. To give such pedagogies life and meaning for democratization requires broadening educators’ international, pluralistic, critical knowledge bases, as these apply to their classroom practice. To facilitate such teacher learning, there is no substitute for ensuring that new and continuing teachers have ample opportunity and support to engage in challenging, dialogic, time-intensive problem-solving learning about specific instances of practice with professional colleagues. Teachers’ participation in discussion-rich learning about crucial issues, incidents, viewpoints and options can facilitate their capacity to engage diverse students, equitably and effectively, in dialogic learning for social justice citizenship.

Professional development for peacebuilding citizenship education in Canada today

I investigated the realities of implementing the above principles, as part of a larger, multi-year study of ‘safe and inclusive schools’ programming and policy infrastructure in a few urban Canadian school districts (for more information about the study, please see Bickmore, 2004a, 2005 forthcoming). By virtue of economies of scale (because they are large school districts with hundreds of schools), such large

urban boards would be more likely than others in their regions to have diversified staff allocated to a variety of programme initiatives and professional development-related activities. Prevailing discourse about teachers' knowledge (which influences the spaces available for learning in these school districts) is reflected in what professional development opportunities are offered and how professional learning is discussed.

For this part of the study, my student team and I examined the teacher resource materials and staff/ services available during 2004-05 in three city school districts in different provinces (including resources from ministry of education, teachers' federation, and other organizations). Further, we interviewed over 40 educators (in eight schools, focusing primarily on two high schools and three elementary schools serving low-income populations, plus centrally-assigned staff) in one of those districts. The focus schools were identified by centrally-assigned safe schools staff on the basis that they all had low-income, high-needs student populations, but had different patterns of student conflict and conflict management (as reflected primarily in suspension rates). The other schools and centrally-assigned staff were identified through 'snowball' sampling, focusing on key informants about programming and services especially relevant to peacekeeping (safety and security intervention and discipline), peacemaking (conflict resolution intervention and practice of dialogue), and/or peacebuilding (long range prevention of harm through inclusivity, overcoming inequities, and social justice education).

Each school board (directly and through allied organizations or government programs) did offer a range of teacher development workshops, the vast majority of these in short one-time meetings after school at central locations (see Table 1). What is striking in the lists of workshops and related resources for school staffs (reinforced by interview data) is the emphasis on short-term control for security purposes, such as crisis intervention, threat assessment, discipline, anti-bullying, internet safety. Even many of the workshops potentially related to peacemaking (such as problem-solving, gentle teaching, managing conflict, fixing broken teams) and peacebuilding (such as cross-cultural competency, youth homelessness, teaching in cultural mosaic classrooms), especially given their short duration, seemed more oriented toward quick-fix management of disruption than toward development of diverse students' citizenship capacities.

With varying degrees of severity in different school boards, staffing and funding for formal professional development, as well as for any joint teacher thinking/ planning time, is extremely scarce. Teachers and school principals report that curriculum changes, coupled with staff cuts, have intensified staff workloads such that there is less time than ever (during their career memories), and fewer resource people to facilitate, opportunities for teachers to talk, work and learn together.

In theory, the board through our division has great programs to offer, and can come out and work with kids, but they're not that accessible. We really haven't had much contact. For example in safe schools, there seem to be only a couple of people for this whole family of schools, and they seem to be run off their feet. Basically I find resources on my own (HS2 T, May 4).

Relatively experienced staff, when asked about the sources of their initiatives, often mentioned an experience they had had at a previous school workplace, rather than any recent formal or informal professional development. Some print resource materials (such as sample lesson plans and teaching kits) relevant to social justice

citizenship are available in board resource centres and on-line. The increasingly-accessible internet does allow some teachers to find resources produced by educators elsewhere (although in some schools there was little paper to print them on). It also facilitates school board leadership staffs' capacity to disseminate materials and information. Yet most teachers reported that they were unable to find the time (above and beyond their existing workloads) to even find and read these materials, never mind to meet with colleagues for even a few minutes to discuss, assess, implement or adapt them for use in their own classrooms.

No, the [printed teaching resource materials] aren't useful: it's time. ... Just trying to manage the needs that the students present on a day-to-day basis ... there just isn't time to make use of those kinds of resources (Elem5 P June 29).

Some staff (especially novice teachers with high needs and motivation) made clear that they didn't know how to access even these basic, generic, non-dialogic resources at all. The sparse curriculum leadership staff surely did reach some individuals, and the people in those leadership positions believed that

if teachers wish to be connected, they can be" (bd. curric. leader, July 6; bd. equity leader, June 15)

However, some teachers, especially those with the fewest years of experience, told a different story:

I realized, students need a forum. They need a place to talk about [bias, equity and peacebuilding issues], without somebody shaking their finger at them and saying 'that's wrong.' So I talked to the principal ... There was a [teacher] equity committee, but it wasn't doing anything. ... So, in January, four of us [restarted the school equity committee] ... Black history month was fast approaching; that seemed like the first opportunity to do something. ... We had kept thinking there must be some kind of information, some kind of Bible for Black history month. There must be teachers doing this all over the city! ... It didn't seem like we should have to be creating all these things from scratch. ... At the same time I was doing my ESL [Additional Qualifications course at the university], and by chance [one of the school board's few remaining equity studies staff] came in as a guest speaker. She had some good ideas and resources. ... If it hadn't been for the ESL AQ course I happened to be enrolled in, and that guest speaker, I wouldn't have known [those resources] existed (HS1 T5, June 3).

Existing formal professional development workshop and curriculum planning opportunities were few, short, fragmented, and nearly always offered only after school hours to teachers who volunteered their time. Labour conflicts that had motivated various bargaining units to work-to-rule during most of the school year caused other staff meetings and seminars to be cancelled or postponed. Some administrative or centrally-assigned staff were able to go off site for an occasional short conference or workshop, but those opportunities were rarer for classroom teachers. Teachers at one high school and one elementary/ middle school did report

having been galvanized into action by one late-April after-school video and workshop on bullying among girls (HS2 T1 May 4, Elem1 T1 May 10). Another teacher reported having attended one slightly-meaningful workshop in recent years:

I can't think of any professional development. Actually that's not true, we had one session that was for mentors and new teachers, about the degrees of inclusivity, multicultural education. ... But otherwise, I've not seen a lot of that. ... and even some of that is just token, like having books with different pictures in them (HS1 T2 May 5).

In some schools, some teachers complained that even basic information was not disseminated, even when they made inquiries (e.g. HS1 T2 May 5). This information vacuum could have direct ramifications for teachers' interpretation of school rules (patterns of implicit citizenship socialization):

we're not a zero tolerance board any more, we're a progressive discipline school, but I don't think most teachers know about that. We have had no p.d. or information about that at all (Elem1 T2, May 10).

Redesigned (increasingly centralized and cost-saving) leadership infrastructure, especially pertaining to high schools, exacerbated the challenge. For example, when the board replaced department headships (which had been subject-specific and included some release time) with restructured headships (responsible for multiple subject areas, often without release time), the capacity to offer professional development support plummeted (curric. leader July 6; HS1 T4 May 13). Even finding a common lunch period for teachers to work together on committees (that would contribute to teacher learning as well as peacebuilding citizenship education opportunities in the school) was a challenge, especially in the high schools (e.g. HS1 T5 June 3; HS2 support staff1 May 11). As one of the school board staff put it,

we don't have thinking time (safe schls. leader2 July 7).

The most serious problem, according to educators in all eight schools as well as centrally-assigned board personnel, was teacher time to talk and work together (with or without a formal professional development facilitator). A provincial government hostile to public education, in power for about ten years until voted out recently, had caused teachers' 'work' to be defined very narrowly as classroom teaching time, while also cutting resources for support infrastructure such as curriculum development leaders, conflict resolution advisors, and student services. An elementary principal explained that, as one consequence of this shift, many of her staff had no access to formal learning time with their colleagues.

At my previous school, we were able to entice people to [attend training in a popular cooperative learning, social skills, and anti-bias program] during the day. Now ... we've kind of limited what we're offering staff, because we don't have the money in the board any more [to release teachers for professional development by covering their classrooms]. So trainings are after school. We've lost some teachers, who have young children [at home] for example, who can't do it after school. I can't afford to pay for supply [substitute] teachers ... Professional development time makes a big difference to staff. Also

...Years ago we used to have a number of [non-teaching] days. Now we have a number of [non-teaching] days for [parent-teacher] interviews, one for the union so we can't do anything in that one, so there's not much (elem3 P April 19).

Furthermore, like many such commercially-produced teacher resource packages, professional developers were only allowed to use the particular material this principal refers to if they had been certified in an expensive training for trainers. Resources to hire one of these trainers, or to get an existing staff member trained, were scarce. It was essentially luck that this school's new vice principal had taken initiative earlier to earn that training certificate, so that she could lead her own staff's inservice workshop series.

However, some innovative principals, supported by area administrators, were able to create exactly the kinds of opportunities for teachers to talk and work together that Borko, Raywid and others recommend. Even though they had no more resources per student or staff member, and if anything fewer explicit peacebuilding citizenship-related programs than any of the other schools in the study, these principals had assigned teachers' work differently in order to make time for dialogue and joint work on an on-going basis. One elementary school principal routinely assigned teachers to work collaboratively with combined grades or integrated divisions (elem2 P & others May 2, May 18, June 30). One high school principal had recently initiated a problem-solving process with all staff, in which every staff member identified issues of concern, and then committees were formed to work on each category of concern. Regular staff meeting time was given over so that these small committees could meet, and the principal had tentative approval to change the students' schedule for the coming year so that these teacher committees could meet every Wednesday morning (HS2 P & others April 26, May 4, May 11). Data analysis is on-going, but it seemed that the staff morale and climates for teacher learning were somewhat more positive in those environments.

Thus there are important exceptions that point toward possibilities for improvement, but the overwhelming finding of this research is that teacher learning for critical democratic citizenship education is profoundly under-supported. The interviews with educators in one district suggest that the vast majority of the scarcest resources (the time of educational leaders who could directly or indirectly support teacher learning) seem to be allocated to intervention after violence has erupted and to short-term control. The discourse of teacher learning primarily describes quick-fix packages and coping with disruption. Most of the currently-available professional development resources in this school district do not even pay lip service to the kinds of teacher knowledge-building pedagogy and collective discussion that we know facilitate inclusive democratic citizenship education. It is not clear that many opportunities for dialogic examination of important difficult issues are provided for most students: It is crystal clear that such opportunities are hardly ever provided for most of their teachers.

Conclusion

The discourse and resources for teacher professional learning evident in these school districts bear no resemblance to what the research suggests is needed to support effective teaching for 'difficult' democratic citizenship. Research literature reviewed indicates that the kinds of pedagogy and curriculum content that could prepare diverse students for constructive engagement in conflictual postmodern

contexts are quite rare in North American classrooms. It shows that teachers' content knowledge, especially about social justice concepts and alternative information sources, is important —along with open, inclusive pedagogies emphasizing dialogue about conflictual perspectives— to students' development of interest and capacity for citizen engagement. Further, research in teachers' professional development shows that, to develop such capacity, teachers want and need sustained, dialogic learning opportunities that attend to practical problems and issues (analogous to what their students need for citizenship learning). Teacher education for peacebuilding citizenship, in particular, cannot be reduced to technical recipes that could be learned in the occasional hour after school. The study of one large public school district shows that these kinds of critical dialogic learning opportunities are very rarely provided or supported for teachers in their in-service workplace environment. If teachers are not enabled to discuss, try out, critique, and re-discuss their citizenship education work, then they are unlikely to offer quality education for democracy to their students.

TABLE 1: Safe & Inclusive Schools-Related Teacher Professional Development Resources

Winnipeg School Division 1 (34000 students)	Halifax Regional School Board (57000 students)	Toronto District School Board (300000 students)
<p>PeaceBUILDING-related</p> <p>Aboriginal/First Nations education</p> <p>Worldviews/awareness (8, some for admin)</p> <p>X-cultural competency</p> <p>Body image/weight preoccupation</p> <p>Diversity (Assn School Superintendents conf)</p> <p>Cross-cultural understanding (Ctr for the Performing Arts workshop)</p> <p>PeaceMAKING-related</p> <p>Comprehensive Assessment Pgm workshops include Social-Emotional learning (other CAP - health, English Language Arts)</p> <p>Problem solving (N-Gr2, Gr4-5)</p> <p>Lions Quest</p> <p>Talking tools</p> <p>Gentle teaching</p> <p>Child Guidance Ctr wkspks including leadership, peer mentoring, teacher advisory</p> <p>Education & democracy (U of MB conf)</p> <p>PeaceKEEPING-related</p> <p>NV crisis intervention</p> <p>Talking about touching</p> <p>Restitution (1 & 2)</p> <p>Behaviour support</p> <p>Positive classroom management & discipline</p> <p>Crisis negotiation (administrators?)</p> <p>Bullyproofing</p> <p>Harassment/intimidation</p> <p>Protecting children/youth on internet</p> <p>Safe Schools Forum (provincial Dept of Ed)</p> <p>Child Guidance Ctr wkspks including gangs info, defiant children</p> <p>Violence in multicultural world –U of MB</p>	<p>PeaceBUILDING-related</p> <p>RCH=Race,X-cultural,HumanRts (admin/drsp)</p> <p>Diversity management</p> <p>Building inclusive schls (5+, conf. grant& Oct PD)</p> <p>Racial equity interdiscip. (conf. grant& Oct PD)</p> <p>Queer eye for straight & not T Oct PD day</p> <p>Youth justice (2) Oct PD day</p> <p>Gender diffs in learning Oct PD day</p> <p>Youth homelessness/preventive Oct PD day</p> <p>Schooling & social justice (conf)</p> <p>PeaceMAKING-related</p> <p>Managing conflict (admin/leadership staff)</p> <p>Tribes (2, conference grants)</p> <p>Managing conflict/strong schl culture (conf. grant)</p> <p>Caring education (St FX U conference)</p> <p>Roots of Empathy Oct PD day</p> <p>Student leadership teams Oct PD day</p> <p>World village Oct PD day</p> <p>Fair trade/global economy Oct PD day</p> <p>Wars have limits Oct PD day</p> <p>Facing fear: terrorism Oct PD day</p> <p>PeaceKEEPING-related</p> <p>NV crisis intervention (5, admin & some Ts)</p> <p>S behaviour & discipline (admin/drsp)</p> <p>Threat assessment (3, w/safe schls consultant)</p> <p>Bullying/ peaceful schools Oct PD day</p> <p>Law, conflict mgt, justice, young offenders (conf.)</p>	<p>PeaceBUILDING-related</p> <p>Tchg in cultural mosaic classrm</p> <p>Equity dept. wkspks (array, limited staff to deliver) (e.g. racism, body image, class bias, homophobia, gender equity, Holocaust ed, linking isms, etc)</p> <p>Equity dept print resources (array)</p> <p>Print & video resources include African & Asian heritage activities, anti-racism, challenging homophobia, Aboriginal studies, disability</p> <p>Fedn print resources include equity school, First Nations activities, community role models</p> <p>Online courses include gender equity, Native studies</p> <p>PeaceMAKING-related</p> <p>Tribes (2+)</p> <p>Cognitive coaching (expensive)</p> <p>Fixing broken teams</p> <p>Listening, handling tough situations (staff & Ts)</p> <p>Critical thinking in organizations (staff & Ts)</p> <p>Emotional intelligence (staff & Ts)</p> <p>(Communication & CR for admin staff only)</p> <p>Print resources include environmental ed, dealing w/ controversial issues, media studies, civics, world politics, social studies g.1-3, healthy active living</p> <p>Teachers federation print resources include critical media Gr.7-8, environmental studies</p> <p>PeaceKEEPING-related</p> <p>Creating safe schools (admin, elem & sec Ts)</p> <p>Internet safety (2)</p> <p>Print resources include Stop Bullying, internet safety for PHE, rules & responsibilities (Gr.1)</p> <p>Bullying/violence (federation conference)</p> <p>Safe/healthy schools (federation conference)</p> <p>Online courses include internet safety</p> <p>Federation wkspks include CALM crisis preventn</p>

Correspondence: KATHY BICKMORE, OISE, University of Toronto, 252 Bloor St. West - CTL Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1V6, CANADA
kbickmore@oise.utoronto.ca

REFERENCES

- AKIBA, M., LETENDRE, G., BAKER, D., & GOESLING, B. (2003). Student victimization: National and school system effects on school violence in 37 nations. *American Educational Research Journal*, 39(4 (Winter), 829-853.
- APPLEBAUM, B. (2004). Social justice education: Moral agency and the subject of resistance. *Educational Theory*, 54(1), 59-72.
- ARONSON, E. (2000). *Nobody Left to Hate: Teaching Compassion after Columbine*. New York: Worth Publishers.
- AYERS, W., HUNT, J. A., & QUINN, T. (Eds.). (1998). *Teaching for Social Justice*. New York: New Press and Teachers College.
- BANKS, C. M., & BANKS, J. (1995). Equity pedagogy: An essential component of multicultural education. *Theory Into Practice*, 34(3), 152-158.
- BICKFORD, S. (1996). *The Dissonance of Democracy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- BICKMORE, K. (1999). Elementary curriculum about conflict resolution: Can children handle global politics? *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 27(1), 45-69.
- BICKMORE, K. (2001). Student conflict resolution, power 'sharing' in schools, and citizenship education. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 31(2), 137-162.
- BICKMORE, K. (2002). How might social education resist (hetero)sexism? Facing the impact of gender and sexual ideology on citizenship. *Theory and Research in Social Education*(Summer), 198-216.
- BICKMORE, K. (2003). Conflict resolution education: Multiple options for contributing to just and democratic peace. In J. Killian (Ed.), *Handbook of Conflict Management* (pp. 3-32): Marcel-Dekker Publishers.
- BICKMORE, K. (2004a). Discipline for democracy? School districts' management of conflict and social exclusion. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 32(1), 75-97.
- BICKMORE, K. (2004b). Education for Peacebuilding Citizenship: Teaching the dimensions of conflict resolution in social studies. In I. Wright (Ed.), *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.
- BICKMORE, K. (2005). Foundations for peacebuilding and discursive peacekeeping: Infusion and exclusion of conflict in Canadian public school curricula. *Journal of Peace Education*, 2(2) 161-181.
- BIGELOW, B., CHRISTENSEN, L., SWOPE, K., DAWSON, K., KARP, S., LEVINE, D., PETERSON, B., & WEISS, D. (2002). Teaching to make a difference: Advice to new Ts from Ts who've been there. *Rethinking Schools*, 13-17.
- BOLER, M., & ZEMBYLAS, M. (2003). Discomforting truths: The emotional terrain of understanding difference. In P. Trifonas (Ed.), *Pedagogies of Difference: Rethinking Education for Social Change* (pp. 110-136). Halifax: Fernwood.
- BORKO, H. (2004). Professional development and teacher learning: Mapping the terrain. *Educational Researcher*, 33(8), 3-15.
- BRANDES, G. M., & KELLY, D. (2000). Placing social justice at the heart of teacher education: Reflections on a project in process. *Exceptionality Education Canada*, 10(1-2), 75-94.
- BUSH, K., & SALTARELLI, D. (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict: towards a peacebuilding education for children*. Florence, IT: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.
- BUTLER, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (2nd edition). London: Routledge.
- CALLENDER, C., & WRIGHT, C. (2000). Discipline and democracy: Race, gender, school sanctions and control. In J. Dillabough (Ed.), *Challenging democracy: International perspectives on gender, education and citizenship* (pp. 216-237). London: Routledge.
- CARY, L. (2001). The refusals of citizenship: Normalizing practices in social educational discourses. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 29(3), 405-430.

- CLOSE, C., & LECHMANN, K. (1997). Fostering youth leadership: Students train students and adults in conflict resolution. *Theory Into Practice*, 36(1), 11-16.
- COCHRAN-SMITH, M. (1995). Uncertain allies: Understanding the boundaries of race and teaching. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65(4), 541-570.
- CROCCO, M. S., & CRAMER, J. (2005). Women, WebQuests, and controversial issues in the social studies. *Social Education*, 69(4), 143-148.
- CURLE, A., FREIRE, P., & GALTUNG, J. (1974). What can education contribute towards peace and social justice? Curle, Freire, Galtung panel. In M. Haavelsrud (Ed.), *Education for Peace: Reflection and Action* (pp. 64 - 97). Keele, UK: University of Keele.
- DARLING-HAMMOND, L., HAMMERNESS, K., GROSSMAN, P., RUST, F., & SHULMAN, L. (2005). The design of teacher education programs. In J. Bransford (Ed.), *Preparing Teachers for a Changing World*.
- DAVIES, L. (2004). *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos*. London: Routledge/Falmer.
- DILWORTH, P. P. (2004). Multicultural citizenship education: Case studies from social studies classrooms. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 32(2), 153-186.
- ELKIND, D. (1995). School and family in the postmodern world. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 77(1), 8-14.
- ELLSWORTH, E. (1997). *Teaching Positions: Difference, Pedagogy, and the Power of Address*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- EPSTEIN, D., & JOHNSON, R. (1998). *Sexualities, nationalities, and schooling, Schooling Sexualities*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- FINLEY, L. (2003). How can I teach peace when the book only covers war? *Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution*, 5(1), 150-165.
- FOSTER, M., LEWIS, J., & ONAFOWORA, L. (2005). Grooming great urban teachers. *Educational Leadership*, 62(6), 28-32.
- FREIRE, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Seabury Press.
- FREIRE, P. (1998). *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- GALTUNG, J. (1996). *Peace By Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development, & Civilization*. London: Sage Publications & International Peace Research Assn.
- GHOSH, R. (2004). Public education and multicultural policy in Canada: The special case of Quebec. *International Review of Education*, 50(5-6), 543-566.
- GORDON, T., HOLLAND, J., & LAHELMA, E. (2000). *Making Spaces: Citizenship and Difference in Schools*. London, UK: MacMillan.
- GUTMANN, A. (2004). Unity and diversity in democratic multicultural education: Creative and destructive tensions. In J. Banks (Ed.), *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives* (pp. 71-96). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass/ Wiley.
- HARBER, C. (2004). *Schooling as violence: How schools harm pupils and societies*. London: Routledge.
- HARRIS, I. (1996). From world peace to peace in the 'hood: Peace education in a postmodern world. *Journal for a Just and Caring Education*, 2(4), 378-395.
- HESCH, R. (1999). Culturally relevant teacher education: a Canadian inner-city case. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 24(4), 369-382.
- KELLY, D., & BRANDES, G. M. (2001). Shifting out of 'neutral': Beginning teachers' struggles with teaching for social justice. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 26(4), 437-454.
- KIRKWOOD-TUCKER, T. F. (2004). Empowering teachers to create a more peaceful world through global education: simulating the United Nations. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 32(1), 56-74.
- KUMASHIRO, K. (2004). *Against Common Sense: Teaching and Learning toward Social Justice*. New York: Routledge.
- KYMLICKA, W. (1998). The theory and practice of Canadian multiculturalism [Available on line: www.fedcan.ca/english/policyandadvocacy/breakfastonthehill/breakfast-multiculturalism.cfm]. Government of Canada (Multiculturalism Secretariat). Retrieved, 2004, from the World Wide Web:
- KYMLICKA, W. (2003). Two dilemmas of citizenship education in pluralist societies. In J. Annette (Ed.), *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice* (pp. 47-63). Aldershot, Hants, UK: Ashgate.
- LADSON-BILLINGS, G. (2004). Forward. In K. Kumashiro (Ed.), *Against Common Sense: Teaching and Learning toward Social Justice* (pp. xiii-xxviii). New York: Routledge.
- LITTLE, J. W. (1993). Teachers' Professional Development in a Climate of Educational Reform. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 15(2), 129-151.
- MÁTRAI, Z. (2002). National identity conflicts and civic education: a comparison of five countries. In J. Schwille (Ed.), *New Paradigms and Recurring Paradoxes in Education for Citizenship: An International Comparison* (pp. 85-104). Amsterdam: JAI/ Elsevier Science.
- MAYNES, B., & SARBIT, G. (2000). Schooling children living in poverty: Perspectives on social justice. *Exceptionality Education Canada*, 10(1-2), 37-61.

- MCCADDEN, B. M. (1998). Why is Michael always getting timed out? Race, class and disciplining other people's children. In B. McEwan (Ed.), *Classroom discipline in American schools: Problems and possibilities for democratic education* (pp. 109-134). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- MCLAUGHLIN, M., PFEIFER, R., SWANSON-OWENS, D., & YEE, S. (1986). Why teachers won't teach. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 67(6), 420-426.
- MILLIGAN, J. (2003). Teaching between the cross and the crescent moon: Islamic identity, postcoloniality, and public education in the Southern Philippines. *Comparative Education Review*, 47(4), 468-492.
- NASH, R. (2005). A letter to secondary teachers: Teaching about religious pluralism in the public schools. In N. Noddings (Ed.), *Educating Citizens for Global Awareness* (pp. 93-107). New York: Teachers College Press.
- OPFFER, E. (1997). Toward cultural transformation: Comprehensive approaches to conflict resolution. *Theory Into Practice*, 36(1), 46-52.
- OSLER, A., & STARKEY, H. (1998). Children's rights and citizenship: Some implications for the management of schools. *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 6, 313-333.
- PANG, V. O., & VALLE, R. (2004). A change in paradigm. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 32(4), 503-522.
- PARKER, W. (2004). Diversity, globalization, and democratic education: Curriculum possibilities. In J. Banks (Ed.), *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives* (pp. 433-458). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass/ Wiley.
- PRINT, M. (1998). From Civic Deficit to Critical Mass: The New Civics Education. Australian Curriculum Studies Association. Retrieved, 2005, from the World Wide Web: <http://www.abc.net.au/civics/teach/articles/mprint/mprint1.htm>
- RAYWID, M. (1993). Finding time for collaboration. *Educational Leadership*, 30-34.
- RICHARDSON, G. (2002). *The Death of the Good Canadian: Teachers, National Identities, and the Social Studies Curriculum*. New York: Peter Lang.
- RILEY, K., & TOTTEN, S. (2002). Understanding matters: Holocaust curricula and the social studies classroom. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 30(4), 541-562.
- ROSS, M. (1993). *The Management of Conflict*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- SALOMON, G., & NEVO, B. (Eds.). (2002). *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, & Practices around the World*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- SIMON, K. (2001). *Moral Questions in the Classroom*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- SMITH, G. A. (2004). Cultivating care and connection: Preparing the soil for a just and sustainable society. *Educational Studies*, 36(1), 73-92.
- SOLOMON, P. G. (1995). *No Small Feat! Taking Time for Change*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- TAWIL, S., & HARLEY, A. (Eds.). (2004). *Education, Conflict & Social Cohesion*. Geneva: UNESCO/ International Bureau of Education.
- THORNTON, S. (2005). Incorporating internationalism into the social studies curriculum. In N. Noddings (Ed.), *Educating Citizens for Global Awareness* (pp. 81-92). New York: Teachers College Press.
- TORNEY-PURTA, J. (1999). *Civic Education across Countries: 24 National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement.
- TORRES, C. A. (1998). Democracy, education, and multiculturalism: Dilemmas of citizenship in a global world. *Comparative Educational Review*, 42(4), 421-447.
- TUPPER, J. (2005, April). Social studies teachers speak up! Uncovering the (im)possibilities of citizenship. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, Montreal.
- VAN GALEN, J. A. (2004). Seeing classes: toward a broadened research agenda for critical qualitative researchers. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 17(5), 663-684.
- WALLACE, J., & LOUDEN, W. (1994). Collaboration and the growth of teachers' knowledge. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 7(4), 323-334.
- WOYSHNER, C. (2002). Political history as women's history: toward a more inclusive curriculum. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 30(3), 354-380.
- YOUNG, I. M. (1998). Polity and group difference: a critique of the ideal of universal citizenship. In A. Phillips (Ed.), *Feminism and Politics* (pp. 410-429). New York: Oxford University Press.

Teaching About Conflict Through Citizenship Education

LYNN DAVIES, *University of Birmingham*

ABSTRACT Beginning from the findings of a research project on the needs of teachers and learners in global citizenship education, this article develops a typology of ten modes of teaching about war and conflict. These range from those processes which are more likely to increase conflict, through neutral or passive stances, to those acting to challenge negative conflict through positive and active learning approaches. Ways to move peace education much higher up the agenda for schools and teacher education are explored. The question of what constitutes ‘useful knowledge’ for global survival is posed, and examples of stimulus material given. An active role for teachers is implied, to tackle both difference among people and indifference about war.

Introduction

One of the starting points for this paper is a research project that a team at the Centre for International Education and Research at Birmingham have just completed on the needs of teachers and learners in global citizenship (Davies, Harber and Yamashita 2004). The project was funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) under their Development Awareness Fund, in the context of the growth of citizenship education in schools and yet some uncertainty about the meanings of ‘global citizenship’ and how it could be taught. Through interviews and observations in case study primary and secondary schools in the West Midlands, we therefore explored what was understood by this notion of global citizenship, and, under this umbrella, what it was that students and teachers thought should be learned. We found that the most outstanding concern for students was war and conflict – and in the current context, not just historically. After giving some detail of these concerns, this paper attempts to develop a typology of different ways that schools teach about conflict before making more general arguments about the importance of peace education within a citizenship education framework, and the role of teachers in tackling both difference and indifference.

Student concerns about war

In our study, student desires for learning content admittedly must be seen against the backdrop of the Iraq war, where debates were raging in the media, and where for some students with relatives either in Iraq or as soldiers there, there was an immediate concern. In some schools the anti-Muslim backlash after 9/11 was also still felt for students and teachers. Students of all ages wanted to know the causes of

war, how war was possible, the reasons for hate, and the reasons for UK involvement in Iraq.

The past behind Iraq, and why it hates like America and stuff so much. The conflict in the Middle East I suppose, what's it all due to... I think North Korea and why it hates America, the past behind the wars and stuff

In Afghanistan and other places where there was war, what happened to them? That's what.

Common phrases were 'we don't really know what's happening' 'how it starts', 'more of the facts, really'. 'what's going to be decided'. A few students wanted to learn about wars 'in the olden days', but for the vast majority the need was for a much more immediate focus:

But it's us learning what's going on now, that's what we want to learn about.

Together with the basic understanding of why it happened and is happening now, comes the need for specific knowledges about war, violence and weapons:

'what the country's actually doing to the people'; 'what other people are doing about it to save it'; 'Why they're torturing them'; 'People who get to make decisions about the war' 'why some countries fight and not others'; 'why do they want the oil in Iraq?' 'Why did they ever invent guns?'

There was genuine puzzlement about how war is possible, why we can't live in peace:

Why can't we just, like, accept other people, like, religion and things like that, and just...they start war about that and things like that...Why do we have to make weapons at all...when we can blow up the world three times, I mean, what's the point of making that...

It was instructive how critical young people were of Blair and Bush. Hypocrisy was not missed, even by primary age children:

Yeah how come we're accusing the Iraqis when America has 'weapons of mass destruction'?

..with the war, is that, if two kids are fighting or something, a grown-up will always come down, 'stop fighting, talk it over', they all say it to us, but they don't do it themselves, so they're real hypocrites really. Because it's true, because they could talk it over, I know it's hard and difficult, but if they wanted too, they could talk it over with Saddam Hussein, I know he's not being really reasonable, but if they wanted to they could push for it so there wasn't a war.

They don't care if they bomb some other country, but if something happens to them, it'd be like the end of the world, no offence like, but that's what they think.

I think it's the Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld from America, it showed a picture of him shaking Saddam Hussein's hand, because when he helped him killing... maybe it was the Kurds I'm not too sure. You just feel you know, this man now, you're saying we've got to destroy this man and ten years ago these two were over here... and it just feels like you're part of a little game really.

Some students would have a sophisticated awareness that there were different sides to the story, and that that the information or spin they got was 'one-sided' or pro-government; they thought they should read other national newspapers to get away from the bias in the UK press..

I think we should have different, other thoughts on other countries, like views on it, because it's a bit one sided and we don't really know what's actually happening. My dad's got like channels in Iraq and it's totally different what they're saying to what we're saying really.

And in the newspaper I saw that they were saying that Muslim religious building, it has biological weapons in it, and that's making assumptions which are untrue.

I think sometimes they want to be more politically correct... I don't know whether that's the right term, but they often want to make sure that they're not going to be seen as going against our government and what we ought to be all thinking..... we're all meant to be thinking that we should definitely going to war and the news is often a lot more biased in that opinion, because the government are pumping it out...

Yet in spite of this thirst for knowledge, understanding and a range of viewpoints, and in spite of a clear potential for critical understanding and social and political critique, students felt they were being short changed. Little about contemporary conflict was ever tackled in depth. Young people of all ages felt they were being sold short in terms of information and understanding:

sometimes it's harder to understand what's really going on because people don't explain in proper detail to us.

Children in one primary school explained how they had done a 'little bit' about World War Two, but next to nothing on the current war.

They only thing we've got to do that is, like, newspapers, kids' newspapers, and there's only, like, half a page, not much.

Some teachers did seize opportunities to tackle current events, but many teachers and headteachers lacked confidence to do this, or were uneasy in dealing with the issues of Iraq or of terrorism. We see in the following quotations almost an empty space where educators' own understandings are not formulated:

Well we haven't really talked to any great extent to be honest, about it, because I don't know much about it myself, we just talked very kind of, almost kind of... just generally about Iraq, like they say 'what do you think Mrs H...?', 'Well I don't know, it's a very difficult question'

The children did mention the horrific images some of them had seen of September 11th, and I think as staff, we didn't know quite how to deal with it. I mean, because of none of us are old enough to remember the war, we hadn't had anything like that happen in our lives, so how were we supposed to cope with it.... So we would just keep to the routine, rather push it to the side I am afraid, in order to help the children settle, because that is what this school needs.

I mean obviously if you're talking about weapons you've got to understand the reason why people have weapons and so we're not just talking about war, we're talking about protection as well. Taking the fact that people are trying to avoid war by having the weapons, I mean that's what the Americans claim, isn't it? And the fact that if one country feels it's stronger than another country then may feel that they won't be picked, I mean Korea is in a similar position at the moment, isn't it, where it's developing weapons. I don't know really, I've not really ever thought about it that deeply to be honest, but the children certainly need to understand the reasons behind what's going on.

While teachers of young children had concerns that children would become anxious learning about current wars, the children themselves were clear they wanted information. Only one mentioned safety issues. Teachers agreed in the main that students wanted and needed to know about war, and that the school had a responsibility given the 'barrage of news'. There was consensus that a complex approach was needed, that war 'isn't about winners and losers', that both sides should be presented, and that alternatives to war should be discussed. For one teacher it was about emotions:

I think the thing that a lot of them missed is they didn't appreciate the passion and the emotion that is involved in the whole issue of conflict in Ireland, I think they were missing that, they couldn't understand why people felt so strongly about it, to them the IRA were just terrorists, they were just completely wrong people who should just be locked up and then throw away the key.

Where there was considerable debate among teachers was how far a teacher should express his or her own views on a conflict, as on political issues generally. The students wanted to know what teachers thought, and, again, felt frustrated when teachers refused to tell them. The majority of teachers interviewed said that they always tried to 'be neutral' and not give their own opinions on issues. A significant conversation with one focus group went as follows:

A: We don't get opinions from other people around the world, it's just like we get it straight from Tony Blair on TV or some of the teachers they just tell you plain facts without any opinions and how they feel about it.

Interviewer: Do teachers say how they feel about it, do you say?

A: Only if you ask them, but they don't really put anything in it.

Interviewer: Do you think it would be good for you to know the teacher's opinion?

B: Yeah I think it's really good, I've got a teacher, I won't mention her name and she's like really good, she has an opinion that there shouldn't be any war and she's really anti-war like myself and I get along with her and it's nice to know that there's somebody.

I will return later to the need for teachers to 'model' commitment. It is not just in UK that children want to know about war, and where teachers are more reluctant. In interviews in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), students were adamant that war should be studied and discussed if lessons are to be learned for future generations and if there is to be an end to the 'fifty year cycle of wars in the Balkans'. Yet for teachers of History, there was a relatively consistent view that a study of the history of the last decade in BiH should not be included in the curriculum; and if it were, only a 'basic outline', and not with 'multi-perspectivity' (Stabbak 2004). In a 2002 study by Harland in Northern Ireland, pupils reported that they would like more help understanding the problems of Northern Ireland, and that this might have a direct benefit to wider society (reported in Arlow 2004).

Our own report concluded that there was a pressing need to include teaching about conflict in teacher education, both in pre and in-service training. Teachers needed confidence in dealing with controversial issues; and they needed preparation in how to tackle current events *as they occurred*. While there are manuals and textbooks on teaching about war and conflict, these normally give examples from past conflicts, or those that are far away. The disposition (and time) to keep up with the news, to work out a viewpoint on it and to tackle contemporary sensitive issues in a multicultural classroom is not something that comes naturally to all teachers. Headteachers, too, were aware of the dilemmas around 'active citizenship' – should pupils be allowed (or encouraged?) to go on a demonstration against war? The reality was very mixed in our project. As well as insufficient preparation, teachers in many countries lack freedom – whether because of traditions of centralised control in countries such as BiH or increasing demands for accountability and standards in a neo-liberal market system in UK or USA. With both teachers and students assessed on narrow 'competences', critical thinking does not enter this scenario.

Approaches to teaching about war

Together with previous work around war, violence and conflict which had resulted in a book entitled *Conflict and Education: complexity and chaos* (Davies 2004), the findings of this project generated thinking around the teaching of conflict in a variety of contexts. It is difficult enough teaching about conflict in so-called stable societies, but how do teachers in conflict zones or societies teach about war? In my book I argued that schools in general may contribute more to conflict and violence than they do to peace, in myriad and complex ways: their competitive selective mechanisms, punishment regimes and cultures of fear, nationalism, support for macho gender cultures, their teaching about 'others' in history, religion and even civics, the teaching of obedience to authority even if (or especially when) this authority is unjust or harmful, and in their neglect to provide secure identities through their curriculum and assessment. Any attempt at analysing the impact of

peace education initiatives has to be seen against this backdrop of what 'normal' schools do. There are a host of different ways in which war and conflict are 'taught', and these will often reflect the overall culture of the school (in spite of 'outlier' teachers who subvert such a culture in different directions).

In the book (Davies 2004) I looked mostly at indirect ways in which schools contribute to conflict, and used complexity theory to show the way various hidden pedagogies and structures combine in this amplification. In this paper, I want to look at the direct and deliberate ways teachers and schools teach about conflict (or deliberately do not), and which of these are likely to be negative and which positive in terms of the likelihood of contribution to peace. I would like to hazard a typology of teaching about conflict, which has ten possibilities forming a sort of continuum from negative conflict to positive conflict. However, it bends more into a circle, as, at both poles, there is more likely to be action as a result of the teaching and learning. See Fig 1. In this discussion I start with the 'negative' end and move to the 'positive' pole. Some approaches would be through history curriculum, some through citizenship, and I will look finally at the potential of citizenship education for using positive conflict and what I term 'interruptive democracy'.

The denigration or 'hate' curriculum

This heading refers to the situation where, usually in history but sometimes in civics or social science textbooks, the enemy is described in graphic and denigrating terms and one's own nation is portrayed in heroic ones. Textbooks in Bosnia in each of the three 'nations' had portrayals of aggressors and victims which were 'not helpful for peace building and reconciliation' (Stabback 2004:60). In Rwanda, the history books portrayed the Tutsi as rich, foreign and oppressive; children were indoctrinated to believe in artificial differences. Textbooks in Sri Lanka in 1970s and 1980s declared the Tamils were the historical enemy of the Sinhalese and stylised the Buddhist Sinhalese, in denial of the historical facts, as the only legitimate heirs of the history of Sri Lanka (GTZ 2004). Mitter (2001) points out for central and Eastern Europe:

Teachers have had to tackle emergency situations in their everyday practice; in some countries this has not come yet to an end at all. In all the countries it started with cancelling certain syllabi and with withdrawing, or at least selecting, application of hitherto valid textbooks...in many schools old textbooks are still used, with "offensive" papers or passages eliminated (p155).

I have certainly seen this in BiH, with names and maps taken out in black felt pen. During the civil war in Lebanon, it was said by a prominent Druze leader that 'the continuing civil war in Lebanon was, in a fundamental way, a war to determine the correct history of the country' (Frayha 2004). The (re) writing of textbooks was a necessary precondition for any lasting settlement.

The 'defence' curriculum

Here conflict is seen as a constant threat, and children are taught how to defend themselves physically against the enemy. Textbooks in both Serbo-Croat and Albanian were discovered after the conflict, teaching both sides how to use mines and booby traps (Davies 1999). The 'Youth Preparedness Programme' in schools in

South Africa during the apartheid era was a classic case of ‘preventive’ military training; but the defence curriculum still continues in BiH and in Korea. Various sorts of military training – whether cadet forces in UK or the preparation for the army courses in Israel - will of necessity contain images of war and of the ‘opposing forces’.

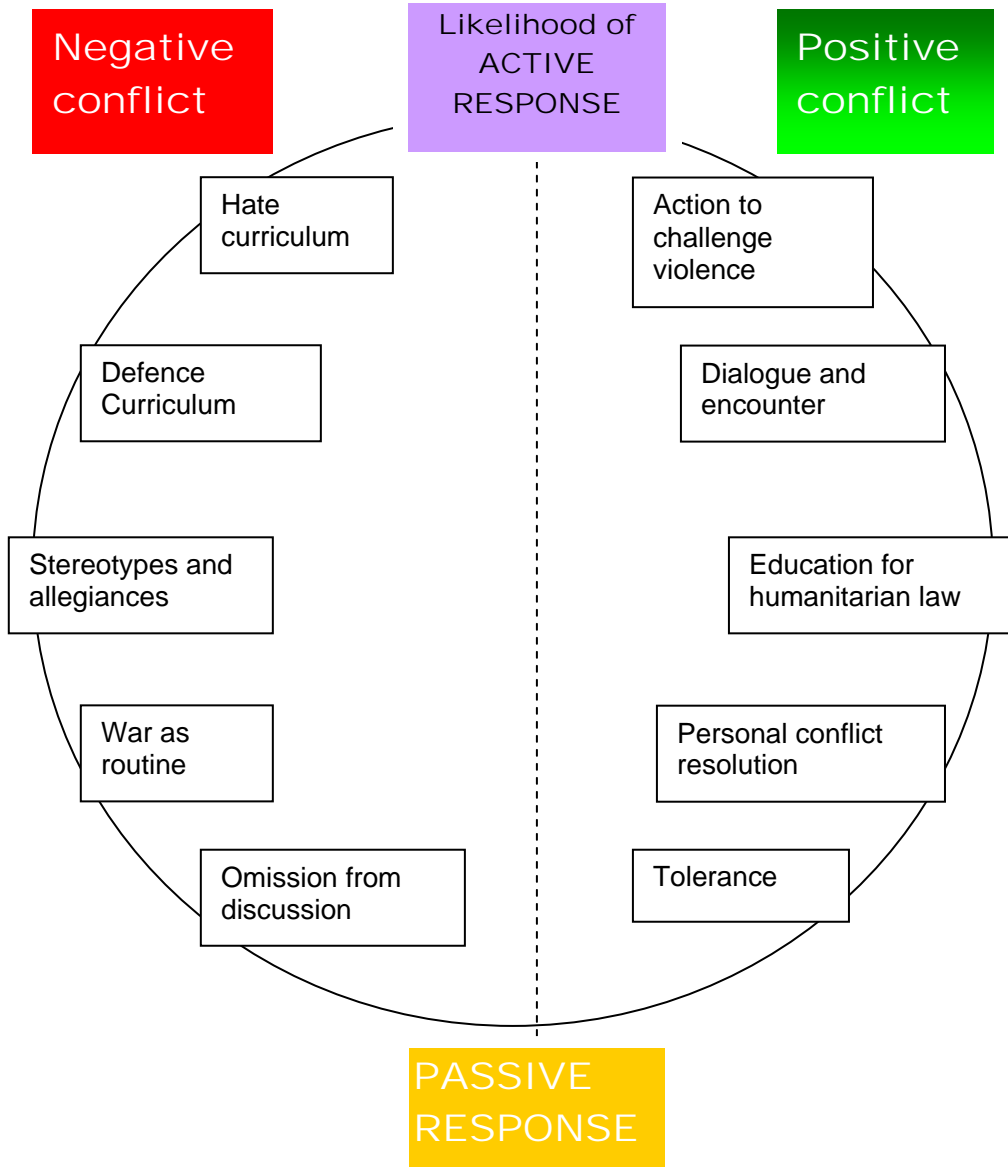


Fig 1 Approaches To Teaching About Conflict

National and transnational stereotypes

War and conflict are taught not specifically as hating or fearing an enemy, but as the result of a stereotypical culture which permeates everyone in that country. The Japanese ‘people’ were waging war on the American ‘people’ or vice versa,

implying solidarity instead of direction by the powerful military or decision-makers. This generalisation now has become transnational, with huge stereotypes about Muslims and the link to terrorists across the globe. Equally disturbing can be the emphasis on allegiance with cross-border 'brothers'. From our UNESCO project (Davies, Harber and Schweisfurth 2002), which reviewed the 7,400 schools in 192 countries committed to the UNESCO ideals of peace, democracy and environment, we found the vast majority of schools were indeed promoting these aims; but we also have photographs of young children in one school in Qatar demonstrating about Jerusalem for the Arabs and burning the Israeli flag, presumably to show general solidarity even though they themselves were not directly at war. Similarly, a report entitled *Jews, Christians, War and Peace in Egyptian School Textbooks* (CMIP 2004) finds the texts arguing that all Arabs and Muslims should support the Palestinians in their struggle, and portraying a very negative image of Jews historically and currently as a treacherous people. In a parallel report about Israeli textbooks, in contrast in no book was there a specific call for war and violence against the Arabs, and Arabs and Islam were presented in a positive light. Nonetheless, while two books had a critique of Israeli policy, the majority of textbooks placed the responsibility for the outbreak of Arab-Israeli wars on the Arabs, and in the ultra-orthodox streams, the language of the books conveyed an air of superiority and negative expressions (CIMP 2002).

The history-as-war-and-chaps curriculum; or war as routine, part of a continuous past

Here there is emphasis on understanding the causes of war, and there may be 'objective' coverage of 'both sides'. Yet war may be presented as a series of 'inevitable' events, with little distinction between them. Krishna Kumar (1996) writes that the freedom movement was portrayed in Indian textbooks just as a quick succession of events, 'hardly capable of making the impression on children's minds that this movement symbolizes a break in India's past' (p39). Perera et al (2004) similarly talk of the history curriculum in Sri Lanka being 'event centred rather than problem centred' (p406). Kumar in a later book (2001) delineates three features in analysing the 'master narratives' of history: the politics of mention (what or who is mentioned or not); pacing; and the conception of the end. The exam system of education means students are socialised and trained to pay more attention to individual facts than to the connections between them, with rapid movement from event to event, constructing an 'episodic memory chain' (p72). India and Pakistan conceptualise 'the endpoint of history' (1947) very differently, and collective memory then takes on a structure of its own. The narratives provide 'memory posters' – scenes of the past hanging free of a time frame – for example, the self-image as a 'fighting people'. Linked to my previous category, Muslim life is portrayed in stereotypical, negative, violent terms: 'Even highly educated, liberal minded Indians regard Pakistani society as basically an army looking for a country' (2001:46).

Omission

Here conflict is played down or not mentioned in curriculum, particularly in conflict or post-conflict states, in order not to 'inflamm' or cement attitudes. A Northern Ireland study of Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) found only a minority of teachers comfortable about dealing with issues related to conflict; the

Youthquest 2000 survey showed only one-third of young people surveyed had specific classes in school which addressed such issues as sectarianism (reported in Arlow 2004). Kumar gives the example in India of the day schools reopened in Delhi after the anti-Sikh riots that followed the assassination of Indira Gandhi, and where tens of thousands of children would have witnessed scenes of brutal killing. Orders had been issued to principals to make sure that children did not discuss the riots in their classes – apparently to convey the idea that normalcy had been restored and so the teachers should follow the normal curriculum. The English teacher was asking the class to use the word ‘arrive’ in a sentence. One child stood up and read out the sentence ‘When a Sikh arrived in Delhi, he was killed by Hindus’. This completely immobilized the teacher – the sentence was grammatically correct and should have received approval; yet she was not permitted to discuss the issues surrounding the sentence. Kumar does not agree with such reluctance embedded in the Indian system of education to acknowledge social conflict and permit children to study them. For Salmi (2000), this would be ‘alienating violence’ or ‘violence by omission’, a form of repression. A recent report of the new and controversial Japanese history and civics books describes them as ‘denial history’, in their deletion of mention of atrocities by Japanese troops in Asia (Times 14.7.2005).

There is admittedly a dilemma here in immediately post-conflict states, particularly in conflict which has arisen between groups who are actually very similar and where difference has been exaggerated or invented, as in BiH or Rwanda. In Rwanda people now do not like to use an ethnic classification for themselves; yet Rutayisire et al are of the view that

....it is not the existence or non-existence of ethnic groups that is important. The problem is that people believe in them and then behave accordingly. Therefore, if Rwandans want to find solutions to social divisions, it is important to talk about ethnic categorisations, ethnicity and ethnic groups, in order to express a consensus as to the truth about them as they are experienced and defined (2004:358).

In Sri Lanka too, it has been argued that the teaching of ‘life competencies’ which was part of the education reform since 1997 aimed at social cohesion was too generalised and abstract. Process factors were ignored in favour of a teacher-centred and even patronising approach (Perera et al 2004).

Tolerance

Here the emphasis is on tolerating the ‘other’, often within a multicultural framework, in order to promote harmony. This takes many shapes, such as tolerance and respect for linguistic diversity, but I have difficulty with unquestioning tolerance – should one tolerate aggression in the name of culture, female genital mutilation, honour killings, that is, any form of violence simply because it is not your culture? If not, then on what basis does one not tolerate or respect ‘others’? It is important to have some sort of framework such as human rights in order to assess competing claims for respect. Human rights and conventions are social constructs and not absolutes, but, like democracy, they are perhaps the ‘least worst’ of the frameworks for analysis of what to tolerate. It is not clear that a framework of religious values can provide this. If a person or group uses their own set of religious norms to analyse and critique another religion or culture, on what basis can they then analyse and critique their own religion, and critique these very values? There needs to be a

cross-cutting international set which can stand outside supernatural belief systems. Tolerance can also have patronising elements, which can even irritate or antagonise. Yet the rationale for tolerance is understandable, and it is a relatively non-threatening way to surface difference and prejudice.

Conflict resolution techniques

Here there is acknowledgement of conflict, and that young people will need skills and strategies to deal with these in their own lives. Under this heading come a number of techniques – conflict prevention, negotiation and bargaining, mediation, arbitration, anger management, consensus seeking and restorative justice. Some of these techniques are used in post-conflict humanitarian education; others in schools in a range of so-called stable countries but where there is recognition of actual or potential violence and tension in the schools or community (Davies 2004). There have been critiques of certain sorts of conflict resolution, for example, that they lay too much emphasis on misperception and subjectivity, rather than reflecting very real genuine clashes of interest and injustice (Mitchell and Banks, 1996); yet schools have found transferring the techniques and ideologies of ‘alternative dispute resolution’ highly useful in providing alternatives to violence and punishment.

Education for Humanitarian Law (EHL)

This is a very specific project which explores ethical issues related to human behaviour in times of armed conflict and war, with modules focusing on the role of citizenship and the need to demilitarise youth and reverse a culture of violence (see for example Tawil 2001). It has been used in Djibouti, Northern Ireland, Lebanon, South Africa and Morocco, and is spreading. The modules bring together international humanitarian law and the ‘hard core’ of human rights law, aiming at the disposition to become involved in protecting and promoting humanitarian attitudes. EHL is distinctive in two ways: first there is an open approach to violence or its legitimacy, focussing only on the conduct of hostilities once armed conflict has broken out; linked to this is the second distinctive focus, on consequences rather than causes – not endless disputes over the histories, but focussing on suffering and destruction. This is less contentious and helps learners come to terms with common experiences (although even here I have found young people both in Kosovo and BiH arguing about who suffered most, a sort of hierarchy of suffering). EHL stresses the need for mobilisation – the values must be translated into community action and the protection of life, health and human dignity.

Dialogue and encounter

Here there is the recognition of ‘difference’, but also the attempt to bring people together of traditionally opposing sides to share perceptions, experiences and emotions. This involves a critical literacy and a higher degree of risk. There are a number of examples of this in Israel/Palestine: Iram (2001) for example describes workshops at Bar-Ilan University to bring together a big range of different ‘identity’ groups in Israeli society for dialogue and to tackle stereotypes. An interesting experiment reported in UK in May 2005 took two rival youth gangs from London to Belfast to live together in a house for a week and talk to local youth: as the organiser said, they would either kill each other or learn to get on. An interesting aspect was that the London gangs could not understand the tension in Northern

Ireland when they were all the same colour; the Belfast youth could not understand why the Londoners were fighting when they were the same religion (Independent 24.4.2005). Encounters are also about having others view your conflict, not just seeing the opposition's views. However, one should not be too romantic about the 'encounter': Smith and Robinson (1996) found for Northern Ireland that there had been an assumption that prejudice and hatred were based on ignorance and misunderstanding; yet increased contact and improved understanding did not necessarily improve relations. One reason was perhaps because teachers rarely progressed towards the more controversial aspects of Education for Mutual Understanding. As with the teachers in our study of global citizenship education, they felt ill equipped to deal with controversial issues and were afraid of doing more harm than good (Arlow 2004). Smith and Robinson point out that initiatives had to move on beyond the polite exchange, and any of the work on encounters (Cockburn's book *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict* is excellent on this) shows the heated and often unresolved arguments and slights that arise between people from long entrenched divided communities with histories of hurt. Feuerverger's descriptions of the Jewish-Arab school for peace is inspiring; yet Tomlinson and Benefield argue that this school has unique features for Israel/Palestine and its output can only be a small number of students. And as Ruta (2004) points out, prejudice can exist while allowing exceptions for specific people (those one meets at encounters). The question for encounters is how far new learning can be spread to others. Yet while no-one says such experiences are easy or a panacea, I would hazard that there is agreement that they are at least a starting point.

Active challenge and experiential learning about conflict

This involves not just conflict resolution but political learning about issues such as the arms trade (returned to below), and encouragement to take an active part in campaigns. Teachers here model resistance to violence and demonstrate how to use their 'agency' – if only to vote or sign petitions. Within this category, or as a point of departure, I like the concept of 'imagining' – engaging young people both rationally and emotionally, so that idealism about a future community is tapped into.

'Playfulness and even a degree of naïveté are integral parts of imagining...but imagining is not the end of the process...students are encouraged to find practical and realistic ways in which they can narrow the gap between the world as it is and their future community, by developing the skills necessary to engage in democratic processes. In doing so they are also exposed to alternatives to violence....' (Arlow 2004, p285)

Holland, too, stresses the importance of imagination in human rights education programmes in Angola, the belief that the present status quo can be changed. It is not just 'critical thinking' but 'critico-creative thinking, in Passmore's concept' (quoted in Holland 2003). Whitehead, in his book *Escaping the Circle of Hate* also talks of the three processes of enabling learners to critique self and society (reflection), how they would like society to be (the vision) and being given the tools to go from A to B (creativity).

Empathy is part of this imagination, as people whose own human rights are not being abused may feel no burning desire to fight for the rights of others. We know

from the research that those people who are more likely to participate in civil society as adults are those who have participated in school democracy, such as student councils or volunteer groups. Schools need to introduce a variety of forums for positive conflict (such as active school councils and committees), and, like EHL, the disposition to act. My argument (which I develop further in *Conflict and Education*) is for the encouragement of positive conflict and ‘interruptive democracy’, a democracy which is not just about representation or even participation, but a democracy which challenges injustice and provides skills, experiences and dispositions in school to take this further.

The limitations of the typology

The reason for ‘bending’ this continuum is that at the poles there is some convergence, in that both to teach hate and to teach co-existence, there needs to be an acknowledgement of difference. On the left is the risk to the nation; on the right is the risk to the immediate situation, individual or school. The least risky are at the bottom of the curve. The problem with classifications is the where to put some problem areas – naturally, not all can be fitted into these ten types, nor do they really neatly form a continuous line or curve. A key issue is of the (unknown) learner response to the teaching. For example, it would not be clear where to put Amnesty International’s Twelve Point Guide for Good Practice in the Training of Government Officials, for as Holland points out in the context of Angola,

AI provides very specific instructions with regard to teaching students about torture. This is a subject that AI encourages the teaching of in the hope that thereby torture can gradually be eliminated as an interrogation practice. The point here is that AI staff members have learned from experience that students don’t always get the message AI is seeking to instil. Rather, some students have been found to be in danger of becoming more skilled torturers as a result of their having participated in these learning sessions (2003:128)

As Whitehead (2003) also indicates, reflection and creativity do not automatically lead to a vision of peace and democracy in an era of cultural relativity. Secondly, there is the important question of where one’s own nation is placed in teaching about conflict. The usual continuum in defining conflict societies is the one Tawil and Harley (2004) portray: Non-conflict \Rightarrow pre-conflict \Rightarrow armed conflict \Rightarrow transition out of violence \Rightarrow post-conflict. Types of education initiative can be attached to these stages (education for prevention, education in emergencies, education for social and civic reconstruction). But where is a country positioned on this which has caused conflict elsewhere? While education for prevention in an internally fragile society might focus on prejudice reduction, how does one ‘prevent’ external aggression, when the majority of people do not have particular stereotypes of the ‘enemy’? On my circle or continuum, it would also be unclear where to place the Four Lessons on the Current Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the Educators for Social Responsibility organisation in USA. It has superb coverage of the conflict in terms of all the different points of view, rationales for action, asking children to think about who was right, to debate and to share ideas. Yet the lessons stop short of inviting any response from children in terms of what they then do with this new thinking, these new understandings. The lessons are implicitly critical of Bush, or at

least present the critiques; yet it would be interesting to observe the lessons and see whether children express frustration at their own lack of empowerment.

In stable societies, there is sometimes no tackling of government violence at all. The curriculum materials or the teaching leaps from the personal (how to break up fights, to deal with sibling rivalry) to the international (the Holocaust) with nothing in between. There is the understandable aim to begin with the personal and then think global, but there is a curious omission of the national. This is what was being picked up by the young people in our study – what was UK's responsibility in the Iraq war? If the national is not tackled, the learning jumps from immediate Personal/Social curriculum to civil war elsewhere, from Janet and John to genocide, in one great leap. The reluctance of course to criticise one's own government would not be confined to UK, but presumably is there in many countries. There is an issue in England and Wales that the introduction of the citizenship curriculum has meant decisions on where that should be positioned in schools, and there is the possibility (danger?) that it gets taken over by PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education). The necessary political element gets sidelined in favour of the individual, the family and possibly the workplace, but not the government or religious authorities.

The centrality of peace

This leads to the central reason for examining how conflict (and peace) are taught, which is, to move this up the agenda. We are living in a bizarre or surreal educational age. Arguably, the most important threats to our survival are war, disease and environmental degradation. Yet peace education, health education and ecology are not the top curriculum areas in any school or country that I know of. The international comparative studies of 'achievement' are all based on maths, science or literacy (although citizenship is now part of international comparisons). Yet while the justifications are that these subjects are the basis of understanding of the big issues, unless they are put into a political framework, there is no way of knowing – or comparing – to what use they are put. Hitler was highly educated, literate, and possibly very good at maths. As Rutayisire et al reveal for Rwanda:

... a closer look at the education system before the 1994 genocide reveals that the education system – and specifically the school curriculum – failed the nation. How else would one explain the criminal activities of teachers, doctors, lawyers, priests, nuns, bishops, and any other profession one could think of? What had gone wrong with the education system? (2004:345)

Sommers points out that Education For All targets cannot even get off the ground in some countries until the major donors 'aggressively support education in advance of, during and immediately after wars' (quoted in Tomlinson and Benefield 2005); yet my (and others') question is always, what sort of education, and how will this education tackle the peace and stability which is essential for equity?

What is needed is the alternative PISA (the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment) – if one is going to have comparative studies of achievement, then let us name and shame by looking at different countries' student achievement in peace education, citizenship education, education for social justice, human rights education, environmental education and so on. In Rwanda, Rutayisire et al point out that in spite of the emphasis on increasing access and improving 'quality', very little attention has been paid to these key areas of learning. If there were, I argue

that this would force the consideration of how we measure 'achievement' and 'impact' in these fields, and the role of the school in preparing future citizens who will be active in trying to achieve social 'goods'. One could at the very least have a league table of how much time was spent on these areas, and correlate with indices of social cohesion or national development. Interestingly, there is very little to substantiate the idea that masses of time spent on maths helps national growth or productivity; the work of Aaron Benavot which correlates instructional time to changes in GDP in different countries finds no effect of maths and language on economic growth, but a positive impact of music and arts (see Benavot 1992). This may not be surprising: one of our students has just completed a very interesting piece of research which looked at music and empathy (Laurence 2005), and the power of 'musicking' (that is making music, collectively) in fostering empathy and engagement. International music events to bring people together, as they have done in Israel/Palestine, and in South Africa, may be preferable to an internationalisation strategy which focusses on competitive sport. In another research project at Birmingham, we are looking at the impact of school councils on achievement and behaviour: it was interesting that when asked what they thought about the training for school councillors, the students said that they liked it because 'everyone was cooperating'. This seemed such at odds with their normal classroom or playground experience, that it was worth their commenting on.

The links of peace education and gender equality might be another interesting correlation. UNDP (2002) talk of the issue of bringing women to the negotiating table – in most cases women are almost completely excluded from post-war decision-making. Women bring to the peace table a practical understanding of real life security concerns, and a commitment to peace. There has been some progress – 25 seats have been allocated to women in Somalia, 2 in Afghanistan. UNDP provide the correlations between economic growth and gender equity: it would be instructive to do the same for peace.

Various research projects would be indicated from the above discussion. As well as the correlational studies of time spent on peace education against economic growth, one study would be based around the hypothesis that teaching about and through positive conflict, using interruptive democracy, will help academic achievement. The third explores how regular schools in countries in active conflict or civil war actually teach day-to-day about that – in Sri Lanka, in Colombia, in Israel/Palestine, in Sudan. In Lebanon, for example, the 1997 civics curriculum added new topics such as the issue of Palestine, the Lebanese resistance to Israeli occupation, the value of liberation, the importance of social coexistence and unity, patriotism 'and so on' (Frayha 2004:196). The history curriculum too now includes 'sensitive events'. Yet we do not know exactly how these are taught, and the relative balance between patriotism and coexistence externally. Interestingly, it has been found in recent studies in Lebanon that public school students show greater tolerance toward sectarian differences, presumably more than private school students, so impact studies are beginning there. We need many more of them.

What is useful knowledge?

Given this aim to move education for peace (and hence education about conflict) up the agenda, we need to establish what is useful knowledge for global survival. What knowledge might lead to positive action? We live in a quiz age: with their permission, I reproduce a multiple choice quiz from the latest Oxfam manual *Making Sense of World Conflicts* (2005), which is a wonderful resource.

Armed Conflict Quiz

1. Out of approximately 193 countries in the world, how many are currently experiencing armed conflict? 21; 42; 67
2. What proportion of the world's countries spends more on the military than on health-care services? One-fifth; one-third; half
3. Which country spends the most on arms and weapons per head of population? Israel; Kuwait; Saudi Arabia
4. Between 1997 and 2001 what percentage of developing countries experienced a civil war? 26% 41% 56%
5. In the first world war, what percentage of casualties were civilians? 14% 67% 90%
6. What percentage of casualties were civilians in the second world war 14% 67% 90%
7. What proportion of those killed in conflict since 1989 have been civilians? 14% 67% 90%
8. In 2003, which country in the world had the most refugees? Iran; the UK; Pakistan
9. How many children are estimated to be involved in conflicts worldwide? 3,000 30,000 300,000
10. How many small arms (guns and other hand-held weapons) are manufactured each year? 3 million 8 million 12 million

Answers: 42; one-third (an average of \$22 billion a year is spent on arms in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America; from 1998 to 2001 the USA, UK and France earned more income from arms sales to developing countries than they gave in aid); Kuwait; 56%; 14%; 67%; 90%; Iran; 300,000 (the UK was the last country in Europe to use child soldiers in wars, although can still deploy under 18s if necessary); 8 million (there are approx 639 million small arms in the world today, produced by more than 1,135 companies in at least 98 countries; 8 million new weapons are produced each year).

As well as giving ideas on how to use today's headlines, one of the beauties of the Oxfam book is indicating to learners how to challenge the arms trade and send in their protest. This would also apply to landmines: from UNDP we learn that, reflecting pressure from some 1,400 civil society groups in 90 countries, the 1997 Mine Ban Treaty has been ratified by 123 states. Yet major countries such as China, the Russian Federation and the United States have not signed the Mine Ban treaty (UNDP 2002); 90 countries are still heavily affected by landmines and unexploded ordinance, with 15,000-20,000 mine victims each year. Albania is a good example of the effort to collect and curb the flow of small arms – nearly a third have been retrieved, and more than 100,000 weapons destroyed. 'The programme's success can largely be attributed to extensive public awareness and advocacy highlighting the socio-economic impact of small arms...direct community participation has been invaluable in the exchange of looted weapons for public works support such as road construction, school rehabilitation and installation of street lights and public telephones' (Oxfam 2005:97). Action does not have to be purely altruistic, but can rest on people's pragmatism too.

Yet security institutions can be part of the problem. Soldiers need a broadly based education that teaches them to respect human rights and abide by the principles of democratic governance. There is interesting consensus building among the Bosnian armies, with joint training exercises, stringent selection criteria and the first multiethnic Bosnian contingent to serve as UN military observers abroad

(UNDP 2000). We are seeing however in UK and US the problem of poorly trained and bored soldiers treating prisoners with brutality and inhumanity: this needs discussing in schools as well as tackled directly in army education. What is being done in the name of bringing democracy? Another quiz which is a useful stimulus for teaching or teacher education is the one compiled by the historian William Blum:

Here is a list of countries that the US has bombed since the end of the World War II.			
China 1945-46 Korea 1950-53 China 1950-53 Guatemala 1954 Indonesia 1958	Cuba 1959-60 Guatemala 1960 Congo 1964 Peru 1965 Laos 1964-73 Vietnam 1961-73	Cambodia 1967-69 Grenada 1983 Libya 1986 El Salvador 1980s Nicaragua 1980s Panama 1989	Iraq 1991-1999 Sudan 1998 Afghanistan 1998 Yugoslavia 1999 (And now Iraq 2004)
<p>In how many of these instances did a democratic government, respectful of human rights, occur as a direct result? Choose one of the following:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">0 zero none not a one zip a whole number between -1 and +1 zilch</p>			

Together with learning about democracy, surrounding all positive conflict teaching is the emphasis on human rights, and there are an increasing number of good manuals on these. As argued earlier when discussing ‘tolerance’, rights would form a bedrock of useful knowledge. In terms of conflict at national levels, there is the problem that anti-terrorist measures often risk violating human rights – prohibition of torture, freedom from arbitrary arrest, presumption of innocence, right to a fair trial and rights to freedom of opinion, expression and assembly. Children in schools are subject to many of these deprivations of rights, and one does not need a lot of empathy teaching to make connections. Given that teachers may be part of these deprivations of rights, teacher education has a clear duty to cover such areas.

Action or indifference?

Citizenship education can make a valuable contribution to positive conflict and interruptive democracy, but it needs to deal with two things: difference/identity and action for state accountability. It has the task of challenging exclusionary nationalist subjectivities and identities, and replacing these with some sort of citizen or global citizen identity, and this is difficult and messy. Democratic citizenship is in some ways unpredictable. It has to surface difference and yet determine how, where and when difference can be legitimately be ‘represented’ and who counts as different in the political arena (Werner and Yuval-Davis 1999:2). Secondly, citizenship has to talk of rights, responsibilities and duties, and civic service should indeed be recognized as an ‘act of citizenship’; yet also recognized, according to D’Amico (2000), should be ‘public dissent and civil disobedience, which clearly take seriously the responsibility of the citizen to hold the state accountable for its actions’ (p119). This again is much harder for teachers than encouraging voluntary work, but in the

end holding the state accountable has to be a crucial aspect of citizenship education. Teachers have to model commitment to action, and teacher education has a role in preparing dispositions to act. This does not have to be all about marches and demonstrations, but can be participation in 'citizen research', which examines problems and conflicts in the community and adds to national data bases to assist or demand policy. National and international groupings on the internet are becoming key sites for citizen action.

I give two examples to end with. Kumar analysed sixty essays he asked children to write on the topic of the 'Division of India and Pakistan'. He found expressive writing going far beyond the textbook, which is encouraging; but in both countries a 'sense of tiredness as an overarching theme, forming a kind of bridge'. The sources were remarkably similar: one source was the wastefulness of war; and the other was Kashmir. Children wanted to forget differences and move forward.

'True, these sentiments sound treacly except for the anguish that recurs, sometimes taking the form of anger, and other times of grief. And none of them gives evidence of more than a nominal awareness of the nature of the problem. As a topic of study, Pakistan is taboo in Indian schools, and the same applies to India in Pakistan. The syllabus and textbooks of history stop at 1947. Yet this past 'becomes a resource for keeping misgivings and enmity alive'.

Equally, as Gallagher (2004) points out, the Holocaust was achievable because of the politics of hate, but also because of 'indifference'.

[The Holocaust] was possible both because those who wanted to impose death actively pursued their goal and those who might ordinarily be expected to oppose such a measure, often did little or nothing. If the Holocaust could be explained in terms of a particular national group or cultural history then it would be easy to avoid in the future. If it is explained by indifference, or something akin to indifference, it could all too easily happen again' (p6)

We cannot afford to either to keep enmity alive nor to keep indifference alive. Schools and teacher education can be deeply complicit in both, but if positive conflict can be given a key priority, then this might make a small contribution to creating a generation which did not take war and violence for granted.

Correspondence: LYNN DAVIES, Centre for International Education and Research, School of Education, University of Birmingham.

REFERENCES

- ARLOW, M (2004) 'Citizenship Education in a Divided Society' in S.Tawil and A. Harley (2004) Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion Geneva: UNESCO International Bureau of Education
 BENAVIDES, A (1992) 'Curricular content, educational expansion and economic growth; Comparative Education Review 36,2, 150-175
 CIMP (2002) Arabs, Palestinians, Islam and Peace in Israeli School Textbooks New York: Centre for Monitoring the Impact of Peace

- CIMP (2004) *Jews, Christians, War and Peace in Egyptian School Textbooks* New York: Centre for Monitoring the Impact of Peace
- COCKBURN, C (1998) *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict* London: Zed Books
- DAVIES, L (1999) *Education in Kosova Report to British Council*
- DAVIES, L (2004) *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos* London: RoutledgeFalmer
- DAVIES, L, HARBER, C AND YAMASHITA, H (2004) *Global Citizenship: The Needs of Teachers and Learners Report of DFID Research Project*, Birmingham: Centre for International Education and Research
- D'AMICO, F (2000) 'Citizen-soldier? Class, race, gender, sexuality and the US military' in S.Jacobs, R.Jacobsen and J. Marchbank (eds) *Strates of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance* London: Zed Books
- EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY (downloaded 11.4.2005) *Four Lessons on the Current Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* Prepared by Alan Shapiro www.esmetro.org/currentpalestine.html
- FEUERVERGER, G (2001) *Oasis of Dreams Teaching and Learning Peace in a Jewish-Palestinian Village in Israel* London: RoutledgeFalmer
- FRAYHA, N (2004) 'Developing Curriculum as Means to Bridging National Divisions in Lebanon' in S.Tawil and A. Harley (2004) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* Geneva: UNESCO International Bureau of Education
- GALLAGHER, T (2004) *Education in Divided Societies* Basingstoke: PalgraveMacmillan
- GTZ (2004) *Education and Conflict: the role of education in the creation, prevention and resolution of societal crises – consequences for development cooperation* Klaus Seitz, Eschborn: GTZ
- HOLLAND, T (2003) 'Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in Postconflict Angola' in Uwazie, E (ed) *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education in Africa* Maryland, USA: Lexington
- IRAM, Y (2001) 'Education for Democracy in Pluralistic Societies' in L.Limage (ed) *Democratizing Education and Educating Democratic Citizens* London: RoutledgeFalmer
- KUMAR, K (1996) *Learning from Conflict* Hyderabad: Orient Longman
- KUMAR, K (2001) *Prejudice and Pride: School Histories of the freedom struggle in India and Pakistan* New Delhi: Penguin
- LAURENCE, F (2005) *Music and Empathy* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham
- MITCHELL, C AND BANKS, M (1996) *Handbook of Conflict Resolution* London: Pinter
- MITTER, W (2001) 'Education for Democratic Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe in the Mirror of Globalisation and Transformation' in L.Limage (ed) *Democratizing Education and Educating Democratic Citizens* London: RoutledgeFalmer
- OXFAM (2005) *Making Sense of World Conflicts. Activities and source materials for teachers of English, Citizenship and PSE* Written by Cathy Midwinter. Oxford: Oxfam GB
- PERERA, L, WIJETUNGE, S AND BALASOORIYA, A (2004) 'Education Reform and Political Violence in Sri Lanka' in S.Tawil and A. Harley (2004) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* Geneva: UNESCO International Bureau of Education
- RUTAYISIRE, J, KABANO, J AND RUBAGIZA, J (2004) 'Redefining Rwanda's Future: The role of curriculum in social reconstruction' in S.Tawil and A. Harley (2004) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* Geneva: UNESCO International Bureau of Education
- SALMI, J (2000) *Violence, Democracy and Education: Analytic Framework* LCSHD Paper Series No 56
- SMITH, A AND ROBINSON, A (1996) *Education for Mutual Understanding: The Statutory Years* Coleraine: University of Ulster
- STABBACK, P (2004) 'Curriculum Development, Diversity and Division in Bosnia and Herzegovina' in S.Tawil and A. Harley (2004) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* Geneva: UNESCO International Bureau of Education
- TAWIL, S (2001) 'Exploring humanitarian law: armed conflict and education for social cohesion' *Prospects* 30,3: 293-306
- TAWIL, S AND HARLEY, A (2004) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion* Geneva: INESCO International Bureau of Education
- THE TIMES (2005) 'Pupils to learn 'denial history'' 14.7.2005, p 13
- TOMLINSON, S AND BENEFIELD, P (2005) *Education and Conflict: research and research possibilities* London: NFER
- UNDP (2002) *Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World Human Development Report 2002* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- WERBNER, P AND YUVAL-DAVIS, N (1999) 'Introduction: women and the new discourse of citizenship' in N.Yuval-Davis and P.Werbner (eds) *Women, Citizenship and Difference* London: Zed books
- Whitehead, J (2003) *Escaping the Circle of Hate* Nottingham: Heretics Press

Citizenship Education In Pakistani Schools: Problems And Possibilities

BERNADETTE L. DEAN, *Aga Khan University, Institute for Educational Development*

ABSTRACT A critical aspect of education that is often overlooked or inadequately addressed is the preparation of school students for citizenship. This paper assesses the current state of citizenship education in Pakistani schools. It draws on the findings of two research studies: an analysis of the social studies curriculum and textbooks and a review of teaching and learning practices in schools. The findings indicate that the curriculum and textbooks do not distinguish between Islamic education and citizenship education and promotes exclusionary and passive citizenship. They also shows that while Pakistani students acquire knowledge and learn some important values in schools, they do not learn the skills (problem-solving, decision-making) and values (civic mindedness, critical consciousness) required for effective participation in democratic life. The paper finally suggests what a teacher education program should include if teachers are to prepare students for informed, responsible and participatory citizenship.

Introduction

One of the most important goals of education is the preparation of young people for their role as citizens. The problem, however, is that many countries including Pakistan do not give citizenship education the importance it deserves, nor use approaches appropriate to the development of informed and participatory citizenship. (Dean, 2000; Kerr, McCarthy and Smith 2002; Torney-Purta and Amadeo 1999)

In 2002, the Aga Khan University, Institute for Educational Development (AKU-IED) became a partner in a Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) funded Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities Pakistan (CRRP) project. The Project aimed to improve citizenship education in Pakistani schools through the development of supplementary curriculum materials; the development of a cadre of teachers to educate for citizenship; and the formulation of a national citizenship education program in Pakistan.

Prior to the project the CRRP team at AKU-IED assessed the current state of citizenship education in schools. Two research studies: an analysis of the social studies curriculum and textbooks used in Pakistani schools and a review of teaching and learning practices in citizenship education were conducted. This paper shares the findings of these studies and suggests how citizenship education can be promoted through teacher education.

BACKGROUND

Since its independence in 1947 Pakistan has had a distinct political transition every ten years. With each political transition a new education policy was developed. Each aimed to prepare ‘good citizens’ but instead, reproduced the government’s ideology and its conception of citizenship and citizenship education (Althusser 1972).

The Pakistan Education Conference 1947

Pakistan was born in the aftermath of World War II, after a long struggle for freedom from colonial rule. After independence, Pakistan faced multifarious problems: communal conflict, language riots, and administering two dispersed territories. While dealing with the immediate problems, the government also addressed the long-term objectives of national development. One being the reorientation of the colonial education system “on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture and having regard for the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place over the world” (Ministry of Interior (Education Division) 1947, p.5).

The educational system was entrusted the task of building a “modern democratic state” and educating citizens in “body, mind and character” to live a good life themselves and improve the lives of others. To accomplish this task, it would be “animated and guided” by the Islamic principles of “universal brotherhood of man [sic], social democracy and social justice” and the “democratic virtues of tolerance, self-help, self-sacrifice...”

Fazlur Rehman, then Education Minister explained that the aims of education in a democratic society must be holistic. He suggested that the sociopolitical element entail “training for citizenship.” He stated,

The possession of a vote by a person ignorant of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship... is responsible for endless corruption and political instability. Our education must ...[teach] the fundamental maxim of democracy, that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance and it must aim at cultivating the civil virtues of discipline, integrity, and unselfish public service.(Ministry of Interior (Education Division) 1947, p.8)

He noted that education must serve to make all members of the body politic citizens of Pakistan, “no matter what political, religious or provincial label one may possess” (Ministry of Interior (Education Division) 1947, p.8). Thus, the educational conference envisioned an educational system that would prepare citizens with the knowledge and dispositions needed to create a democratic society.

The Sharif Commission Report

In December 1958, the Martial Law Government of Ayub Khan appointed a Commission to develop a national education system. The commission identified two limitations in society which education should address: the lack of national unity as evidenced by passivity and non-cooperation in public affairs and the failure to make “technological progress.” (Ministry of Education, 1959, p.11)

To facilitate technological progress the policy suggested a differential education system. Education for leaders would focus on knowledge acquisition and character development; whereas that for a large skilled labour force would be vocational education. Thus, each stage became a terminal stage with educational institutions and opportunities decreasing at each higher stage. Rather than universal education, it emphasized quality education at the tertiary level in the belief that the economic benefits accruing would 'trickle down' to the poor. This did not happen and Pakistan has become one of the most illiterate and disparate nations in the world today.

To develop national unity a uniform school curriculum was developed and the government prescribed textbooks for classes 1-12. Religious education became compulsory at elementary school. History, geography and civics were merged to become social studies with citizenship education as its aim. The social studies was designed to teach students about the problems facing Pakistan, their rights and responsibilities and to act as useful and loyal citizens. (Ministry of Education, 1959)

The New Education Policy 1972-1980

The education system radically changed direction after the Bhutto government was overthrown in a military coup in 1977. The Martial Law Government of General Zia-ul-Haq announced a new National Education policy in 1979. The policy aims were the Islamisation of society, and citizenship education the development of citizens as true practicing Muslims.

Fearing that the provinces of West Pakistan would follow East Pakistan, the aim of the education policy became to build "national cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony". To achieve this aim the government decided to reduce societal inequality and encourage people's participation in the decision-making process. It took the radical step of nationalizing "all privately-managed schools and colleges" and encouraged "active participation" of citizens in the universalization of elementary education (Ministry of Education, 1972, pp. 6, 35). In addition, it set up a National Curriculum Bureau to revise the curriculum. It introduced Pakistan studies in classes 9 and 10 to develop patriotism and build national unity. These steps were important for citizenship as it called for people's participation in ensuring the rights of others and working together to build the nation.

National Education Policy and Implementation Program 1979

The education system radically changed direction with the 1979 policy of the Martial Law Government of General Zia-ul-Haq. The policy aims were the Islamisation of society, and citizenship education the development of citizens as true practicing Muslims.

The "highest priority" was given to the revision of curricula so that "Islamic ideology permeates the thinking of the younger generation," and society is refashioned according to Islamic tenets (Ministry of Education, 1979, p.2). Separate "institutions" and "curricula" were prepared for female education related to the distinctive role assigned women in Islamic society (ibid. p.3). Islamiyat and Pakistan Studies were made compulsory at the undergraduate level. For the first time, there was a chapter entitled, "Education of the Citizen." The purpose of which was to "impart the teachings of Islam," to the uneducated masses to prepare them for "a clean, purposeful and productive life." (Ministry of Education, 1979, p.30)

Nowhere in the policy, are the Islamic values or the character and conduct of a true Muslim, explained. Because 96% of the people of Pakistan are Muslim the

assumption is that the ideology is part of the people's consciousness (Apple, 1990). But as Kazi (1991) points out it is important to make these values explicit, given the contradictory definitions of Islam among various sociocultural groups in Pakistan. Furthermore, the aims of education resemble the aims of Islamic education "reflecting in this respect a very narrow view held by a minority among Muslims that all education be that of Islamiyat" (Nayyar and Salim 2004, p.ii). The policy defines citizenship in exclusionary terms. It excludes non-Muslim Pakistanis from being Pakistani citizens, and women from equal citizenship by educating them for a different role.

The National Education Policy 1998-2010

The aims of the National Education Policy (NEP) 1998-2010 are similar to the 1979 policy, that is, to create "a sound Islamic society" through education that serves as "an instrument for the spiritual development as well as the material fulfilment of human needs". To support this aim, it quoted the message of Pakistan's founder to the first Education Conference, where he defined the purpose of education as the development of the "future citizens of Pakistan". Citizens, he felt, should be provided education "to build up our future economic life" and "build up the character of our future generation" so that they would possess "the highest sense of honour, integrity, responsibility and selfless service to the nation." (National Education Policy, 1998-2010, p.5).

There are contradictions in the two positions. Jinnah envisaged Pakistan as a democracy in which all citizens are equal members of the state and the purpose of education, the development of all citizens of Pakistan. This policy views Pakistan as an Islamic state and defines citizenship in exclusionary terms. Moreover, while both view the purpose of education as the creation of productive and useful worker-citizens, Jinnah also emphasizes character education to prepare responsible and service-oriented citizens.

Nations make efforts to develop a national identity so that members of the state, despite being different share an identity and act in the interest of all. If Pakistan wants to create a democratic society, she must develop a sense of belonging among her citizens by emphasizing unity in diversity and treating all equitably as Jinnah envisioned. She will then be able to demand and receive contributions to development and prosperity from all her citizens.

RESEARCH METHODS

Curriculum and textbook analysis

The team examined the 2002 social studies curriculum to identify how the curriculum aims, organization and structure served citizenship education. To analyse the textbooks they developed a textbook analysis instrument based on the work of Grant and Sleeter (1991). It consists of seven different categories: illustration analysis, people mentioned analysis, language analysis, institutions analysis, storyline analysis and end-of-the-chapter exercise analysis.

Illustration analysis involves identifying who or what the illustration is about: the setting, the nature of the action, the message and any stereotyping. People are analysed to identify each person by age, sex, ethnic group and social class. Further, the reason for inclusion such as their role, whether alone or with others, the message

and stereotyping if any is identified. Institution analysis is used to identify the nature of the work, the processes used and values promoted by institutions. Language analysis involves the identification of words/sentences that are value laden, contain stereotypes, obscure viewpoints and convey citizenship related messages. Storyline analysis involves identification of the story being told, the main message of the story and what the author intends the reader to learn about. And finally the end-of-the-chapter exercise analysis seeks to identify the nature of the knowledge, skills and dispositions promoted.

We analyzed twenty social studies textbooks. The textbooks for classes III-VIII and the Pakistan studies text for classes IX and X (Sindh Textbook Board) prescribed for students studying in the Matriculation system; the social studies texts for classes I-V (Oxford University Press, Karachi) and geography and history texts for classes VI-VIII (Oxford University Press, Hong Kong) used by students studying in both the Matriculation and Cambridge systems; and the Environment of Pakistan (Peak Publishers) and Introduction to Pakistan studies (Caravan Book House) generally used in classes IX-X in the Cambridge system.

Each team member was assigned a set of textbooks for analysis. Each chapter in the textbook was read, the questions in each category systematically asked and answers noted down. When a book was completed a summary was prepared and discussed.

Review of citizenship education in schools

All the eleven project schools were included in the research. The head teacher, and two teachers were selected through purposive sampling (taught social studies or a language (Urdu, English), who agreed to make a two year commitment and had not received formal training from AKU-IED).

A qualitative methodology and critical interpretive framework were utilized to gather data and guide the analysis (Cresswell 1997; Denzin and Lincoln 2002; Harder 1999; Bohman 2005; Habermas 1972). Data was collected through observation, semi-structured interviews and document analysis. To gather data two researchers spent two to three days in each participating school. They observed the school ethos, teaching and learning practices in the two teachers' classrooms and co-curricular activities. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the head teacher and the two teachers. Documents such as the teachers' timetables, lesson plans and minutes of the meetings of the School Management Committees were also collected. The critical interpretive framework was used to analyze the data and thereby understand the actions for citizenship education that teachers engaged in, explain the perspectives and conditions that underlie these actions and identify the actions needed to create alternatives.

The Social Studies Curriculum: Aims, Organization And Structure

In Pakistan, citizenship education is integrated into the social studies. The aims, concepts, content, activities, learning outcomes and evaluation are provided in the national curriculum for social studies (see appendix A). The introduction to the curriculum emphasizes "developing [a] civic sense" through "traffic..., environment and population" education; "concepts of rights and responsibilities"; the skills of critical thinking within "the context of Islamic heritage"; problem solving; and the "promotion of the feeling of national integrity, cohesion and self reliance" (Ministry of Education, 2002, p. 5). The conceptual framework, aims and objectives are,

however directed towards ensuring the message of the Holy Quran is disseminated; true practicing Muslims are developed; Islamic ideology is accepted as the basis for Pakistan and foundation of national unity; social science knowledge that conforms to the moral, social and political framework of Islam is acquired and Islamic, moral and civic values inculcated.

To achieve the aims and objectives the curriculum focuses on knowledge acquisition. A significant portion of religious content is included, and from the large body of useful social studies instructional content a narrow body of content is selected (see appendix B). For example, though the land of Pakistan has a long history dating from the Indus Valley Civilization only content related to the independence movement especially the role of the Muslims is included. Another focus is the inculcation of a few values. Nearly every chapter in the primary curriculum includes an objective “develop respect for...” In class three alone, respect for: “dignity of labour and hard work”, “interdependence of fellow-beings”, “those who serve others”, and “important personalities” (Ministry of Education, 2002, pp.21-26) is developed.

The nature of the aims and objectives indicates that the curriculum makes no distinction between Islamic education and citizenship education. Social studies education must produce true practicing Muslims citizens who will work to strengthen the Islamic state. These objectives ignore the fact that there are non-Muslim students in social studies classrooms. Viewing Muslims as synonymous with Pakistan that it excludes religious minorities from being Pakistanis and serves division rather than national integration. The focus on factual knowledge and lack of skills means that students will know a lot of facts but not skills required for effective participation in democratic life. Although only the value of interdependence is specified other values important to citizenship are included in the curriculum. The curriculum, however, seeks to inculcate these values rather than helping students identify, develop to apply them in decision-making.

THE TEXTBOOKS

Having specified the objectives, content and activities the curriculum is translated into textbooks by the provincial textbook boards. Schools are bound to use the government prescribed textbooks (the exception being a few private schools in which students study for the General Certificate of Education (GCE) of the Cambridge Board). Most teachers never see the curriculum; for them the textbook is the curriculum. The centrality of the textbook in citizenship education is the key motivation for its analysis.

The analysis provided below is drawn only from the eight textbooks published by the Sindh Textbook Board (STBB). This has been done because most students take the Matriculation examination. Also, the textbooks used for the GCE examination are not designed to educate for citizenship and therefore did not offer critical insights for citizenship education.

The language used in five of the eight textbooks serves to entrench biases against women, other nations, religious groups, and people with disabilities. The entire texts use the gendered words man and he, as neutral which makes males more dominant and perpetuates patriarchy. Loaded comparisons are used to differentiate between nations. For example, descriptions of Pakistan’s disputes with India (its traditional enemy) depict India as hostile and aggressive, whereas disputes with China (a traditional ally) are depicted as amicable. Positive adjectives and derogatory words are used in conjunction to project religious bias: the Hindus are cruel and unjust

while the Muslims are honest and virtuous. Generalizations such as reference to the Prophet of Islam as “Our Holy Prophet” ignore non-Muslim students who read the text and further inculcate religious bias. Texts also discriminate against people with disabilities: Centres for handicapped children “try to remove the physical and mental disability of these children so that they can become useful like their healthy counterparts” (Victor 1996, p.108). The use of the word “useful” implies that such children are useless to society. This is clearly a violation of their human rights and breeds prejudice!

The textbooks mainly deal with political and religious personalities, generally male, and from upper class backgrounds. Descriptions include facts about their lives, positive aspects of their personalities and the glorification of selected achievements. Moreover, these personalities are credited with single-handedly accomplishing the achievements for which they are famous. For example, the creation of Pakistan is attributed solely to Jinnah. Although meant to serve as role models for students, these personalities are defined unrealistically, hence students would find it impossible to emulate them. This fails to empower students to become change agents, because for them change can only be achieved by superhuman personalities.

Political, judicial, social and religious institutions at the local, national, regional and international levels are mentioned in the textbook. At the local and national level, governmental and charitable institutions are described. Civil society institutions involved in development and the promotion of human rights are not included. The texts provide factual details and principle functions of the institutions, but ignore their present performance. The exception is the United Nations whose inability to address the problems of the Muslim world is noted. Furthermore, government agency rather than citizen agency is promoted, disempowering students from creating a more just and peaceful society. Three texts that do create a sense of social responsibility focus mainly on environmental responsibility such as keeping one’s neighbourhood clean and reducing environmental pollution.

Relevant and appealing illustrations are imperative in facilitating learning. Only three of the eight textbooks have relevant illustrations. There is a glaring absence of illustrations in the other five textbooks. The textbook for class seven has only six illustrations in its one hundred and seven pages! The illustrations are limited to maps, which are often incomprehensible. As most of the personalities described are male, photographs are of men, thereby promoting gender inequality. Moreover, illustrations often reinforce gender stereotypes. In the class three textbook the chapter entitled ‘Professions’ has pictures of men as doctors, construction workers and farmers. The only picture of a woman is of a teacher, thereby reinforcing gender stereotypes regarding acceptable professions for women. While political leaders are depicted individually, average citizens appear in groups. Thus, reinforcing the belief that the people are less important than their representatives.

The storyline of the social studies textbooks conveys the following citizenship related messages to students:

- Pakistan is a democratic country. Democracy means rule by the people and is limited to voting in elections. In Pakistan it is not the people who have power but their representatives.
- Pakistan is an Islamic state. Islam is the religion and political ideology of Pakistan. The good Muslim is a good citizen. A good Muslim is a person who prays, fasts, gives alms to the poor and does one’s duties to Allah, one’s family and neighbours.

- We must be patriotic Pakistanis. Patriotism must be extended to the government in power. Since Pakistanis and Muslims are synonymous, our patriotism should be extended to the Muslim nation.
- Pakistan is culturally homogeneous. Pakistanis all share one culture as they have one religion, speak one language and dress in the same way.
- The government in power is the best government; the government is responsible for national development and it is addressing shortcomings.

Let me demonstrate how textbooks teach about democracy and good citizenship.

Most social studies texts begin with a simplistic definition of democracy. For example, the class six textbook states, “democracy means government of the people, by the people and for the people”. They subsequently point out that it is impossible for everyone to rule that is why “the government is run by a few representatives of the people”. They then explain the electoral process. Some texts promote elitist democracy as students learn democracy is a form of government in which “the elected representatives of the people enjoy the power to govern”. The texts discuss the rights of citizens in a democracy: the few mentioned are limited so stringently that one wonders if citizens actually do have rights. For example, “Every citizen has the right to enjoy freedom of speech and writing...No one has the right to express views as may lead to commotion or...which is against the country or which may lead to a civil riot” (Victor 1996, pp.101-104).

In its fifty-eight year history, Pakistan has been under military dictatorships for twenty-seven years. Texts, however, do not so much as explain what a dictatorship is. Instead students in class nine learn how various governments have amended the constitution, without studying the consequences of these changes.

To teach students to become good Muslims and, by extension, good citizens, the textbooks focus on pietistic and ritualistic Islam. Students learn that the best way to become a good Muslim is by praying, fasting, alms giving, filial piety and elderly esteem. Regarding prayer, the text reads, “The Holy Prophet (May the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him) said that performance of prayer is obligatory on every Muslim. The prayers help one become dutiful and honest. Prayers are instrumental in strengthening the bonds of Muslim unity and enables Muslims to resolve their economic, social and political problems by mutual interaction” (Ahmed et al 1998, p.4). The textbooks also focus on inculcating Islamic and moral values. Students learn worship only Allah; respect and be obedient to your parents; be polite to your elders; treat the younger with love and kindness; and treat your neighbours fairly.

The transformatory nature of Islam – its stress on equality of all human beings, its commands to act justly, its preferential option for the poor, its practice of tolerance, its emphasis on making informed judgements and its insistence that one resists to tyranny – are left out. (Esack 1997; Rahman 1986; Iqbal 1968). Similarly, the contributions of Syed Ahmed Khan and Muhammad Iqbal to reconstruct Islam in light of the sociopolitical realities facing Muslims in modern times are ignored.

The end-of-the-chapter exercises consist primarily of factual questions and fill in items. Thus they ensure students learn the text with its factual distortions, narrow interpretations, biases and prejudices. Three textbooks do include higher order questions, develop skills of inquiry, communication and problem-solving, and encourage students to act and reflect on their roles as citizens.

Textbook analysis indicate that while older textbooks serve to entrench biases and propagate prejudices. they also depict personalities as superhuman and focus on government rather than citizen agency. The three newer publications are generally free of these distortions and promote democratic citizenship education. However,

even these books must focus more on promoting gender equality and citizenship agency.

Citizenship education is broader than the formal curriculum. It includes what young people learn from the way schools are organized as well as teaching and learning in and outside the classroom. This paper now turns to assess the status of citizenship education in schools.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

The schools in the study consisted of seven government and four private schools. Two of the private schools served low-income populations, one the middle class and one the upper-middle and upper class. The latter school was the only Cambridge school.

Physical infrastructure

The government and low-income private schools lack adequate physical infrastructure. Classrooms are generally dirty, dull, and crammed with students. Following government directives a school admitted one hundred pre-primary students but due to lack of classrooms, seated them in the corridors. The head teacher's office usually serves as staffroom, sickroom, kitchen, and resource room. There are no toilets in some schools, whereas in others they are so filthy, it's a wonder they are used at all. The other two private schools are well resourced with large, clean and airy classrooms. In addition they have a library, science labs, computer labs and sick room facilities. All the private schools are built on small plots with little room for students to play. In two such schools students had to remain inside the building, even during recess. The government schools, however, have large playgrounds. One girls' school had no boundary wall, and people using the school grounds as a thoroughfare compromised the girls' security. After some young men persuaded two girls into leaving the school premises with them, students were no longer allowed to play in the grounds.

Schools had no or inadequate facilities of water and electricity. Despite Karachi's unbearable heat only one government school and two private schools had provision for drinking water for students. Classrooms had only one or two lights and fans for forty plus children. Karachi faces severe power shortages, thus during the many brownouts students work in hot, dark rooms.

Most government and low-income private schools have minimal teaching and learning resources: rugs or benches for students and a blackboard with chalk for the teacher. Most students have a copy of the prescribed textbook. Some schools have resources such as globes, charts and books, which adorn the head teacher's office rather than being in the classroom.

In some government schools the head teachers, teachers and students compensate for lack of facilities. In one school particularly, self-help pervaded the ethos of the school as evident from the head teacher's comment:

Although government schools have huge campuses and big playgrounds as compared to private schools, which are set up in houses, we don't have chairs, desks, dusters, or water facilities. We don't have any support staff to clean our classrooms...We only function because of our self-help concept. There are many things that we bring from home and we spend our own money to purchase. For example, until six

months ago, we didn't have washroom facilities. The girls had to go home to use the washrooms, which was extremely unsafe. Now we have made one ourselves, which is used by teachers and students. Similarly, curtains were bought by one of our teachers. We spend our personal money to buy students gifts. I use my own mobile phone for school calls, we dug a well to provide water for our students, we use our own vehicles in case of emergency in the school, and we serve guests refreshments from our own pockets. (RaHTint03/09/02)

Most reviews of citizenship education do not identify physical infrastructure as important to citizenship education. However, in Pakistan lack of physical infrastructure and resources can have positive & negative consequences for citizenship rights and citizenship education. Lack of infrastructure such as a boundary wall and toilet facilities make parents reluctant to send girls to school for fear of their safety and girls reluctant to continue their schooling. Girls are thus denied their constitutional right to education and to the empowerment required to claim other rights. On the other hand, lack of resources stimulates the school community to act to promote the common good. This community feeling and active participation are important lessons in citizenship.

Organization and management

Pakistani schools are organized hierarchically and managed authoritarily. In all schools, decisions are communicated down the hierarchy and results of implementation up the hierarchy. Those at the top expect obedient implementation of the decisions, evident in this head teacher's comment.

When I want something for the school I write an application to the ADO (Assistant District Officer), the ADO then sends it to the DEO (District Education Officer). If they do it well and good, otherwise I leave it. We have to go through the proper channel. When they tell us to do something we have to do it. We have to obey them. (QHTint26/09/02)

To ensure the smooth functioning of government schools teacher committees are formed. These ensure school cleanliness, discipline, timely completion of the syllabus, and conduct of co-curricular activities. Only in one private school serving a low –income population are teachers elected to the committees.

In 2001 the government devolved decision-making power to the school by establishing School Management Committees (SMCs). The aims, objectives and functions of the SMCs are to: increase enrolment and retention of students, especially girls; improve academic performance; provide incentives to teachers and needs-based teacher training; encourage community members to serve the school; generate and manage funds; and prepare and implement a school development plan. The SMC general body comprises all members of the union council, teachers, parents, and notables. The executive body is elected by the general body with a citizen from the community and the head teacher of the school as co-chairs (Education Department, 2001). The head teachers viewed the SMCs as fundraising bodies and sought membership of “important members of society... who are educated, willing to serve the school and financially in a better position than the parents”. The local councillor was an important member because he/she could

provide “money for fans, lights and furniture”. Discussing the role of the SMC a head teacher said

I think their responsibility is to solve our problems. It means that parents in the SMC must be rich. If they are not rich then they must have so much authority that they can collect resources from somewhere else to help our school...It is the responsibility of the members to call meetings. At the meetings the school puts all the problems in front of them, as they have to solve them. They discuss them but they are not in a position to solve them as no one wants to do hard work. (QHTint29/09/02)

Only in one government school did the head teacher see a larger role for the SMC.

This body of parents is empowered to ensure teachers go to the class regularly, teach the prescribed curriculum and check students' test results (RaHTint03/0902)

Three private schools had parent-teacher associations (PTAs). In two they were viewed as “simply a formality” as parents are “uneducated” (FHTint02). In one school a familial relationship existed between the parents and the school with parents being encouraged to volunteer there.

Democracy is best learned in democratic settings (Apple & Beane, 1995; Volk, 1998). Therefore, the essentially hierarchical authoritarian management of Pakistani schools must be made more democratic. The SMCs/PTAs are a way to democratize school management as they give communities an opportunity for involvement in the life of the school and a say in decision-making. If SMCs/PTAs are to serve their purpose they must be open to all community members so as to help break down class, creed and ethnic barriers. Members must be educated to play their role effectively. Ample opportunity must also be provided for members to participate in discussion and decision-making. This will help members develop new perspectives and maximize their communication and decision-making skills. It would also provide them an opportunity to fulfil their citizenship responsibility and serve as role models for the students.

Citizenship education in the classroom

In all classrooms students sit two to three to a bench in rows facing the teacher. On most classroom walls there are religious pictures and messages alongside pictures of national heroes and national symbols. Classrooms in private schools also have children’s work displayed. They often had a clock and a calendar on the walls as well.

In most classrooms teaching follows the formula of read – explain – question. The teacher reads the lesson aloud from the textbook, explains it through a lecture, and asks students questions which require them to recall the facts just read. Here is an example of a lesson delivered in class five.

T: Today we will study the culture of Pakistan. You read (pointing to a student)

S: (reading like a voice recording). Culture is the way of life of the people living in a particular geographic and social setting. Culture includes: the way people dress, the food they eat...(the teacher interrupted the student three times to correct her pronunciation. When she had read a paragraph the teacher called on another student to read)

S: There are various factors that influence the culture of a place. One factor is the physical features of a place. For example... (the teacher corrected the student four times)

T: The language our forefathers used is being used today.

S: (reads)...

T: OK children what is culture? (rhetorical question) Our geography, religion, dress, language, etc. are all included. We are Pakistanis, our language is Urdu. We speak Urdu. Since we are Muslims, Islam is our religion. We got Pakistan because the Muslims and Hindus could not live together. We wanted to live our lives according to Islam. Islam's principles influence us. Our clothes are simple, our food is simple... You tell me, what language do we speak?

Ss: Urdu (in chorus)

T: What is Urdu?

Ss: Our national language (in chorus)

T: We celebrate Independence Day just like we celebrate Eid. We go to different places, meet relatives... You go to different places. You go?

Ss: Yes (in chorus)

(The rest of the lesson continued with the teacher explaining and asking questions) (QSobs22/08/02)

There are minor variations of the formula read-explain-question. For example, students read instead of the teacher; teachers' explanations include their beliefs and daily life experiences. Instead of oral questions teachers write questions and answers on the blackboard for students to copy (primary classes) or have students mark the answers in the textbook or dictate notes (secondary classes).

Teachers mainly in the private schools use discussion and group work. Discussions focused on recall of content and resembled recitation. The following extract of a discussion on the causes of the decline of the Mughals in the sub-continent is illustrative.

T: You said the East India Company (EIC) came in before the Portuguese and Dutch. The moment the EIC was allowed to trade it sealed the subcontinent's fate. How did the EIC get lands?

S: Bought them.

S: Reforms.

T: Can you name them?

S: Doctrine of lapse.

T: Can you explain?

S: If no male heir property will be confiscated.

T: Why did the British not allow relatives?

S: Not natural successor.

T: What benefit?

S: In this way they could take over land.

T: Does anyone know when introduced?

(The rest of the lesson continued in the same way) (FPAobs30/08/02)

Similarly observation revealed that “group work” consisted of putting students in a group to answer end-of-the-chapter questions followed by group presentations. In one classroom the teacher asked groups to “Give three reasons for trade and say why it is important”. The teacher went over to a few groups to ensure they were on-task but did not stay to observe how they worked. After five minutes groups presented. Following the presentations the teacher encouraged the class to ask questions. However, she did not clarify misconceptions, develop the shared or summarize the presentations.

In most classrooms teaching is transmission of knowledge and learning a passive process of listening to the teacher. Students generally participate only in reading and answering questions. But sometimes even this opportunity is denied. In a class as soon as the teacher told the students to open their texts, their hands shot up and they shouted “Miss, can I read?”, “Miss, can I read?” The teacher ignored the students’ requests and said harshly, “Nobody will say anything. Keep quiet!” and began reading. As she continued reading, despite the absolute silence in the classroom, she shouted, “No noise! Complete silence!”(RaNobs03/09/02). Only a few students are called on to answer questions and same question is put to three or four students to ensure the answer is learned.

The teacher reinforces him/herself as the classroom’s sole authority by maintaining strict discipline. Students are expected to obediently follow the teacher’s instructions. However, they were often observed defying instructions. The teacher stopped disobedient students by ordering them back to work and rapping the duster on the desk. Many teachers also used reward and punishment to maintain classroom discipline. Students who excel academically or behave well are made monitors whereas those who do not are scolded, deprived of rewards and occasionally beaten. Teachers appoint monitors to maintain discipline in their absence and monitors expect students to obey them. Elections of class monitors were held in only one school.

Teaching and learning in Pakistani classrooms is formulaic and boring as teachers transmit textbook knowledge and ensure its rote memorization. Minimal teacher-student interaction occurs, and even less is permitted amongst students. No citizenship skills are developed. Values, like knowledge, are transmitted through lectures rather than encouraging students to choose and develop their own. Such classrooms are not conducive to citizenship education.

Pakistani Educations are scathing in their criticism of teaching and learning in Pakistani classrooms. Aziz (1992) states “In Pakistan the textbooks of social studies is the only instrument of imparting education on all levels because the teacher(s) do not teach ... but repeat what it contains and the student is encouraged or simply ordered to memorize its contents” (p.1). He further observes that the teaching of social studies produces millions of educated slaves, not responsible citizens. Kizilbash (1986) agrees with Aziz, “The existing teaching practice is contributing to the socialization of obedient, passive citizens who lack critical thinking, questioning, decision-making and problem solving skills, who are closed minded followers rather than responsible and independent citizens.”

Citizenship education outside the classroom

All schools begin the day with an assembly where verses from the Holy Qur’an and/or a prayer are recited and the national anthem is sung. Monitors check if

students are neat, clean and wearing the prescribed uniforms. Occasionally the head teacher or students give educational or moral messages. A head teacher said:

In the morning we have a prayer at the assembly. It teaches them some good points. When the girls come late we ask them the reason. And whatever the reason they give I ask 'Don't you pray? And if you do, then you shouldn't be late as prayer teaches you to be punctual.' We also teach them moral values as we have to guide them. We tell them to wear a scarf (on their heads) as next door there is a boys school (GG HTint29/8/02)

Most schools celebrate national days and Muslim religious festivals. Students also take part in interschool competitions. National days are celebrated each year. Students make speeches about the significance of the day, depict the event and sing national songs. Milads and naat khawni (act of reciting poetry in praise of Prophet Muhammad) are held to celebrate Eid-i-Milad-un-Nabi. No regular sports are held in school; only a few select students are coached to participate in interschool competitions. Similarly, a few students with melodious voices enter naat competitions.

In two government schools some students are girls guides. Becoming girl guides is a permissible way for girls to learn to help each other, solve daily life problems and learn about Pakistan. Initial girl guides training begins with oath taking and explanation of its importance. The girls are told the role of a patrol, divided into patrols, and the session ends with singing the national anthem. (GGfn29/8/02).

All private schools have student councils. Teachers select "active and intelligent students for the council." Only in one case were elections of the selected students held. A head teacher described the role of the student council.

The role of the student council is to help in the arrangement of events, identify the needs of students and help to address them, and if students get hurt in the absence of a teacher the prefect must take them home or to a doctor (MEHTint02)

However, the student councils have no decision-making role. In one school the students organized a bake sale, prepared and sold cakes, but were excluded from decisions regarding how to spend the money raised.

Only at one private school did students engage in community service: visiting sick children in a hospital and raising funds to buy equipment. This school had a number of clubs: Dramatic, Literacy and Sports. Members of the Literacy Club go on Saturdays to a Basti school to teach. There was, however, little preparation for, or reflection on, these activities.

To become effective citizens requires that young people learn a body of knowledge; develop relevant skills, values and dispositions; and obtain a first-hand experience of citizenship through participation in student councils, active engagement in community service, and involvement in social action that seeks to precipitate social change (Wade and Saxe 1996; Apple 1999; Khane and Westheimer 1996). In Pakistani schools students acquire a lot of information but do not know how to use it to take and defend positions on issues or solve problem. Some develop participatory skills through student council membership and community service. They learn values of respect for and service to others. However,

values useful for public life – such as civic-mindedness, critical consciousness and willingness to negotiate — are not developed.

Teachers' views about citizenship and citizenship education

Teachers were unaware of any formal requirement to educate for citizenship but noted teaching content required by citizens in social studies, Islamiat and English language classrooms. Social studies teachers taught the structure and functions of the government, the constitution and the rights and duties of citizens. They also referred to teaching about shariah (Muslim law), need to help one another and disadvantages of conflict in Islamiat (RaNFint03/09/02) and to “teaching the last sermon of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) which promotes love, equality and human dignity” in English (RHGFint09/09/02). Only one social studies teacher in a private school felt that teaching course content was “inadequate for citizenship education”. She proposed all schools teach moral education, discuss social issues and have students participate in community service.

Besides teaching textbook content, teachers teach students Islamic, civic and moral values; serve as role models and moral guides. They lecture on the importance of personal and environmental cleanliness; the need to help the less fortunate; the importance of being modest and honest; respect for elders; and distinguishing between right and wrong. A teacher said, “I teach moral values, how to develop a good character, the need to be good to one another and to help their neighbours.” (MF06/09/02) Another teacher sees her role as “imparting knowledge but more important drilling in moral values.” She elaborated “I am basically a guide that enables them to become better human beings. I teach them what is right and what is wrong and explain to them the consequences of breaking rules.” (FPA30/08/02) Her aim is “to develop good Muslims and patriotic Pakistanis.” (FPA30/08/02)

Teachers, however, noted that they give little attention to citizenship education as they have to cover a lengthy syllabus and prepare students for examinations. Moreover, they felt that citizenship education should be the responsibility of every teacher so that there are tangible outcomes and that teachers be specially prepared to educate for citizenship.

The findings reveal that the approach to citizenship education in Pakistani schools is an education about citizenship combined with a values explicit approach. Teachers generally believe that the content in existing social studies textbooks is adequate and any deficiency is made up by teaching values so that students become good people and good Muslims. While this is certainly related to being a good citizen, teachers are remiss if they do not teach key concepts like democracy and human rights, develop democratic citizenship skills and prepare students to engage in social action to create a more just society.

Teaching and learning in the classroom is often in opposition to the outcomes desired of citizenship education. The dominant teaching strategy is transmission of textbook knowledge which encourages passive learning. Most teachers felt it was the only way, given the institutional imperatives of teaching a content-heavy curriculum, lack of resources and examinations. The teacher is the sole authority in the class and students have no choice in what or how to learn. Teachers do not realize that the focus on knowledge transmission and their authoritarian teaching style impedes students from playing their role as citizens of the class. Teachers must learn to take advantage of day-to-day opportunities for citizenship education such as holding elections for classroom monitors.

There is greater opportunity for citizenship education through co-curricular activities as they encourage participation and social responsibility. In most schools these opportunities are rare. Government schools should be encouraged to set up student councils. In all schools elections should be held for council membership and the work of the council enhanced so students gain experience in discussion, problem-solving, and teamwork. To involve more students schools should establish student clubs and organize community service learning programs. The number of clubs should be expanded to include clubs such as a Children's Right Watch Club and Environmental Club. Participation in framing the aims and objectives, engaging in activities to achieve the objectives, and evaluating the work done will prepare students for participation in civil society organizations, an important part of a democratic society.

ENLARGING POSSIBILITIES THROUGH TEACHER EDUCATION

Essential to the reconceptualization of education for democratic citizenship is the teacher. However as citizenship education is integrated into social studies the focus must be on the social studies teacher. Teacher education programmes that prepare social studies teachers to educate for democratic citizenship must begin by engaging teachers in a critical reflection on teaching and learning in their classrooms, discussions of the purpose of education and their conceptions of citizenship and citizenship education. They must then help teachers envisage a democratic society and design a citizenship education programme to realize it.

To effectively implement a citizenship education program teachers must have the requisite knowledge, pedagogical skills and dispositions. This implies development of knowledge of the disciplines that comprise social studies and how to use them to educate for citizenship. In a context where only one teaching method is used, teachers must learn instructional strategies that require students active participation in learning, stimulate students to think and require students to work with and for each other. Teacher education programmes must also provide teachers opportunities to use their learnings in the real classrooms and facilitate critical reflection to improve practice.

Besides preparing teachers to teach for citizenship in the classroom, teacher education programmes must include ways to educate for citizenship through co-curricular activities such as celebration of local, national and international days, student councils, student clubs, and community service learning programmes. Teachers must learn the purpose of these activities and how to organize and facilitate students participation in them so that their benefits accrue to students.

Teacher education programmes must view as key the development of teachers' advocacy skills. As teachers work with students in schools they must also advocate for a more just, free and peaceful society. Teacher education programmes must help teachers recognize that advocacy efforts are strengthened when they collaboratively engage in them. Thus they must develop teachers' networks and partnerships-development skills. In addition, they must help teachers realize that change takes time, but persistence in advocating for change is rewarded.

In order to realize this vision teacher education programmes in Pakistan must combine education at the university with school-based training. Working with teachers in schools, teacher educators must demonstrate citizenship and work with teachers to plan, act and engage in collective self-reflective inquiry until democratic principles and practices are internalized. Mechanisms for follow-up to facilitate

teachers continuing professional development and their development as democratic citizens must also be seen as integral to the programme.

Conclusion

This paper reports on two research studies that assessed the current status of democratic citizenship education in Pakistani schools. The study shows that the key focus of education in schools is the acquisition of factual knowledge and inculcation of Islamic, civil and moral values. It also shows that the organization and management of schools and most teaching and learning practices are not conducive to the preparation of democratic citizens.

Although democratic structures such as the teacher committees, students councils and SMCs exist, their functioning has to be made more democratic. The study revealed that while teaching and learning in the classroom is teacher-controlled there are a range of co-curricular activities that offer students opportunity for first hand experience of citizenship. The paper concludes with suggestions for teacher education programme that will enable teachers to envision a democratic society and educate students to realize the vision.

Correspondence: BERNADETTE L. DEAN, Aga Khan University, Institute for Educational Development, IED-PDC, 1-5/B-VII, F.B. Area, Karimabad, P.O. Box 13688, Karachi-75950, Pakistan

Appendix A

LEARNING COMPETENCIES FOR CLASS – V CHAPTER I ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN					
Objectives	Concepts	Contents	Activities	Learning Outcomes	Evaluation
<p>Cognitive</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop understanding of the Hindu Muslim differences and need for Pakistan. 2. To get acquainted with the personalities who worked for the independence of Pakistan. 3. To enhance understanding of the forces working against Pakistan. 4. Create awareness about the freedom movement. 5. Promote realization about the Kashmir issue and India role. <p>Affective</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop a sense of fear for Allah. 2. Enhance the feeling of patriotism, self-reliance, and service to humanity and devotion to Muslim Brotherhood. 3. Develop the sense of preservation of the ideology, integrity and security of Pakistan. <p>Psychomotor</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tracing and filling in the map. 2. Delivering speeches. 3. Observation. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ideology of Pakistan. 2. Muslim Ummah. 3. Two-nation theory. 4. Struggle. 5. Self-sacrifice. 6. Self-reliance. 7. Initiative. 8. Jihad. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hindu Muslim difference in cultures. 2. Need for establishment of independent Muslim State. 3. Ideology of Pakistan. 4. India's evil designs against Pakistan (The three wars with India). 5. Kashmir problem. 6. Need for the security of Pakistan and Islam. 7. Sustainable development of Pakistan on the basis of self-reliance. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Observe the outline of the map on which muslim majority provinces of Indo-Pak subcontinent before independence are drawn. 2. Involvement in group discussions and listening to the talk on Pakistan Ideology and Kashmir Issue. 3. To listen talks on the essential features of muslim culture. 4. Visits to the places of historical importance. 5. Collection of photographs and paste them on scrape book. 6. Exhibition of the material made/collected by the students in the classrooms. 7. Participation in congregational events. 8. Reading of story books related to Indo-Pak History. 9. To make speeches on Jihad. 10. To listen to special programs broadcast on Muslim History and Culture. 11. To make classroom neat and clean on self help basis. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify the events in relation to Hindu-Muslim differences, which laid the foundations for the Pakistan emergencies:- 2. Define Ideology. 3. Describe the meanings of Ideology. 4. Identify the behaviour patterns for a Pakistani, which may preserve the ideology and improve the situation with reference to national Cohesion and State Integrity. 5. Specify the nature of Kashmir issue. 6. Discuss the role of present Government in re-establishing to sound position of Pakistan and freedom fighters before the international community. 7. Evaluate the role of India with reference to wars of 1956, 1965 and 1971 A.D. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Observing the keenness of the pupils about the national programs. 2. To note down the reaction of the pupils about wars with India. 3. To judge their spirits while making speeches on Jihad. 4. To note the attitude of the students about self help reliance. 5. Testing of students' skills through objective type tests.

Figure 1. Chapter 1, Social Studies Curriculum for class V (Government of Pakistan 2002, pp 31-32)

Appendix B

Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6
Home school mosque (physical environment)	Village Town city	The district	Province (location and history)	Islamic Republic of Pakistan (history)	Pakistan and South Asia: Location and physical features
Inmates	The people of the village, Town, city	Population	Population	Population	Population of South Asia
Safety and security	Safety			Safety	
Means of transport	Means of transport	Means of communication and transportation	Means of communication and transportation	Means of communication and transportation	
Important personalities	Important personalities	Important personalities	Important personalities	Important personalities who contributed towards the spread of Islam and the freedom movement	
	Resources	Agricultural resources	Resources	Resources	Resources of South Asia

Appendix C

Textbooks Analysed

Dean, B. L. et al (2001).

Social Studies for Class 3. Jamshoro. Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.

Social Studies for Class 4. Jamshoro. Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.

Social Studies for Class 5. Jamshoro. Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.

Victor, E. (1996).

Social Studies for Class 6. Jamshoro. Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.

Jafri, S.H.A. (1998).

Social Studies for Class 7. Jamshoro. Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.

Shaikh, M.H., Dhanani, M.R. & Siddiqui, S. (1998).

Social Studies for Class 8. Jamshoro. Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.

Ahmed, S.Q., Ahmed, Q.S., Shaikh, M.H., Zai, A.A. & Dhanani, R.A. (1998).

Pakistan Studies for Classes IX – X. Jamshoro. Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.

Rabbani, M.I. (1998).

Introduction to Pakistan Studies. Multan: Caravan Book House.

REFERENCES

- AHMED, S.Q., AHMED, Q.S., SHAIKH, M.H., ZAI, A.A. AND DHANANI, R.A. (1998). *Pakistan Studies for Classes IX – X. Jamshoro. Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.*
- ALTHUSSER, L. (1972). *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses.* In Cosin, B.R. (ed.). *Education Structure and Society.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 242-280.
- APPLE, M.W. (1999). *Power, Meaning and Identity: Essays in Critical Educational Studies.* New York: Peter Lang.
- APPLE, M.W. (1990). *Ideology and Curriculum.* New York and London: Routledge.
- APPLE, M.W. AND BEANE, J.A. (1995). *Democratic Schools.* Alexandria, Virginia: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- AZIZ K.K. (1992). *The Murder of the History of Pakistan.* Lahore: Vanguard.
- BOHMAN, J. (2005). *Critical theory.* <http://plato.standord.edu/archivespr2005/entries/critical-theory/7> Retrieved June 05, 2005
- COTTON, K. (2001). *Educating for Citizenship.* Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1-35.
- CRESSWELL, (1997). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research.* London: Sage Publications.
- DAY, C. & SACHS, J. (2004). *Professionalism, performativity and empowerment: discourses in the politics, policies and purposes of continuing professional development.* In Day, C. & Judyth, S. (Eds). *International Handbook on the Continuing Professional Development of Teachers.* England: Open University Press, 3-32.
- DEAN, B.L. (2000). *Islam, democracy and social studies education: a quest for possibilities.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Edmonton: University of Alberta.
- DENZIN, N.K. AND LINCOLN, Y.S. (2002) (Eds). *The Qualitative Inquiry Reader.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication
- EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (2001). *School Management Committee.* Karachi: Government of Sindh
- ESACK, F. (1997). *Qur'an, Liberation and Pluralism.* Oxford: One World Publications.
- GRANT, C.A. AND SLEETER, C.E. (1991). *Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in Current Textbooks.* In Flinders, D.J. and Thornton, S.J. *The Curriculum Studies Reader.* London: Routledge, 279-301
- HABERMAS, J. (1972). *Knowledge and Human Interests.* Translated by J. Shapiro. London: Heinemann.
- HARDER, E.A. (1999). *Research Conversation and Narrative: A critical hermeneutic orientation in participation Inquiry* Praeger Publication Westport: Connecticut
- IQBAL, A.M. (1968). *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf.
- KAHNE, J., AND WESTHEIMER, J. (1996). *In the Service of What? The Politics of Service Learning.* Phi Delta Kappan, 77(9), 593-599.
- KAZI, A.A. (1991). *Ethnonational Questions, Educational Reform and the Political Socialization in the Post-Cold War Era: Case of Pakistan.* Paper presented at the Oxford Conference on Educational Reform, Local and Educational Needs. University College, Oxford. September 3-6, 1991.
- KIZILBASH, H. H. (1986). *Pakistan's curriculum jungle: An analysis of the SAHE consultation on the undergraduate curriculum in Pakistan.* Karachi: SAHE Publication.
- KERR, D., MCCARTHY, S. AND SMITH, A. (2002). *Citizenship education in England, Ireland and Northern Ireland.* *European journal of education.* 37(2).
- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (2002). *Social Studies Curriculum for classes I-V.* Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (2002). *Social Studies Curriculum for classes VI-VIII.* Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1998). *National Education Policy (1998-2010).* Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1979). *National Education Policy and Implementation Programme.* Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1972). *The New Education Policy 1972-1980.* Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1959). *Report of the Commission on National Education.* Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR (Education Division) (1947). *Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference.* Government of Pakistan.
- NAYYAR, A.H. AND SALIM, A. (2004). *The subtle subversion: The state of curricula and textbooks in Pakistan.* Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.
- RAHMAN, F. (1406/1986). *The Principal of Shura and the Role of the Ummah in Islam.* In Mumtaz Ahmad (ed.). *State, Politics, and Islam.* Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 90-91.
- SHAIKH, M.H., DHANANI, M.R. AND SIDDIQUI, S. (1998). *Social Studies for Class 8. Jamshoro. Pakistan: Sindh Textbook Board.*
- TORNEY-PURTA, J. AND AMADEO, J (1999). *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civil Education Project.* Amsterdam: IEA.

VOLK, S. (1998). *A Democratic Classroom*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

WADE, R.C., AND SAXE, D.W. (1996). Community Service-Learning in the Social Studies: Historical Roots, Empirical Evidence, Critical Issues. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 24(4): 331-359.

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

RUTH DEAKIN CRICK, *Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol*

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.

Citizenship Education	School provision
Moral and social responsibility	Learning and teaching
Community involvement	Curriculum construction and development
Political literacy	School ethos and context
Spiritual moral social and cultural development	External relations and community
Education for diversity	Leadership and management
Character education	
Emotional and social literacy	
Values education	
Service learning	
Conflict resolution	
Peer mediation	
Human rights education	

Table One: Review Specific Key Words

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

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.

Study	Methodological quality	Appropriateness of research design	Relevance of study topic	Overall	Country	Age group	Type of study
Behre et al. (2001)	High	Medium	Medium	Medium	USA		1
Carter and Osler (2000)	Low	Medium	Medium	Low	England	11-16	2
Clare et al. (1996)	Low	Medium	Low	Low	USA		1
Day (2002)	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	England		3
Deakin Crick (2002)	High	High	High	High	England	11-18	1
Flecknoe (2002)	Low	Medium	Medium	Low	England	11-18	1
Gillborn (1992)	Low	Low	Medium	Low	England	11-18	3
Holden (2000)	Medium	Low	Medium	Medium	England	5-11	3
Maslovaty (2000)	High	High	Medium	High	Israel		1
Mooij (2000)	High	Low	Medium	Medium	The Netherlands		2
Naylor and Cowie (1999)	High	Medium	Low	Medium	England		3
Russell (2002)	Medium	High	High	High	Ireland		3
Taylor M (2002)	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	England		3
Williams et al. (2003)	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	USA		3

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)

	Moral and social responsibility	Community involvement	Political literacy	Spiritual, moral, social and cultural development	Education for diversity	Character education	Emotional and social literacy	Values education	Service learning	Conflict resolution	Peer mediation	Human rights education
External relations and community	4	2	3	2	2	0	3	2	0	2	2	1
Leadership and management	4	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	0	2	2	0
Learning and teaching	13	6	5	9	3	4	6	3	0	7	2	2
Curriculum construction & development	5	2	2	5	1	2	1	2	0	2	1	0
School ethos and context	10	6	5	6	3	2	6	2	0	6	2	2

Table Three: Cross referencing of review specific key words – numbers of studies addressing different combinations of provision of schooling and types of citizenship interventions

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; Maslovaty 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.

Acknowledgements:

This review team who worked on this review with the author include:
 Mr Max Coates, University of Bristol
 Dr Monica Taylor, Journal of Moral Education/University of London
 Ms Susan Ritchie, University of East London

This review was carried out with funding from the citizEd project of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) and the Evidence for Policy and Practice Information and Co-ordinating Centre (EPPI-Centre). We would also like to acknowledge the support of the University of East London in the time made available for Susan Ritchie to work on this review. A potential conflict of interest is declared by two of the authors of the review, since they are authors of studies that meet the review's inclusion criteria. Steps taken to address this are outlined in Chapter 5 of the main report.

Correspondence: RUTH DEAKIN CRICK, Graduate School of Education,
University of Bristol, 35 Berkeley Square, Bristol, BS8 1JA, United Kingdom

Appendix A Studies included in the review

BEHRE W, AVI ASTOR R, MEYER A (2001) Elementary- and middle-school teachers' reasoning about intervening in school violence: an examination of violence-prone school subcontexts. *Journal of Moral Education* 30: 131-153.

CARTER C, OSLER A (2000) Human rights, identities and conflict management: a study of school culture as experienced through classroom relationships. *Cambridge Journal of Education* 30: 335-356.

CLARE L, GALLIMORE R, PATTHEY-CHAVEZ G (1996) Using moral dilemmas in children's literature as a vehicle for moral education and teaching reading comprehension. *Journal of Moral Education* 25: 325-341.

DAY L (2002) 'Putting yourself in other people's shoes': the use of Forum Theatre to explore refugee and homeless issues in schools. *Journal of Moral Education* 31: 21-34.

DEAKIN CRICK R (2002) *Transforming Visions, Managing Values in Schools: A Case Study*. Bristol: Middlesex University Press.

FLECKNOE M (2002) Democracy, citizenship and school improvement: what can one school tell us? *School Leadership and Management* 22: 421-437.

GILLBORN D (1992) Citizenship, 'race' and the hidden curriculum. *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 2: 57-73.

HOLDEN C (2000) Ready for citizenship? A case study of approaches to social and moral education in two contrasting primary schools in the UK. *School Field* 11: 117-130.

MASLOVATY N (2000) Teachers' choice of teaching strategies for dealing with socio-moral dilemmas in the elementary school. *Journal of Moral Education* 29: 429-444.

MOOIJ T (2000) Promoting prosocial pupil behaviour: 2. Secondary school intervention and pupil effects. *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 69: 479-504.

NAYLOR P, COWIE H (1999) The effectiveness of peer support systems in challenging school bullying: the perspectives and experience of teachers and pupils. *Journal of Adolescence* 22: 467-479.

RUSSELL J (2002) Moral consciousness in a community of inquiry. *Journal of Moral Education* 31: 142-153.

TAYLOR M (2002) *Schools Councils: Their Role in Citizenship and Personal and Social Education*. Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER).

WILLIAMS D, YANCHAR S, JENSEN L, LEWIS C (2003) Character education in a public high school: a multi-year enquiry into unified studies. *Journal of Moral Education* 32: 4-30.

NOTES

[1] <http://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/EPPIWeb/home.aspx>

REFERENCES

- ALEXANDER, R. (1992) *Policy and Practice in Primary Education*, London, Routledge.
 CRICK, B. (1998) *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools*. Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship, Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, London.
 DAVIES, L. (1999) Comparing definitions of democracy in education, *Compare*, 29, 127-140.

- DAVIES, L. (2000) *Citizenship Education and Human Rights Education: Key Concepts and Debates*. British Council, London.
- DEAKIN CRICK, R. COATES, M. TAYLOR, M. AND RITCHIE, S. (2004) A systematic review of the impact of citizenship education on the provision of schooling, In: *Research Evidence in Education Library*. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, London.
http://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/EPPIWeb/home.aspx?page=/reel/review_groups/citizenship/review_one.htm
- DEAKIN CRICK, R. TEW, M. TAYLOR, M. DURANT, K. & SAMUEL, E. (2005) A systematic review of the impact of citizenship education on learning and achievement, In: *Research Evidence in Education Library*. London: Evidence for Policy and Practice Co-ordinating Centre Department for Education and Skills London
http://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/EPPIWeb/home.aspx?page=/reel/review_groups/citizenship/review_two.htm
- EPPI-CENTRE (2003a) EPPI-Centre Keywording Strategy for Classifying Education Research. (Version 0.9.7). EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit. London.
- EPPI-CENTRE (2003b) Guidelines for Extracting Data and Quality Assessing Primary Studies in Educational Research. (Version 0.9.7), EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, London.
- FLEW, A. (2000) *Education for Citizenship*, Institute for Economic Affairs, London.
- GEARON, L. (2003) *British Educational Research Journal* forthcoming, Bera Professional User Research Review Citizenship Education,
- HALSTEAD, J. M. AND TAYLOR, M. J. (2000) *The Development of Values, Attitudes and Personal Qualities: a Review of Recent Research*, NFER, Slough.
- HEATER, D. (1999) *What is Citizenship?* Polity Press, Cambridge.
- KERR, D. (1999) *Re-examining citizenship education: the case of England*, Slough, National Foundation for Educational Research,
- KERR, D. (1999a) *Re-examining Citizenship Education: The Case of England*, NFER, Slough.
- KERR, D. (1999b) *Citizenship Education: An International Comparison*, QCA/NFER, London.
- KERR, D. (2000) *The Making of Citizenship in the National Curriculum (England)(Issues and Challenges*, Edinburgh, European Conference on Educational Research.
- KERR, D. (2002) *An international review of citizenship in the curriculum: the IEA national case studies and the INCA archive* Book in STENER-KHAMSI G. TORNEY-PURTA J. & SCHWILLE J. *An international review of citizenship in the curriculum: the IEA national case studies and the INCA archive* Vol, Elsevier Press, Amsterdam,
- LAWTON, D. CAIRNS, J. AND GARDNER, R. (2000) *Education for Citizenship*, Continuum, London.
- McCLOUGHLIN, T. (1992) *Journal of Moral Education*, Citizenship, Diversity and Education: A Philosophical Perspective, 21, 3, 235-250.
- McCLOUGHLIN, T. (2000) *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Citizenship Education in England: The Crick Report and Beyond, 34, 4, 541-570.
- MCGETTRICK, B. (2002) *Emerging Conceptions of Scholarship, Service and Teaching*, Toronto. CSSE.
- QUALIFICATIONS AND CURRICULUM AUTHORITY, (1999) *The National Curriculum Programmes of Study*, Department for Education and Employment (DfEE), London.
- SCOTT, D. (2000) *Curriculum Journal*, Editorial Responses to Crick and citizenship education, 11, 1-7.

Developing The Global Gaze In Citizenship Education: Exploring The Perspectives Of Global Education NGO Workers In England

HARRIET MARSHALL, *University of Bath*

ABSTRACT The field of global education in the UK consists of a wide range of individuals and organisations working for the greater integration of global issues and global social justice values into mainstream schooling. This paper draws upon a recent research project which sought to discover how activists in this field aim to distribute and transmit educational knowledge (particularly in the context of new citizenship education initiatives).

In order to highlight the pedagogic ideals and perspectives of those outside formal schooling working to influence the curriculum, I refer to data obtained from interviews with 32 global education NGO workers in England. Issues of citizenship education, curriculum boundary and critical pedagogy are considered in this exploration of how global educators conceptualise the ‘global learner’ and the ‘global teacher’. As an interdisciplinary theme global education has developed strong links with citizenship education and there have been a number of calls for global citizenship education. However this paper argues that the unclear knowledge base and mixed pedagogic messages of global education and global citizenship education can be problematic for teacher training programmes and teachers working within the performance-based pedagogy of mainstream schooling.

Introduction

Global Education in England has experienced something of a rejuvenation in recent years in the light of new citizenship education initiatives and government recognition of the need for ‘an international dimension’ in education (www.globalgateway.org). This paper considers the perspectives of 32 global education Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) workers from a wide range of NGOs in England who have been working to include a global dimension in schools, partly by working with the new Citizenship Curriculum (statutory at Key Stages 3 and 4 [ages 11-16] in England and Wales from 2002; DfEE/QCA 1999) and by working more closely with teacher training programmes. I refer to interview data collected in 2003-4 through open-ended interviews with a sample of global educators in the England structured to elicit responses about the pedagogy and curriculum of global education. This sample did not include all organisations, individuals or global education traditions active in the UK, rather it concentrated on providing a snapshot of the situation in England – a country with an identifiable history of global education (see Heater 1980; Hicks 2003; Holden 2000). Interview

data was supplemented with other documentary sources from related policies and websites.

In this paper I make reference to a sociological conceptual language and the work of global education theorists and practitioners. I begin with the contextual by outlining the field of global education in England before moving on to discuss some of the data – that is the pedagogic and curricular perspectives of global educators. The second half of the paper focuses upon the relationship between the teaching of global education and citizenship education by continuing to draw upon the perspectives of those working to promote global education and notions of global citizenship in schools.

Introducing the field of global education in England

Global education is interpreted here very broadly as an umbrella term covering a range of related educational traditions – such as development education, world studies education or human rights education – advocating the greater integration of global issues and global social justice values into mainstream schooling. Many of these traditions also work actively outside mainstream schooling in civil society, but the focus of this research has been those who work with schools and/or teachers particularly at secondary level (Key Stage 3 and 4 [ages 11-16] in line with the statutory Citizenship Curriculum which officially endorses a global dimension).

Global education has been described as an adjectival (Davis et al 1990:17) and holistic (Noddings 2005) educational form and it has often been associated with a critical pedagogic approach (such as the work of Paulo Freire, 2005) as the following quote suggests;

*Global education encompasses the strategies policies and plans that prepare young people and adults for living together in an interdependent world. It is based on the principles of co-operation, non-violence, respect for human rights and cultural diversity, democracy and tolerance. **It is characterised by pedagogical approaches based on human rights and a concern for social justice which encourage critical thinking and responsible participation.** Learners are encouraged to make links between local, regional and world-wide issues and to address inequality. (Osler and Vincent, 2002:2, my emphasis).*

Although this definition appears lucid, my research revealed much ambiguity associated with the terminology – whilst some interviewees were comfortable using the term global education (particularly the younger generation), many were not. Some of the terms used in interviews for this research include: global education; global perspective; global dimension; education for global children's rights; education for a global community; development education; education for global social justice; sustainable development education; education for global understanding; and, relevant to this discussion, global citizenship education. Whilst citizenship education is clearly linked to global education in some ways (as suggested by Davies, Evans and Reid 2005), the pedagogy and history of the latter is distinct from that of citizenship education (as explored by Heater 1980; 1984) – furthermore not all global educators in this research necessarily believe global citizenship education to be an objective or indeed possible.

Over the last sixty years or so the movement for global education in England (and the UK more widely) has consisted of a variety of different traditions each with their own distinct histories, pedagogic approaches and objectives – I call the movement a ‘field’ because it most effectively caters for this heterogeneity. Some of these traditions advocate the same sort of pedagogy and global knowledge whilst others do not. Sets of data from two interviews in particular helped inform the following list of traditions associated with global education (to which more examples and further detail could be added, see Heater 1980; Hicks and Townley 1982; Selby 2001): *world studies/future studies* with its roots in education for justice, equity and sustainable futures using participatory learning approaches; *human rights education* which is guided by the UN Declaration of Human Rights; *North-South linking* with its concern for a better understanding of the South; traditional development education more concerned with sustainable development and with traditional development education as its knowledge base; *development education in the era of globalisation* which is a more recent tradition with globalisation theory as its knowledge base challenging some of the ideas of traditional development theory (differences explored in Schuurman 2001); *global citizenship education* which is a tradition working with current official discourse and through citizenship education; *Christian global education* which is about understanding global interdependence and issues of justice with an underlying Christian message; *environmental and sustainable development education*; and *African, Southern and anti-racist global education* which might be more effectively articulated as a collection of separate traditions. International, national and regional NGOs in the field some are often linked to one or a combination of these traditions, and the strength of the tradition often relates to the position of the NGO within the field. For example, the education sections of agencies such as Christian Aid-UK or the Catholic Association for Overseas Development-UK (CAFOD) have had the financial and professional support of the parent organisation and have been able to fund and produce resource production which emphasise the Christian global education and/or development education traditions. Alliance between traditions has not always been easy and furthermore some traditions have experienced internal disparities over definitions and meanings. For example, development educationalists have disagreed on the significance of globalisation and the changing political climate of the last fifteen years (Schuurman 2001), this was revealed when one interviewee differentiated between traditional development education and development education in an era of globalisation.

In recent years the field of global education has adapted to a changing political, technological, academic and international climate. My research identified at least seven core internal and contextual themes affecting the processes of change and development within the field in the last decade including: the co-ordination of global education NGOs and consolidation of global education traditions; the continued significance of a few key individuals; the increased emphasis on working with teachers (particularly with citizenship teachers) and teacher educators; the increased interest of official or governmental educational institutions and individuals in global education; the broadening media coverage of the global agenda; the growing interest and concern about globalisation and its meanings and effects upon society (and education); and the new world threats provoking new calls for global education and global understanding. In this context the movement for global education has been strengthening and consolidating its position within some universities, journals and schools. The manner in which global education has begun to feature in UK postgraduate degrees (such as new Masters Degrees in York and Plymouth

Universities) and academic journals has been particularly important. This has meant that the knowledge base of global education has now obtained more clearly identifiable roots. Meanwhile from the late 1990s increased funding and endorsement has been made available through governmental channels, first from the government Department for International Development (DfID), and later from the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). However it is important to remember the marginal status that global education retains in the official educational arena of government departments, the state and local education authorities – it represents a tiny fraction of the work of DfID and the DfES, who respectively have different political goals and educational remits; DfID being guided by its goals of international development and poverty alleviation, DfES having a more specific educational agenda in relation to curriculum, skills and assessment.

In the last few years global educators have re-examined the position of the field of global education vis-à-vis official centres of educational power – during the 1980s especially some elements of the field had become ensnared in oppositional politics and were strongly criticised by those on the political right such as Scruton (1985) concerned about educational indoctrination amongst other things. Global educators active today find themselves working within an educational movement that seeks educational change but simultaneously official support and recognition. Arguably, this complex relationship has compelled global educators to make compromises (particularly in relation to the critical nature of global education pedagogy) and become better co-ordinated (in relation to curriculum and how organisations and activists work with one another and with teachers).

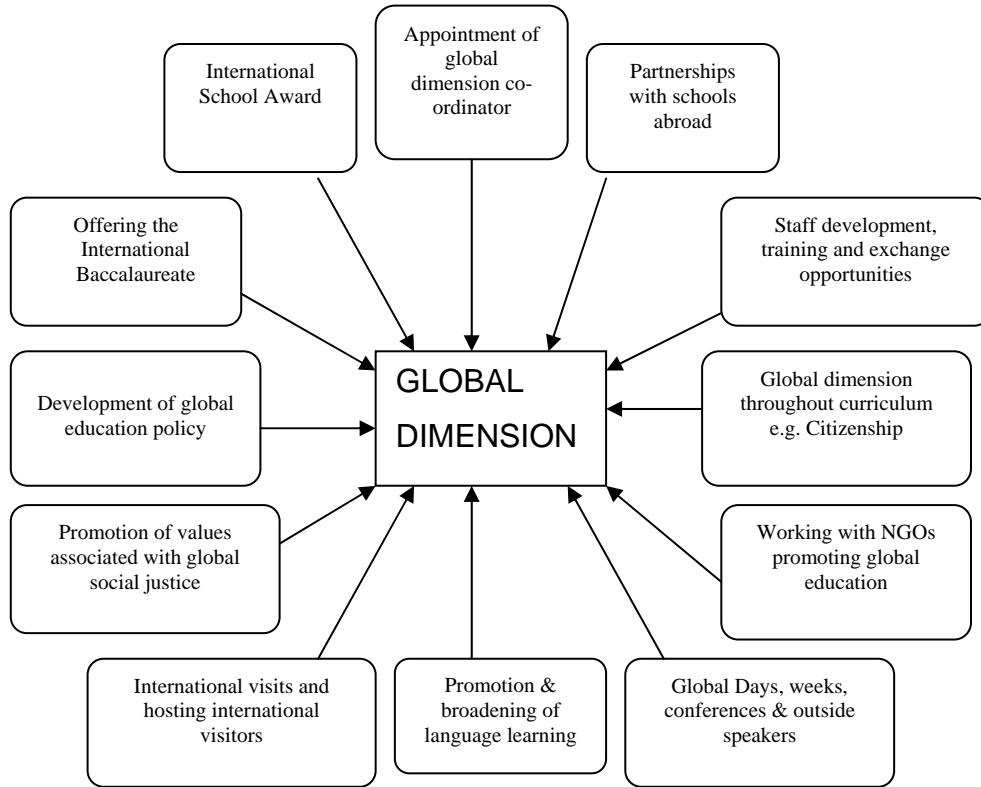
Getting global education into schools

NGOs and individuals in the field suggest that global education can be delivered in a variety of ways in schools, and Figure 1 illustrates some of the ways schools can develop a ‘global dimension’. This figure incorporates the chosen terminology of the NGO/DFES/DFID 2000a document *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* and some of the criteria of the British Council’s International School Award (awarded to schools in the UK since 1998 who can prove that they have developed an international dimension; see www.britishcouncil.org).

Working with a variety of these methods, some NGO global educators attached particular significance to the relationship between the new Citizenship Curriculum (DfES/QCA 2000) and global education, even though not all global educators believed that citizenship would remain in its current form for long. It is possible that the Citizenship Curriculum recommendations with its particularly important ‘active citizenship’ strand complement the strong skills dimension of global education. However, some interviewees were aware of the low status of citizenship education and felt that it was more important to emphasise the curricular links between global education and more established National Curriculum subjects.

The implications of the marginal status of global education within the National Curriculum were clearly of concern to global educators. Some of this concern might be linked to the mixed pedagogic messages being imparted by the field. The next section will consider some of these pedagogic and curricular ideals of global educators before moving on to discuss the relationship between these and citizenship education.

Figure 1: Methods of developing a global dimension in schools



The pedagogic ideals of global education as articulated by global educators

In the study from which this article is derived I considered how global education curriculum was conceptualised by reviewing perspectives about the construction of curricular boundaries in relation to global education – this was done by collecting the pedagogic and curricular ideals of global education activists/NGO workers. I summarise some of these ideals below.

Conceptualising the ideal global education curriculum: policy and terminology

The ill-defined knowledge base of global education made it difficult to research how the field of global education engages in the processes of selecting and classifying curriculum - although suggested conceptual frameworks exist (for example the eight key concepts of the global dimension as suggested by DFES/DFID 2000a/2005, revisited later, or the five aims of global education identified by Pike and Selby 1988 [1]), the holistic ‘process’ of including global education is more often discussed.

It is evident that *something* ‘global’ was being recontextualised or reconstructed in global education and this something has adapted to an ever-changing globalising context. My exploration of different traditions within the field of global education suggested that in recent years each tradition has attempted to increase the direction

and scope of global educational knowledge. Despite the differences between most share important integrating values and ideals relating to *global social justice* and to a loose notion of *global citizenship*. Interviewees conceptualised global education and global education knowledge vis-à-vis these integrating values. Some organisations and/or traditions had more influence than others in that the more dominant voices had published/publicised their global education curriculum ideals in some form (such as Oxfam's *Curriculum for Global Citizenship*, 1997;2002).

It was interesting to collect perspectives about how a global education curriculum was understood in relation to international recommendations and national policies. Whilst some international policies were recognised as important by global educators (e.g. those relating to the United Nations Development Goals and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), a surprising number of international human rights statements and policies relating to global education teaching and learning were rarely mentioned by activists and organisations (e.g. the UNESCO publications on education for human rights and international understanding, UNESCO 1974; 1995; 2002). Attention was more generally focussed on national educational policies such as DfID's white paper on *Eliminating World Poverty* (DfID 1997) or the *Citizenship Curriculum* (DfEE/QCA 1999). Documents relating specifically to global education such as *A Curriculum for Global Citizenship* (Oxfam 1997; 2002), *Citizenship Education: The Global Dimension* (published by the prominent umbrella NGO the Development Education Association [DEA] 2001a) or *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* (DfES/DFID 2000a/2005) were cited most regularly. Interviewees made particular reference to the latter document (which is supported by governmental and non-governmental bodies) and the way it articulated global education – an example of which is given below;

Including a global dimension in teaching means that links can be made between local and global issues and that what is taught is informed by international and global matters... young people are given opportunities to examine their own values and attitudes, to appreciate the similarities between peoples everywhere, to understand the global context of their local lives, and to develop skills that will enable them to combat prejudice and discrimination. This in turn gives young people the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an active role in the global community. (DfES/DFID 2000a:2/2005)

In this recently updated document (2005), the eight key concepts underlying 'a global dimension to the curriculum' were identified as *citizenship, sustainable development, values and perceptions, interdependence, conflict resolution, human rights, diversity and social justice*. The document particularly emphasises the need for teacher training when developing this global dimension in the curriculum, saying that 'all teachers need the space to reflect on the purpose, benefits, meaning and implications of making the global dimension central to their practice' (DfES/DFID 2000a/2005:19).

Different global education traditions and concepts have been combined to shape NGO publications and resources such as *Get Global!* (Price 2002), and yet groups and individuals have simultaneously tried to carve out distinct 'niches' in the field. Some NGOs for example have become known for working on specific aspects of global education such as global children's rights or the importance of fair trade. Also some NGOs work predominantly with teachers and teacher training institutions,

whilst others prefer to work directly within schools with students. Overall the curriculum strategy of global educators and NGOs appeared to be aligned with the broader call for 'active' global social justice. Indeed, global educators were sometimes more concerned with the 'how' of global education rather than the 'what', in other words there appeared to be more clarity about the affective and participatory domains of global education than the cognitive. For example, whilst the concept of 'globalisation' appeared to feature as an important *topic* for global education, the knowledge base of global education itself seemed not to be rooted in any *theories* of globalisation – the same often applied to references to citizenship.

Mixed pedagogic messages

The research produced much data pertaining to global education pedagogy, teaching and learning. Global educators articulated two types of delivery in reference to the boundaries of global education and its relationship with the National Curriculum – either it permeated every curriculum subject, and/or it was treated as a separate theme perhaps through extra-curricula activity. The first 'permeation model' reflected the ideals of those in the field of global education, whilst the second 'separate theme model' (such as a module in citizenship or an extra-curricula event) reflected the anticipated pedagogic reality. It was implied that insufficient debate had taken place amongst global educators about the pedagogic relationship between global education and the National Curriculum specifically at Key Stage 3 and 4 (ages 11-16). Although global education NGO workers often preferred the permeation model of delivery in secondary schools (through all subjects), they appeared to be more confident about finding space within primary schools and 6th form age groups (16-18) sometimes bypassing the 11-16 age groups. An exception to this rule was the Citizenship Curriculum (DfEE/QCA 1999), since there is the official endorsement of a global dimension within the 'knowledge and understanding' section of this document and the active citizenship section suggests a potential participatory, critical pedagogy similar to the ideals of global educators.

The mixed pedagogic messages of global educators were manifested in other ways. Whilst some believed global education should embrace a visible or explicit pedagogy similar to that of mainstream schooling, other activists supported an invisible pedagogy relating to child-centred, progressive practice (Bernstein 1990). Where sequencing refers to the progression and pacing refers to the rate of acquisition, I suggest that two models of pacing and sequencing were discussed by interviewees – a more hierarchically structured model where local to global issues progress with age which seems to be more in keeping with the dominant knowledge structures of National Curriculum subjects, and a 'slice' model which identifies more the pedagogical ideals of global educators which involves teaching about all key concepts and local, national and global issues simultaneously no matter what the age of the student. If the field of global education is to be successful in its aim to work more closely with teachers and teacher trainers, it is not unreasonable to suggest that more continuity is required in these areas.

The global gaze

Global education NGO workers had much to say about the role of the mainstream classroom teacher. Interviewees described their ideal pedagogic relationships and visions of ideal global teacher and global learner. The empowering and democratic pedagogic relationships between teacher and student advocated by

the global educators (revealed in my research and conveyed by many of global educationalists in *Developing the Global Teacher*, Steiner 1996) suggested that global education had strong links with theories of participatory and child-centred learning. Global educators hoped that the student of global education would develop the appropriate gaze or global outlook. I have considered the ‘global gaze’ as a term denoting a specialised language or ‘a particular mode of recognising and realising’ a particular reality (a concept used by Basil Bernstein 2000:164) as espoused by global education. The ideal represented by global educators appears to be a matter of acquiring a social justice (and/or global citizenship) perspective or ‘gaze’. This pedagogic ideal may therefore prove to have a difficult relationship with the pedagogic perspectives of National Curriculum subjects. A critical global education might invite students to question hierarchical structures and transmission practices in schools.

Global educators articulated an ideal global learner that corresponded with an ideal global education teacher. I identified at least eight pedagogic ideals in relation to the delivery of global education in schools, many of which hinged upon every teacher (especially those at the senior management level) ‘embodying’ a notion of global justice and if possible, global citizenship. Figure 2 summarises the pedagogic ideals, structures and skills that were described by the global educators interviewed for this research.

Figure 2: The ideal global education pedagogy for schools

Eight Pedagogic ideals	The ideal model of the global learner	The ideal transferable skills
The inclusion of global education policy at all levels	<i>The Slice Model :</i> A slice of the whole student involves teaching her/his local, national and global identity simultaneously (as opposed to a hierarchical model which sequences local to national to global issues in relation to age incrementation)	<i>Critical thinking skills:</i> Questioning and critical awareness
Senior management supportive of global education agenda		
The appointment of an international or global education ‘co-ordinator’		<i>Research skills:</i> Information enquiry, collecting and selecting
The fostering of a ‘global’ school ethos in all parts of school life		<i>Communication skills:</i> How to argue and put up a defence
The integration of interactive, pupil-centred teaching methodology		
For all teachers to have experience of ‘the global’		<i>Skills for envisioning the future</i>
For all teachers to convey passion for the learning of global education		
For global education to happen ‘naturally’ in schools		

The global education gaze is therefore something that appears to be required of both the student and the teacher during the teaching and learning process. Some NGO workers suggested (albeit implicitly) that in order to successfully transmit this gaze to students, teachers need ideally to embody its principles. Ideally all teachers of global education should perceive the world in relation to values of global social justice – they should have obtained the gaze, embodied its principles and, most importantly, ‘act’ accordingly. Interestingly a recent piece of research on citizenship education provision found that ‘pupils see parents, teachers and politicians advocating some things while preaching or doing something else’ and that such contradictions ‘do not depress or alienate the young so much as disinterest them’ (Leighton 2004:179). These sentiments and concerns appeared to underlie global educators’ pedagogic ideals about the role of teachers of global education in mainstream schooling.

Looking for space in the National Curriculum for the global gaze: The relationship between global education and citizenship education

In the complex global context, the field of global education searches for space in the school curriculum. Although global educators considered the influence of official documents such as DfID’s white paper on *Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century* (DfID 1997) or the 1999 *McPherson Report* [2], they focused more upon the influences, opportunities and barriers offered by the National Curriculum and its cross-curricular themes and initiatives. For example, interviewees made reference to the UK’s Healthy Schools Initiative (www.wiredforhealth.gov.uk), the cross-curricular theme Education for Sustainable Development and, of course, specific global dimension in education documents (such as DEA 2001; Oxfam 1997; DfES/DFID 2000a/2005). Of particular significance were allusions to the Citizenship Curriculum (QCA 1999) and the National Curriculum (DfES 2000b) in general – even though opinions about both varied considerably with both being in receipt of some formidable attacks. In this section I will begin by focusing upon the relationship between global education and the National Curriculum.

Global education and the National Curriculum

It is important to note that there was a significant, but often indistinguishable difference between how global educators perceive the *ideal* and *reality* when considering global education’s relationship to the National Curriculum. This difference permeated answers given to questions about how global education relates to other subjects in the National Curriculum and what a global education curriculum consists. Underlying such answers was an understanding that global education represents an implicit challenge to the structures of the National Curriculum and the corresponding subject boundaries. Whilst global educators discussed the ideal situation where global education is cross-curricular and permeates all subjects (but without being a ‘box-ticking exercise’), there was a general recognition that this was not the situation in reality.

The relationship between the National Curriculum and global education is perceived to be determined by a variety of dimensions – in particular the role of the teacher and the ethos of the school. For example the following respondent from a large national NGO reflected upon the power of the teacher, more than National

Curriculum-related documents or examinations, to enforce and uphold curricular boundaries,

HM: What do you think the relationship is between National Curriculum subjects and global education? What do you see as the boundaries from your experience?

NGO worker: The boundaries are where teachers put them and that depends on what teachers know and what interests they have. My background is science teaching, and because I've had an interest in development I've tried to bring in development education or global issues wherever I can... I don't see a situation where global education is seen as a separate subject taught in the curriculum. So to actually cover it it's got to be taught through the other subjects...most subjects can cover an element as long as teachers are aware of how to do that.

HM: So it hinges quite a lot on teacher knowledge and teacher enthusiasm?

NGO worker: I think so, definitely. (Interview 1)

Another global educator from a similar sized NGO with a human rights focus considered the important role of teacher trainers, senior management staff and a school's overall ethos,

Well I think in reality it's hugely dependent on the ethos of the school. If you get strong and passionate and committed leadership in a school where the heads or departmental heads can see the need for a global dimension to be infused across the school, then it's natural for the biology department to look at some of the international dimensions of international consequences of genetic engineering for example.... and social issues like the impact of AIDS, I'm not sure where that would come in the curriculum, but it's having the imagination and the capacity to train teachers to be mindful of their responsibility in an increasingly interdependent world. (Interview 24)

The relationship between global education and National Curriculum subjects was sometimes discussed with confusion and this may be because there has been limited debate about the ideal or current relationship between global education and the National Curriculum, as a global educator of a national NGO who had been in the field for over ten years considered,

... what surprises me is the lack of debate there has been about the relationship of these development and global education movements with subjects. Theoretically there's a lot of connection with geography, but when we've had the debate on geography it's come back saying what we're really talking about is the concept of space. (Interview 5)

Nevertheless there does appear to have been debate about the relationship global education has with geography, religious education and more recently, citizenship. Data relating to the relationship between global education and citizenship education is now considered.

Global education and the Citizenship Curriculum

When interviewees were asked to comment upon the relationship between global education and the National Curriculum, the new Citizenship Curriculum featured regularly. This may have been because one of the first interview questions related to perceptions about the impact of citizenship upon the priorities of the related organisation and also data was collected during the first statutory year of the Citizenship Curriculum. Whilst responses about the level of impact of the Citizenship Curriculum ranged from very little influence to too much influence, a positive influence to a negative influence, it was clear that it had at least been a hot topic of debate for the field of global education. An overview of the sorts of influences the Citizenship Curriculum was perceived to be having is given in Figure 3, where one can see that the impact of citizenship especially relates to its creation of 'space' for global education and because of its pedagogy (which was argued to be 'at odds with the rest of the UK governments' perspective on learning). Certainly citizenship has had a mixed impact in the field of global education, as one person highlighted,

Obviously citizenship getting into the National Curriculum has been helpful, but like all these things, it's a bit of a two-way sword because, once it becomes mainstream, big players who've perhaps got more of a conservative agenda get stuck in there and kind of, perhaps the radical edge of citizenship gets a bit diluted in that people want something that's easy to digest and teach. You do end up with this checklist of things you have to do. At the same time it's obviously an opportunity because it raises the profile of global education. (Interview 27)

Figure 4 further analyses the reasons for citizenship's different receptions within the field of global education by highlighting the reasons interviewees gave for perceiving it to have a more positive or negative impact for the global education field.

Although the nature of the influence of citizenship was considered in different ways, nearly all discussion about the Citizenship Curriculum (in interviews or documents) made reference to the notions of 'global citizenship'. When NGO workers were later invited to respond to the relationship between global education and global citizenship education (and the corresponding notion of the citizen underlying global education), many continued to deconstruct and ponder the relationship between global education and the National Curriculum and the Citizenship Curriculum in particular. Perspectives about the kind of citizenship underlying global education reflected notions of active citizenship, equality and social justice within a global context. However there was a perception that the liberal-individualist 'official' definition of citizenship currently permeating the curriculum differs from that within the broader definition generally subscribed to by global educators, and considerable cynicism and reservations about the Citizenship Curriculum exist.

Figure 3: Perspectives about the influence of the citizenship curriculum upon global education

Level of influence	Illustrative quote from interviews
Little influence	‘...not a lot of influence on our priorities or work... but we have tailored our programmes to meet the citizenship requirements’
Some influence	‘It has given us better access to schools and it has created some space for us... but it will depend upon how seriously schools take it’
Strong influence	‘We’ve produced a series of resources to fit with the Citizenship Curriculum and have had interest from teachers who we haven’t had contact with in the past. It’s a great opportunity for us, and we’re able to make use of the citizenship strand within the subject areas and cover issues when citizenship is a subject in its own rights’
Too much influence	‘Too much, there is also a difference between Citizenship Curriculum as outlined in terms of its orders... and the language of citizenship... people are not clear and are using the terminology interchangeably’
A positive influence	‘It recognises the global dimension of the curriculum and there have been calls to work on global citizenship issues’ ‘It encourages the development education style and approach to learning’
A negative influence	‘There is a danger that people think it’s going to carry the whole global education agenda, and it can ghettoise the whole topic’

Figure 4: An overview of the impact of the Citizenship Curriculum – the range of influences

Positive	Negative
Provision of curriculum space for global education Raising the profile of global education An endorsement of global education pedagogy Resultant funding opportunities Opportunities to work with others in education Offering opportunities in teacher-training Offering a different style/ approach to learning Encouraging thinking about the notion of ‘citizen’ Raising the profile of human rights issues Raising the profile of anti-racism Influencing the production of resources	People ascribing too much influence to it Only a vague understanding of citizenship in the education sector Little influence on the priorities of field Suspicion about government priorities Global citizenship and issues having a low status Education about sustainable development as priority over other global issues Problems and complications in the field’s reaction to citizenship education

Looking at the history of where citizenship as a formal subject came from, there was a great focus on the need to engage people with the political process and understand national institutions. That wouldn't be my definition of citizenship. My definition of citizenship would be very much about understanding your role in decision making... your responsibilities and your rights as a citizen, what you can expect from other people, what you can expect from institutions, your part in those and also your part in the global economy and the global environment. So citizenship again doesn't necessarily equate with global citizenship but it ought to in my view. (Interview 7, national NGO worker from an environmental global education tradition)

I think the concept of citizen is actually quite tricky if you are looking at equality issues because the Citizenship Curriculum doesn't engage pupils with that. (Interview 31, interviewee from a national NGO with a focus on education about Africa)

Whilst some dispute existed about whether global citizenship education necessarily equated with global education (relating to the fact that global education does not always deal with democracy for example), most global educators appeared to be comfortable talking about global citizenship education in relation to the role of the teacher. There was a strong sense that global citizenship education discourse is more accepted today in the UK than fifteen years ago when terms like world citizenship were under attack (as also suggested in a recent international study by Schattle 2004),

What we were talking about in the early 1990s was totally rubbished, in that how can you be a world citizen? Which goes to show how much things can change because now everyone uses it. On its simplest terms... it's freedom of movement, of access, things like the internet, travel... it's an interesting point that you can debate for hours whether freedom to move around makes you a global citizen but it's one way of defining it. (Interview 26)

Interviewees envisaged the ideal global citizen where there was an identifiable set of morals and values and corresponding right and wrong behaviour;

There's a whole spiritual dimension of recognising the enormity of what it is to be a human being, the great potential, and reflecting the wonder of the earth to each other... having the right relationship with each other and the right relationship with earth... if we actually planned out what that would mean, I think it would come out as being a global citizen with all these things as part of it. (Interview 13)

Whereas discussion about citizenship education often incorporated a more binary discourse (i.e. citizenship as national versus global, the Citizenship Curriculum as positive or negative), global educators seemed more aware of, but less keen to articulate, the complexities of global citizenship education. Global citizenship was often talked about by posing a variety of questions, particularly in relation to the boundaries of citizenship – for example, interviewees probed the relationship

between the local, regional, national and global citizen (answers considered how citizenship in the current context involved the complex interplay of all these dimensions). Much reference was made in interviews to the Oxfam UK documentation on global citizen and the DEA's (2001) publication on a global dimension to citizenship education – although little reference was made to related websites such as the government funded www.citizenship-global.org.uk.

Ultimately global educators seemed concerned that there is still a lack of space within the National Curriculum for global education even as an interdisciplinary subject. However, a variety of factors such as the Citizenship Curriculum and the cross-curricular theme of sustainable development, seem to have raised the profile of the movement for global education – even if they do not, in reality, provide any curriculum space. Arguably the relationship between the National Curriculum and global education is not as contentious as it was in the late 1980s/early 1990s when it had a more marginal status (a period when the UK Conservative Party was in power and when the current National Curriculum was formally introduced). However, it appears that nearly all identified sources of hope and inspiration for global education are also potential barriers – citizenship, the role key government departments, the impact of globalisation, the National Curriculum and so forth. Underlying some of this uncertainty is an awareness of how different sources of knowledge and different curriculum disciplines vary in status, and that this status is determined by a variety of factors such as the dominance of economist, human-capital discourse within official, policy-making circles as illustrated in this quote from the government's statement of values, aims and purposes of the National Curriculum,

*Education is also a route to equality of opportunity for all, a healthy and just democracy, a **productive economy**, and sustainable development. (www.nc.uk.net, my emphasis)*

The global education field seems aware of the lesser status (perceived or real) attributed to subjects such as citizenship, PSHE (personal, social and health education), religious education and the humanities where global issues have traditionally been located, despite the fact that the National Curriculum's most recent statement of values goes on to emphasise the importance of such knowledge in the changing global, economic and political climate,

...education must enable us to respond positively to the opportunities and challenges of the rapidly changing world in which we live and work. In particular, we need to be prepared to engage as individuals, parents, workers and citizens with economic, social and cultural change, including the continued globalisation of the economy and society, with new work and leisure patterns and with the rapid expansion of communication technologies. (www.nc.uk.net)

Concluding remarks and areas for further investigation

There is a wide range of literature relating to global education and its related educational traditions and anyone interested may wish to consult those such as (Hicks 2002; 2003; and with Townley 1982), Holden (2000) Osler and Vincent (2002) and Pike (1990; 2000; and with Selby 1988) to name but a few. In another recent UK-based empirical study Davies, Harber and Yamashita (2005) also offer

some fascinating insights into current global education practice, and into teacher and pupil perspectives about global citizenship education. Over the last few years in England global education has developed strong links with citizenship education and there have been a number of calls for global citizenship education within the field of global education. However setting global education and citizenship education in the performance based pedagogic culture of the school – where assessment requirements are emphasised and curriculum boundaries are strong – creates a variety of barriers to developing the global gaze and places great emphasis on the role of the teacher.

One of the most regularly cited topics in relation to the inclusion of global education in mainstream schooling related to the importance of the inspirational global education teacher and the need for improved teacher training in this area (sentiments often reflected in global education literature, see Pike and Selby 1988 and Steiner 1996). Over the last two decades many NGOs in the field of global education in England have chosen to focus more upon teacher training as opposed to working directly with pupils inside schools. For example, the work of NGOs and key specialists in the field has been reflected in the work of the Global Teacher Project which works to promote global education through teacher training (www.globalteacher.org.uk), and last September saw the launch of a ‘Global Trainer’ Advanced Certificate in training for NGO workers, youth workers and other interested parties (a collaborative project between the Development Education Association and the Institute of Education, London). Teacher training and NGO worker training programmes in global education delivery and curriculum reflect a growing interest in the need to strengthen the relationship between the global education NGO worker and classroom teacher – and it seems citizenship education is a much discussed topic within this relationship and within these programmes.

This short paper suggests a number of areas for further debate and investigation for teachers, academics, citizenship and global education specialists. Firstly there is the need to explore further the relationship NGO workers have with schools, teachers and students in these areas. We could probe deeper into the knowledge base of global education and recognise that global citizenship education is a much disputed term and not necessarily something that will come through traditional models of citizenship or global education. We might want to urge teacher educators to encourage teachers (and where countries like England have them, citizenship teachers in particular) to take time to reflect upon the special relationship between citizenship and global education and the implications of this relationship for teaching and learning. Finally, where similar movements exist, it would be fascinating to explore some of the above issues comparatively at an international level.

NOTES

1. Firstly four dimensions of globality are identified – the spatial dimension, the temporal dimension, the issues dimensions and the human potential dimension – and these link to five key aims of global education: systems consciousness; perspective consciousness; health of the planet awareness; involvement consciousness and preparedness; and process mindedness (Pike and Selby 1988)
2. The McPherson Report was a report into the murder of a black teenager making a number of recommendations aimed at challenging racism and promoting cultural diversity including broadening the National Curriculum to include cultural diversity and monitoring the relationship between school admissions and levels of achievement and ‘ethnic’ origin.

Correspondence: HARRIET MARSHALL, CEIC, Department of Education, University of Bath, Claverton Down, Bath, BA2 7AY, United Kingdom. Email ham25@cam.ac.uk

REFERENCES

- BERNSTEIN, B. (1990). *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse: Vol IV, Class Codes and Control*. London: Routledge.
- BERNSTEIN, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research Critique*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- DAVIES, I., GREGORY, I., AND RILEY, S. (1999). *Good Citizenship and Educational Provision*, London: Falmer Press
- DAVIES, I., EVANS M., AND REID, A. (2005). Globalising Citizenship Education? A Critique of 'Global Education' and 'Citizenship Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 43:1, pp66-89
- DAVIES, L., HARBER, C. AND YAMASHITA, H. (2005). *Global Citizenship Education: The Needs of Teachers and Learners*, Centre for International Education and Research, University of Birmingham
- DEA (2001). *Citizenship Education: The Global Dimension*, London: The Development Education Association.
- DFEE/QCA (1999). *Citizenship: The National Curriculum for England, Key Stages 3-4*. Suffolk: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) Publications/ Department for Education and Employment (DFEE).
- DFES/DFID (2000a, 2005 updated). *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum: The Department for Education and Skills; The Department for International Development; Development Education Association; QCA et. al.*
- DFES (2000b). *The National Curriculum (revised): Suffolk: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) Publications/ Department for Education and Skills (DFES)*.
- DFES/QCA (2000). *Citizenship at Key Stages 3-4: Initial guidance for schools*. Suffolk: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) Publications/ Department for Education and Skills (DFES).
- DFID (1997). *Eliminating World Poverty: A challenge for the 21st century*. The Department for International Development (DFID).
- FREIRE, P. (2003). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. In A. Darder, M. Baltodano, and R. Torres (Ed.), *The Critical Pedagogy Reader*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- PRICE, J. (2002). *Get Global! A skills-based approach to active global citizenship for Key Stages three and four*. London: ActionAid.
- HEATER, D. (1980). *World Studies: Education for International Understanding in Britain*. London: Harrap.
- HEATER, D. (1984). *Peace Through Education: The contribution of the Council for Education in World Citizenship*. London: Falmer.
- HICKS, D., AND TOWNLEY, C. (1982). *Teaching World Studies: An Introduction to Global Perspectives in the Curriculum*. London: Longman.
- HICKS, D. (2002). *Lessons for the Future: The Missing Dimension in Education*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- HICKS, D. (2003). *Thirty Years of Global Education: A Reminder of Key Principles and Precedents*. *Educational Review*, 55, 265-275.
- HOLDEN, C. (2000). *Learning from democracy; from World Studies to Global Citizenship*. *Theory into Practice*, 39 (2) 74-81.
- LEIGHTON, R. (2004). *Citizenship Education in Practice: An Initial Study*. *The Curriculum Journal*, 15 (2), pp167-181.
- NODDINGS, N. (ed) (2005). *Educating Citizens for Global Awareness*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- OSLER, A. AND VINCENT, K. (2002). *Citizenship and the Challenge of Global Education*. Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire: Trentham Books.
- OXFAM (1997; 2002). *A Curriculum for Global Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxfam Development Education Programme.
- PIKE, G., AND SELBY, D. (1988). *Global Teacher, Global Learner*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- PIKE, G. (1990). *Global Education*, in B. Dufour (Ed.) *The New Social Curriculum: A guide to cross-curricular issues*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (133-149).
- PIKE, G. (2000). *Global Education and National Identity: In pursuit of meaning*. *Theory into Practice*, 39 (2) 64-73.

- SCHATTLER, H. (2004). Concepts, Pathways and Agendas of 'Global Citizenship' as Interpreted beyond the Academy, DPhil Thesis, Department of Politics, Oxford University, UK.
- SCHUURMAN, F. (ed) (2001). *Globalization and Development Studies: Challenges for the 21st Century*. London: Sage Publications.
- SCRUTON, R. (1985). *World Studies: Education or indoctrination*. London: Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies.
- SELBY, D. (2001). *Global Education as Transformative Education*, available online at www.citizens4change.org/global/intro/global_education_introduce.htm (accessed July 2005)
- STEINER, M. (ed) (1996). *Developing the Global Teacher: Theory and Practice in Initial Teacher Education*. Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books.
- UNESCO (1974). *Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms*: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (1995). *Declaration and Integrated Framework for Action: Education for peace, human rights and democracy*: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2002). *Contributing to Peace and Human Development in an era of Globalization through Education, the Sciences, Culture and Communication*: UNESCO.

Citizenship Education In Japan After World War II

NORIO IKENO, *Hiroshima University, Japan*

ABSTRACT Citizenship education in Japan after World War II has taken on different forms at different times and can be divided, broadly, into three periods: 1947-55 for experience-oriented education, 1955-85 for knowledge-oriented education, and 1985-present for ability-oriented education. In each period, it is possible to analyse citizenship education at four levels: A) in the community, B) in school as a whole, C) in school subjects, and D) in social studies, or geography/history/civics. In the first period, citizenship education comprised types A, B, and C and stressed A and B. In the second period, it comprised types C and D and stressed D. And in the third period, it comprised all four types and stressed A and D. As a result, we can identify two characteristics:

1. Citizenship education in Japan has shifted its emphasis from “education for (community-) citizens” and “teaching students social science disciplines concerned with building the Japanese nation” to, finally, “citizenship education for all citizens”.

2. The principal focus of this paper is an historical overview. But this analysis suggests significant issues about the current condition and future characterisation of citizenship education. It is likely that diverse perspectives will continue to be developed in debates about the nature of citizenship education in Japan.

Three distinct periods

This paper reviews the history of postwar citizenship education in Japan and clarifies and briefly discusses its characteristics.

In Japan, of course, the end of World War II was a very significant turning point. Education in Japan changed from being militaristic to aiming for a democratic approach. We call Japanese education after WWII the “new” education, where “new” conveys two meanings, namely, “different” and “democratic”. The Courses of Study established by the Ministry of Education set an example of “new” education in 1947 and so this is when democratic citizenship education started in Japan.

Within this determination to establish a democratic focus, modern Japanese education has been centrally planned. The Ministry of Education decides the Courses of Study, provides the basic framework for curricula, and approves the textbooks. But each school implements education according to individual interpretations of the Courses of Study and textbooks, so education in each school has both uniform and diverse characteristics. The national education system, of

which citizenship education is a part, is based on uniform features but there is considerable diversity in understanding and practice.

The recent history of citizenship education in Japan Citizenship education in Japan after WWII can be divided into three periods:

1947-55: experience-oriented education

1955-85: knowledge-oriented education

1985-present: ability-oriented education

In each period, Japanese education was implemented based on the principles of the educational thought of that period.

The first period: Education of the first period reflected a commitment to the principle of pragmatism, which originated in United States, especially in the educational ideas of John Dewey. The new subject of “social studies” characterized the first period of education. Social studies education was the core of the new education. Citizenship education in the first period was mainly implemented as integrated social studies.

Social studies education of the first period adopted problem-solving methods, such as research and discussion, and taught about social life and society in general. In the classroom, teachers and children considered the problems of community life and social life and gained social experience in solving problems. They learned about “their own society” and developed “the attitude and skills to participate positively in their society in order to build a democratic society” (Ministry of Education, 1948, p.13).

Typical social studies practices were “yubin-gokko (playing the post)” and “yamabiko-gakko (echo school)”. In the practice of elementary social studies yubin-gokko, the teacher organized a postal structure as an activity for children to experience. In yamabiko-gakko, the teacher organized investigation activities so that children could make questions through free composition and answer them.

In these situations, the children were performing the activities. The teachers mostly did not lead the practice. Most people criticized these practices and some described them negatively as merely “crawling about”. They argued that in these practices, children only learned ordinary commonsense knowledge accidentally, and they demanded that social studies teachers teach social science systematically.

The second period: Education of the second period was characterised by the principle of intellectualism, which originated in academic disciplines. The Ministry of Education revised the Courses of Study in 1958 in a way that meant that moral education (*dotoku*) was separated from social studies. Social studies education was split into geography, history, and politics/economy/society.

Each subject, which was characterized by basic and core knowledge and academic skills related to each of the disciplines, was composed of a set of knowledge and skills. This provided students with core knowledge in the form of a common Japanese culture. Citizenship education of the second period meant firstly that students gained knowledge that was deemed necessary for the Japanese nation. Japanese language education provided knowledge of language as the core knowledge of Japanese. Mathematics education provided an understanding of numbers as the basic and core knowledge of mathematics. Science education provided an understanding of nature as the basis of natural sciences. Social studies education provided knowledge of the nation and society as the basis of geography, history, and social sciences.

The objectives of school subjects consisted of four elements: i) knowledge and understanding, ii) thinking and judging, iii) skill and ability, and, finally, iv) will, interest, and attitude. The general objective of elementary social studies education in

1978 was “to guide the children to deepen their basic grasp of social life, to nurture understanding of and affection for our land and history, and to cultivate the foundation of citizenship necessary as members of a democratic and peaceful nation and society” (Ministry of Education, 1978, p.31).

In the practices of social studies education children gained the basic knowledge that teachers selected from textbooks and then arranged and taught that knowledge in ways that they felt to be valuable. Citizenship education in social studies stressed common national knowledge.

The third period: The form of education prevalent in the third period stresses the importance of the principle of interrelationships. School education focuses on instilling “abilities necessary to live a long life”, which means that students are “to find a problem by oneself, to learn about it by oneself, to think about it by oneself, to judge it independently, to acquire methods of learning and thinking, to tackle problem-solving and inquiry activities independently and creatively, and to deepen one’s understanding of one’s own way of life” (Ministry of Education, 1998, pp.2-3). This objective is to be reached through each subject and through a special time called the “period of integrated study”, which the Ministry of Education set up in 2002.

Each subject has two aims: to achieve its own particular objective and to pursue the general target of school education. Social studies education teaches a fundamental knowledge of geography, history, and society as common culture and trains children’s abilities. As each subject must achieve its own particular objective while pursuing the general target of school education, it can lose direction, but each subject develops a new system that enables it to achieve these two aims simultaneously. We organize four elements of objectives in each subject into a united structure of ability.

Citizenship education in the third period requires an individual to become actively involved within a small or large society, using a common culture in each subject. The emphasis on citizenship education has changed from focusing on common knowledge as a Japanese nation to the ability to construct a society.

Types of citizenship education in Japan

We can summarize citizenship education developed by the Japanese education system after 1947 in four types.

Type A: the main function is to work for the good of the community. It is based on the community and schools could often be thought of and referred to as “community school”. In any community, there are problems. In school education, children wrestle with some of those problems and attempt to help solve them so that the community will work well.

Some schools make a local educational plan in order to do research on the community, to classify problems in the community into political, economic, health, aesthetic, and educational ones etc., and to select some of these problems as educational subjects. Typical plans of this period are “Kawaguchi (-city) plan” (in Saitama prefecture near Tokyo) and “Hongo (-town) plan” (Hiroshima prefecture). In recent years, this type has been promoted as voluntary activities in the community.

Type B: citizenship education throughout the school. School education comprises all the standard subjects, extracurricular activities for “dotoku” (moral education), special activities of school events, and the “period of integrated study”. It is organized so that all educational activities help to bring children up as citizens. For

example, children may run a student council by themselves. They work on problems and solve them under the guidance of their teachers. In each activity, school prepares children to work in society later in their lives.

Learning in each subject is organized to cover the activities that citizens perform, such as writing letters, reading maps, and conducting arguments with others. School subjects are regarded as vehicles for teaching citizenship activities. Additionally, the subject of “social studies” specifically offers a social means of performing citizen activities.

For this type, the school curriculum was organized as a “core curriculum” in the second half of the 1940s and the first half of the 1950s. Social studies was organized as a learning activity so that children could solve problems in their lives and would acquire social knowledge and understanding and learn to act as citizens. The subject of social studies has its own special aims, which are related to the acquisition of fundamental social knowledge and understanding, social skills and abilities, and general aims, such as those attributes required for citizens or by the nation. Representative plans were the “Nara (school) plan” (an elementary school attached to Nara Women’s University) and the “Akashi (school) plan” (an elementary school attached to Kobe University). Since 1999, this type has been reorganized into the “period of integrated study”.

Although in type C ‘social studies’ plays a central role, it does also allow for the provision of citizenship education through ‘mainstream’ school subjects such as Japanese or science. Type D promotes citizenship education in each field of distinct school subjects. The school subjects of geography, history, and civics have constituted the principal range of knowledge and practice most closely relevant to social studies since 1955. Each field provides its own specialist knowledge. Geography teaches knowledge of space, history teaches knowledge of time, and civics provides knowledge of society, politics, economics, and international relations.

Of the four types, type D covers citizenship education in the narrowest range while type A covers it in the broadest range.

Features of citizenship education of each period

The first period (1947-55) comprised types A, B, and C. In particular, types A and B were stressed. Citizenship of types A and B was regarded as a form of education that emphasised the significance of citizens’ actions. Citizenship education was carried out so that citizens’ actions might be promoted in real life. This education did its work in the social context, on as wide a scale as possible. The features of citizenship education in the first period were problem-solving methods and the continuous organization of learning activities. We could call the citizenship education of the first period “education through citizenship”, in Kerr’s terminology (Kerr, 2002, p.209).

The second period comprised types C and D, which are regarded as promoting the knowledge and understanding necessary to a citizen in the context of a nation-state. Citizenship of these types was covered very narrowly. It was likely, therefore, that there could be an educational effect that was noticeable in schools that promoted this approach. However, the society characterized by citizenship education of types C and D became static and inactive. The features of the citizenship education of the second period were segmentation of citizenship, emphasis on knowledge and understanding, and definite organization of teaching. We could call the citizenship education of the second period “education about citizenship” (Kerr, 2002, p.209).

The third period covers all four types of citizenship education. The subject of “social studies” emphasizes education; and cross-curricular education emphasizes citizenship education. Citizenship is regarded as relating strongly to an understanding - and promotion - of participation in society. This is not to suggest that action alone is regarded as significant. Rather, participation is emphasised in the context of the four elements of the objectives of social studies education: i) knowledge and understanding, ii) thinking and judgment, iii) skill and ability, and iv) will, interest, and attitude. Citizenship education in this formulation is undertaken so that children acquire knowledge about and an understanding of society, the ability to consider and make judgments concerning problems in society, the skills and abilities to perform their role in society, and the will, interest, and attitude to participate in society. Education performs its social work through voluntary activities in the community: learning to activate the community in the “period of integrated study” and, in social studies lessons, solving social issues and problems in order to construct a democratic society. The features of citizenship education in the third period are as follows: a structure capable of constructing a democratic society, an emphasis on levels of capability and its growth and development, and the setting up of these educational aims. We could call the citizenship education of the third period “education for citizenship” (Kerr, 2002, p.210).

Citizenship education in the post war period

The nature of citizenship education in Japan has changed as it has passed from the first through the third periods. From education intended to teach citizens’ actions in a community, it developed first into teaching geography, history, and social sciences as a Japanese nation, and then into teaching abilities needed to live as a citizen. There was a shift in the educational framework of citizenship education from activity, through knowledge and understanding, to ability; that is, from education through citizenship, to education about citizenship, to education for citizenship.

Citizenship education in Japan has been discussed in this article historically but the issues raised here suggest themes that are relevant to contemporary and likely future contexts. The development of citizenship education after WWII in Japan indicates the “multiple dimensions” of citizenship (Cogan and Derricott, 1998, p.11, 117). The variety of thinking and practice explored here needs to be considered further if we are to make sense of the current proposals for reconceptualising citizenship education and/or developing specific implementation strategies.

This year, 2005, is the 60th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. It is our fervent hope that there will be “No more Hiroshimas and no more Nagasakis” and that peace will exist throughout the world. We hope that a better understanding of the nature of citizenship education will help us to achieve that aim.

Correspondence: NORIO IKENO, Hiroshima University, Japan

REFERENCES

- COGAN, J. J. AND DERRICOTT, R. (ed.) (1998) *Citizenship for the 21st Century: An International Perspective on Education*, London: Kogan Page.
- COGAN, J. J., MORRIS, P., AND PRINT, M. (ed.) (2002) *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: Case Studies across Six Societies*, New York and London: Routledge Falmer.
- DAVIES, I., GREGORY, I., AND RILEY, S. C. (1999) *Good Citizenship and Educational Provision*, London and New York: Falmer Press.
- KERR, D. (2002) "An International Review of Citizenship in the Curriculum: The IEA National Case Studies and the INCA Archive," in Steiner-Khamsi, G., Torney-Purta J. and Schwille, J. (ed.), *New Paradigms and Recurring Paradoxes in Education for Citizenship: An International Comparison*, Amsterdam etc.: An Imprint of Elsevier Science.
- LEE, W. O., GROSSMAN, D. L., KENNEDY, K. J., FAIRBROTHER, G. P. (ed.) (2004) *Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and Issues*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1948) *The Course of Study for Elementary Social Studies: Supplement*, Tokyo.
- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1978) *The Course of Study for Elementary Schools*, Tokyo.
- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1998) *The Course of Study for Elementary Schools*, Tokyo.
- NAGAI, J. (1977) "Social Studies in Japan," in *Teaching Social Studies in Other Nations*, NCSS Bulletin 60, Washington, DC: NCSS.
- NAGAI, J. (1983) "Education for Responsible Citizenship," in *Perspectives on Japan: A Guide for Teachers*, NCSS Bulletin 69, Washington, DC: NCSS.
- OTSU, K. (1998) "Japan", in Cogan J.J. and Derricott, R. (ed.), *Citizenship for the 21st Century: An International Perspective on Education*, London: Kogan Page.
- OTSU, K. (2002) "Recent Development in Civic Education: The Case of Japan," in Cogan, J.J., Morris P., and Print, M. (ed.), *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: Case Studies across Six Societies*, New York and London: Routledge Falmer.
- PARKER, W. AND JAROLIMEK, J. (1984) *Citizenship and the Critical Role of the Social Studies*, NCSS Bulletin 72, Washington, DC: NCSS.
- PARMENTER, L. (2004) "A Solid Foundation: Citizenship Education in Japan," in Lee, W. O., Grossman, D. L., Kennedy K. L., and Fairbrother, G. P. (ed.), *Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and Issues*, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- STEINER-KHAMSI, G., TORNEY-PURTA, J., AND SCHWILLE, J. (ed.) (2002) *New Paradigms and Recurring Paradoxes in Education for Citizenship: An International Comparison*, Amsterdam etc.: An Imprint of Elsevier Science.

Book Reviews

Howard Zinn on Democratic Education

Zinn, Howard with Donaldo Macedo. (2005), Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Howard Zinn, professor emeritus at Boston University, is best known for *A People's History of the United States* (1980), reprinted several times and made into a television series. In *Democratic Education*, the veteran historian, teacher and social activist presents his views on politics, history and education in collaboration with Donaldo Macedo, a professor at the University of Massachusetts.

The volume includes 12 chapters, several of them already published. The introductory chapter, by Macedo, uses examples from U.S. history and foreign policy to provide a good overview of the role of schools in cultural reproduction and in teaching history from the standpoint of dominant groups. The argument is well taken, but sometimes undermined by sweeping generalizations. For instance, his opening statement asserts that schools are "necessarily engaged in a pedagogy of lies," but in 24 pages the only evidence to support this claim is a reference to a paragraph on the Vietnam War from a 1987 history textbook. Later, Macedo refers to teachers as "cultural commissars" (19) who distort historical facts. This inflammatory rhetoric could be more credible if supported by research findings from contemporary classrooms.

Chapter 2 is an insightful and engaging dialogue between Macedo and Zinn in which they share their personal experiences with the educational system and reflect upon them. Chapters 3, 5 and 11 are transcriptions of Zinn's lectures on history given during the 1990s on a variety of topics such as Columbus, the 1770 Boston massacre, the 1812 Mexican War, the Second World War, the 1960s civil rights movements, the 1975 Church Report on the FBI, and several contemporary issues. These 'unofficial' stories are fascinating. As in previous works, Zinn is able to present detailed information in context, establish interesting links among them, and show their relevance to understand present situations. These lectures, however, seem to be directed to students of history, and often their connection to the topic of the book ('democratic education') is tenuous. While these lectures call our attention to the 'missing' curriculum in history courses, in which the people's history is often censored from official textbooks, it is not entirely convincing that we need three chapters to bring that point home. Having said that, chapter 5 on Columbus is especially illuminating for all of us who were socialized since early childhood in the narratives of 'discovery' and 'civilization'.

Chapter 4 is a short piece on academic freedom, chapter 6 is a previously published interview on politics, art and literature, and chapter 7 is a lucid self-examination by Zinn on the development of his class consciousness. Chapter 8 is a reprint of an interview on the war on Iraq, chapter 9 is a surprisingly short piece (2 pages) on Clinton's impeachment, and chapter 10 deals with issues of class and money in electoral politics. All these writings are an interesting read but their connection to the topic of the book is not always self-evident.

Finally, chapter 12 is an excellent interview of Zinn by Barbara Miner. Here Zinn has the opportunity to elaborate on pedagogical and ethical issues in the teaching of history. In his responses, Zinn addresses with clarity and wisdom difficult issues like indoctrination, neutrality, multiculturalism and the complicity of poor white people in racism. Based on his own experience, he also provides valuable practical suggestions to progressive teachers.

All in all, the book provides a good sampling of Zinn's ideas. The volume could have benefited from more connections among chapters, from a concluding chapter, and from more explicit links between the content and the title. Whereas the back cover promises "the first book devoted to Zinn's views on education", only a few chapters (2, 4 and 12) clearly deliver. There are also small editorial flaws that could have been avoided with careful editing. For instance, Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza is referred to as Zamosa (2) and Upton Sinclair as Upton St. Clair (19). Despite these shortcomings, it is always a pleasure to read Zinn, and this book is no exception. Once again, Zinn shows why he is the people's historian.

Reviewer:

Daniel Schugurensky, Associate Professor, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto (OISE/UT) Acting Director, Centre for Urban and Community Studies (CUCS), U. of Toronto 252 Bloor Street W., 7-119, Toronto, ON M5S 1V9, Canada dschugurensky@oise.utoronto.ca

Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and Issues

Edited by W. O. Lee, David L. Grossman, Kerry J. Kennedy & Gregory P. Fairbrother. Published 2004 by Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

The past two decades or so have seen a worldwide surge in the research and discourse on democratic education, civics and citizenship education and education for democracy. However, much of what has been written does not question the epistemological roots behind the conceptions of citizenship education. Edited by Wing On Lee, currently at University of Sydney, David L. Grossman and Kerry Kennedy from the Institute of Education, Hong Kong, and Gregory Fairbrother at the University of Hong Kong, this book fills the gap in the literature. Its dust cover states that the book "combines conceptual debates with case studies on the questions of whether the notion of an Asian Citizenship can be established, and if so, what its research agenda should be".

The 16 chapters of the book (excluding the introductory chapter by David Grossman) are grouped into 5 sections. The first section, 'Conceptual Debates', introduces the dialogue between conceptions of citizenship in the West and Asia. In Chapter 1, Kerry Kennedy identifies three positions in the 'Asian Values' discourse as Asian critiques to the modernity, and discusses its implications for civic education. In Chapter 2, Wing Onn Lee examines the meaning of 'self' in an Asian context, and its implications for citizenship development. Mary Fearnley-Sander, Isnarmi Muis and Nurhizrah Gistituanti in the next chapter offer an interesting insight on how Muslims in Indonesia think about state and citizenship in relation to Islam.

Following the first 3 chapters, which set the context for the rest of the book, Chapters 4 to 7 contain historical and policy perspectives in the development of

citizenship education in Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan and Singapore. Contributions in this section include Wing Onn Lee, Lynne Paramenter, Meihui Liu, S. Gopinathan and Leslie Sharpe. The ensuing section, 'Issues and Perceptions', includes 4 essays by Wing Onn Lee, Gregory Fairbrother, Suzanne Mellor and Warren Prior, and Anuar Ahmad "raise provocative issues about the nature of citizenship education, challenging what are often commonly assumed perceptions in the West regarding the individual, state and society" (p. 4). Lee in Chapter 8 draws upon a cross-national study of values education and concludes that "Asian education leaders regard the development of the individual as top priority in values education" (p. 152). In Chapter 9, Fairbrother studies teachers' perceptions of patriotic education and the desired qualities of an ideal patriotic student in a Chinese middle school. For Chapter 10, the authors examine data from a World Bank project to promote social tolerance and cohesion in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Chapter 11 explores the relationship between history education and citizenship in Malaysia. The following 3 chapters involve intra regional and country comparisons between teacher perceptions of future citizens in Hong Kong and Guangzhou, citizenship and Confucianism in South Korea and China, and values education in the Global, Information Age in South Korea and Singapore. Finally, the last 2 chapters tie up the main themes present throughout the book, reiterating the question of whether there are unique Asian perspectives on citizenship education.

It is evident that the countries selected in the book are from the Asia Pacific region. There are no chapters on Indian or South Asian perspectives on citizenship education. Likewise, Central Asian points of view are absent. Perhaps the title of the book should be changed to Citizenship Education in the Asia-Pacific in order to reflect the regions and countries represented in it. Nonetheless, this book is an invaluable contribution to further our knowledge of citizenship education in the Asia-Pacific, a region rich in its diversity of cultures and traditions.

Reviewer:

Yeow Tong Chia, Doctoral Student, The Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. (formerly National Education Officer, Singapore Ministry of Education)

Learning to Teach Citizenship in the Secondary School

Edited by Liam Gearon. Published 2003 by RoutledgeFalmer, London.

This edited book gathers 13 chapters written by 18 authors, all from England, and focuses on theories and methodological approaches related to Citizenship Education in U.K., in the aftermath of the groundbreaking "Crick Report", which was in fact titled "Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools: Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship" (London: QCA, 1998). A timely collection, Liam Gearon's book appears in the "Learning to Teach Subjects in the Secondary School" series, as a follow-up to the previous book by Capel, Turner and Leask, titled Learning to Teach in the Secondary School (2001), also published by RoutledgeFalmer.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I begins with an opening article by David Kerr who provides a few useful definitions for citizenship education, "construed broadly to encompass the preparation of young people for their roles and

responsibilities as citizens" (p. 7). Furthermore, when quoting an Australian official document, Kerr adds that Citizenship Education's aim is to "develop knowledge, skills and attitudes and values which enables students to participate as active and informed citizens in our democratic society within an international context" (p. 7). The two following chapters focus on Citizenship Education's position in the National Curriculum in England. As John Keast indicates in Chapter 2, what is debated in the public sphere can have consequences on the youth's perceptions, and therefore the media's role can be either helpful or destructive, because of the ambient cynicism that can be brought, since "the public perception of politics and politicians can sap the willingness and energy of teachers and others to give citizenship their best shot" (p. 40). In his excellent chapter on "Citizenship and Pastoral Care", Ron Best clearly shows how Citizenship Education is linked with pastoral care, taking from a holistic view (including moral values, family life, experiences from inside and outside the school) to demonstrate the continuum between both concepts.

In Part II, we find a useful mapping of what should be included in Citizenship Education, including justice, human rights, education for sustainable development, awareness about democracy, governance, even business and world finance, in a globalizing context (p. 73). Chapter 5 suggests activities to do in the classroom like simulations and debates. Chapters in Part III go beyond the classroom, presenting ways of involvement into the community and promoting political literacy. In Chapter 9, Gearon brings a detailed list of core elements and issues to include into a curriculum in Citizenship Education. Among those themes and topics, we find ethnic identities, plus "the work of parliament", "the importance of a free press", "the rights and responsibilities of consumers, employers and employees" (p. 159). The final section's unique chapter is more practical, offering hints and advices ("How to apply to get a job"; how to update your knowledge) for future teachers in Citizenship Education.

This fine edited book would be instructive for teachers in secondary schools (i.e. for groups of children between 11 and 17), but I believe it would be most relevant for scholars who teach Citizenship Education or even Citizenship Studies in faculties. As I was reading it, I was wondering if it would be useful outside England, since many cases were related to British society; but I think that this strong and coherent theoretical framework shall be useful in various contexts. Moreover, I recommend any scholar in Teacher Education be aware of Liam Gearon's *Learning to Teach Citizenship in the Secondary School*.

References

Capel, Susan Anne, Tony Turner, Marilyn Leask (Eds.), *Learning to Teach in the Secondary School*, London, RoutledgeFalmer, 2001.

Crick, B. (Ed.), *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools: Final Report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship*, London: QCA, 1998.

Reviewer:

Yves Laberge, Ph.D. (retired lecturer), Institut québécois des hautes études internationales, Département de sociologie, Université Laval, Québec City, Canada

Nachhaltiges Lernen in der Politischen Bildung. Lernen für eine Gesellschaft der Zukunft.

Klaus Moegling & Horst Peter.

Opladen: Leske + Budrich 2001 (191 pages; ISBN 3-8100-3106-2)

Sustainability, as an aim of education, has become increasingly recognized in the German pedagogical discourse following the World Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. In the course of Agenda 21, questions arose about how to educate children and adults about sustainability and how to develop ecological understanding. At the same time educators discussed what didactical and methodological approaches in the field of education for democracy (or education for citizenship) could successfully incorporate ecological thinking, understanding and behaviour.

The book 'Sustainable Learning through Citizenship Education. Learning for a Society of the Future' by Klaus Moegling and Horst Peter aims even further. It not only asks about the possible content of "Sustainable Learning" (I use the literal translation even though it may be rather unusual) but refers to sustainable learning as a didactic and methodological principle. The objective is to develop a different attitude concerning the process of learning and the idea of learning. What does this mean? The authors stress that the students through their learning of content should also develop a deeper understanding of themselves, their identity, their role in society and possibilities of changing a society. The approach that Moegling and Peter take in their work is derived from critical theory (Marx and Horkheimer) and from didactical concepts developed by Wolfgang Klafki and Oskar Negt and also Paulo Freire.

In Chapter 1, the authors ask about the connection between sustainability and education. Chapter 2 focuses on an analysis of how learning can influence the future. Against the background of this, Moegling and Peter discuss how the idea of sustainability could become a model of a future society by bridging the sometime contradictory concepts such as nature, economy and politics in Chapter 3. In order to come to a suggestion they first outline the dimension of sustainability in its historical, economical and political context. The categories of sustainability – education, ecology, economy, society, work and culture – are discussed within their respective distinct frameworks as well within the framework of politics in Germany.

The second part of the book, starting with Chapter 4, tackles the question of how to develop sustainability as a didactic category (keywords are knowledge; identity; participation and power of judgement; integration). In Chapter 5, the authors introduce several didactic approaches such as workshops, hearings, evaluation, internships, project weeks and so on. Some of these approaches are derived from adult education but it is rather unusual that they are integrated into school curricula. In the last chapter, the authors indicate several institutional and organizational consequences if these didactic and methodological approaches are to be incorporated in schools successfully. The suggestions mainly aim at the level of teachers training. They imply that the question of sustainability (content as well as attitude) should become an integral part of the teachers training curriculum including new didactic and methodological approaches. They also suggest that schools should integrate the question of sustainability into their own institutional development processes.

In my opinion, what makes the book unique in the context of the German educational discussion is its critical approach towards the principle of sustainability on the one hand and towards education as a whole on the other hand. At the moment

the main theoretical approach in the German educational discourse is either derived from constructivism or a structuralism. Both approaches for me have significant shortcomings in that they tend to ignore the political, economical and overall social context which don't coincide with the notion of sustainability. Therefore it seems to me that through the concept of sustainability a critical approach could be reintroduced to German pedagogical discussion and thinking.

Reviewer:

Professor Dr. Christine Zeuner, Universität Flensburg, Institut für Allgemeine Pädagogik und Erwachsenenbildung/Weiterbildung, Germany

Notes for Contributors

By accepting publication in the Journal contributors grant the right to the editorial committee to publish contributions electronically and in hard copy. Contributors should bear in mind that they are addressing an international audience and so must avoid the use of jargon, acronyms without explanation or the use of specialist terms (especially in relation to grades, ages, phases of schooling). Please ensure that writing is, as far as possible, free from bias, for instance, by avoiding sexist and racist language.

Articles and Book Reviews should be sent by e-mail attachment to Liz Melville (e.melville@canterbury.ac.uk) or Roma Woodward (r.woodward@canterbury.ac.uk). It is important that articles are not sent direct to the editor, Ian Davies, as this would disallow the possibility of anonymous review. The articles that have been submitted will be passed to the editor by the administrator of the journal. The editor will send submitted articles for anonymous review. Two referees will review each submission. Should there be disagreement between the reviewers the editor will approach a third person for a judgement. Proofs will not be sent to the author.

Articles should be of between 4000 and 6000 words, double spaced with ample margins and bear the title of the contribution, the name(s) of the author(s) and the name to be used for correspondence together with e-mail and surface addresses. Each article should be accompanied by an abstract of 100-200 words on a separate sheet, and a short note of biographical details. Book reviews should be of between 400 and 600 words in length. Please enclose a note with your review, stating that the review has not been submitted or published elsewhere.

All material must be submitted in Microsoft MS Word format, as intended for publication. Tables and captions should appear within the text. Notes, if required, should be end-notes NOT foot-notes. Tables should be numbered by Roman numerals and figures by Arabic numerals. Captions should appear below the table/figure and to include keys to symbols. The editor will not normally accept figures. However, if they are absolutely necessary they should be submitted in a finished form suitable for reproduction at the size that is: not to exceed 125mm in width, no colours, 500dpi or better. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) should be used as a guide for spellings. Permissible alternative spellings should follow the OED, eg verbal forms which can end in -ize or -ise should be given the -ize form. Titles of publications should be italicised without quotation marks.

References should be indicated in the text by giving the author's name, with the year of publication in parentheses. Please note that use of 'op cit' and 'ibid' is not acceptable. If several papers by the same author and from the same year are cited, a, b, c, etc. should be put after the year of publication. Where a page number is to be referenced, the style should be (Author, Year: Number) eg (Hahn, 1999:232). The references should be listed in full at the end of the paper in the following standard form:

- HAHN, C. L. (1999) Citizenship: an empirical study of policy, practices and outcomes. *Oxford Review of Education*, 25, 1&2, 231-250.
- McLAUGHLIN, T. (2003) Teaching Controversial Issues in Citizenship Education. In Lockyer, A., Crick, B., Annette, J. (eds.) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: issues of theory and practice*. Aldershot, Ashgate.
- RATCLIFFE, M. and GRACE, M. (2003) *Science Education for Citizenship: teaching socioscientific issues*. Maidenhead, Open University Press.

Quotations from texts should be supported by a page number in addition to the usual text reference. Where the quotation is more than a short sentence, it should be presented as a separate paragraph without any quotation marks and followed by the full reference. Short quotations should be included in the same paragraph surrounded by quotation marks ie double inverted commas. Where the quotation is not from a particular source then the words should be surrounded by single inverted commas eg In what ways do specialist secondary school teachers characterize 'educating for citizenship' and why?